

CP Heads in N. Y. Back Big Business Candidates

Openly Oppose Independent Socialist Votes

By Herman Chauka

A policy statement on the New York elections by Ben Davis and George Blake Charney, co-chairmen of the New York State Communist Party was published in the Worker Nov. 3. It aligns the Communist Party with the cold-war, red-baiting union bureaucrats of the Liberal Party in support of Tammany's candidate, Mayor Wagner. The main fire of the statement is directed against the Socialist Workers Party whose candidates campaigned vigorously to popularize the need for a labor party and a labor administration and to spread the message of socialism.

UNITED DRIVE

Davis and Charney are spokesmen for the Foster and Gates wing of the CP leadership. Their statement represents a united effort by the CP tops to throttle an apparently growing rank-and-file opposition to the party's "coalition" line of supporting capitalist candidates endorsed by the labor bureaucracy. (The statement takes issue with "the argument for abstention in our ranks," that is, with the attitude of those who saw no real choice between Wagner and Christenberry.) At the same time the statement is a malicious attack on independent radicals who supported the Socialist Workers ticket in this election.

After dismissing the Socialist Labor Party as an electoral choice because of its hopeless sectarianism, the CP statement says: "The situation with respect to the SWP is somewhat different. We must take into account the position of a number of socialist-minded individuals including the editors of the National Guardian that the SWP provides the only socialist alternative in the elections, and thus merits our support."

The statement then presents a falsified version of SWP views on "peaceful co-existence," on the "anti-monopoly coalition" and on the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. (See answer to the CP's falsifications on this page.) This purported "analysis" of the SWP program concludes with a scurrilous Stalin-type smear: "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolutions. Some good progressives do not take this sufficiently into account."

After presenting the SWP and those who supported its ticket as abetting "counter-revolutions," Davis and Charney announce the

13,915 VOTES



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York Mayor polled 13,915 votes by unofficial count. In 1953 the SWP Mayoralty vote was under 4,000.

Communist Party's support to Wagner. True, Wagner's anti-labor record has created such a stench that the statement of support is couched in a hypocritical way.

WHAT IT ADDS UP TO

Christenberry, we are informed, is the main enemy. To abstain or vote for the SLP is bad; to vote for the SWP far worse; Wagner's administration has "accomplishments which we do not desire to minimize," and a big vote on the Liberal Party line would be progressive. But, the statement coyly adds, "We neither endorse or take responsibility for any candidate or party in this Mayoralty election." The authors safely assume that anyone of voting age will be able to deduce from all this that the Communist Party favors a vote for Wagner on the Liberal Party line.

A major justification offered by Charney and Davis for supporting Wagner is that Christenberry "is a candidate of the Daily News crowd and the McCarthyite element in New York." Overlooked is the fact that on Oct. 30 the Daily News endorsed not Christenberry but Wagner. And the News was not

(Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 45

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1957

PRICE 10c

"Buy Less" -- Eisenhower's Answer on Rocketing Prices

By Fred Halstead

President Eisenhower has strongly implied that the government expects the American workers to cut their standard of living in the coming period. He was asked at his Oct. 30 press conference,

how best the "American consumer . . . particularly in the field of the white collar worker" could cope with the fact that the cost of living has risen for the 13th straight month. He replied that "people should attempt to purchase less."

As advice, this statement was hardly necessary. The vast majority of American workers, whose wages have not kept pace with price rises and whose total income is already required to meet current bills, are being forced to cut purchases. But as a warning as to who is expected to pay for announced increases in armaments expenditures, the President's statement is packed with meaning.

In spite of a continuing rise of consumer prices, Eisenhower himself admitted in the same press conference that the national economy was "taking a breather" as indicated by rising unemployment and the failure of business to pick up as much as expected this fall. The economy, said Eisenhower, "always seems to be balanced between a possibility of deflation and inflation." This is another way of saying that the alternatives are another depression or vastly increased armaments production leading to World War III.

At present the economy is teetering between these alternatives with the bad effects of each already in evidence.

JOBLESS CLAIMS UP

The present situation, according to a national economic survey published in Scripps-Howard newspapers Oct. 31, "is being compared with 1948 and 1953 when declines in business foreshadowed the mild recessions of 1949 and 1953." Overtime pay "has virtually disappeared in many areas," the survey reveal-



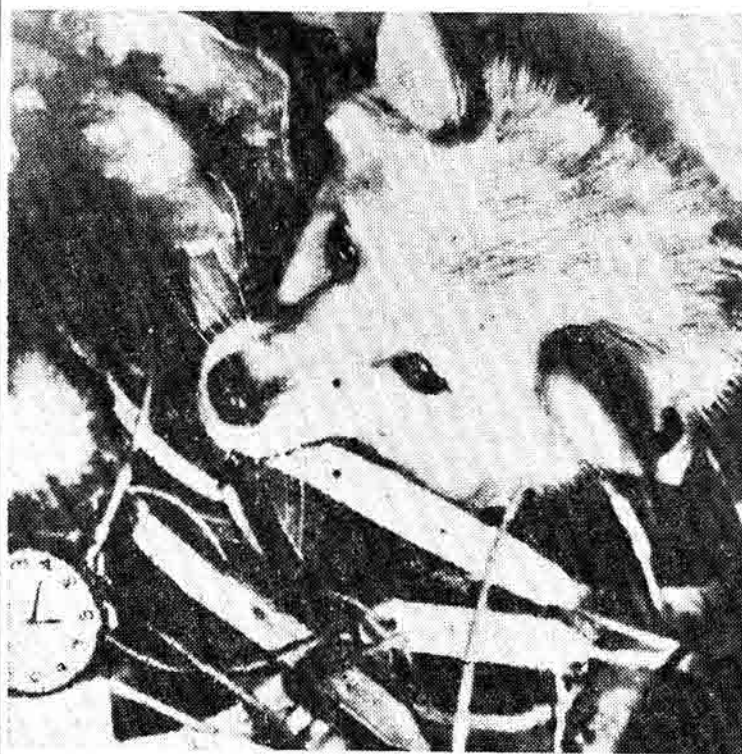
EISENHOWER

ed, and unemployment claims, which usually drop in October, went up in the fall of this year as they did in 1953. In addition, the freight car loadings total—a sensitive barometer of business activity—is off 10% from a year ago.

The already astronomical arms budget is simply not enough to keep the economy going. While warning the workers to cope with inflation by tightening their belts, Eisenhower announced that the \$38 billion ceiling would be exceeded this fiscal year. The amounts presently assigned to be squandered on armaments "are but interim figures, stepping-stones, if you will, on the road to very much larger appropriations and budgets for defense," said Assistant Secretary of Navy, J. Sinclair Armstrong in a speech Oct. 30.

Meanwhile, Democratic House floor chief McCormack (Mass.) has told the Eisenhower Administration that he will back any move to lift the legal national debt of \$275 billion "to whatever level is deemed essential to provide the country . . . with the military measures that are required."

A Husky in Space



A Husky-type dog, like the one in Sputnik II, in a rocket 130 miles above the earth. It was not harmed by the state of "dynamic weightlessness" it occupied aloft for six minutes, according to the Russian navy newspaper, Soviet Fleet.

Will Nikita Khrushchev Become Another Stalin?

By George Lavan

NOV. 6—After being kept in the dark for a week, the Soviet people were finally informed by the Kremlin of the fate of the second most powerful figure among their rulers, former Defense Minister Zhukov.

At the bidding of Khrushchev he had been expelled not only from the Communist Party's Presidium, the committee at the very pinnacle of power in the USSR, but also from the CP Central Committee.

This action was voted unanimously by the 133-member Central Committee which is the upper crust of the whole bureaucracy and in which there are numerous generals and admirals. Zhukov was himself a member and not only voted for his own expulsion but made a speech confessing his "errors" and thanking the committee for making them clear to him. The only mitigation of sentence that Zhukov's capitulation brought was that he was not expelled from the party itself. It is expected that shortly rank-and-file party

member Zhukov will, like the recently-purged Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, be given a minor job in some remote part of the USSR.

ANTI-ZHUKOV CAMPAIGN

The propaganda campaign against the former Defense Minister has reached new heights. Meetings to undermine Zhukov's position, which prior to the Central Committee's action had been held only in the armed forces, have now spread to all party units in the USSR. Thousands of telegrams from such meetings "unanimously" endorsing Zhukov's ouster are pouring into Moscow. Khrushchev is employing dozens of the most important generals and admirals to make public condemnations of his vanquished opponent on political, personal and military grounds.

The denigration of Zhukov as a military figure went furthest in a re-writing of the history of the military campaigns of World War II by Marshal Ivan S. Konev. Printed in full in Pravda, this lengthy article belittles Zhukov's record at the battles of Stalingrad and Berlin, couples him with Stalin in responsibility for the USSR's defeats at the beginning of the war, and portrays him as a conceited and unscrupulous glory-seeker.

Khrushchev's victory over Zhukov thus appears to be complete. From the power struggle in the topmost reaches of the bureaucracy which since Stalin's death has seen the successive elimination of Beria, Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Zhukov, now Khrushchev emerges as the single predominant figure. He is without visible challengers. Does this mean that history is about to repeat itself, that Khrushchev is to be another Stalin?

TREND TO ONE-MAN RULE

The inherent tendency of the Soviet bureaucracy is, as Trotsky has pointed out, toward one-

(Continued on page 2)

5 Million Unemployed Forecast for 1958

Conservative business spokesmen are almost unanimous in their predictions that 1958 will be a year of "recession" with at least five million unemployed.

