

The Niagara Firetrap Deaths

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Use "Ethical" Code in Union Political Purge

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 15 — In the first application of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code against a Wisconsin unionist, Wayne Leverenz, a member of Local 40 of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, was removed Nov. 8 as a delegate to the Milwaukee County CIO Council and barred from holding any office in the union. A shop steward and respected union militant of unquestioned honesty, Leverenz was removed on grounds of association with the Socialist Workers Party and the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Leverenz was a 1956 Presidential elector for the SWP and is vice-chairman of the Milwaukee Sobell committee. He was removed on the basis of the Ethical Practices code provision which states that no person should hold office in any AFL-CIO body who is "a member, consistent supporter or who actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party or any fascist or other totalitarian organization which opposes the democratic principles to which our country and the American trade union movement are dedicated."

OPPOSES CLAUSE

The ouster of Leverenz came as a result of an Oct. 16 meeting of the Milwaukee County CIO Council where he opposed inclusion of a similar "anti-totalitarian" clause in a constitution being drawn up preparatory to merger of the two groups.

Leverenz argued that the clause was a violation of political freedom and "a denial of the principles on which the union movement was founded." Such restrictions of the rights of union members, he said, are "to some extent responsible for corruption in the labor movement."

The "chipping away at principles results in a lack of enthusiasm and participation and engenders a certain amount of cynicism among the membership," he declared.

"The exclusion clause should be abolished" Leverenz argued, "because it violates the principle of no discrimination and, in fact, weakens the anti-discrimination clause in regard

to race, color, creed or political affiliation."

The debate on the proposed constitution took place at an executive session of the CIO Council but Leverenz' viewpoint was leaked to the daily press. His ouster was demanded by his local officers at a local membership meeting Nov. 8 where only 30 of the local's 1,200 members from the Cudahy plant were in attendance. The CIO officials pushed through Leverenz' removal apparently in an effort to facilitate the merger with the AFL by demonstrating their opposition to "communism." In a statement to the press, Leverenz stated his determination to oppose the action taken against him.

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Faces Grilling



WALTER REUTHER, president of the United Automobile Workers. Reuther and the UAW will be forthcoming targets of investigations by the anti-labor McClellan committee.

McClellan's Anti-Labor Group Aims at Reuther

By Fred Halstead

The next major target of the Senate labor-probe committee will be the United Automobile Workers and its president, Walter Reuther. Heading preparations for the probe into the UAW is John McGovern, senior Republican counsel on the committee staff.

The job was assigned to McGovern, according to a Nov. 15 report by syndicated columnist Robert S. Allen, "at the insistence of the three Republican committeemen—Senators Goldwater (Ariz.), Mundt (S.D.), and Curtis (Neb.)." Chief counsel Robert Kennedy, brother of the liberal Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, "prefers this set-up," said the Nov. 18 N.Y. Times.

McGovern's agents have been "in the field" preparing for the probe into the UAW for about five months according to the Times report. These agents are known to have been investigating the Kohler strike, and previous statements by members of the committee indicate that alleged "strike violence" will figure prominently in the UAW phase of the probe which is scheduled to begin sometime after Jan. 1 "A Republican on the committee," says the Times, "said he thought it would start next spring."

This means that the UAW's special collective bargaining convention on the shorter work week, scheduled for February, will take place under the threatening atmosphere of the McClellan probe.

Bargaining will begin in the spring, just when the probers will have the opportunity to smear the UAW in national headlines and when Congress will be considering new anti-

60% Hit Nuclear Tests in World Poll

Almost 60% of the people throughout the world believe that H-bomb explosions are endangering the health of future generations, according to a world poll sponsored by the New York Herald Tribune and reported Nov. 17. Only 17% did not think the tests were harmful. The balance expressed no opinion. The highest number of those recognizing the radiation danger was in Japan where 76% of those polled are so convinced. (Among university graduates the figure was 91%.) In Germany 60% believed the tests were harmful, 12% said "not harmful," 24% said "don't know." In Norway, 76% said "harmful"; 6%, "not harmful"; 18%, "don't know." In Britain, 43%, "harmful"; 32%, "not harmful"; 25%, "don't know."

Anti-Hoffa Units Hit IBT's Ouster

Seven New York and Newark locals of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, whose delegates to the IBT convention voted against Hoffa, have appealed to the AFL-CIO not to go through with its expulsion threat against the IBT. The locals, with 5,000 members, comprise the Brewery Workers Joint Board of the IBT. Until 1953 they had been affiliated with the CIO Brewery Workers Union. In a Nov. 16 letter to AFL-CIO president George Meany, the locals said:

"...We are firmly convinced that such changes [in the IBT leadership] can never be brought about successfully by court orders, legislative intervention or by directives from the AFL-CIO..."

