

# Second Big Business Group Urges Missiles Race

## Rockefeller Panel Pushes Staggering U.S. Arms Budget

By Harry Ring

A new propaganda thrust for further acceleration of the nuclear arms buildup came Jan. 5 with release of a report by the Rockefeller Fund calling for an additional \$9 billion in military expenditures over the next three years and continuing increases until 1965. Release of the report came on the eve of the new session of Congress which has before it Eisenhower's proposal for a staggering \$40-billion arms budget.

Like the "top secret" Gaither report, parts of which were carefully leaked to the press, the Rockefeller report conjures up a picture of doom awaiting the American people if they resist speeding the suicidal arms race. The report declares: "It appears that the United States is rapidly losing its lead over the USSR in the military race. . . . Unless present trends are reversed, the world balance of power will shift in favor of the Soviet bloc. If that should happen we are not likely to be given another chance to remedy our failings." The report studiously avoids the fact that the Soviet leap in military power has been accompanied not by "aggressions" but by renewed pressure for negotiations to liquidate the cold war.

But Washington is determined not to permit such liquidation of the cold war and this is reflected in the Rockefeller report. While it protests that "the world knows we would never fight a preventive war," it declares in the next breath that "to deter aggression we must be prepared to fight a nuclear war either all-out or limited."

### USES BIG LIE

One of the most sinister aspects of this jingoist propaganda tract is its declaration of the need for U.S. armed intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. To justify such a reactionary, dynamite-laden course, it employs the big lie now being used by imperialism against the colonial revolution, namely that every struggle against imperialism is Moscow-inspired and led.

Because it becomes ever more difficult to portray huge social movements as mere Kremlin pawns, the Rockefeller report is driven to tortured reasoning on the point. It says: "Our security can be imperiled not only by overt aggressions but also by transformations which are made

### Fears Talks



JOHN FOSTER DULLES, U.S. Secretary of State, who fears that new talks with the USSR would slow arms buildup here and in West Europe.

to appear, insofar as possible, as not aggression at all.

Continuing in this vein, it asserts: "It should be our aim to keep such situations from developing. When they do become acute we may have a choice only between evils. Our security . . . will then hinge importantly on our willingness to support friendly governments in situations which fit neither the soldier's classic concept of war nor the diplomat's traditional concept of aggressions."

### TOP EXECUTIVES

Permeated with the reactionary global-rule perspective of Big Business and the Big Brass, the report was in fact shaped directly by top figures from both these circles. Members of the Special Studies Project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund who approved the report include

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# THE MILITANT

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# Working People Across U.S. Hit by Growing Unemployment

## Army Alters Witch-Hunt Discharges

By Henry Gitano

The U.S. Army continues to stigmatize draftees for alleged pre-induction ideas or associations, while pointing to its "voluntary reform" which has upgraded 280 out of 650 discharges reviewed. These all involve "security cases" between 1948 and 1955.

This month, the Supreme Court will hear cases involving two former soldiers, casualties of the army's battle to secure absolute, unquestioning conformity. They are Howard D. Abramowitz of Brooklyn and John Henry Harmon 3d of the Bronx. Anthony Lewis in the Dec. 23 New York Times reports that Abramowitz served in the army from 1951 to 1953 when he was honorably released and placed in the reserves as required by the selective service law. Two years later, in 1955, he was charged with having been a "Communist" in 1948 and 1949, and was given an "undesirable discharge."

Harmon, whose service-record ratings were all "excellent," was given an "undesirable discharge" in 1954. He swore that he had never belonged to any organization except the NAACP and the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Harmon answered every question about himself but refused to answer queries about others. The army subsequently raised his discharge to "general," which makes him less of a pariah, though still branded.

### HUNDREDS BRANDED

There are hundreds of Harmons and Abramowitzes branded with "disloyalty" discharges and all the consequences this entails. The Workers Defense League in a brief submitted on behalf of Harmon, recounts what these victims, identified by army serial numbers, have had to face because of a witch-hunt discharge.

US51-324-358: "Decided to return to school and matriculate" (Continued on page 3)

## After N.Y. Subway Settlement



New York subway official Joseph O'Grady (left), Mayor Wagner, and Transport Workers Union president Michael Quill, shake hands on a 32 1/2 cent two-year package increase which they hope will pacify militant subway workers. A motormen's strike last month took place over Quill's opposition, exposed labor spying by O'Grady, and drew strike-breaking threats from Wagner.

## Ford Local 600 Flays Cleveland T-H Trial

JAN. 8 — The trial of eight defendants on charges of conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley slave labor law opened in Cleveland on Jan. 6. Even before the impaling of the jury the prosecution moved to drop the charges against one of the defendants, Edward J. Chaka. U.S. Attorney Sumner Canary told the judge: "The government does not have enough evidence to proceed against Chaka."

The remaining defendants welcomed this development as an indication that the patchwork frame-up was falling apart even before the trial began.

A further heartening development is the increased support from the labor movement. Ford Local 600 went on record in support of the defendants in a resolution declaring: "This attempt to smear and slander trade unions and their officials by establishing guilt, not by fact but by association, is not con-

finely solely to the Cleveland area, but has recently been extended to the Detroit area and the UAW in particular."

Hilliard Ellis, president of UAW Local 453 in Chicago, protested the Cleveland prosecution in a letter to the U.S. Attorney General in which he said: "I strongly urge you to cease and desist in your attack against the trade union movement, and squash the indictment."

### HITS 'CONSPIRACY' COUNT

Sam Pollock, president of the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Meatcutters in Cleveland, has sent a letter to unions stating: "Any development relating to the Taft-Hartley Law is of concern to organized labor — and this case with its extraordinary 'conspiracy' aspect, merits wide attention. The trade union movement has good historic reasons to distrust 'conspiracy' charges. Today, faced by a hostile climate of opinion, unionists should be

especially on guard against legal snares set by foes of labor. In the interest of defending free trade unionism in America, we say the conspiracy charges in the current Cleveland case must be condemned in principle. Active support must be provided by labor for the defense of the trade union movement against this new attack."

The Cleveland case is a fantastic frame-up that, unless defeated, will set dangerous precedents. It is the first trial for conspiracy to violate the T-H law rather than for alleged violation of the T-H law. The government alleges that Fred and Marie Haug filed false anti-Communist affidavits. The latter have repeatedly denied this. Other defendants have been roped into the trial on charges of meeting with the Haugs. One unionist, Eric Reinthaler, is alleged to have "conspired" solely by giving another defendant a ride in his car.

## Predict Worst Since '41; Rising Prices Also Cut Into Workers' Earnings

By Fred Halstead

Serious unemployment has now hit almost every major population center and basic industry in the United States. Florida's winter resort areas and the chemical industry, which expects a boom based on missile fuels, are the exceptions. Industries hardest hit by the cutbacks include Aircraft, steel, auto, machinery manufacturing, railroads and lumber, in addition to such chronically depressed industries as mining and textiles.

"There have been several forecasts that the ranks of the jobless will swell to as much as 5,000,000 by February," says the Jan. 6 New York Times. That will put the number of unemployed registered with government offices at the highest figure since August 1941 before the U.S. entered World War II.

Of the major geographical regions, the West Coast has seen the worst recent rise in unemployment. Until last June, when cutbacks on military aircraft production began, this area had enjoyed the nation's strongest boom. October figures for registered unemployed in the whole region were 5.1% of the labor force compared with 3.4% in 1956. Since October further layoffs have occurred which have not yet been noted in government reports. Boeing Aircraft in Seattle, for example, is expected to drop its work force below 50,000 this month compared with 67,000 in mid-1957. The Seattle area now has close to 10% unemployment. Unemployment insurance claims in San Francisco and the Los Angeles area are now at or above the 1949 level.

The region least affected so far by factory layoffs is the South, which expanded manufacturing during 1957 at the expense of other areas from which industry has been relocating. But textiles, principal Southern industry, has maintained below average employment since April 1956 and dropped in October (the last reported month) to the lowest point since 1949.

In addition, Southern farm

### Not a Solution, But It Will Look Good

Steel production operations, traditionally rated in terms of percentage of capacity, slipped from 80% in November to 53% at Christmas. It is about 60% at present with no improvement in sight. The preferred rate is 100%. Below 85% is considered wasteful and indicates stagnation. The Jan. 6 Wall Street Journal reports that some steel producers are now clamoring to divide capacity into "active" and "standby" categories. That way, it appears, cheerful reports that operations were "100% of active capacity" would be assured.

employment has dropped sharply and cash farm receipts declined 10% from the 1956 level. In a trend which is expected to continue, over a million persons left U.S. farms during 1957, a heavy percentage of these in the South, where the growth of industry was counted on to absorb them. However, according to the Bureau of Labor statistics, non-agricultural employment fell in October in the eight South-eastern states. Unemployment insurance claims (which do not reflect workers off the farms) "increased sharply in November" in the same area. Only Florida, where thousands of seasonal resort workers were hired, is not expected to show a substantial year-end increase in registered unemployed.

New England, chief loser to the South, showed a decline of 60,500 manufacturing jobs in 1957, most of them in textiles. Significantly, its machine-tool (Continued on page 2)

## Publish the Secret Gaither Report!

An Editorial

What kind of schemes are being cooked up behind the backs of the American people by the Big Business gang that shapes the country's policies?

With human survival at stake it becomes imperative that the Wall Street-Washington moves come under the searchlight of public examination. A good beginning in this direction is to demand immediate publication of the Gaither report submitted to Eisenhower last November.