At the fifth annual Conference on the Economic Outlook held Nov. 5 at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, professor Daniel B. Suits said that unemployment will increase by two million in 1958. Added to the present figure of close to three million, that would be seven per cent of the nation's work force. (Any single area having over six per cent unemployment is presently classified as "critical" by the government.) Suits said the increased unemployment would stem from a decline in production, increased productivity, and an increase of 400,000 in the nation's work force.

According to the Oct. 31 New York World-Telegram, "most observers" expect the number of jobless to reach four to 4.5 million by February or March 1958. Across the country, layoffs are already rising sharply in aircraft and textiles and particular-

ly in primary metals and some fabricated metal products. In New York, state unemployment insurance claims are up 51,000 over last year. Jobless aircraft workers are jamming unemployment offices on Long Island following government cutbacks which idled 9,000 in the last few weeks. Textile layoffs in New Jersey affect "some who have been working there 35 to 40 years and know no other work," according to the Passaic Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union.

The estimate of five million jobless for 1958 refers only to those workers who will be registered with the state unemployment offices. The actual number of unemployed will be considerably higher, even if next year turns out to be no worse than U.S. businessmen now expect it to be.

CP's Latest Smear of SWP

By Harry Ring

The attack against the Socialist Workers Party by Ben Davis and George Blake Charney in the Nov. 3 Worker demonstrates that the leaders of the Communist Party remain supporters of the political program developed by Stalin—a program that has nothing in common with the Marxism-Leninism to which they profess adherence.

The key plank in this program is the concept of peaceful co-existence as developed by Stalin and reiterated by Khrushchev. According to Davis-Charney "it is incompatible for people to oppose the concept of peaceful co-existence and yet profess to speak for socialism."

We are further informed that the SWP's rejection "of the idea that it is possible to achieve a lasting peace in the present world with imperialism" is "disorienting and dangerous."

The SWP has consistently opposed imperialist war. Despite its political opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy, it has unreservedly denounced every act of U.S. imperialist aggression against the Soviet orbit. It opposed Truman's police action in

Korea and demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops. It campaigns for recognition to the People's Republic of China and for an end to the trade embargo against it. It demands that the U.S. government immediately cease all nuclear tests. It is a partisan of the great Asian and African national independence movements. Here at home, it stands in opposition to the cold war and all its Big Business and labor-bureaucratic proponents. The SWP thus would have no basic quarrel with a concept of "co-existence" which simply meant opposition to imperialism's preparation for a Third World War against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples.

Struggle for Peace

But the SWP does differ sharply with the Stalinist "co-existence" concept. This obviously does not mean—the record refutes the contention—that the SWP is pro-war, as Charney and Davis maliciously hint.

Nor does it mean that it thinks imperialist war "inevitable" in the sense that the working people cannot prevent it. It means that the SWP proceeds from the historically tested Leninist premise that the drive to war is lodged in the imperialist system and that the struggle for peace cannot be successfully divorced from the revolutionary struggle for workers' power—that is, for socialism.

This is the heart of the difference with the CP leadership. About the only factually correct statement of SWP views in the Davis-Charney article is that the SWP regards the CP concept of co-existence "as an abandonment of the fight against imperialism."

The co-existence line pushed by the Kremlin and supported by the CP leadership is one of trying to get a "live and let

(Continued on page 2)

National Guardian Blasts CP Support of Wagner

In its column "Report to Readers," the Nov. 11 National Guardian says the following about the Benjamin J. Davis and George Blake Charney attack on the SWP and their call on progressives to vote for Wagner on the Liberal line:

"We marvel, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anathematize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism; and in the same combination can approve (pardon: approve the approval of) a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water."

Look Tries to Bolster Frame-Up of Rosenbergs

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NOV. 6—Just as it is difficult to commit a crime and leave no evidence, so it is difficult to construct a frame-up that will stand up under close scrutiny. The Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951 is a case in point. The Rosenbergs were executed and Morton Sobell is spending his eighth year in prison on a 30-year sentence on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage." But the government is still trying to convince the world the trial was just.

In order to do that, the Justice Department has attempted to patch up at least some of the holes in its case. But patchwork often only proves the shoddy condition of the garment. And so it is with the job done, Oct. 29, in Look magazine with the help of the FBI.

HOW DID GOLD TRAVEL

There is only one "new" argument presented in this re-hash of the story given by the prosecution witnesses at the trial. That concerns the trip made by Harry Gold from New Mexico to New York in 1945. Gold was supposed

to have obtained atomic secrets from Dr. Klaus Fuchs in Santa Fe and from David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother, in Albuquerque.

At the trial in 1951 Gold was asked: "En route to New York did you at any time inspect the material which you had received from Greenglass?"

"A. Yes, I did, on the train from Albuquerque to Chicago and somewhere in Kansas, I believe."

John Wexley, author of the book, "The Judgement of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," checked the train schedules from Albuquerque to New York and found that Gold could not possibly have arrived in New York at the time he claimed.

In April, 1956, an attempt to answer Wexley's charge was made at a Senate hearing. Gold was hauled out of jail to tell the Senators about Soviet espionage. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel for the International Security subcommittee, asked him: "Did you go by train or did you fly?"

"Mr. Gold: I went by train."

"Mr. Morris: And when you returned to New York, what did you do with the material?"

"Mr. Gold: Wait, now. I've got to get this straight. Some of these—you see. I was over this about six years ago. The events actually, happened eleven years ago, and there is a tendency to blur."

STILL NOT BY PLANE

"What I want to say now is my present recollection. I want to say, as I recall it now, it is certainly not going to be an exact duplication as far as the minutest details go. I am trying to think, how did I get out of Santa Fe that particular time? That particular time I went by train. I hated waiting, but I went back by train. I am trying to remember. I remember why I didn't fly. I was running short funds."

This sudden memory difficulty was not evident at the 1951 trial. In all his testimony Gold mentioned not even one trip by plane, though he told of bus trips and train trips. And his testimony was full of minor details.

Anyway the Senate hearing would show that on this trip from New Mexico, Gold's memory wasn't so good and therefore Wexley's charge couldn't hold

water. The problem was "solved" by the fact that human memory is faulty.

However, the Justice Department, either unaware of this testimony in the spring of 1956, or having forgotten it, found a new answer to Wexley's argument in the winter of 1956-57. According to Look magazine Benjamin F. Pollack, Justice Department attorney, assigned to prepare the new report took "exactly three days to demolish this point in the Wexley argument."

CONSISTENT STORY?

According to Look magazine, Pollack visited Gold in prison. He was "told by the ex-spy that he traveled by train only from Albuquerque to Chicago on the Santa Fe Railroad's California Limited. From Chicago, said Gold, he took a United Air Lines plane to Washington 'at about 9:30' and completed the trip to New York by train, leaving Washington late in the afternoon. A check of the FBI files confirmed to Pollack that this was the same story Gold had told on July 10, 1950, after he was arrested."

This indeed is a weird man with a weird memory. In 1951 he leaves the uncontradicted impression the trip was made by train. In the spring of 1956, he is in doubt about how he made the trip, but is sure it wasn't by air. In the winter of 1956-57, he remembers not only that he flew, but on which airline, and at approximately what time.

If this third account of the trip was the first account after Gold's arrest, why was it not pointed out to Gold at the trial in 1951? And why wasn't the correction made when Gold was on the stand at the Senate hearing in 1956? It has been conclusively proved that Gold was an inveterate liar. But that is apparently not all. Is someone prompting him or putting time-tables in his mouth?

The Look magazine article was meant to reassure people that justice was done to the Rosenbergs and Sobell. For anyone who has studied the record of the Rosenberg-Sobell case objectively, it will have the opposite effect. Unfortunately, the voice of the Sobell defenders is not as loud as the voice of the FBI.

N.Y. Conference, Peace, Socialism and Soviet Sputniks

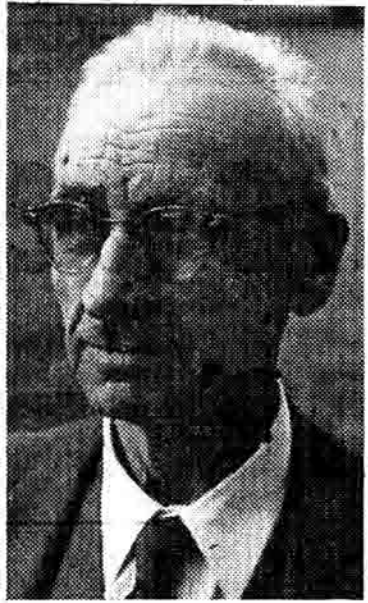
By Art Preis

NOV. 5 — A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum — For Socialist Education, announced yesterday that a conference on "America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" will be held Sat., Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 Street in New York City.

The conference will hear speakers representing many different points of view. Prominent writers, journalists, scientists will participate as well as representatives of unions and working class political parties, including the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

MUSTE TO PRESIDE

A. J. Muste will preside in the opening session at 10:30 A.M. Two of the speakers will be Carl Dreher, engineer and author, and Jack Cypin, writer. The object of the opening session is to pose some of the problems that the conference will discuss and to provide factual material for the consideration of participants.



A. J. MUSTE

At 11:30 A.M. the conference will move into three panels dealing with youth, trade unions and culture. Each panel will be composed of about six persons chosen to represent varying viewpoints and for their knowledge of the field. A moderator in each panel will pose a series of questions to the participants, who will comment briefly on them, members of the audience will be given an opportunity to join in the discussion.

Sidney Lens will moderate the labor panel. Participants will be Stephen Gratten, Sam Pollack, Fred Pine, Tom Kerry, Bert Cochran and Russ Nixon.

The panel on culture will be moderated by Stringfellow Barr. John Dickinson and Harvey Swados will participate.

The youth panel will be moderated by Sheldon Weeks. Tim Wohlforth, Dave McReynolds, Michael Harrington, Tony Ramirez, Earl Durbin and Nina Landau will participate.