"Will expulsion of our union deter the enemies of organized labor in their efforts to pass anti-labor legislation? We think not; we believe they are determined under any circumstances to press for a national 'right to work' law, and to force labor into the noose of anti-trust legislation."

"Will expulsion punish the newly-elected officers of our union. We believe, on the contrary, that it will punish the rank and file of our union, and other AFL-CIO unions..."

Disregarding considerations of this kind, both United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther and UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey were beating the drums last week for expulsion of the IBT and for setting up of a rival teamsters union. Referring to a previous decisive action that the Reuther machine helped engineer, Mazey said in a Milwaukee TV interview: "You'll recall that in the CIO in 1949 we expelled nine unions because they were dominated by the Communist Party. We formed rival unions... You've got the same basic problems now." (Nov. 16 Business Week.)

labor legislation. "Should a strike result" from the UAW negotiations, says the Nov. 6 Business Week, "the legislators' mood for restrictive legislation would be enhanced."

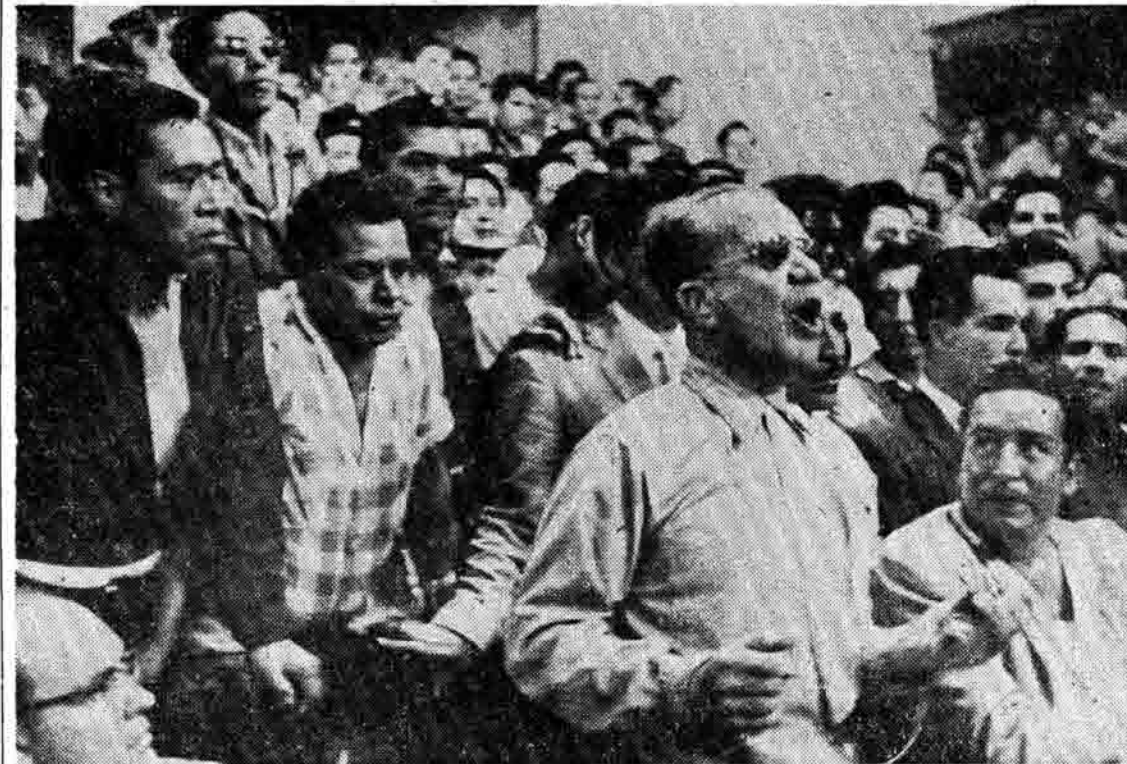
The score of the "Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field" is now: seven months of hearings which incited screaming anti-labor headlines across the country "balanced" by three weeks of hearings (beginning Oct. 22 and ending Nov. 16) on a single anti-labor agency used by the employers and on a garbage collection racket in New York City. For the future, in addition to the UAW hearings, the committee has announced resumption of hearings on the Teamsters on Dec. 5, and Committee agents, Nov. 15, subpoenaed the files of the Carpenters union.