Just what does this report on "defense policy" propose? It's supposed to be "top secret," but the Administration has "leaked" those aspects to the press it wants to make known while trying to keep other key sections of it suppressed.

According to the testimony of columnist Drew Pearson, the report recommends "preventive" war against the Soviet Union. This has been vehemently denied by Administration spokesmen.

Yet on Dec. 20 Arthur Krock of the New York Times wrote that the full contents of the report are being kept from the people precisely because it does favor the monstrous course of "preventive" war. Who is lying and who is telling the truth?

Furthermore, the Washington Post, to whom the Gaither report was originally "leaked," said that the report favors a heavy increase in arms spending for two reasons other than military. First, the authors of the report see such expenditures as helping to safeguard business profits during a period of slump.

Second, by forcing the Soviet Union to keep abreast in an accelerated arms race, a further strain is placed on the economy of that country. The American people will be made to pay through the nose for such a reactionary game. They must demand the facts and the right to decide all questions of war and peace.

The slashing commentary on the Gaither report in the Jan. 6 issue of I.F. Stone's Weekly certainly hit the nail on the head in this regard when it declared: "Policy ought to be formed in the open, on the basis of public hearings, in which all points of view are explored, not determined by a small elite in secret sessions on the basis of secret evidence."

## Afro-Asian Parley Pledges Solidarity Against Imperialism

By George Lavan

Directly on the heels of the setback suffered by U.S. imperialism at the NATO Conference has come the blow of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference. Participating in the week-long (Dec. 26-Jan. 1) sessions in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, were over 500 delegates from organizations in 45 countries and colonies in Africa and Asia.

This was the most important forum for the views of the two-thirds of the world's population living on those two continents since the Bandung Conference of 1955. Where Bandung irritated world imperialism and its press, the Cairo conference made it absolutely livid with rage. This was because the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference went much further in its condemnation of imperialism in general and of U.S. foreign policy in particular.

### SOVIET BLOC AT CAIRO

Several factors account for the difference. At Cairo the delegates were from organizations in the represented countries, and were therefore closer for the most part to the real sentiments of their peoples than

the Bandung delegates who officially represented their governments and spoke in more diplomatic language. Although China and North Viet Nam were represented at Bandung, the Soviet Union (most of whose territory lies in Asia) was not invited. At Cairo the Soviet bloc was represented by the USSR, China, North Viet Nam, North Korea and the Soviet Peoples Republic of Outer Mongolia.

Whereas Bandung had limited itself to mere verbal denunciations of colonialism and expression of hope for its peaceful transformation into independence, the Cairo meeting went unequivocally on record in support of actual independence struggles such as that of the Algerian people against French imperialism, of the people of Cyprus against British imperialism, and the Indonesian campaign of nationalization of Dutch investments and demand for West Irian. Moreover, at its close the conference set up a permanent secretariat whose duty is expected to be, among other things, the moral and material aid of precisely such struggles.

The capitalist press has

sought to portray the Cairo conference as a gathering of Communist Party and fellow-traveling organizations. But that was not the case. The dominant force there was a coalition of the Soviet Bloc, Asian nationalists and Arab nationalists.

### HIT EISENHOWER

Because its resolutions (a) explicitly included the U.S. among the imperialist powers, (b) condemned the Eisenhower Doctrine and U.S.-sponsored military alliances such as the Baghdad Pact, (c) urged a halt to nuclear bomb testing and the arms race, the conference was a direct blow to U.S. foreign policy and prestige. By the same token it was a diplomatic and moral victory for the Soviet bloc countries. There is no doubt but that the conference will have great effect in mobilizing public opinion throughout Asia and Africa — placing the responsibility for imperialist oppression and the danger of war more squarely on the shoulders of Washington and Wall Street.

Perhaps the greatest impression made at the conference came from the offer of the Soviet Union's spokesman to give

financial and technical aid to the undeveloped nations of the world without any military or diplomatic strings attached. He said: "We are prepared to help you as brother helps brother, without motives. Tell us what you need and we will help you and send, according to our economic possibilities, money needed in the form of loans or aid. . . . [to] build for you institutions for industry, education and hospitals. . . . We do not ask you to join any blocs. . . . our only condition is that there will be no strings attached."

### AID WITHOUT STRINGS

Since Soviet foreign policy has always been, U.S. propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, defensive — it can make the offer of economic assistance without strings. The undeveloped nations heretofore have been at the mercy of the capitalist world, primarily the U.S., for economic aid. The U.S. used whatever economic aid it extended to bribe or pressure countries to grant air bases to the U.S., to join the military pacts against the USSR and to build up their armies rather than their economies.

By offering aid without strings the USSR checkmated one of U.S. imperialism's principal weapons for lining up the African and Asian countries in a world-wide military alliance against the Soviet bloc.

Discussing the Soviet offer of stringless aid, Thomas J. Hamilton in the N.Y. Times (Dec. 29) wrote: "As far as strings are concerned, there is no doubt that political considerations have played a part in the United States' decisions to grant or withhold assistance. . . . Despite the huge sums provided, U.S. economic assistance has gone mostly to pay for troops in Nationalist China (Formosa), South Korea and South Vietnam, leaving relatively little for capital improvement in other countries."

### STATE DEPT ADMISSION

On Jan. 3 the State Department reluctantly made public a report it had been concealing. It gives the lie to previous U.S. propaganda about Soviet economic assistance, which it has always represented as piddling, ineffective and solely a device to infiltrate Soviet agents for propaganda and subversion. The study showed that in the

last two and a half years, the USSR concluded agreements with ten Afro-Asian countries for the very considerable sum of \$1 1/2 billion. (In these countries, including India, Indonesia and Egypt, total U.S. aid during the same period has amounted to \$900 million.) Once agreed to, Soviet programs are begun "with considerable dispatch," the interest rates are very low compared to U.S. loans, running from 2% to 2 1/2%. Repayment is in easy installments over 12 to 30-year periods, with often a period of grace before payments commence. Payment is in the currency or commodities of the borrowing countries at world-market prices — and sometimes in products of the industry being established by the aid program. The report grudgingly admits: "Those technicians sent abroad to date appear to have been regarded as competent and their behavior so far has given rise to few complaints." The Soviet Union has a great advantage. Imperialism does not really want the industrialization of economically backward countries for that undercuts its economic exploitation of these (Continued on page 3)

# Fischer's "Russia Revisited"

RUSSIA REVISITED by Louis Fischer. New York: Doubleday. 288 pp. \$4.00.

The U.S. foreign correspondent Louis Fischer returned to the Soviet Union in 1956 after an 18-year absence. He spent the entire 20 days allowed him in Moscow seeing old Russian friends and their children. What he found out is summed up in the paradoxical proposition: "There have been no basic changes in the Soviet Union, but essentially conditions are different."

Living conditions have improved over 1938 but are still bad for the masses. "The Soviet Union is the land of unending queuing for food, clothing, transportation, etc." While showplaces, big stadiums, Palace of Soviets, university buildings rise, the average citizen lives in intolerably overcrowded pre-1917 dwellings. If a half million privileged persons have new apartments with modern conveniences, "the remainder of Moscow's seven million inhabitants are miserably or inadequately housed."

### NO POLITICAL ARRESTS

The sweeping terror of Stalin's era has been relaxed and reduced, although the repressive machinery remains intact and operative. "The best news I heard in the Soviet Union is that there are no political arrests. I asked all my Soviet friends and acquaintances, as well as numerous foreign diplomats, whether they knew of any persons arrested by the secret police. 'Not in the past year,' they replied, except in the student demonstrations at Tiflis in March 1956.

There are other consequences of de-Stalinization. The teaching of history in Soviet schools and its presentation in Soviet journals is in utter confusion. The legends and values of the Stalin period have to be completely revised. But this is being done in doses, less with an eye to the truth than to the immediate requirements of Stalin's successors.

### TALK WITH MIKOYAN

This was confirmed in an unusually frank chat Fischer had with A. I. Mikoyan, Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, whose condemnation of Stalin evoked tremendous applause at the 20th Congress and touched off the de-Stalinization campaign.

"Let's drink to the truth," I toasted. "Good," he agreed. "This morning," I said, "I talked with a young Communist who proclaimed that he loved Stalin. How is it possible to love a person who submitted his country to such horrors?"

Mikoyan: "Yes, many still love him; he did much for the country. It will take time to change this attitude."

"Why don't you publish Khrushchev's speech?"

Mikoyan: "It's too early. But hundreds of thousands have read it."

"The speech did not go far enough. Do you really believe that Bukharin was a wreck and spy?"

Mikoyan: "No, I don't." . . . "But you understand, Stalin held us in his hand. Only one escape was left to us—what Ordejonikidze did when he committed suicide. I stood before the same decision. And at the end of Stalin's life I was about to be executed. Now we have changed all this. Yet in the West we are attacked for what we did not do in those years."

An example of the cross-currents swirling in the minds of the Communist youth, Fischer told another young physicist, Secretary of a Young Communist League unit, about the student who still loved Stalin. "He is a fool," was the comment.

## Announce End Of Daily Worker

The Daily Worker will cease publication with the issue of Monday, Jan. 13, according to a Jan. 9 editorial announcement in the paper. The decision does not affect the weekly Worker, which the announcement says, will continue in expanded form. In explaining the decision, the paper said: "Recently we have been informed by the Communist Party that it is not in a position at this time to help raise the large amounts needed immediately to meet our deficit. . . . It is pointed out that lower party membership, diminished resources and unresolved political differences combine to bring about an unsatisfactory situation." The date the paper will suspend publication is exactly the date of its founding 34 years ago.