These panels will seek the widest participation of all those in attendance and the presentation of all points of view, whether or not these are represented in the American Forum's national committee.

PANEL ON SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The afternoon panels will begin at 2:30 P.M. and will conclude at 5 P.M. One panel will discuss "Socialism and Democracy," moderated by Russell Johnson. In this panel all questions of the type of government in a socialist society, as well as of the problem of civil liberties in the Soviet-orbit countries will be considered. Speakers will be: Murray Kempton, Dave Dellinger, Farrell Dobbs, Frederick L. Schuman, John L. Lewine, Herbert Aptheker and Steve Nelson.

The other afternoon panel will discuss political action. It will consider what action may be desirable for the construction of a democratic socialist movement in the United States. This panel will be moderated by Conrad Lynn. Participants will be James Aronson, Jovce Cowley, Albert Blumberg, Milton Zarlow and Tyrrell Wilson.

Mr. Muste will address the closing session from 5:00 to 5:30 P.M. This will not be in the nature of a statement of consensus since the American Forum is "solely a project in discussion and thinking together," the results of which each participant is free to use in his own way. Participants are not necessarily affiliated with the American Forum.

On Friday evening, Dec. 6, at the Great Northern Hotel, the American Forum—For Socialist Education will give a reception at which appreciation will be expressed to A. J. Muste for his role in promoting "untrammeled political discussion including spokesmen of all points of view" during the past two years. Among those who will speak at the reception are: Roger N. Baldwin; Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; Tim Wohlforth, editor of the Young Socialist; and John T. McManus, business manager of the National Guardian.

No one can fail to be impressed by the Soviet firing of two man-made "moons" into full orbit around the earth. The second, launched Nov. 3, carried the first live space traveller, a small dog. There is even talk of a third rocket on its way to the Moon.

Peoples of more economically backward countries, especially, must see in this dramatic scientific achievement a symbol of the potentialities offered undeveloped lands by a non-profit, nationalized, planned economy such as enabled the Soviet Union to make an immense leap in just 40 years. Many workers in the more developed countries will be moved to view more warily the capitalist propaganda that a non-profit economy is incapable of the most advanced scientific and technological feats.

NEW ARMS FEVER

The ruling U.S. capitalists, as represented by their political spokesmen and press, have responded to the Sputniks with snarls of chagrin and frustration. They see in the latest accomplishments of Soviet scientists only a challenge to their vaunted military superiority and a brake, if only temporary, on their drive toward imperialist penetration of other lands and war against the Soviet orbit. Sputnik has inspired them only to an intensified arms race.

The Soviet bureaucracy, as represented by the Kremlin leaders and their servitors of the Communist Parties throughout the world, for its part has been quick to use the latest achievements of Soviet science to bolster its own positions and claims.

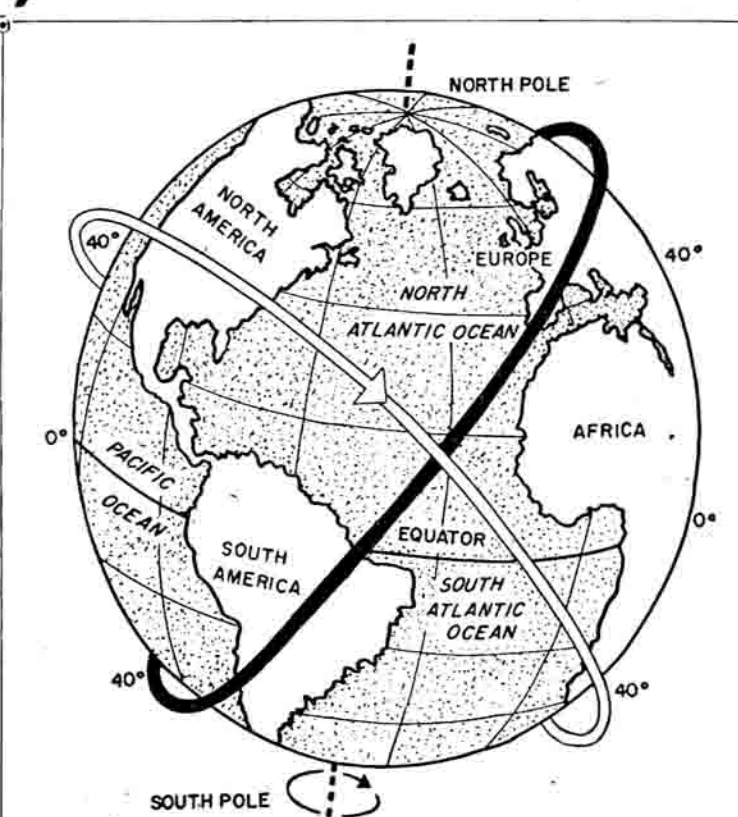
First of all, the Soviet rulers and their echoes in the capitalist countries represent the development of the long-range missiles used to propel the Sputniks into outer space as a definitive war preventive. The imperialists, they insist, can be forced into a position of permanent truce from fear of Soviet "massive retaliation."

KHRUSHCHEV'S ARGUMENT

Thus, Khrushchev's first public pronouncement after the firing of Sputnik I was to emphasize its function as a demonstration of military power and a deterrent to imperialist aggression. He said the rocket "is a terrible and pitiless weapon. We do not want to misuse our superiority. But . . . we are now entering the period when fighters and bombers will have to be confined to museums. . . ." Pravda, the Kremlin's chief newspaper, proclaimed that the U.S. imperialists now face "the inexorable necessity of peaceful coexistence, cessation of the arms race, and renunciation of their cold war policy."

After the flight of Sputnik II and coincident with the purge of Marshall Zhukov, the Nov. 5 Daily Worker managed to wrap both events into a neat bundle in support of the thesis that "different though they are . . . both are trends in the direction of peace."

In a previous article, "The Sputnik and Disarmament" (The Militant, Oct. 21), we demonstrated that the concept that imperialist capitalism will peacefully tolerate for any long period the existence of a competing non-capitalist group of countries, violates the entire Marxist-



The black line indicates the orbit of the Soviet space satellite launched Oct. 4 (Sputnik I). The white line indicates the expected orbit of a U.S. satellite to be launched next year, which is similar to the orbit actually traveled by Sputnik II, launched Nov. 3.

Leninist concept of the nature of imperialism and the cause and cure of war in a dominantly capitalist world.

We cited Lenin in particular to show that imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism — the stage of monopolies and finance capital which was already reached before the first world war. We quoted Lenin's arguments against Kautsky's idea that imperialism and war are a mere matter of personal choice with the imperialist powers — a choice they can change at will. Lenin scored the misleading notion that imperialist countries can follow non-imperialist aims and policies and thereby prevent war.

This does not rule out temporary deals between the Soviet Union and the capitalist powers — particularly if the Kremlin bureaucracy uses its good offices, through its political allies in other countries, to muffle the workers' struggles for socialism. Indeed such a quid pro quo is being offered the U.S. rulers in return for a deal. Alex Bittelman's series last month in the Daily Worker spelled out the sordid terms of betrayal. He wrote on Oct. 8:

"The full establishment and consolidation of the emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S. What it does call for is a consistent struggle by the American people to keep the monopolies in check. . . . To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of this struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

Nothing in Marx or Lenin proclaims the possibility of keeping the monopolies "in check" except the class struggle for socialism and the elimination of the profit system on a world-wide scale. Certainly, those great social revolutionists would have had nothing but burning contempt for Bittelman's contention that it is possible to compel the most powerful imperialist force ever known, U.S.

capitalism, to follow "a course of non-imperialism and non-aggression abroad and a course of democracy and people's welfare at home." Even Kautsky never expressed his Kautskism in such bald terms.

REPEAT U.S. ERROR

The Stalinist press even goes to the extent of proclaiming the "absolute superiority" of Soviet military power and implying that U.S. capitalism and world imperialism are now hopelessly outstripped and cannot duplicate, let alone surpass, the latest Soviet scientific feats. This is to repeat, in reverse, the thinking of the capitalists about the Soviet Union. They deluded themselves into believing that the Soviet Union, because it did not follow the profit motive, could never meet or surpass the scientific accomplishments of capitalism and derided the Soviet development of nuclear weapons as the mere work of "spies."

Both U.S. and Soviet science are based upon the findings of world science. Scientists from Germany, Italy, France, Denmark, England and other countries laid the basis for the development of atomic fission and fusion. This enabled both the U.S. and USSR to solve the problem of atomic power. Similarly, German scientists who had worked for the Nazis and developed the V-1 and V-2 rockets played and are playing a vital role in the field of rocket power for both contending countries today. Indeed, the present superior productivity of American industry might well argue that once the U.S. perfects its own rockets and "moon," they will begin to efface the stars and carry neon advertising signs, to boot.

The same thinking that attributes unbeatable superiority in the military sphere to Russian science by virtue of the "first" in Sputnik, likewise finds in the Sputniks "proof" of the superiority of the Soviet economic system, not simply as a potential, but as a fact today. Thus, on the eve of the celebration of the

40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Radio Moscow boasted: "What other government in the world can provide as well for its people?"

MARXIST CRITERIA

What is the real criterion for social progress? Is it to be first in some outstanding scientific field, particularly armaments? By that criterion, Nazi Germany would have stood for the summit of human progress in Hitler's heyday. The U.S. of the "firsts" in A-bomb atrocities and pollution of the atmosphere with H-bomb radiations would be the supreme embodiment of man's aspirations.