The effect of McClellan's work is revealed in the latest figures released by the National Labor Relations Board on the results of NLRB elections held during the three month period ending Sept. 30. The percentage of elections carried by a majority of "no union" votes was the largest ever recorded—41% as compared with a low of 26% in 1951.

To date, the official policy of the AFL-CIO—cooperation with the McClellan committee instead of fighting it—has not helped to increase rank-and-file democracy, but it has helped to block the growth of unions.

'Guns, Not Butter' Policy Pushed by Government

Guatemalans Protest Rigged Elections



As thousands of Guatemalans demonstrated outside, their sentiments are expressed from the gallery at an Oct. 28 session of the legislature which ended with a new military Junta seizing control of the government. A rigged Presidential election held Oct. 20 was set aside by the military after huge mass protests. Dictatorial rule was re-established in 1954 when the U.S. State Department engineered the overthrow of democratically-elected President Arbenz Guzman.

Racists in Little Rock Grow Stronger as Gov't Retreats

By George Lavan

The situation in Little Rock is deteriorating.

The last act of the outgoing "moderate" mayor and the city council was to order the arrest of Mrs. L. C. Bates and Rev. J. C. Crenshaw, leaders of the Arkansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In the Nov. 5 elections the White Citizens Council and similar racist organizations succeeded in electing a member of the city council. Moreover, the other six candidates endorsed by them nearly defeated the Good Government slate, which before the integration battle had been expected by all observers to win without serious challenge.

On Nov. 12 Terrance Roberts and Jefferson Thomas, two of the nine Negro students in Little Rock's Central High School, were beaten by white classmates.

On Nov. 17 Governor Faubus, who has shifted, equivocated and doubletalked on the subject of "compromise" with the federal authorities, again took a firm stand. According to an Asso-

ciated Press dispatch, "Gov. Orval E. Faubus said today the desegregation deadline in Little Rock could only be resolved by the voluntary withdrawal of the nine Negro children from Central High School."

All the above news items are straws in the wind. The wind that is currently blowing through Little Rock is one of renewed self-confidence and aggressiveness on the part of the racists and their hero, Gov. Faubus.

How has this situation come about? Only two months ago national and world indignation forced Eisenhower to send troops to Little Rock. The racist Bullies needed but one brief skirmish with the federal troops to lose heart and sink back to their holes. Shortly thereafter efforts by them to provoke a walkout of white students proved a dismal flop.

But that was in the first few weeks after the arrival of federal troops. Now the tide has turned. The racists have again become emboldened. They are gaining greater influence over whites who stood aside from the battle

in front of the high school two months ago.

Direct responsibility for this ominous situation rests on the federal government. The Eisenhower administration, jarred out of its no-enforcement attitude on school desegregation by the world-wide storm of anger over Little Rock, sent federal troops. Instead of following through, the administration, once the pressure of public opinion on it had eased, slumped back into appeasement. The Southern white-supremacists. Its sole effort has been to get the federal troops out of Little Rock: the original 1,000 troops sent on Sept. 24 were halved on Oct. 14; reduced to 225 on Nov. 6; now all are to be withdrawn by Nov. 27, thus leaving protection of the Negro students solely to the federalized Arkansas National Guard.

Withdrawal of the federal troops would be of no great concern, if the situation had improved rather than deteriorated. But the federal authorities backtracked on taking the promised steps to improve the atmosphere—the exposure and bringing to

(Continued on page 2)

Demands for "Sacrifice" Raised as Economic and Sputnik Crises Mount

By Herman Chalka

"Guns before butter," the infamous slogan of the German Nazis, is fast becoming the rallying cry of the American capitalist class which is trying to overcome a crisis that was brought to a peak height with the launching of the Soviet satellites.

Government demands that the American people get

Where Does The War Danger Come From?

By Myra T. Weiss

Two sputniks circling the earth announce the beginning of the space age. But in the context of the cold war, they mean much more. They announce a technological breakthrough in warmaking, which—combined with the explosive power of atom and hydrogen bombs—add greatly to the already immense destructive power of war. This makes an understanding of where the war danger comes from and how it can be eliminated more urgent than ever before.

First, what is this technological change? Squadrons of bombers manned by fallible crews, traveling through the sky with their loads of deadly weapons, with radio, weather and other instruments at hand, bomb sights ready, anxiously hoping to pierce the enemy defense force and return to home base—these are as outmoded as the rapier. Sky observation posts, already abandoned, stand as relics of the past. What use are skywatchers armed with binoculars or even radar equipment, when missiles can drop through space or travel across continents in a matter of minutes?