Fischer did not talk much with workers or peasants but had to confine his observations mostly to intellectual circles. But he gives some informative figures on the unequal status of the working people in the midst of the expansion of heavy industry, the soaring of Sputnik, and the easy living of the ten to twenty millions who run the government, the economy and the army.

"The average wage, whether 500 or 800 roubles, spells misery, and the large below-average class numbering, with dependents, at least thirty-five million city persons, lives in dire distress. Two indices as examples: the average Soviet worker would have to spend a month's salary on milk every year if he and his dependents were to equal the average annual per capita milk consumption of Great Britain. . . . The Moscow Literary Gazette of Sept. 1, 1956, stated that the maintenance of each pupil in the new government-operated boarding schools would cost 1065 roubles a month."

### JEWISH QUESTION

The section on Eastern Europe contains interesting material on anti-Semitism in the Kremlin, Khrushchev told the Poles, he reports on good authority, that at the time of the "Doctors Plot" in January 1953 Stalin planned to deport all Soviet Jews to Siberia. This was independently confirmed by Jews Fischer met in Moscow. At the same time that Khrushchev revealed this, he opposed appointing Zambrowski as first secretary of the Polish CP because, he said, there were already too many "Abramoviches" (i.e. Jews) in the leadership.

Projected wholesale deportations—religious restrictions; that's the measure of the difference between Stalin and his heirs in the treatment of the Jews.

The best chapter in this part of the book is a detailed reconstruction of the events in the Poznan uprising of June 1956 which sparked the explosions in Poland and Hungary.

The fact that Fischer has for many years been no defender of the Soviet Union or supporter of Communism or Socialism gives his testimony on the changes observable after 18 years a special interest.

William F. Ward

# State of Social Sciences in the USSR

By Arne Swaback (Conclusion)

Two years ago ex-Senator Benton returned from a visit to the USSR and cried out in alarm: "The Soviet Union is challenging us fundamentally at what have traditionally been our two strongest points, technology and mass education."

There is no doubt about this now. Since the triumph in ballistic missiles and Sputniks, this fact has become sufficiently clear for the whole world to be aware of. But the unprecedented progress in the natural sciences, in engineering and technique stands out in sharp contrast to the intellectual poverty of its social sciences. From the latter no similar achievements have been recorded.

### WHEN SCIENCE FLOURISHES

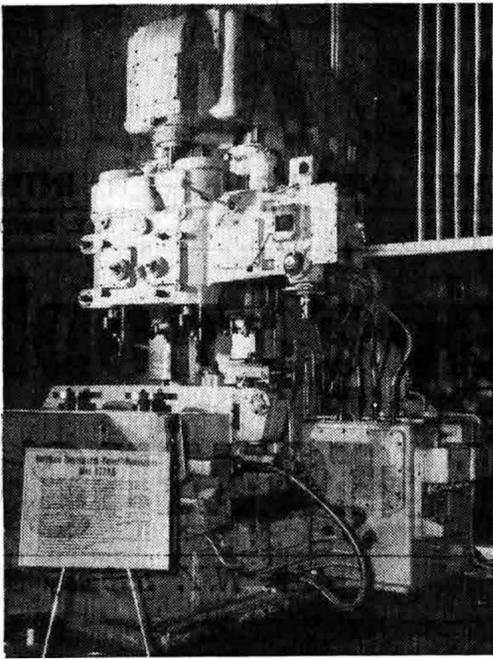
Science and culture flourish and make conspicuous advances especially during periods when men and women are engaged in rational endeavor to change their material and social environment. Problems posed for solution from the economic and social spheres, during these periods, stimulate new thoughts, new ideas and new activity. Science becomes important, and it is given a definite purpose.

Since the 1917 revolution men and women in the USSR have been engaged in such endeavor. They created the first workers' state ever to arise. Its continued existence in the face of heavy odds, and its mighty strides in overcoming the backward Tzarist heritage, constitute a gigantic historical experiment. The problems of transition from capitalism to socialism are transferred from the theoretical realm to the process of life itself, merging theory and practice in social activity.

These problems involve a good deal more than the constant expansion of the economic foundation and the increase in labor productivity. Important as these are, they form but one aspect of the necessary prerequisites. Involved is also a fundamental change in the existing social and political relations. For the socialist society must of necessity be qualitatively different from its present transitional stage between capitalism and socialism in the USSR and especially from its present bureaucratic caricature.

### HOW MARXISM COULD HAVE GAINED

The transition of Soviet society has turned up new experiences at every step and on a vast arena. Lessons have been provided capable of advancing human comprehension of the laws of social development to new and higher levels. Out of these lessons it would not have been unreasonable to expect



A vertical two-spindle copy-milling machine able to work simultaneously on two pieces placed next to each other. The machine has two tables that can be moved hydraulically in two directions. Exhibited at the Soviet pavilion at Leipzig fair last March.

new and valuable contributions to political economy, philosophy and history, among other scientific pursuits, not to mention progress in art and literature. The great opportunity to apply the Marxist method as a guide to action, could serve in turn, to enrich this method.

Unfortunately this is not the case. Under bureaucratic rule a harmonious social development is precluded. And contradictory aspects show up throughout the Soviet structure.

On the favorable side of general culture must be listed the expansion of the educational system which has no parallel in the West. Measures of social welfare, such as the extensive infant and child care, maternity leave for expectant mothers with full pay, free medical service for all citizens, emphasis on prevention of disease and on promotion of general health, etc., are unexampled.

On the other side, as indicated above, the sciences most closely linked to the social structure have suffered stagnation, if not downright falsification. These sciences, which should be in the van of so-

cial progress, are deliberately stunted in their growth.

### DEGENERATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

During its early stage, the social sciences occupied a central position in Soviet pedagogy. New tasks were posed by the new social order: These aimed at nothing less than the creation of a new culture in harmony with the new social foundation. With the growth of bureaucracy, however, such studies degenerated; and today a free and creative development of the social sciences does not exist. Their social status is at the bottom of the scientific ladder. They are preoccupied with study and application of propaganda to justify and support the policies and actions of the bureaucratic regime.

Capitalist ideologists interpret this relationship to suit their own purposes. Scientific objectivity, they insist, could not be practiced in the Soviet Union, for this would impinge on the accepted doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. For such a charge there is no validity whatever. The truth is exactly the other way around. To justify their privileges the ruling caste perverts Marxism-Lenin-

ism which has as its aim the elimination of all privileges. Objective inquiry is stifled in all fields pertaining to existing social relations. Scientific objectivity, the very essence of Marxist theory, would impinge on its special prerogatives. Perversion takes its place, as can be illustrated by a few concrete examples.

### UNSETTLED ISSUE

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, Khrushchev berated those who still had doubts about an issue he insisted "the party had settled before." Apparently it would not stay settled. "The socialist system had triumphed," said Khrushchev, the "socialist society had been built in the main in our country," as long ago as the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR in 1936.

Turning to questions of ideological work, Khrushchev pointed with pride to the publication of a Marxist textbook of political economy. He hailed the event: "An important landmark in the ideological life of the party." It would be that, if the textbook promoted a deeper understanding of nationalized economy in the transition to a socialist society. But its basic analysis tends in the opposite direction.

This "Marxist" textbook attempts to justify Khrushchev's claim. It starts from the assumption that the USSR represents fully achieved socialism. Shortcomings are admitted, but as quoted by a British Marxist critic, these are blamed on "survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of man [which] have not yet been fully overcome,"—forty years after the October Revolution.

In the proclaimed "triumph of the socialist system" monstrous social inequalities still prevail. In many cases monetary rewards of the privileged social strata are twenty times as high as the pay of factory workers. At the same time freedom and democracy are throttled; the workers are deprived of any sense of ownership in nationalized industry; they are deprived of any voice in planning or control of production. Neither Marx nor Lenin would recognize this as socialism.

### DEFENSES GROSS INEQUALITIES

And yet, the "Marxist" textbook defends the existing social inequalities as good socialist practice of appealing to the material interests of the workers. This is not new. Even piece-work payment, a relic of barbarism still predominant in Soviet industry, was from its inception, presented in terms of a socialist measure. Political economy thus becomes a faithful echo of the bureaucratic regime. Should there be any

## Soviet Scientists Better Posted Than American

The extent to which Soviet scientific advances have been speeded by planned data-assembling is indicated in a study by the Stanford Research Institute in California. According to the Jan. 5 N. Y. Times, the Stanford report finds it "painfully apparent" that the West has nothing to match the Soviet setup. There scientific information from all over the world is gathered by a central agency, the Soviet All Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information, and distributed to the Soviet scientists. It collects and processes information from 10,000 scientific and technical journals published in 80 countries. The Stanford report says, "Through the operation of this institute, Soviet scientists and engineers in even the remotest laboratories can have available to them abstracts, summaries and translations of Western technical articles of direct interest in their field within a few months after the original material was published." In the U.S., the report found much time is wasted "in repeating work already done and reported but inaccessible in the present chaotic mass of technical literature."

doubt about this, just listen to its authentic voice:

"Payment according to the work performed," Khrushchev proclaimed at the 20th Congress to be a "socialist principle." How could it be? Is not this the form of payment in the capitalist world—a fair day's pay for a fair's day work? And to declare this to be a socialist principle, Trotsky said long ago, "means cynically to trample the idea of a new and higher culture in the familiar filth of capitalism."