In the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism Marxists measure social progress by the productivity of labor, by the degree of social and economic equality, and by the disappearance of the oppression of man by man. By comparison with Russian capitalism under Czarism, the Soviet economy has made titanic strides despite the draw-backs of a parasitic, voracious bureaucracy and the restrictions of an isolated backward country largely cut off from world economy. We can say that if the Russian workers took democratic control of the Soviet Union and if the workers of advanced countries like the U.S. established a socialist society in cooperation with the Soviet workers, the Soviet Union and all nations would speedily surpass the highest levels of capitalism, both in standards of living and social and economic equality.

But Soviet production and labor productivity remain far below that of the U.S. For instance, the USSR has but a tenth of U.S. railway lines, an even smaller percentage of hard-surfaced roads. In the sphere of living standards for the great majority, the Soviet Union still remains far below the U.S. The former counts its autos in the hundreds of thousands, the latter in scores of millions. From clothing and shoes, to radios, TV's and refrigerators, the Soviet Union is immeasurably below the per capita output of the U.S. Only last year, the USSR reduced its work-week from 48 to 46 hours and boosted its minimum wage to about \$48 for a work-month of 200 hours, compared to the U.S. minimum of \$176 for 176 hours.

To conceal or deny the gross social and economic inequality, the extremely low general standard of living in the Soviet Union and the oppressive bureaucratic regime is to do the cause of socialism a great disservice. We must not let the flash of the Sputniks in the sky blind us to the real conditions on the Soviet earth. For the Soviet workers, the task remains the political revolution against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the workers everywhere under capitalism, the fight for security, equality and peace remains the struggle for a socialist society.

We Apologize

The review of Leon Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution in last week's issue of the Militant was by Bert Deck. This byline was inadvertently omitted. — Editor.

An Opinion on Sputnik

(The following is a letter to the Militant from a Detroit Worker. — Ed.)

There are several implications to be drawn from the launching of the Soviet Sputnik. The announcement by the Soviet Union that they possess a long-range ballistic missile capable of carrying the atomic warhead must now be accepted as a concrete fact. The military meaning of the long-range missile sent a cold shock down the backs of the chief imperialists and their chief agents, because all the airfields and military bases that the United States had so carefully built around the Soviet Union are now targets for the long-range missile. Furthermore, these target areas cannot be defended. They are now obsolete. Military bases and airstrips cannot be concealed or camouflaged, for their locations are already known. But rocket launchers are small; they can be concealed and camouflaged.

These hard, cold military facts inevitably will penetrate into the military alliances which the U.S. has, at very high cost, built up for an attack against the Soviet Union and other liberation movements. One can now predict that cracks will appear within the NATO structure, cracks which will deepen, widen, and then split NATO.

The Soviet Union is no longer a weak, isolated state. The launching of Sputnik signals the military superiority of the Soviets over the combined imperialists of the world. This superiority is no sudden climax of a mere isolated, spectacular achievement in just one field of novelty. The Sputnik was preceded by the atom bomb, by the rapid development of the hydrogen bomb, by the mess development of a first-rate air force, by a capable submarine force outnumbering all competitors and by the building of a naval fleet

challenging the supremacy of the Atlantic fleet of the United States.

Herein lies the essence of the world bourgeoisie's fear. They are being outproduced! The bourgeoisie is being outproduced in the field they have always considered as most vital—the military field. Consternation surrounds them. How can any other country outproduce America? The capitalist press repeated upon every occasion, "Socialism can't work. There is no initiative under Socialism, etc., etc." How then, can the Soviets surpass the U.S. in the military field? What has happened?

One reason given is that there has been too much overlapping of research and program. Too much duplicity, too much rivalry. Duplicitous and rivalry, however, are just other words for competition, and didn't the bourgeoisie teach that competition is what made this country great. But the essence of competition is now cited as one of the reasons for America's lag.

Another reason advanced to explain why the long-range missile was not developed is that a central authority is lacking. Lack of centralization, lack of coordination caused waste, duplication and the lack of maximum direction and experience. What this really means, however, is that there is a lack of planning, but planning is reminiscent of "creeping socialism." And any taint of Socialism will never do. Ask any of the Senators.

Here is the fundamental question underlying those polemics: "Is the Socialist method of production superior to the capitalist method?" It is the question that haunts the keepers of the capitalist system, and the liberals who pretend intellectual knowledge and wherewith. But there will be many who will take a second look at this whole business.

... Another Stalin?

(Continued from page 1)

man rule. An usurping caste formation, the bureaucracy must present a strongly united front against the workers whom they have expropriated politically. A pillaging caste, the bureaucracy must conceal the facts about its misrule and its scandalously disproportionate share of the national income. It cannot rule by some sort of bureaucratic parliament masquerading as the rule of the workers because public knowledge of its inner divisions would make it appear vulnerable in the workers' eyes and public knowledge of the facts and issues over which the division took place would embolden and incite the masses to intervention.

Thus government by the bureaucracy must be carried on above the heads and out of view of the masses. Yet the social contradictions and tensions that exist in the USSR, despite no political repression, find distorted but acute expression in conflicts within the bureaucracy itself. There must be some method of resolving these conflicts. The most suitable method, the one that puts the bureaucracy in the strongest posture against the masses is the single dictator. As super-arbiter, as Trotsky called him, he settles conflicts between the various factions of the bureaucracy without exhausting and dangerous struggles. As guardian of the whole caste he fields its total power in one fist that can be used against the workers. This was the role that Stalin played.

MAKESHIFT
The much-touted "collective leadership" which succeeded Stalin has proven to be but a makeshift—a mutual non-aggression pact between the leaders of the various wings of the bureaucracy. As with most non-aggression pacts, it has been more honored in the breach than in the observance as the steady purging of the original leadership testifies.

Khrushchev's triumph in the power struggle over his co-leaders of yesterday thus represents a unification of command within the bureaucracy and thereby a stabilization. But this does not mean that he will be a second Stalin.

The stabilization is conjunctural and temporary. Neither those conditions in the Soviet Union nor on the world arena which made possible the rise of Stalin now exist. Indeed today's conditions are the very opposite and make it impossible for even a pale copy of Stalin long to survive.

Stalin was the product of the descending spiral of the communist movement whose impelling factors were the exhaustion of the small Soviet working class

in the 1920's and the defeats of the working class abroad. This enabled him and the bureaucracy to represent to intensify repression and terror at home and political betrayal abroad. The spiral ran its downward course for two decades.

THREAT OF EXPLOSION

But despite the terrible repressions and bureaucratic mismanagement, the nationalized and planned economy in the USSR meant the steady numerical and cultural growth of the working class. Given self-confidence by its victory over the Nazi war machine, its isolation broken by the addition of East Europe to the Soviet orbit, by the Chinese Revolution, and by developing anti-imperialist revolutions elsewhere in Asia and Africa, it was no longer the cowed proletariat of the pre-war epoch. The rule by repression and purge now threatened to bring about the very opposite of its intent—an explosion of the masses against the regime.

It is this danger from the Soviet masses, expressed in a mood so intense that the thickest-skinned bureaucrat can sense it. It was the need to placate this mood that led the bureaucracy to attempt to disassociate itself from Stalin at the 20th Congress and to forswear his methods. It is the pressure of these masses throughout the Soviet orbit that has brought about those concessions and reforms announced to date. It is this pressure that burst its bonds in the East-German uprising, in the strikes at Vorkuta and other Soviet slave-labor camps, in Poznan, Warsaw and Budapest.

The Soviet bureaucracy has been able to achieve a temporary resolution of its inner conflicts on a relatively level stretch of the ascending revolutionary spiral. This level stretch is the temporary arrest or retarding of the masses as a result of the smashing of the Hungarian revolution. But those who imagine that the blood bath in Hungary has reversed the process are totally mistaken. The very haste with which Khrushchev had to move in the inner-bureaucratic power struggle was dictated by the danger that a little later the masses might intervene either at the invitation of the "adventurist" Zhukov, or completely uninvited.

Introductory Offer

A Three-Month Subscription
To the Militant
Only 50 cents
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

The Scab-Herding Texas Rangers

The type of strikebreaking tactics commonly used prior to the 1930's was again demonstrated during the course of a wildcat strike at the Lone Star Steel Company in Lone Star, Texas, which began September 21 when an estimated 2,500 workers in the oil-pipe plant walked out over grievances. Some 600 scabs were daily escorted through a line of several hundred pickets by Texas Rangers and local cops who patrolled the area, backed up by two court orders obtained by the company. Strikers were charged with a bombing in the area of the United Steel Workers union hall, and with shootings and beatings. The company fired all the strikers on September 21 and has since rehired about 600, cutting off seniority rights.

... CP'S LATEST SMEAR AGAINST SWP

(Continued from page 1)

live" deal with the capitalist world. And recognizing that any deals presupposes a price, the effort to win "friendship" pacts with the ruling capitalist class of one or another country is based on abandoning class-struggle opposition to them.

For example, during both the Indo-Chinese and present Algerian wars for liberation, Communist Party deputies in the French Assembly voted war credits to the government. Another example — At the recent British CP convention, the leaders showed what good "Britishers" they were by defeating a resolution calling for unconditional independence for all sections of the British empire. These betrayals of the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples were perpetrated in pursuit of "peaceful co-existence" pacts with imperialism.

Here in the U.S., the CP co-existence line currently expresses itself in the "Anti-monopoly coalition" whose projected aim is to guarantee peaceful co-existence with the USSR. This will be done, we are told, by building a multiclass coalition embracing even "sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie." Obviously such a coalition precludes an anti-capitalist program. That's why the CP leaders are beating the drum for support to the reformist trade union bureaucracy and to its policy of keeping the workers tied to capitalist politics through the vehicle of the Demo-

cratic Party. Yet with out a blush, Charney and Davis accuse the SWP of "die-hard opposition" to a labor-led coalition.