NATURAL PROTECTION DISAPPEARS

Automation has taken over the field of war. The two oceans that served through two world wars as geographical barriers to the involvement of this country's civilian population in the holocaust, might just as well disappear. There is not a nation in the world that does not, military speaking, border the U.S. in a missile age.

According to a N.Y. Times survey (Nov. 18 and 19) of the present missile race, the Soviet

ready to "sacrifice" for an inflation-breeding expansion of the armaments program comes at a point when the present inflation has jacked up living costs for the 13th record month and when the Federal Reserve Board has expressed its official recognition that the country is now in the grip of an economic recession.

WIDESPREAD DOWNTURN

The Federal Reserve Board announced Nov. 14 that it was reducing its interest rates to banks from 3½ to 3% to ease credit and thus stimulate the economy. Testifying before a Congressional committee on Nov. 19, spokesmen for the board said the action was taken because of a "widespread downturn in economic activity rather than a rolling readjustment." (According to official jargon, a rolling readjustment means some parts of the economy are rising while others are falling.)

A key factor in bringing the FRB's action about is what the New York Times described as "an ominous note," namely, that in the first ten months of 1957 there were 187 omitted or reduced stock dividends as compared to 101 in a like period last year.

Reported with far less concern in the Big Business press is that the 2,500,000 workers now unemployed is expected to grow into an army of at least five million by next year if the "recession" continues. In the week ending Nov. 9, the Bureau of Employment Security reported 308,900 applications for unemployment insurance—a jump of 30,800 over the previous week and 90,100 more than the corresponding week last year.

Meanwhile, the implication of Eisenhower's Nov. 13 call for "sacrifices" are slowly being spelled out. It is now anticipated that the administration will demand a staggering \$41 billion for direct military appropriations. To partially compensate for the increase over the present \$38 billion arms expenditures, the Congressional aid is being whetted for such "non essential"

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Labor's Duty in the Fight for Integration

An Editorial

Events in Little Rock show that the government intends to do the least it can get away with to enforce Negro civil rights. It is attempting to retreat from the scene as hastily as possible, to the delight of the racist mobsters. No confidence can be placed in the capitalist government to defend Negro school children in Little Rock or push through school integration anywhere else. The only reliable and effective defense of civil rights can be the mass organization and mobilization of labor and the Negro people.

The mistreatment of the nine Negro children in Little Rock provoked an unparalleled wave of indignation and forced the reluctant Eisenhower to do what he had vowed he never would—send federal troops to enforce school integration. Yet American organized labor, representing 17 million workers, and pledged by numerous convention resolutions to defense of Negro rights, played practically no role in raising the overwhelming

demand that the Negro children be put in the Little Rock high school and protected.

The labor movement, not only did not serve as a vehicle for the feelings of its own members, it completely failed to be what it should be and claims to be—a tribune for all the workers and oppressed. The great protest movement was unorganized. With the honorable exception of a few union locals, it did not flow through union channels.

AFL-CIO President Meany acted in the United Nations as a Charlie McCarthy for the State Department. He tried to pass the Little Rock situation off as proof of the advances made by the Negro people under U.S. capitalism rather than as an index of resistance to their equality.

And what about Walter Reuther, part of whose stock in trade is lip service to desegregation? Even his words, which come cheap, were not particularly numerous or impassioned. As for activity—it was nil.

When the Arkansas labor movement abandoned its weak support of school integration at the first shot, the top AFL-CIO leadership remained passive. When the only voices to be raised in the Arkansas labor movement on the issue became those of the racists, the top AFL-CIO leadership acquiesced. Reuther, who ordinarily will produce a "plan" at the drop of a hat, did not deem the situation worthy of a plan.

Their opportunist abandonment of principle is not only disloyalty to the fight of the Negro people for equality, it is also a betrayal of the interests of the white workers. Division of the working class on religious or race lines benefits the bosses and weakens unionism. This division is, moreover, the foundation stone of the low-wage, open-shop South, Achilles heel of the labor movement, which must be organized.

The labor bureaucracy's inaction on Little Rock in reality reflects high policy. The AFL-CIO is politically in coalition

with the Democratic Party. Governor Faubus is a Democrat, elected with AFL-CIO support. The labor leaders were dismayed by the damage being done the Democratic Party by the Little Rock situation. Moreover, they believe a strong stand for desegregation by the AFL-CIO in the South would only weaken labor politically and might split the Democratic Party.