Unquestionably the bureaucracy has compelling reasons for its perversions. It is quite well aware that not capitalist survivals, but socialist ideals, visions of a socialist future, are still deeply embedded in the consciousness of the people. Recognizing this reality, it feels constrained to disguise the measures breeding inequality, disproportions and oppression as socialist measures taken in accordance with socialist principles. Under cover of this disguise, the bureaucracy attempts to legalize and preserve its usurped powers and checkmate opposition.

### PHILOSOPHY SHRIVELS

This type of perversion is reflected in all the social sciences. For philosophy the effect has been devastating. From its rise to the highest significance and real-life expression in the social transformation during the early Soviet stage, it was later forced into the bureaucratic straitjacket. Dialectical materialism, the powerful Marxist method of thought, was reduced to a mere ritualistic exercise. From this early high point philosophy has been turned into a barren wasteland.

The paucity of significant contributions from artists and writers is explainable, in the final analysis, also by the bu-

reaucratic straitjacket. How could they portray the "new Soviet man" without a clear and sharp distinction between the privilege-grasping bureaucrat and the paltry rewards of the worker? How could they apply the demanded "socialist realism" except in terms of the actually deep-seated antagonisms between the bureaucracy and the people? And this is precisely what is taboo.

In Soviet historical research, perversion and falsification take on more sinister dimensions. Despite the often repeated writing and rewriting, there is as yet no objective, let alone truthful, history of the October Revolution, and much less so of the subsequent developments.

In the textbook on history, long in use, Stalin's name appears 56 times in the 39 pages devoted to the chapter, the Great Patriotic War. To him alone went the credit for all victorious deeds. No other living leader of the party, or any Soviet commander is mentioned even once. No doubt this history once again is being rewritten. But how?

At the 20th Congress, Stalin's crimes were denounced, but the Stalin school of falsification remained untouched. Khrushchev repeated the slander of the "Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and other malignant enemies of the people, the men who would restore capitalism." Obviously this is a command to the historians to continue lying about the past, as a means of covering up the present bureaucratic distortions and prevent future change.

The irreconcilable conflict between the bureaucracy and the people constantly reintroduces the need of falsification of history and revolutionary tradition to suit the policies and requirements of the ruling caste.

This relationship fundamentally conditions the development, or to be more exact, the stagnation of the official social sciences. Subverted to the needs of the bureaucratic rule, they have lost their capacity to promote social advance. The anemic products of the timid academicians have become a mirror image of the thought-stifling conformity imposed upon them. And fettered by this domination, they can have no more progressive function than the bureaucracy itself.

All these problems are tied intimately to the further evolution of Soviet society. At the very heart of its internal relations stands the conflict between the ruling caste and the needs and interests of the Soviet masses and of Soviet culture. And for its future advance to the socialist society the policies pursued in social and political relations are no less decisive than are the measures taken to build its economic foundation, for it is the bureaucratic structure that forms the greatest obstacle in the transition to socialism. The greater the strides in economic progress, all the more urgent the need to transform the social and political relations.

(Second of two articles on Soviet Science. The first appeared in last week's issue and may be obtained for 10 cents.)

## ... Rockefeller Group Pushes Missiles

(Continued from page 1)

Nelson and Laurence Rockefeller; General Lucius Clay, chairman of the board of Continental Can; Henry Luce of the Time-Life-Fortune empire; John W. Gardner, president of Carnegie Corp.; General Sarnoff of RCA; and the notorious bomb-rattling physicist-politician, Edward Teller.

For liberal window-dressing the panel includes Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Lester Granger of the Urban League; former ambassador Chester Bowles and labor arbitrator Anna Rosenberg.

Like the State Department, the report recognizes the current need to adapt to the world demand for some kind of negotiations with the Soviet Union. But, also like the State Department, it insists that such negotiations must not lead to slowing down of the arms race. "It would be highly irresponsible," the report asserts, "to raise hopes that cannot be fulfilled . . . of all the outstanding issues, disarmament is the most difficult problem to settle directly."

Demanding swift development of nuclear weapons adapted to limited warfare, the report also hits at "some NATO allies [who] seek to escape their dilemmas by a policy of disengagement and neutralism." It betrays the face that the anti-Soviet military alliance is being weakened by "concern—astiduously fostered by the USSR—that the use of even the smallest atomic weapon would involve enormous destruction. . . . Those so concerned will be little impressed with the Rockefeller answer—negotiation of "ground rules" for the conduct of limited wars.

### BI-PARTISAN APPROVAL

The wide publicity treatment being given the report indicates that it reflects the thinking in powerful circles of the capitalist

class. As with the Gaither report, it is receiving favorable comments from prominent Democrats and Republicans.

It received an unrestrained eulogy from James Reston, chief of the Washington Bureau of the New York Times. Reston wrote, Jan. 6 that the report illustrates that "some of the best thinking in the world on foreign policy problems is being done by private citizens and institutions in the United States." He also saw it as signifying that "a heartening public debate is under way on the future of American society."

## ... Growing Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

industry also declined by 10,000 jobs during 1957. Registered unemployed in Connecticut stood at 46,000 in mid-December, over twice the figure at the same time last year.

The nation's most concentrated manufacturing area, the Middle-Atlantic, was also hard hit. Mid-December showed 163,627 on New York City's unemployment compensation rolls. The New York state figure is 44% higher than December 1956. New Jersey will have 180,000 registered unemployed by Jan. 15, according to the State Division of Employment. This tops 1949 by 50,000. Over 100,000 are predicted for the greater Philadelphia area by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security.

In Chicago, factory jobs declined throughout 1957. The city's registered unemployed stood at 55,000 in mid-December or 68% over the previous Christmas. The figure for the state of Illinois is 108,708, an increase of 56%.

Officials of the United Steel Workers estimate that 60,000 workers in basic steel, mostly in the Pittsburgh-Youngstown

This is a fraud on both counts. This "finest thinking" boils down to an "arm-to-the-teeth" proposition that can only inflict heavy new inflationary burdens on the mass of the American people and at the same time serve only to increase the war danger. Further, the Rockefeller report is not part of a genuine public debate. It is part of a Big Business propaganda drive to chain the American people to its war chariot. Real debate on foreign policy will develop to the extent that the opposition to Wall Street's foreign policy succeeds in making itself heard.

area, are now unemployed and an additional 100,000 more are on short work weeks. The operating rate for the steel industry is now around 60% of capacity.

The average unemployment figure for 1957 in Detroit was 189,000, the worst since 1949. Holiday season layoffs—a pre-World War II tradition—hit 90,000 Detroit-area auto workers this year, according to the Dec. 30 "Solidarity." The United Auto Workers publication reported one old-timer as saying: "Sounds just like the old days, and not the good old days either."

Meanwhile, the latest increase in the Federal consumer price index, announced Dec. 20, was the sharpest hike in six months and brought the rise over early 1956 to 5.5%.

Figures published in the Jan. 6 New York Times National Review show that in 1957 the average wage earner got about \$80 less in real wages (in terms of 1947-49 dollars) than in 1956 in spite of wage raises, overtime, etc. Real per capita income (with profits as well as wages figured in) fell by \$13 in the same period.

## World Events

SYRIA'S leading anti-imperialist party, the Baath Socialist Party, favors solution of the Israeli-Arab dispute through a Middle Eastern Socialist Federation including the Jews. In a letter to the Nov. 23 New Statesman, Leon Szur and Fenner Brockway, two British socialists, report on their recent conversations with Michael Afiek, general secretary of the Baath Socialist Party. According to Mr. Afiek, Arab socialists "oppose unlimited immigration into Israel as leading inevitably to Zionist expansion. They hold that the present policies of the Israeli government make that country an instrument of the imperialist powers. They cite the recent Suez war as an example. [But] Baathists accept the Jewish population as an integral part of the Middle East. They acknowledge that the Jewish people are there to stay, that they should form part of the Socialist federation." In the Baath's conception, the federation would control foreign policy and defense (but would leave considerable autonomy for constituent countries).

WEST AFRICAN revolutionaries are seeking independence for the French Cameroons. The French dispatched troops to the Cameroons, Jan. 5, to crush what they call a "communist-led uprising." The rebels follow the Union des Populations du Cameroun, headed by 40-year-old Ruben Um Nyobe, French educated member of the 155,000 strong Bassa tribe. The UPC is the only group from French Equatorial Africa to send delegates to the recent Afro-Asian conference in Cairo. It was formed in 1948 and outlawed in 1955. The French say about 800 members of the group are engaged in guerrilla warfare, and that Nyobe's followers, whose flag is red, control the deep

jungles of the colony. The French Cameroons, with a population of 3.1 million, border on Nigeria and were a German "protectorate" until World War I.

THE U.S. AIRBASE at Sidi Silmane, Morocco almost faced a strike by Moroccan employees recently because a U.S. mess sergeant refused an employee a three-day holiday after the Moroccan's wife had given birth. Moroccan law provides for such holidays, and the strike was averted when the worker's request was granted. "In a country where there are relatively few hospitals and few families can afford nurses," says the Dec. 30 N. Y. Times, "a husband is needed around the house after childbirth to look after the mother and make sure the older children are fed."