The fact is that the SWP has consistently pushed for a genuine labor-led coalition. It advocates formation of a labor party based on class-struggle opposition to the twin cold-war parties of the monopolists. Such a party, built by the unions in alliance with the organizations of the Negro people and small farmers, could do effective battle against the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Big Business parties and in the process win the allegiance of decisive sections of the badly squeezed middle class.

Still Apologizing Blindly

The rejection of such a class-struggle policy by the CP leaders springs from their continuing ideological subservience to the Kremlin bureaucracy whose oppressive rule as a privileged caste in the Soviet Union, the "peaceful co-existence" line is designed to serve. The extent to which they remain blind apologists for Stalin's heirs is indicated by the fury of the Charney-Davis attack on the SWP's opposition to these bureaucrats:

"They [the SWP] advocate overthrow of the regime. How can any honest socialist, concerned about questions of democracy in the USSR, reconcile such a position with his socialist faith. Whose interests are served by such a position?"

But the real question is: How can any socialist concerned about democracy in the USSR reconcile his socialist faith with support to the Khrushchev regime? This question has been posed for every partisan of the USSR in crucial form since the 20th Congress.

It is a year and ten months since Khrushchev catalogued to the 20th Congress some of the foul crimes of Stalin and pledged basic reforms. Since then the Hungarian revolution for national independence and socialist democracy was drowned in blood. In the Soviet Union, the Jewish people are still denied their rights as a national minority, while Khrushchev — the head of a workers state — regales correspondents with a chauvinistic joke about "a little Jew." The iron restrictions on freedom of artistic expression — eased after the 20th Congress — have been almost completely re-established. And most decisive, the Soviet workers still endure privations while a parasitic bureaucracy appropriates the lion's share of the good things in life and denies them any political voice.

The present political situation in the Soviet Union is the first stage in a profound new development. For many years a weak and isolated Soviet working class suffered the smashing of the workers' democracy they established under Lenin. Today an advanced, self-confident working class is growing restive and beginning to

push for some of its rights. We believe that this developing mood of the Soviet workers will inevitably culminate in a working-class political revolution which will end the power of the dictatorial caste and re-establish Soviet democracy based upon the present nationalized property forms. This trend of development is being recognized and discussed today by ever wider circles of the radical movement.

The Soviet Workers

The SWP holds that a successful political revolution led by the Soviet workers will give undreamed-of new impetus to the Soviet economy and will make the USSR the great beacon for the world working class that it was before the crimes of Stalinism alienated millions of workers from it.

"Whose interests are served by such a position?" ask Davis and Charney. We reply: The same interests that are served when militant unionists band together to drive racketeering bureaucrats from power and re-establish internal democracy and militant policies in their union.

The analogy applies a hundred fold to the giant Soviet working class that stands on the tradition of the 1917 revolution and has no intention of giving up the nationalized property created by that revolution.

Why Howard Fast Quit the CP



HOWARD FAST

[We publish below, for the information of Militant readers, excerpts from "The Writer and the Commissar" by Howard Fast, prominent novelist who resigned from the American Communist Party last winter. This article will appear in a new magazine, Prospectus, scheduled for publication this week. An abridged version appeared in the Nov. 2 issue of Peter Fryer's Newsletter, from which the following excerpts are taken. — Ed.]

Along the way I will, inevitably, be asked: Where am I going? Thousands have already asked. For it is, I think a characteristic of men of good will to see our brief time on earth as a passage—wherefore the destination assumes supreme importance. Yet even when the destination becomes a faith akin nearly to certainty, there are those who see it as secondary to the particular roads leading to it.

For me, the destination has remained unchanged—a total brotherhood of man, a world-wide entity of love and creativity, in which life is neither wasted nor despised.

For many of us, the road to this goal was the Communist Party, and in all too many of us the road became primary to the destination. In time, the road became sacred, whereas the destination blurred with increasing unreality.

In what follows, I shall reveal something of the particular experience of a writer within the Communist Party of the United States, and also as a part of the world communist movement.

NOT BITTER

This is not a record of disillusionment, for a broadening of knowledge and deepening of experience must be the very opposite of disenchantment.

Nor am I bitter. If so many others have paid a considerable price for certain knowledge, no knowledge comes cheaply and others have paid in larger sums. I have not turned "anti-communist," for I believe that "anti-

communism," as we know it in America, is as fraudulent as "anti-Sovietism" is dangerous.

There is an addendum to the above, almost in the way of a footnote, yet a little more than that. It concerns a moment of bitter decision, the moment when I ceased to be a communist, and turns upon a pledge not to remain silent when I know I must speak.

I will speak to the harm of no man and name no man ever, if naming him confronts him, in his turn, with injustice. But when men coast on the awful tides of history, they must be spoken of.

The story of this moment of bitter decision is the story of such a man, but I cannot name him, for it would bring death to him. I will therefore never identify him, or even the country he represented, and you must take the story on my word.

He will know that the story is true, and others will recognize the genre. I call him the diplomat. I left the Communist Party in

February, 1957. Earlier, in June, 1956, I wrote in the Daily Worker a bitter denunciation of the lack of civil rights and liberties in the Soviet Union.

TALKS WITH DIPLOMATS

Between the appearance of that denunciation and the public announcement of my leaving the party, a number of diplomats and newspapermen from the "satellite nations" sought me out. Some were very high-placed persons in the foreign service of their countries; others not so high-placed.

Because of my past reputation, and the fact that, as a part of the communist movement, I had openly ranged myself against the Stalinist forces in the Communist Party of the United States, they felt free to talk to me.

They spread before my already tortured eyes such a picture of terror, injustice, and sheer nightmare as to make a Khrushchev "secret" speech seem but a moderate outline of a never-to-be-remembered totality.

They talked coldly, they talked with passion, they talked with hatred. Some wept as they talked. Some relived the agony of cherished comrades murdered by the Soviet secret police, of men tortured and beaten, of others robbed of every sense of their own human quality.

Some cried out, in strangely similar words, "We have learned how to wait. My land will not be another Hungary." Others said, "We will wait and wait. History has a way of being truthful."

But one spoke quietly, never raising his voice, spoke over a luncheon table, in the quiet simple tones one uses discussing the weather. So quiet and simple that there was never room for doubt.

He spoke of the pall of fear over his land, of the enshrinement of ignorance, of the punishment meted out to those who dared to disagree or offer a fresh opinion.

LIFE OF BUREAUCRATS

He told how the communist leaders who ruled his country lived, of their sleek black limousines, servants, country homes, and bejeweled wives, of their mistresses and their passions.

He talked about the crumb that belonged to the people, and, because he was a Jew, he talked about anti-Semitism. Most horrifying of all, he spoke of this hatred of Jews as something I was familiar with, both long and well.

When I explained that I knew it neither long nor well, but have only recently learned of Russia's anti-Semitism, and on this very moment of its existence in the other nations who called themselves "socialist," he was both astonished and abashed, as perhaps he had reason to be.

In any case, if what he told me was new to me then, it is not new to many people today. Some of it I would like to put down here, but I cannot. Because this is what the diplomat said when we rose to leave our luncheon table:

"I must do something that makes me deeply ashamed of myself—because my very mention of it impugns you. Yet do I must, if not for myself, then for my wife and children. I must tell you, Mr. Fast, that

if my delegation should learn, not what I told you, but simply that I met with you alone, I will be arrested when I return to my homeland and in all likelihood put to death. I am not pleading for myself; but my wife and children need me. It is hard for a woman and children to be alone today in what my country has become, harder for them than any joy on my part in continuing to live."

Thus did both this man and I come to understand the stuff of which our dreams had been made.

I could say, there but for the grace of God go I; he could not. I could leave the Communist Party and live; he could not.

In this sense, then, he, this nameless diplomat, is the ghost and the spirit of this essay. It is of his agony, multiplied a hundred thousand times, that I write; my own is insignificant and unimportant beside it.

No force on earth can destroy the Communist Party, but the application of truth will melt it as rain melts salt. Its time is past.

The Russian people and the Chinese people are on the brink

of such growth and fruition as was never dreamed of in the first decades of this century—even as the whole world stands on the doorstep of an internationally functioning civilization that can forever abolish war and want.

NO ASSETS

Only a fool can believe that the clique of madmen who, by Khrushchev's own testimony, almost lost the war with Germany are a positive asset in the building of Russian civilization.

There is nothing conceivable of creation in the Soviet Union that its people—the workers and engineers and scientists, the teachers and artists—cannot create.

Rid of the parasitic burden of the Communist Party, given a democratic government upon their industrial base, they could in short order turn their land into a garden of plenty.

History appears to have spelled out the finish of the time of the Communist Party, and perhaps the dawn of socialist democracy and humanism. But only the people of the lands ruled by Communist Parties can decide this issue.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	\$ 300	\$225.00	75
Milwaukee	250	182.00	73
Buffalo	1,800	1,236.00	69
Chicago	1,560	1,010.00	65
Cleveland	600	380.00	63
Allentown	102	60.00	59
Detroit	825	441.00	53
Newark	240	125.00	52
Twin Cities	1,584	816.00	52
Los Angeles	4,000	2,035.25	50
Boston	600	293.00	49
Philadelphia	480	215.00	45
New York	4,500	1,800.00	40
Seattle	500	200.00	40
Oakland	240	100.00	24
San Francisco	450	110.00	24
St. Louis	80	10.00	13
General	—	150.00	—
Totals			
Totals as of Nov. 6	\$18,111	\$9,388.25	52

Fund Past Half-Way Mark But Must Speed Up to Finish in Three Weeks

By Constance Farr

National Campaign Director

With four more weeks to go, the Press and Publications Fund is lagging 20% behind schedule. Only Youngstown and Milwaukee are a head of the percentage which should be paid in by this date. Other cities will have to step up their payments to keep up with these pace-setters.