CHINESE WORKERS are being granted a limited amount of participation in the management of various state enterprises, according to a N. Y. Times Jan. 5 dispatch from Hongkong based on a report by the president of the Federation of Trade Unions. This report said workers' congresses now have the right "not only to hear the work report of the enterprise director, inspect production and wage plans and make all kinds of suggestions, but also to inspect and discuss the utilization of the expenditures of the enterprise on the livelihood and welfare of the workers." The report declares, however, that such a function is limited to "suggestions" made "under conditions that the rights of the management given by the state in carrying out its work are not infringed upon." The development is reported to spring from wide spread workers' dissatisfaction with their unions which they regard as state instruments of labor discipline and speedup.

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 Monday, January 13, 1958

# A New British Marxist Weekly

By Peter Fryer  
 Special London Correspondent

The Newsletter, which it has been my privilege to edit since it began publication last May, this week takes a big step forward in its development into a fully-fledged Marxist weekly. An editorial board of ten has been set up, consisting of four former members of the Communist Party and six Labor Party members. Four of the ten are well-known militants in the building, engineering and dock industries.

The Newsletter will have three co-editors: Brian Pearce, a translator and historian who has just been expelled from the CP, Michael Banda, active in the Socialist Forum movement, and myself. The editorial board is an excellent reflection of the way the Left-wing streams are coming together. On it sits building worker Brian Behan, former member of the CP Executive and leading rebel of the party's Congress last Easter; Harry Constable, a prominent London dockers' leader; Harry Finch, Labor City Councillor in the great industrial center of Birmingham and leader of the 1956 Norton strike against redundancy (layoffs), which lasted almost thirty weeks; Price Jones, another Labor Councillor in the North; Tom Kemp, who has built up reputation for his contributions on economics to Labor Review;

Peter Kerrigan, Liverpool dock-er; and Cliff Slaughter, lecturer in sociology at Leeds University, who has been leading the group of 35 Leeds Communists who have just announced their resignation from the CP.

**NEWSLETTER SURVIVES**  
 A first-rate team, and one capable of building a fighting paper, despite rising costs and the way long-established journals are going down like corn under the scythe (only last week another paper, the independent Conservative weekly Truth, folded up). We have confounded the prophets who gave The Newsletter six weeks, three months, six months to live. We have still bigger surprises in store for them.

In its statement of aims, the editorial board says the paper's chief task will be to help the building of a socialist working-class leadership on the job. "In this way the paper will help, to the best of its ability, towards the arming of the working-class movement." It will provide a weekly forum in which militants can exchange experiences; seek contributions from both Marxists and non-Marxists "who have something serious and thoughtful to say about the British Labor movement's problems and tasks"; campaign for a socialist program; criticize the ideas abroad in the working-class movement with the aim of achieving clar-

ity and unity of action in the struggle.  
 Last but not least, the paper stands pledged to "a clear, forthright, robust class approach" and promises to devote proper attention to the principle of international working-class solidarity.

Of Brian Pearce I have written before. He has now been told officially of his expulsion from the CP; his letter to the Appeals Committee deserves quoting at length, for it is typical of the political evolution of the best of those CP rebels who have been reading, discussing and thinking in the past year or more.

"Doubtless you will recall, in expelling me," he writes, "the long list of good communists who have been expelled since Stalinism first set in, and how sometimes those who did the expelling were later themselves expelled—as in the case of J. T. Murphy, mover of the resolution expelling Trotsky from the Comintern."

[Murphy was expelled during the "social-fascist period for advocating something a kin to East-West trade—then a notoriously 'Trotskyist' demand!] Incidentally, may I say that one of the things I most regret about my 23 years in the CP is that I allowed myself to be miseducated into helping in the vilification of Trotsky and his

ideas—ideas which I now see to have constituted a very great contribution to the treasure-house of socialist theory?  
 "If in the last few months I have done a little, through Sunday talks and writings, to encourage others, in or recently out of the CP, to study and discuss the works of this eminent Russian revolutionary, I think that should be accounted to me for merit. Only through what you call 'Trotskyism' can people who have rightly become disgusted with Stalinism be saved, so to speak, for Marxism. If you were a real Communist Party you would appreciate such efforts, instead of expelling members for them."

"All that remains is to wish you the season's greetings and express the hope that 1958 will see a mighty advance of the working-class movement, in the course of which numerous honest men and women still in your ranks will at last understand and shake off the incubus of Stalinism, in time to play their part in the real battle for socialism in Britain."

The last few days have seen many British journals indulging in the time-honored pastime of reviewing the old year and peering into the new. Most of them are pretty doleful about it. The Times says the year "was not one on which the human race can look back with much

pride. . . . The paradox of the human predicament stood out more clearly than ever before: a deep, almost desperate longing for peace yoked to an instantaneous preparation for suicidal war." Crisis—economic, political and spiritual—over-shadows the whole capitalist world, and Britain not least of all.

## U.S. ROCKET-BASES VIEWED AS THREAT

There are signs of economic slump. Even more ominous is the threat of American rocket-bases being built here. Local councils—especially of cities that were blitzed in the war—are protesting; in Aberdeen one trade union branch has decided to "black"—i.e. prohibit—work on rocket sites.

The New Statesman calls the Anglo-U.S. agreement on these bases "Britain's suicide pact" and says scathingly that "to judge by his recent performances in the House [of Commons], it is doubtful if even Mr. MacMillan will bother to ascertain its details." The missiles, it points out, are not intended to defend Britain, but decisively increase its vulnerability. There are the ingredients lying about for a really powerful and effective protest movement on this issue. There is more feeling about it among ordinary people than I remember on any question for a very long time.

## Socialists and 1958 Elections

1958 will be a major election year. The Democrats and the Republicans will go before the American working people with variations of the same Big Business program.

Regardless of their promises both will offer:

More spending for the catastrophic arms race as their sole answer to economic decline.

More cold war against the Soviet-bloc countries and the national independence revolution in Asia and Africa.

More attacks on the labor movement at home.

More Jim Crow.  
 More demands on the American working people to tighten their belts, while the billionaires profit.

We believe the working people will manifest increasing dissatisfaction with Big Business rule.

We believe they will be increasingly

sympathetic to socialist candidates advocating a workers' and farmers' government in the U.S. and pressing immediate and compelling demands such as withdrawal of American troops from foreign soil, an end to the missile race, the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

1957 saw a growing unity among radicals around socialist campaign activities. This was marked by the support extended by the National Guardian and by Vincent Hallinan and other prominent individuals on the left for candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in New York, Detroit and San Francisco. The support was extended despite disagreement over certain aspects of the SWP's program.

The growing unity around electoral activities is encouraging. We believe it should be broadened this year and the number of socialist campaigns multiplied. In this way the ground will be prepared for mass independent working class opposition to Big Business rule.

## The Jencks Case Victory

Another landmark has been registered in the counter-attack against the witch hunt. Upon the request of the Department of Justice, the federal court in El Paso has dismissed the Jencks case.

The Jencks frame-up alleged that this organizer of the Mine Mill and Smelter Union had falsely signed the non-Communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley law. His conviction in 1954 was based upon the testimony of the paid informers of the Justice Department.

On Dec. 31 the prosecutor told the federal court that "on the available evidence, the government cannot successfully retry this defendant." The bias of Judge Thomason, who presided over the conviction of Jencks at the first trial, may be gauged from the fact that while having no alternative but to dismiss the case, he insisted in declaring that he was still convinced of Jencks' guilt.

In a very important decision on the Jencks case, the Supreme Court ruled last spring that a defendant has the right to examine the government's file of statements made by prosecution witnesses. This was a blow to the informer system because under FBI promptings and hints original statements of the informers are subsequently "improved" to such a

degree that non-identifications in early statements become positive identifications in final testimony and all incriminating errors and inconsistencies are ironed out. Heretofore in witch-hunt trials defendants were confronted only with the final, polished testimony and were denied the right to see all the statements which would permit adequate cross-examination of the paid witnesses.

In the Jencks case, the notorious Harvey Matusow identified Jencks as a member of the Communist Party. He subsequently told the FBI he was lying and this was recorded in his file of statements. Nonetheless the government went to trial and used Matusow's "identification" to get a conviction.

Heatedly denying press reports that they had dropped the case to prevent the defense from seeing the FBI files on Matusow, Justice Department officials declared: "We dropped this case because we didn't have the proof." If so, why did they try Jencks in the first place?

As the story on page one about the current Cleveland T-H conspiracy trial shows, the anti-labor, witch-hunting Justice Department is now engaged in a new kind of frame-up as smelly as the Jencks case.

## .. Army Reviews Discharges

(Continued from page 1)

for a degree in Electrical Engineering. Was denied the GI educational benefits by the New York State Veterans Administration. Made an application for a disability claim against U.S. army prior to discharge. . . . This claim was denied by the U.S. army because of the nature of my discharge."

WA8-108-495: "Was accepted at two jobs, then discharged. Was refused bond for a job handling precious metals, thus occasioning loss of job. Was refused admittance to City College New York." US52-055-415: "Unable to follow vocation desired: VA [Veterans Administration] has not approved my vocational rehabilitation. Ohio Korean bonus now being held up."

ER55-147-139: "In Nov. 1951, I was drafted into the army. . . . I was honorably released on Sept. 28, 1953 and placed in the inactive reserves. On Feb. 28, 1956, two years after being out of the service, I had a hearing before a field board of inquiry, because of alleged associations with organizations listed as subversive by the Attorney General. These charges were made by nameless informers after my active service termi-

nated and covered a period after my honorable release. Received undesirable discharge, April 1957."

With the army facing a court test over its security discharges, Francis X. Plant, Army special assistant on "personnel loyalty" told newsmen on Dec. 26, about the military's reforms. Of 211 "undesirable" security discharges, 69 have been upgraded to "general" and 65 to "honorable." Of 435 general discharges, 129 have been changed to "honorable" and 12 have been modified to show reasons other than "security" for the discharge. With the army's own figure of 726 army "security" discharges meted out between 1948 and 1955, there still remain 532 discharges of less than honorable character. These have been issued because of political beliefs or associations.

Army spokesmen confirmed that Supreme Court review of the army witchhunt will determine whether the army may give a draftee with an excellent service record a less than honorable discharge for alleged pre-induction ideas or associations. Army spokesmen declined to say what they would do if the Supreme Court ruling went against the army.

The origin of the army's "reform," can be traced to Aug. 4, 1955 when Rowland Watts, then national secretary of the Workers Defense League, focused national attention on the Pentagon's witch hunt against enlisted men. Watts, basing himself on 110 cases, issued a two-volume report on "The Draftee and Internal Security." It exposed the army's blacklisting through security-notation discharges of men whose thinking and activities or those of their kin were not in conformity with brass-hat standards. Reinforcing the Watts report was the widely publicized case of Eugene Landy who was turned down for a naval-reserve commission because his mother had allegedly once been a "Communist."

Following the Landy case a barrage of guilt-by-kinship risks came into the limelight. Senator Hennings' subcommittee on Constitutional Rights began hearings on Nov. 17, 1955. It hit the army's persecution of draftees.

Harmon and Abramowitz have fought the army through every federal, district and appeals courts and have been rebuffed each time. Their current fight in the Supreme Court will affect hundreds of other victimized youth. The army, according to the Dec. 27 New York Herald Tribune, says it does not expect the problem to recur on any considerable scale because prospective inductees are now brass-screened before induction, instead of after. This "solution" to the problem poses another civil liberties challenge: will the military be permitted to transfer its blacklisting from discharge papers to draft cards?

## "Wool-Hat," "Cracker" Are Stereotypes Too

By Don West

[The following article, entitled "Hill-Billy," "Plowboy," "Wool-Hats," and "Crackers," appeared in the December Southern Newsletter, Louisville, Ky. Don West is a poet, journalist and farmer who has been associated with many militant struggles to organize the workers in the South.—Editor.]

Sometimes well-meaning people have a tendency to lump all the white South together as a hopelessly prejudiced and bad lump.

These well-meaning people have a set of unfortunate stock words or phrases used to create a stereotype by which a whole group is judged. Thus they create a definition of "cracker" and condemn a whole group.

I think now of at least four recent examples.  
 One is an article by Hodding Carter in P.D. East's Petal Paper, Petal, Mississippi. Mr. Carter refers to Talmadge's "crackers." The implication is, of course, that we must lay responsibility for the Talmadges of the South to the "crackers" door.

Another example is in a recent Paul Robeson interview in Ebony Magazine. He uses the same "cracker" term, and the implication is that these "crackers" are the ones responsible for the plight of his people.

And my old and very courageous friend, L. E. Austin, editor of the Carolina Times, Durham, N.C. makes use of "hill-billy" and "cracker" phrases right along. Others use "wool-hat," "red-necks," "pecker-wood," "country-hicks," etc., in like manner.

Some may say this is not important, just the matter of semantics. But I think it is important to be as clear as possible in our use of words. Such usage as the examples above tend to cloud the issues and hide the real enemy. That certainly is important.

Let us look at these implications.  
 The bitter fruits of prejudice—segregation, lynchings, the recent castrating of a Negro man by an inhuman gang—grow out



White workers fighting for progress in the South. These members of the Textile Workers Union had to use a church bus for a union headquarters when they struck the Green River Mills in 1955 because Tuxedo, North Carolina, where the strike occurred was a company town and they couldn't rent a hall.

of a background of slavery of the Negro people. Who owned the slaves? And who sought to perpetuate and extend slavery? It was not the "crackers" or "peckerwoods" or "wool-hats." Slaves were owned by the Southern aristocrats, and they sought to perpetuate the institution. They lived in the nice big white houses, and they had education and "culture," because they had time and wealth. Slaves did their work.

But the "cracker"—that is a word used particularly in Georgia to denote the poor and common white folks. Tom Watson in an interchange with Teddy Roosevelt, once gave an excellent definition something like this, "The cracker," he said, "is simply the Southern white who did his own work like a man, and did not depend upon slaves to do it."

The "cracker," then, was the non-slaveholding white. Today he is just the common ordinary Southern white working man or farmer as distinguished from those who are from the big white house.

And what about that "plowboy" governor Faubus? Why is

it necessary to defame and dishonor an honorable occupation and group by connecting a Faubus onto it? What is wrong with being a plowboy anyhow? By such careless usage as cited above we might be led to believe it is the plowboys who follow the furrow from dawn till dusk who are responsible for Little Rock!

Again, there are the "hill-billies." Often this phrase is thrown around as if in some way the hill folks are the ones responsible for violence against the Negro people. The "hill-billies" are the Southern mountaineers who live in or come from the Southern Appalachians. Historically the mountaineers were opposed to slavery on principle. In the Civil War the Southern mountaineers were an area almost unitedly pro-Union and anti-Confederacy in sympathy and action.

Why, for goodness sakes, should all the evils growing out of a slavery background be thrown at the very people who fought and opposed slavery?

There is also a lot of twaddle about the "wool-hats," which is just another term de-

scribing the common folks. The truth, of course, is that not the "wool hats" but the Silk Hats are the ones to be eyed with suspicion. The phrase "wool-hat" is just another of those misleading stereotypes used so often and cleverly to pull the wool over a lot of people's eyes.

More recently comes the National Guardian with an article about "Bollweevil J. White-trash." Here again the old Bourbon lie that the poor whites—the "whitetrash"—is mainly responsible for conditions of the Negro is repeated. The poor Southern white, victimized by both the bollweevil and the planter aristocrats, with his lack of educational opportunity, with his big chambray work shirt, is pictured as the "final breakthrough" against decency at Little Rock.

What a false and misleading representation! Writers of such articles, regardless of their good intentions, cannot but serve, even be it so unconsciously, the purpose and desires of the Bourbons and their Northern allies. They deny the poor white opportunities for educa-

tion and understanding; they fill his mind with poisoned racist propaganda. Then they stand back and make him the goat!

Personally, I am of these—hill-billy, cracker, plowboy—I come from the mountaineer-cracker people and I have always definitely and deliberately identified myself with and of them. Yes, and my own neck is red now from following the plow around the furrows of the fields of this Georgia farm.

Such stereotypes by which a whole group is condemned cannot unite. They are splitting words. Hate and spite and force are suggested by their usage. They tend to turn the plowboys and crackers and hill-billies toward the Faubus camp. And God knows in this crusade for decency and love and brotherhood and peace, we need every possible friend and ally.

I would say to those who have accepted such a short-sighted view, who have used such terms in a derogatory sense: look elsewhere for the culprit. Not the poor Southern white working man or farmer, be he hill-billy or lowlander, but look to the big white houses on the hills. Look toward those who control the radio, TV, schools, press and pulpit. You will find the old aristocratic Southerner and no doubt you'll find roots reaching all the way to Wall Street.

Certainly, no one—I the least of all—would deny that the poor white Southerner is not sometimes found under the bed sheets and pillows slips of the Ku Klux Klan. They are in the White Councils also. But they are not the primary source. Those who own the wealth and the means, and use them, to shape and twist the minds and spirits of the many are the responsible ones. Jose Marti, the great Cuban independence leader, expressed it well in the following words with which I completely agree: "The monster who troubles the waters, and not the miserable thirsty ones who drink from them, are to be held accountable for the dangerous backwash of those waters."

## .. Afro-Asian Solidarity Parley

(Continued from page 1)

countries. The kind of investment the foreign capitalists are willing to make in Asia and Africa are mainly in extractive industries and production of raw materials, or in public utilities, which are profitable monopolies. But these they wish for themselves and consider it a loss when a backward country sets up a government-owned public utility. The non-capitalist USSR, however, is quite willing to aid both in basic industrialization and in developing government-owned utilities.

An excellent example of this difference was given last month when the Soviet Union offered Brazil all the equipment and technical aid needed for oil wells and refineries to exploit recently discovered petroleum deposits. Brazil would find it extremely difficult if not impossible to get the necessary aid from the U.S., for the powerful oil corporations do not want to see a government oil

monopoly in Brazil. They wish to get their own smouts in the trough. Thus the Soviet offer gives Brazil and other countries the chance of escaping the fate of Venezuela, whose oil riches are drained away by foreign corporations which maintain a puppet dictator to keep "order" among the resentful population.

Top U.S. aid officials have boasted publicly that they run the foreign aid programs to encourage "private enterprise" and discourage government-owned developments. Their fury with Soviet interference in the private profit opportunities of foreign aid has been compounded by the Soviet suggestion at Cairo that other undeveloped countries emulate Indonesia's nationalization of Dutch holdings.

The Afro-Asian conference and the economic aid offered by the Soviet Union cannot but strengthen the colonial revolution. That this revolutionary

wave has not subsided even in those Asian countries where political independence is almost a decade old is attested by such developments as the nationalizations (in many cases carried out by workers) in Indonesia. Its spread is attested by the resistance to imperialism by Egypt and Syria and by the armed struggle for independence in Algeria and now in the Cameroons.