Individual readers of the Militant have been sending in contributions. One of our supporters in New York pledged \$100 which he promptly paid. He explained: "I figure that I'm saving money by helping the publications fund. I've been paying book dealers big money for out-of-print works by Trotsky."

The publication project should help make them available at prices I can afford. A great service is being done in reprinting these works for all those who have not read them."

We have also received a total of \$125 from friends in the Deep South and \$25 from a Buffalo couple who send us best wishes for a successful campaign.

The Twin Cities Press Fund Committee had a highly successful "Garage Sale" at which \$118 was realized. This unique affair might inspire other cities to bring up their quotas in like manner. All sorts of useful furniture and appliances were donated by friends and the sale was combined with a social. So successful was it that it continued the following day.

Evelyn Reed, Los Angeles Fund Drive Director, writes that they are planning a huge bazaar, the proceeds of which will be turned over to the fund.

We urge readers of the Militant to send in their contributions to make possible the publication of out-of-print works by Leon Trotsky. Address them to Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

From the Discredited Past

Like a voice from the past, the Sunday, Nov. 3, issue of the Worker called to mind several decades of frame-ups, slander and calumny. In those days the Socialist Workers Party was accused by Stalin of being "counter-revolutionary" and "fascist." The Communist Party in this country echoed every slander with the zeal of lieutenants anxious to prove their worth.

After publication of the "secret" revelations of Khrushchev in 1956 the Daily Worker grew somewhat contrite. In an editorial on June 7, 1956, there appeared the now-famous apology: "We were wholly ignorant that these crimes [of Stalin] had been committed, yet there was reputable evidence had we but listened. How then explain our consistent denunciation of many people as 'enemies' of the working class because they condemned these crimes? We were wrong, terribly wrong. . . What was unforgivable and inexcusable was the manner in which we passed judgment—harsh and sometimes vindictive in tone—on many of our fellow Americans based solely on their criticism of the Stalin rule."

That was one mood. Today another is evident. We read in the Worker, Nov. 3, in an article signed by Benjamin J. Davis and George B. Charney, "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolution."

Perhaps there is some distance between calling one's working-class opponents "fascist mad-dogs" and using the more cautious formulation that Trotskyists "objectively" give "some measure" of

support to counter-revolution. But is cautious slander all that the apologies of 1956 have yielded?

The Daily Worker may consider the SWP election campaign "ineffective." Our candidates were not elected. The Daily Worker told its readers to vote for Wagner and the majority of New Yorkers did vote for Wagner.

Our campaign for working-class and socialist candidates can be considered effective only if one has the perspective of educating voters about socialism. In this sense, we believe the SWP electoral activity was extremely effective. We believe it succeeded in breaking down a great many misconceptions purposely developed by the capitalist opponents of socialism.

Davis and Charney do not charge the SWP alone of "objectively" giving "support to counter-revolution." Vincent Hallinan, former Progressive Party presidential candidate and the National Guardian editors must also be guilty of this crime. Both urged support of the SWP candidates.

To say that a campaign for socialism in any way "objectively" supports counter-revolution and to use the perfidious reasoning employed by Charney and Davis is to substitute vindictiveness, misrepresentation and slander—the old Stalinist techniques—for open and honest argumentation. We believe the radical movement in America, including the CP ranks, has had its bellyful of Stalinist-type polemics.

A Vital Right Attacked

The right of trade unions to engage in political activity is under attack in the current trial of the United Automobile Workers on charges that the UAW's television program violated the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. That act states that it is illegal for "unions or corporations" to give financial backing to candidates in Federal elections.

As far as corporations are concerned, the law is a complete farce. Corporations dictate the political policies of all the major propaganda media in the country by direct ownership or the money they spend on advertising. Corporation executives and big stockholders completely control both the Republican and Democratic parties, in large part through the huge financial contributions they make "as individuals" and that they "advise" their employees to make "as individuals."

In the Detroit trial, the government is attempting to punish the UAW for taking up political questions during election time on its regular year-round television show "Meet the UAW."

The right of labor unions to engage in political activity must be defended, not only on the grounds of the defense of civil liberties, but also because working people cannot solve their problems without organizing for political action. We disagree with the way the UAW officialdom exercises that right—it helps keep the unions chained to Big Business politicians primarily in the Democratic Party. But precisely because we recognize the need for the unions to run their own independent candidates for office and to build a labor party, we wish to underscore the danger involved in the present attack on the UAW's TV program.

A Convenient Out

The long silence of Senator Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat, on the world-shaking events in Little Rock, in his home state, has been broken at last. On Nov. 2 he expressed the fear that Congress might become "practically immobilized" over new civil rights quarrels in its next session.

"We have some vastly more important things to do than to spend our time wrangling over civil rights—including catching up with the Russians' sputnik and their missile development," said Fulbright.

The Democratic Senator must have sighed with relief when the Sputnik sailed into space and diverted attention from the crimes his colleagues in Arkansas were committing against nine heroic youth. And now Fulbright would use the Sputnik to bar the door to effective civil rights legislation.

Could it be that Fulbright is anxious to get to the moon first so that he can plant a Southern sign "for whites only"?

The Daily Worker on Zhukov

Evidence continues to mount that the leadership of the American Communist Party is choking off free discussion within the party and abandoning any pretense of theoretical independence from the Kremlin. Its masquerade was required because of the revolt against thought control in the party following the revelations about Stalin. But the CP leaders never liked it and now that they have the party back in control they are forcing it back into the pre-20th Congress mold.

The abject acceptance and hosannah-shouting in praise of the Kremlin's actions were illustrated in the Daily Worker editorial hailing the purge of Marshal Zhukov. This, cry the editors, was an "action for peace." It is to be noted that in its first news article (Oct. 28) on the Zhukov affair, the DW inclined to the belief that he was going to be moved up in the Kremlin hierarchy, possibly to the premiership, rather than down. The headline then was "Zhukov Shift Seen Part of Soviet Peace Aim."

Thus by the DW's "interpretation" either Zhukov's promotion or demotion

was an "act for peace." Behind this lies the basic rule that whatever the Kremlin does is automatically right and must be sold to the American workers. Had Zhukov triumphed in the power fight and purged Khrushchev, the DW would, of course, have faithfully hailed the outcome and explained it editorially as an "action for peace." In the interests of economy the DW might do well to save the lead of its editorial against the chance that Zhukov subsequently makes a come-back. Then it could be run again simply transposing the names so that Zhukov appears where Khrushchev is, and vice versa.

Like the American CP leaders, Togliatti was at first unsure whether Zhukov was going up or down. This caused the Italian CP the same embarrassment as the DW. One Italian newspaper commented: "Togliatti unlike Tito doesn't have lumbago. He is going to Moscow. All Kremlin bosses are OK with him: Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Zhukov, all as long as they are in power." By some coincidence this would seem to apply to the American CP leaders.

World Events

GE's "Concern"

Editor:

In the Oct. 11 issue of General Electric News "published in the interests of its employees," GE gave its whole front page over to a thing against the 32-hour week at 40 hours pay. They had a cartoon on there, too—a bewildered guy opening a package and two eyes peeping out. The caption said, "Wrapped like a gift—but it will bite!" It goes on to say, "Better get the lid back on that attractively wrapped package before the monster leaps out and starts taking his bite" and "Inflation, less goods and services."

Kinda makes you feel sorry for these poor bosses. Only a meager profit like 20% and salaries of \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year plus so-called "business expenses." They feel so much concern over the welfare of their employees! After all, they have to "protect the jobs of the great majority of people unaffected by layoffs," as the GE News says—that is, of those who weren't laid off when GE decided to move their refrigerator plant to Dixieland (the land of the KKK, White Citizens Councils and anti-union conditions.)

There is only one thing they "forgot" to mention and that is that inflation is actually an effect of the parasitic system they wallow in—capitalism. (Now imagine them forgetting a thing like that. I'll bet you it isn't too hard for them.)

B. G.
Erie, Pa.

On China Report

Editor:

I read with great interest the report on students in China, published in your issue of Oct. 7. The report is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it confirms the fact of what it describes as "the democratic and socialist revolution in China" which has advanced "China" to a new society by a giant's step. That is, it confirms the class character of the state as a workers' state—located between capitalism and socialism. Secondly, it grasps the reality of bureaucracy which is clearly the principal obstacle to further progress of the Chinese Revolution. Thirdly, it effectively deals with the crop of Maoists who have been bowled over by the now famous speech "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people." Like the historic Khrushchev 20th Congress speech which was heralded by the fellow-travelers as evidence of a genuine turn of the bureaucracy toward social-

ism, toward historical truth and rectification, Mao's speech has been seized upon by the Stalinists to bolster up the last remaining illusions that the faithful may still retain in Stalinism.

What is as yet lacking from reports coming from China is the extent to which the bureaucracy has emerged as a caste on the Russian model. Facts and figures which Trotsky made available in such books as The Revolution Betrayed gives the reader a full view of the workings of the bureaucracy not only politically, but as a social caste. It is important that a further selection of reports from China be published which will at least provide the skeleton for a comprehensive survey of Chinese society along the lines which Trotsky worked on in his book, The Revolution Betrayed.

E. S. H.
London, England

Ohio Civil Rights

Editor:

The following letter was sent to me by a Militant reader in Columbus, Ohio.

Jean Simon
Cleveland

Dear Miss Simon:

I want to congratulate you on your article in the Aug. 19 issue of the paper. I was especially interested since "Set-Back for Witch Hunt Seen in Ohio T-H Case" was dated Cleveland. Being an Ohio resident makes me very conscious of the troubles of the laboring people in this highly industrialized state.