The continued presence of the masses on the political scene in the independent nations of Africa and Asia enables the native capitalist classes there to hold out for greater concessions from imperialism by taking a "neutralist" position. This, moreover, placates the anti-war and pro-Soviet sympathies of the masses. But the native capitalists realize that the mass movement may overflow the channels they have marked out for it to social revolution against capitalism itself.

To curb this inherent tendency of the colonial revolution is a constant preoccupation of the ruling classes of the Asian "neutralist" and Arab nationalist regimes. In this they are aided by the Kremlin which, in payment for the diplomatic support, imposes on the Communist Parties of these various countries a policy of not going beyond the bounds marked off by the native capitalists.

Nevertheless, every act of resistance to imperialism emboldens the workers and peasants. In China the tide of social revolution rose beyond the limits marked by Stalin and Mao and swept the Chinese Communist Party to power. The workers and peasants in today's colonial revolution will similarly seek to go beyond the limited objectives marked out for it by Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, and the various Communist Parties leaderships.

**THE MILITANT**  
 A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interest of the Working People  
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**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
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I cast my first Presidential ballot for Eugene V. Debs in 1920, while Gene was in the Atlanta penitentiary.

After discussing the local political situation with my fellow Socialists, and finding that all the candidates in the City Council race were representatives of the capitalist class and their two parties, I agreed that it was my right and duty to file as a representative of the working class.

Since filing as a candidate I have been around and visited many of my old friends in the Labor and Socialist movements and have been heartened by the genuine response of solidarity and cooperation that I have encountered.

Immediately after leaving the County City building after filing for Council, I talked with a Negro community leader that I thought might be induced to file also.

He was especially interested in the fact that I was going to include in my program

the question of the lily-white Fire Department and demand the hiring of Negroes in the Department. He also liked my plank on taxation which calls for placing the burden of taxes on the rich.

Next I went to the restaurant where I usually eat and told the waitress that I had filed. She did not believe me at first but when I showed her my receipt for the filing fee she said: "Well, I'll be damned. I'll vote for you, it's time some honest worker ran against those phony businessmen fakers."

The next night I went to my union meeting. A bunch of brothers greeted me with "Hi ya, councilman." They were very pleased that I had decided to run. After the meeting got under way the Business Agent stopped short in the middle of his report and said: "I want to make an announcement to you brothers. One of our brothers, Jack Wright, had the guts to go and file for City Council against that pack of petty-larceny business men who control it. We must spread the word in all the shops and get all the boys registered to vote and give Jack full support."

Several of the brothers took the floor and announced their approval and support after which I took the floor and told them briefly what my program is and why I am running on a Socialist platform. I told them that at the next meeting I would have a full statement of my platform written up and would ask them for their official endorsement, which I feel hopeful they will give me.

Unions Strike St. Paul Press; Issue Own Paper

By Winifred Nelson

ST. PAUL, Dec. 28.—The people of this city saw their first newspaper in 11 days at 8 P.M. tonight, when the St. Paul Sentinel, 16-page tabloid published by the striking Newspaper Guild, Typographical and Mailers unions, hit the streets for the first time.

Another first for St. Paul is the strike against the St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press—the first strike in 109 years against these newspapers! Forced on the workers by the money-hungry Ridder family who are not content with monopoly-ownership profits in these and other papers throughout the country, the strike has caused a complete blackout of printed news locally.

FIRST SINCE 1930's

First daily strike paper published in the Twin Cities since the militant 1930's when Teamster Local 544 put out the Northwest Organizer, the Sentinel will appear every day but Monday for the duration of the strike. Price is five cents for the daily and ten cents for the Sunday paper, based on the cost of production. Strikers "are happy to undertake this without pay both because they feel they owe this service to the public and because they want to keep in practice in their favorite activity," declares the lead article of this first edition, headlined "Why the Sentinel?"

"Strike Peace Still Far Off" reads the next headline on the Sentinel's front page. Although negotiations with management were resumed today for the first time since a pre-Christmas break-off, members of the joint strike committee see the strike as "still far from a settlement." Demands are: shorter hours, increased wages, no discrimination in employment and an end to the speed-up.

Appearing on an inside page of the Sentinel along with statements from the unions involved, is a statement by management, using all the old back-to-work propaganda techniques and deploring the fact that news "must be brought to the people of this community in a tabloid publication such as this when the resources and staff are at hand for a complete service to the St. Paul public!"

Responsibility for the situation rests squarely on management, says the Union Advocate, official weekly organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, in a half-page spread across the front page, Dec. 26.

San Francisco

"The Independent Voter in the '58 Election"

Speakers: Philip Burton, Vincent Hallinan, Richard Lynden

FRI., JAN. 24 — 8 P.M.

150 Golden Gate

Ausp.: Independent Socialist Forum

What to Wrap Garbage In?

"What to wrap garbage in?" St. Paul's new union daily paper, the Sentinel, asks, declaring that housewives have been missing their daily paper "in a rather inglorious way." It continues: "All week they have been calling the bureau of sanitation, asking how to wrap garbage. The ordinance says garbage must be wrapped securely, 'preferably using three or four thicknesses of newspaper.' for city garbage pickup!"

St. Paul's two papers—owned and published by the Ridder family—have a complete monopoly here, the Advocate editors say, adding: "It is a sweet setup for the monopoly ownership. Profit-wise, it is about as juicy an arrangement as the sharpest, and most avid, business entrepreneur could hope to put together."

(The same situation exists throughout the country except in a few metropolitan centers—complete control by the monopoly press!) So when forced to call a strike because they were unable to get satisfactory agreements on new contracts, other unions at the plant went out in solid support of the strikers, totalling some 900 workers in all. The Stereotypers union has since added in contract demands.

PROTEST IRON HAND

"It was more than just getting a satisfactory settlement this time," the Union Advocate states. For the workers "it was a question of having some voice in their pay and working conditions or knuckling under for years to come if not for all time—to an iron-handed rule by the monopoly newspapers for which they have worked."

The papers' owners, continues the Advocate, demand "STILL ANOTHER CONCESSION — they want to PAY LESS WAGES than do the competitive commercial print shops in some cases, less than do the daily newspapers in Minneapolis (St. Paul's twin city) for the same kind of work in other cases." And, for the last five years, "the owners . . . have been getting tougher and tougher with their employees."

Mailers at these papers have been working for 29 cents an hour less than all other St. Paul mailers, according to Harold Hol, president of Mailers' Local 4. They have been working a 37½-hour week in contrast to all other local mailers and those at two other Ridder-owned papers (in Duluth and San Jose) who work only 35 hours.

"Sweat-shop conditions!" Hol declared. "Even though press speeds have been increased tremendously and the papers greatly enlarged in size, the company has consistently refused

to employ sufficient extra men to help relieve the overworked Mailers."

MODEST DEMANDS

In view of these conditions, the Mailers' demand—along with the Typographers' and Stereotypers'—for a two-year contract with a 15-cent an hour raise the first year, and a 10-cent an hour raise the second year—seems modest enough. Particularly so since Hol points out that another demand for the addition of two men on a regular basis "will cut down the amount of overtime pay now required and the publisher will not have to spend more money in the long run." Mailers and Stereotypers are also asking the 35-hour week, while the Typographers want a compensating day off if a holiday falls on their day off or on vacation time.

The Newspaper Guild is the only union seeking a one-year contract and inclusion of a "fair employment practices" clause. They ask a five-day week for those workers who do not have it, but do not seek to lessen their 40-hour week. Their demand for \$6 a week increase, according to Richard Wanek, Guild contract committee chairman, will bring St. Paul news workers' pay closer, but not up to pay for similar jobs on the Minneapolis papers. The Guild is asking higher raises for some workers whose pay is far below average in the industry.

BOSSES DRAW STRIKE INSURANCE

In the face of the hardship for the strikers with a long mid-winter strike, the Ridder ownership has already announced its intention of holding out for at least 13 weeks. They do not fear to lose their profits, for they have strike insurance! The strike insurance plan is a scheme of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, which can make a strike downright profitable for the bosses. "Sometimes a strike can be broken that way, and with it the union," the Union Advocate states. "Three months is a long time to live on strike-benefits, which over-all represent but a fraction of take-home pay. And unions don't have the strike benefit funds to match the strike insurance benefits which publishers can enjoy for 13 weeks—even with the plant shut down!"

MORALE HIGH

Morale is high, in spite of the fact that division of the papers' 900 employees into several smaller unions is bound to weaken their position in negotiations. How much more powerful would be their demands if the strikers were united in one union asking equal pay, hours and conditions for all! Not long ago, members of the newspaper unions here were saying, "We can't strike. There's a clause in our contract that forbids it." But a new militancy appeared as the bosses got tougher. Today, to this reporter's wishes for a speedy victory, picketers answered, "We're sure to win!"

Seattle Socialists Name Wright



"How can you ask for a raise when we all have to pull together and tighten our belts, what with Sputnik and everything?"

Molders Union Veteran Seeks City Council Post

SEATTLE, Jan. 5.—Standing on an inspiring 43-year record of militant service in the West Coast labor and socialist movement, Jack Wright completed filing requirements last week as a candidate in the primary election for the Seattle City Council. He is campaigning with the endorsement and active support of the Socialist Workers Party.

A member of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union since 1915 and presently a member of the Seattle Central Labor Council and the Washington State Metal Trades Council, Wright is widely known and respected in the ranks of labor as a fighter. Standing on a socialist program of workers democracy in industry, in government and in the union movement, he has aroused the interest and support of many workers.