Apparently the large number of rich has kept the Ohio State Administration, or at least the legislature in reactionary hands most of the time over the past few years. The Anna Morgan situation came to my mind as I read your article. The history of her persecution by the Ohio Subversive Activities Control Board and the Courts is an example of the degree to which freedom of speech is restricted in the state.

I am glad to see that writers such as yourself and your editors have the courage to expose the abuses by the Federal Government of due process of law on both the state and national levels. Although I really know very little of the SWP it appears to be in the vanguard of organizations determined to protect the rights of the individual.

G.D.

Books and Pamphlets

By Leon Trotsky

—The History of the Russian Revolution \$12.50	—What is a Peace Program? (Compilation from 1915 to 1918) .25
—Literature and Revolution 3.75	—Draft Program of the Communist International .25
—The Third International After Lenin (New Edition) 4.00	—Lessons of Spain—the Last Warning .25
—The Revolution Betrayed 2.50	—The Class Nature of the Soviet State .25
—The First Five Years of the Communist International Vol. I cloth 3.00	—Their Morals and Ours .25
—The Permanent Revolution Vol. II paper 3.00	—Leon Sedoff—Written on the Death of His Son .25
—In Defense of Marxism cloth 3.50	—Stalinism and Bolshevism .15
—Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials cloth 2.50	—Lenin (An article and two speeches) .15
—The New Course .50	—The Russian Revolution (Speech to Copenhagen students) .15
—Europe and America .50	—Fascism: What It Is—How to Fight It .15
—Marxism in the United States .35	—The Paris Commune .15
—1905—Before and After .35	
—1905—Results and Perspectives .35	
—The Chinese Revolution—Problems and Perspectives .35	

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

"The Big Boxcar"

THE BIG BOXCAR. By Alfred Maund. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1957. 178 pp. \$3.00.

Seven fugitives from Deep-South law happen to hop the same box car on a freight train as it moves across Mississippi and Alabama en route to the North. They are six Negroes, one of these a woman, and one white man. They expect trouble from the railroad bulls when the train goes through Birmingham and they pass the tense hours telling stories of how each got in this predicament.

These seven separate stories and the action at Birmingham make up "The Big Boxcar." Written by a Southern white man, it is a novel of social protest with unusual insights into the attitudes of the common people of the South.

It contains solid humor too. There is the Negro turpentine tapper's story about a talking dog that organized a boycott against the degrading business operations of a local sheriff. "Now the Talking Dog didn't talk much, that wasn't his way. He was what white politicians call a confidential advisor, sort of. If he saw anybody needed a word of warning, he'd beckon the person aside and tell him private, and make him promise not to let anybody know where he got the word..."

And there is the penetrating comedy of the Negro janitor who one day, under the influence of marijuana, went to the

office where he worked and started acting like he had as many rights as a white man.

The degradation, violence, cruelty and waste of the Southern way of life are treated frankly. The Negroes' fight against racism is handled well. These themes have been dealt with before, but in addition to the exciting narrative and the humor, there is something new in "Boxcar." There are insights into white Southerners which seldom get into print.

The book does not leave the gloomy impression of inevitable decay so common to the artistry of Southern whites, nor the flat, pat picture of bad and good whites often found in "message" novels on this subject. Here is the prejudiced Southern farmer whose struggle against the local banker is just as inexorable, bitter, and more violent, than that of his Negro counterparts. Here is a Jewish Southern white, torn within himself on the race question. Here is a white professor who risks everything in a blundering gesture against the racists, and a white railroad worker who stops a lynching by quietly doing the right thing at the right time.

"The Big Boxcar" is an optimistic book and a welcome addition to the literature on the developing social upheaval in the South.

— Fred Halstead

...C.P. Heads Back Tammany's Ticket

(Continued from page 1)

alone. The endorsements for Wagner provide a grotesque picture of the "peoples' coalition" which the CP tells us sprang up around Wagner. He was endorsed by both Hearst papers in New York (Mirror and Journal-American) as well as the more "dignified" reactionary sheet, the World Telegram. The "coalition" was rounded out with endorsements by the liberal New York Post and the authoritative voice of Wall Street, the New York Times. In effect, Wagner was the single Big Business candidate, in the race. Christenberry did not really count.

In the campaign the SWP hammered away at the Big Business character of the Wagner administration. It demanded an end to the witch hunting of city employees. It put the spotlight on the administration's record of service to the racists. It effectively introduced a major peace issue into the campaign by demanding a city referendum on halting nuclear tests that would establish the precedent for a national poll on the issue. Over radio and TV, the SWP candidates explained the need for a labor party and also drove home the need for socialism as the

ultimate solution to the problems of labor and of the minority peoples. It is this type of campaign that Charney and Davis designate as "counter-revolutionary."

What did the Communist Party do in the elections? It ducked any frontal attack on Wagner's record. (It did not "desire to minimize" his "accomplishments.") In the Councilmanic campaign for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the CP leaders avoided a forthright indictment of the Big Business politicians responsible for the lack of home, schools and social services they were supposed to be campaigning for.

WHITEWASH JOB

On a city-wide basis, the CP did its best to whitewash the odious role of the Liberal Party leadership. The Liberal Party, say Davis and Charney, "has conducted a campaign on the issues."

Throughout the campaign, the Daily Worker did not say a word about the reactionary politics of David Dubinsky, Alex Rose and the other union bureaucrats who head the Liberal Party. Forgotten is the fact that these people split their

unions from the American Labor Party on a red-baiting basis and that they stand today as one of the most rabidly anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist forces in the labor movement.

Presenting themselves in the election as "His Honor's Loyal Opposition," the Liberal Party bureaucrats "exerted pressure" on Wagner only within the framework of capitalist politics—that is, to increase their influence in relation to the Tammany machine in terms of patronage.

The Communist Party stand in the New York election bares the fraud of the "anti-monopoly" coalition policy that shaped it. With this policy, the CP leaders go hat in hand to the thoroughly capitalist-minded bureaucrats of the Liberal Party and join with them in a coalition with the Daily News and Mirror crowd. At the same time they reject and try to smear a meaningful electoral coalition with such individuals as Vincent Hallinan, Mrs. Clifford T. McAvoy, the editors of the National Guardian and others who united in support of the Socialist Workers ticket as a means of advancing the cause of independent labor political action.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester
Manager, Pioneer Publishers

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY (IN DEFENSE OF MATERIALISM). By G. V. Plekhanov. 410 pp. \$1.35.

Long unavailable in this country, this brilliant study of the rise of materialist philosophy, beginning with the French materialists of the 18th Century, is an unusual bargain at this price. Lenin said of it: "A remarkably logical and valuable exposition of dialectical materialism."

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. By Theodore Draper. 1957. 498 pp. \$6.75.

The first detailed, extensively documented history of the formative period of the Communist Party. Reviewing it in the Summer 1957 issue of International Socialist Review, James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the Communist Party and now

chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, said, "It belongs in the library of every socialist militant."

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 1957. 225 pp. \$3.25.

"Dr. Lilley explodes the myth that the only reason capitalism does not make a massive turn to automation is because of prohibitive costs," said an Aug. 12 review of this book in The Militant.

KARL LIEBKNECHT. Man With out a Country. By Karl W. Meyer. 1957. 180 pp. \$3.25.

In the generation since the assassination of this great revolutionary leader there has been only one other biography of him written and it has not been translated from the German. This new biography in English will fill a deplorable gap in the bookshelves of socialist-minded Americans.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 1957. 264 pp. \$3.50 plus 15 cents for mailing costs. (Originally \$4.00.)

A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions—social, cultural and political—to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. 183 pp. \$1.50

A landmark book by a Southern disciple of Charles Beard. He shows that the pattern of segregation as it exists in the South today is not "hundreds of years old" but dates from the smashing of the Negro and white Populist movement at the beginning of this century.

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. By Samuel Yellen. 1956. 398 pp., \$1.50 (paper).

Authoritative, fully documented accounts of ten major and representative labor battles in the U.S. in the period 1877 to 1934.

LABOR FREE AND SLAVE. Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States. By Bernard Mandel. 1955. 256 pp., \$1.00.

An original work that cleared up what had long been a cloudy historical problem: just where white workers and their organized movements stood on the fight against slavery. The New York Draft Riots, The National Labor Union and the National Colored Labor Union. An invaluable book for students of labor and Negro history.

(Order the above from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.)

Why Did the CIO Expel the CP?

Could the Communist Party have avoided the expulsion of the unions it dominated in the CIO? The question is still in dispute in Communist Party circles. Marxist analysis reveals that the real sources of the split were much deeper than generally realized. Read Tom Kerry's review of a new book that assembles the facts. In the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

Send 35c for a copy

International Socialist Review

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, NOV. 11, 1957

NUMBER 45

Ark. NAACP Head Arrested

By Henry Gitano

NEW YORK — Mrs. Daisy Bates, heroic leader of the nine Negro students, told the Little Rock story to an overflow assemblage of 2,500 persons jamming the aisles,

Eastland Hounds Little Rock Woman

Mrs. Grace Lorch, a white woman, defied the wrath of Little Rock mobsters to comfort 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford on a bench until the bus came, after Governor Faubus' army kept the Negro student out of school. On Oct. 29, Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigating "communism in the South" threatened Mrs. Lorch with charges of contempt. Mrs. Lorch who stated "I am here under protest" at every question, countered the racist witch-hunter: "The only subversive activities. I know about are the ones Sen. Eastland and his crowd are engaging in. We've had a good case of them in Little Rock, unfortunately."

husband of the Arkansas State-Press, the state's largest Negro weekly, but she is a great deal more than that. Both she and Mr. L. C. Bates are fighters—their lives are committed to the struggle for equal rights. They began in 1941 by challenging white police brutality. Later the State-Press denounced the Arkansas "right to work" law as a "right to scab" law and urged Negro workers to join trade unions.

FOUGHT FRAME-UP OF UNIONISTS

After a scab had killed a picket, Negro labor leaders at one of the local oil companies were arrested. The State-Press blasted away with fiery headlines: "TNA Strikers Sentenced to Pen by a Hand Picked Jury—State Law Used to Intimidate Negro Labor." Both Mr. and Mrs. Bates wound up in a jail cell for contempt of court for having dared tell the truth about the trial. While testifying in the NAACP's suit for Little Rock school integration, Mrs. Bates leaned forward in the witness chair and told Catlett, one of the racist school board attorneys: "You addressed me several times this morning by my first name. That is something that is reserved for my intimate friends and my husband. You will refrain from calling me Daisy again." Catlett could only stammer: "Well I won't call you anything then."

Socialist Workers Party On TV

Sun., Nov. 17 — Noon to 12:30

WABD-TV — Channel 5
"Between the Lines" Program

Hear Joyce Cowley, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York in recent elections, and others.

Russian Youth

(An Eyewitness Report by a British participant in the recent World Youth Festival in Moscow)

By Maurice Pelter

(A Peter Fryer Newsletter Pamphlet)

15 pages 10c

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

Steel Firm Ducks SUB In Buffalo

BUFFALO, Nov. 4 — In the face of growing layoffs, United Steel Workers Local 2604, one of the four giant locals of the Bethlehem Steel Company Lackawanna Plant, has appealed to their District 4 leadership to check an unprecedented move by the company to cheat on the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits guaranteed them by the recent steel contract.

In one of the departments hit hardest by layoffs, men with as much as seven years' rights were given slips by the company and ordered to report to the Chevrolet Division of General Motors. (At the same time, it is reported the company is doing some hiring off the street. Eligibility for SUB requires two years employment in the plant.) The laid-off men were told refusal of these jobs would mean loss of SUB rights and the \$36 weekly New York State Unemployment benefits. This forced labor scheme of Bethlehem in league with GM (which also has a SUB agreement under a contract with the United Auto Workers) violates the long-existing practice of unemployed workers reporting to the New York State Employment Service to find suitable work in line with their skills and experience. Workers have the right under the law to refuse a job offer for any one of several different reasons without forfeiting benefits.

One worker who was forced to report to the Chevrolet Plant stated that he was a crane operator (a skilled job in steel) and is now working as a laborer at a sharp reduction in pay.

SUB was sold to the membership as an answer to the serious problem of providing a year-round income for steel workers in the face of speed-up and lay-off. However, in the first stages of layoff the company has already probed and broken through a weak spot in the SUB clause in the steel workers contract by using the "forced labor" method of renegeing on SUB payments to the workers.

VOW FIGHT

Local 2604 has gone on record that it will fight for the just treatment of laid-off workers. The membership have urged their grievance committee to meet with committees from the other three locals within the Bethlehem Plant to discuss the vital question of plant-wide seniority in layoffs and other pressing problems which the company is forcing on the men. The 3,600-man membership of Local 2604 is stirring under the pressure of the company's "forced labor" plan. Production has continued to decline. Some departments are on four days. Bethlehem has shut down five of its 35 open-hearth furnaces and rumors of a big layoff are spreading throughout the 20,000-man plant. As layoffs mount, the company will seek other loopholes in the contract to avoid payment of SUB benefits.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

by JAMES P. CANNON

On Problems of Socialism in America

America's Road to Socialism 80pp \$3.50
The Coming American Revolution 32pp \$1.00
Socialism on Trial 111pp \$5.00
American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism \$1.50
The History of American Trotskyism 268pp Cloth \$2.75 Paper 1.75
The IWW — The Great Anticipation 44pp \$2.25
Eugene V. Debs 40pp \$2.25

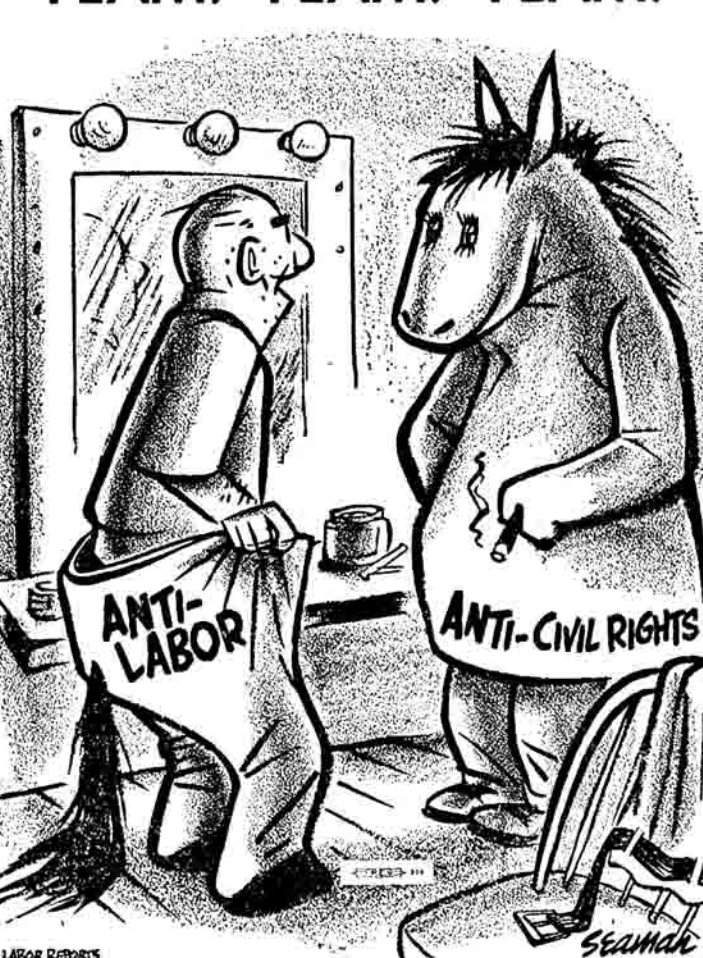
PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.
Catalogue on Request

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS

On Socialism and the Labor Movement
Order Free Catalog from:
PIONEER PUBLISHER
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

"TEAM! TEAM! TEAM!"



Socialist and Millionaire Rivals in Canada Election

NOV. 2 — Ross Dowson, prominent Canadian socialist put the capitalist press into a white rage, Oct. 22, when he filed his candidacy for the Canadian parliament in the

Hastings - Frontenac by-election. The capitalist politicians thought they had everything set. Senator George White resigned his seat in parliament to make room for the conservative Sidney Smith, Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs. White was then elevated to the Senate. The Liberal and Commonwealth parties made no nominations, thereby opening the door to Smith's election by "acclamation."

Just before the deadline, Ross Dowson, editor of The Workers Vanguard, filed the \$260 fee. One daily paper howled, "Last minute nomination of Toronto Trotskyite Ross Dowson as a candidate . . . will cost Canadian taxpayers an additional \$9,000." The daily papers also reported that Dowson had run a number of times for mayor of Toronto and polled about eleven percent of the vote. In 1949 Dowson got 23,645 votes, or 19% of the vote.

Sidney White is a conservative with an anti-labor, anti-civil liberties record. When he was President of Toronto University he aroused a public storm by suggesting that high school teachers weed out those unsuited for university—"crammers" and those "incapable of independent thinking" by the use of "secret reports," a virtual spying system. Smith met labor opposition by advocating compulsory "national service training" for high school graduates.

Dowson is a worker who has devoted himself to the labor and socialist movements for 23 years. As an active union militant he participated in the struggles of the Steel Workers at the Acme Screw and Gear plant. He distinguished himself in World War II as one of the leaders of a soldiers' protest movement against use of troops in civilian factories at army rates of pay. In 1946 Dowson was elected national secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party and is presently a leading spokesman for the Socialist Educational League. Since filing his candidacy

New York Bazaar

The New York School of Social Science announces that its Annual Christmas Bazaar will be held Saturday, December 14, at 116 University Place.

All our friends are urged to contribute their white elephants such as precious stones, jewelry, electric appliances, and tables, last year's fur coat (mink, chinchilla, beaver or rabbit will be accepted), books, records, objects of art. Solicit those trades people you regularly do business with for a contribution of food, clothing, wine, candy, furniture, etc. If you can't bring in the merchandise, call AL 5-7852 and arrange for a pickup.



ROSS DOWSON

Ross Dowson has been campaigning on a program of opposition to the imperialist foreign policy of Canada. He urges a ban on nuclear tests, a break with the NATO war pact and a reduction of armament expenditures, diverting these millions into housing, health and other social needs of the Canadian people.

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Friday, Nov. 15, 8 P.M. — "Brainwashing — U.S. Style." 3737 Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

New York Youth

Friday, Nov. 15, 8 P.M. — "The Power Elite" by C. Wright Mills. Reviewer: Michael Harrington, National Chairman, Young Socialist League. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution 50c.

Chicago

Friday, Nov. 15, 8:15 P.M. — The Militant Labor Forum presents Howard Mayhew speaking on "The Fall of Zhukov." 777 West Adams St.

Seattle

Saturday, Nov. 16, 8:30 P.M. — Murry Weiss will speak on the future of American Socialism. The meeting will be held at the Frye Drive-In Hotel, Parlor B, 3rd and Yesler. A social will be held after the meeting at the party headquarters, 655 Main St.

New York

Sunday, Nov. 17, 8 P.M. — "Sputnik — Its Political Consequences." Speaker: Ray Sparrow. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl. Contribution: 50c.

Introductory Offer!

A 3-Month Subscription

To The Militant Only 50 Cents

The Militant

116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.



Name
Street Zone
City State