BECAME SOCIALIST IN 1914

Jack Wright was born in Marshfield, Oregon in 1896, the son of a pioneer family that was the first to settle in the area. He came to Everett, Wash., in 1910 and began work as an apprentice molder. Three years later he entered the socialist movement as a member of the Young Peoples Socialist League, and in 1914 he joined Local 500 of the IWW.

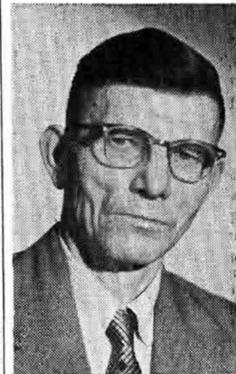
He was a participant in the 1931 Hunger March on Washington and then an organizer for the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union in California, organizing lettuce workers in Watsonville and cotton pickers in the San Joaquin Valley.

In the course of the struggle, he has been railroaded to jail many times. He was imprisoned while leading a strike of beet workers in Oxnard Calif., as well as during the molders' strikes in Seattle in 1917 and 1918. He first went to jail as a boy for selling a socialist youth paper in defiance of a court injunction.

In 1928 he became associated with the Communist Party. By 1953 his long-developing opposition to many of its views led to the severing of this political tie. Shortly after the Khrushchev revelations in 1956 he became an active supporter of the Socialist Workers Party.

As a lifelong socialist who cast his first vote for E. V. Debs, Wright says that he will try to emulate him in this campaign. While outlining a series of planks on key local labor, civil liberties and civil rights issues, he is at the same time campaigning to reach a maximum number of people with the socialist answer

SWP Candidate



JACK WRIGHT

to the great world problems of our time.

TAXATION PROGRAM

He was very well received in his opening speech of the campaign at the Washington Pension Union Forum. He pointed to the present critical unemployment situation in the state—over 10% of the work force is now jobless—as a major issue in the elections.

Discussing his program for a democratic reorganization of the tax structure based on ability to pay, he outlined a solution to a pressing problem of the many Seattle workers and pensioners who own their homes and have them heavily mortgaged. Oppressive city taxes are levied on this low-income group instead of on the banks and mortgage companies who really hold the deeds. A concerted drive by labor, Wright declared to much applause, could force a shift of this tax burden to the banks and mortgage companies. He also called for abolition of the city sales tax and the placing of special taxes on the Boeing aircraft company for its use of city facilities.

All persons interested in promoting Jack Wright's campaign are urged to send contributions to Jack Wright Campaign Headquarters, 655 Main St., Seattle 4 or to call MU 7139 if they wish to help with electioneering activities.

Postpone Rowoldt Victory Celebration

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 3.—Charles Rowoldt, who recently won a deportation case against the U.S. Immigration Department, was taken to General Hospital here yesterday. He will undergo an operation for gallstones next week.

The Rowoldt Victory Celebration will be postponed till next month, the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born has announced. The affair had originally been set for Saturday, Jan. 11.

Watch for future announcement of the Rowoldt Victory Celebration.

Letters from Readers

Working on History Of IWW; Seeks Data

Editor:

I am working on a history of the IWW and would appreciate hearing from any former members who took part in the notable strikes and trials of that organization, as well as from Socialist Party members who also found themselves mixed up in the affairs.

Homer Hathaway  
1620 Maple  
Everett, Wash.

the next time around. The clerk told me that this is "the worst year we've ever had," but, of course, that would only mean that this is the worst year since he'd been working there, and he didn't say how long that was. He did volunteer, however, that there were 2,500 signing there for benefits, on a weekly average.

M. G. Chicago

A Soviet Movie

Editor:

A new Russian movie called Carnival would be just a weak imitation of Hollywood if it wasn't full of hilarious scenes ridiculing a certain big shot. The story is about a drama school that puts on a New Year's Eve party. Everyone seems to know what to do. The only fly in the ointment is a buffoon who happens to be the director of the school. After speaking to a magician he gets on stage to make a pompous speech. He fishes in his pockets for notes and pulls out birds.

He tries to mop his face with a hanky but pulls out a dozen bandanas knotted together. Later he gets on the stage again to stop a dance but is lowered through the stage floor, etc. Students trap him in the elevator by shutting off the power, and everyone seems to think life would be better without guys like him. We don't expect Russian movies to attack the bureaucrats, but what else is there to make fun of?

In America the comic strip Beetle Bailey is tops in popularity because it makes fun of the caste system of the Army. Then there are religious cartoon characters like Brother Juniper who stands at a bus stop with two ladies on a windy day and all three of them are holding their skirts down.

As these non-working elements in society discover that people aren't taking them seriously any more they try to get jobs as comedians without bothering to change costumes.

D. B. San Francisco

Unemployment In Chicago

Editor:

Perhaps you would be interested in knowing how the unemployment situation looks from this small corner. I had been at the unemployment office once before, on Sept. 20. At that time I filed my claim, they sent me out on a job that afternoon, and I went to work the next morning. At that time, there was plenty of room to sit down in the waiting room. Today, there was hardly space to lean on the walls. At this office, they have 99 numbered cards hanging on a nail. You take the top card and wait until the number is called.

I picked up number 62, found a space on the walls to lean on. At that time they called number 24. By the time they called my number, about an hour later, they had gone through the 99 cards, and number 8 was up on

Banquet to Honor I. F. Stone Weekly On 5th Birthday

A dinner will be held in New York on Friday evening, Jan. 17, at 7 P.M. in honor of I. F. Stone on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of his crusading weekly which has played an important role in the fight for civil liberties and peace. The banquet will be held at the Port Arthur Restaurant at 7 Mott St. Reservations are \$3 each and include a ten-course Chinese dinner. There will be speeches by Stone and others and informal discussion. More than half the 200 available reservations are already taken and the balance will be filled in order of receipt. Checks must accompany the reservations which should be mailed to I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., Washington 15, D. C.

In a statement in the windup issue of his fifth year of publication, Stone gives thanks to his readers and says "The big issue today is peace and we hope to dedicate our major efforts in the next five years to it. The outlook is bad, but so was the outlook for civil liberties five years ago. Yet . . . the principles people read only in a few maverick publications like this one were soon to be embodied in the law of land by the Supreme Court."

Forum Will Hear Dr. Otto Nathan

The Militant Labor Forum in New York will sponsor a lecture by Dr. Otto Nathan on the subject "War and Peace in the Atomic Age." It will be held Sat., Feb. 1, 8 P.M., at 116 University Place. A noted economist and executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein, Dr. Nathan has long been a target of the witch hunters for his socialist views. Last November he won reversal of a contempt-of-Congress conviction arising out of his successful fight against State Department efforts to deny him a passport.

Conference Of Socialist Youth Slated

CHICAGO, Jan. 6.—For the first time in a number of years young socialists from a variety of political backgrounds and from a wide geographical area will gather together to discuss their mutual problems and perspectives.

A weekend of discussion on Perspectives for Socialist Youth is being planned for the Midwest Conference to be held in Chicago on Feb. 1 and 2, 1958. The conference is sponsored by the Socialist Youth Committee in Chicago, a new club composed of young people representing a broad array of different political views and open to all.

Participation is expected from such places and campuses as Denver University, University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin, University of Chicago, Roosevelt University, Wayne University, Toronto, Antioch College, New York and Philadelphia. In addition to discussion, an evening of folk music and entertainment is planned for Saturday night. For further information contact: J. Maxim, 1157 E. 54th Place, Chicago.

Midwest Conference Of the SOCIALIST YOUTH COMMITTEE In Chicago

A Weekend of Discussion on Perspectives for Socialist Youth  
Feb. 1 and 2

For information contact:  
J. Maxim  
1157 E. 54th Place  
Chicago, Ill.

Calendar of Events

Chicago

Fri., Jan. 17, 8:15 P.M. Militant Labor Forum. "Three Programs for Peace—The Real Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence." 777 W. Adams.

Minneapolis

Friday, Jan. 17, 8 P.M. — "Meaning of NATO Conference." Speaker: V. R. Dunne, State Socialist Workers Party organizer, 322 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 205.

New York

Friday, Jan. 17, 8 and 10:15 P.M. — Young Socialist Alliance

Presents: "Bespoké Overcoat" Academy Award Winning film—Based on the Gogol story; "Deadline for Action," Carl Marzani's film expose of the effects of imperialism; "Champion," with Charles Chaplin. Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh St. at Second Ave. Contribution: \$1.00.

Saturday, Feb. 1, 8 P.M. Dr. Nathan, noted economist and executor of Dr. Albert Einstein's estate, speaks on: "War and Peace in the Atomic Age." Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum. 116 University Place.

Militant Labor School Winter 1958 Classes

- (1) "The Road to Socialism." Lectures by Daniel Roberts. Six Sundays from 5:30 to 7 P.M., beginning Jan. 12.
- (2) "The Negro Struggle for Equality." Lectures by George Lavan. Five Sundays from 7:15 to 8:45 P.M. beginning Jan. 12.
- (3) "The Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present." Lectures by Murry Weiss. Six Mondays from 7 to 8:30 P.M. beginning Jan. 13.
- (4) "Historical Materialism — The Origins of the Capitalist System." Lectures by Vincent Copeland. Six Mondays from 8:15 to 10:15.

Fees: Six-week course — \$2.50; Five-week course — \$2.00; Single lectures — \$.50. To register write to Militant Labor School, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. or phone Algonquin 5-7852.