What makes the default of the union bureaucrats so criminal is that the fate of the labor movement and the Negro people depends on labor's actions in combatting Jim Crow. Rank-and-file unionists should demand an all-out campaign by their unions to retrieve the situation in Little Rock, that Meany, Reuther and other top leaders go there to use their prestige against the racists, that the AFL-CIO send battalions of organizers, educators, publicists and funds for a campaign of meetings, TV and radio broadcasts to bolster up the Arkansas labor movement and turn the tide against racism.

British CP Heads Bar Members from Socialist Forums

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

Since I began this series of articles on the situation in the British Left there have been some interesting developments inside the Communist Party, which deserve mention before I pass on next week to a final article summarizing the prospects before British Marxists. For six months after the Easter Congress of the party this year the attitude of the leadership to the "Opposition" was extraordinarily muted, hesitant and delicate. The only expulsion whatever was that of your London correspondent, and the leadership could scarcely have avoided expelling him.

The only other disciplinary action, as far as is known, was the downgrading from a district committee of a member who was wicked enough to reveal some of its proceedings to The Newsletter. In May the leadership put out a turgid "political letter" which made a vague reference to participation in Socialist Forum discussions being incompatible with party membership.

EXPULSIONS BEGUN

Now, however, the kid gloves have been peeled off, and the witch-hunt has begun inside the party in earnest. In one branch in Kent, on the outskirts of London, three members have been expelled and two suspended for calling a meeting at which two prominent comrades who resigned from the party would be invited to state their case.

In the northern manufacturing center of Leeds, following the downgrading of four members for a similar offense, the area committee has recommended to the district committee (a higher body) that three others—they signed a circular inviting CP members to hear a delegate's report on the recent Labor Party conference—be expelled. And a Londoner who has played a prominent part in the Socialist Forum movement since its inception, Brian Pearce, has been asked by the CP's London district secretary to make a statement which the committee would discuss when it considered "what action should be taken." Pearce's reply was to send the correspondence to The Newsletter, an act which will probably not endear him to the leadership, with the comment:

"Whoever else may be trying to 'capture' the Forums, nobody can say the Communist Party is, [so far as I know, none of the other socialist groups has seen fit to forbid its members to take part in Forum discussions. King Street's [CP headquarters] obscurantist anxiety to keep its rank and file in a mental ghetto suggests a certain lack of confidence somewhere, in spite of Sputniks."

FEAR MARXIST CRITICS

And indeed, at the back of these new sanctions being imposed on critics is the fear of contact between the ordinary party member and, not just any old critics of Stalinism, but Marxist critics. Now this is a very important distinction. It was ridiculously easy for the Stalinists to point to the wayward political development of the New Reasoner school of critics, to impress on working-class communists their abandonment of class struggle in their desire for a non-class, abstract humanism. Not that the Stalinists have taken up the polemical cudgels against Thompson, Saville and Co. in their press. But much is said in the branch room that it is not opportune to put in writing. And the flight to the right of some of the more important intellectual critics has been a useful weapon for King Street.

What really worries the leadership, and is going to worry them more and more, is the existence of a coherent, articulate, well-informed and principled criticism of Stalin from the left, which members might listen to in the Forums. So they are doing everything they can to seal off their members from such contamination.

Hence the spectacle of a party whose general secretary's rare literary pronouncements include a recent one with the title "End the Bans!", a party which protests volubly against the Labor Party leaders' list of proscribed organizations, itself using the device of proscription to protect its members from ideas!

INTERNAL OPPOSITION

Not that the Stalinists are altogether successful these days. I know of one faction working inside the Communist Party in London which is distinguished from previous groups, now dispersed, by:

(a) Its almost exclusively working-class composition;

(b) The readiness of at least some of its members to do some practical work as well as discuss what's wrong with the party; and

(c) The influence which Marxist ideas and a Marxist evaluation of Stalinism, both historically and in its present-day practice, have on the faction's participants.

This group issues a duplicated bulletin, and uses it to spread information about bureaucratic methods of "disciplining" critics and to encourage a concerted campaign of resistance. Within this faction there are those who believe the British CP can be transformed into a genuine Communist Party, and there are those who disagree, feeling that the ultimate object of the faction must be to take as many Marxists as possible into the Labor Party. But the immediate practical activity of partisans of these two views is clearly identical, since the issue can be resolved only in the experience of concrete work against the Stalinist leadership.

It would be silly to overemphasize the strength and influence of this group, or of the "Left Opposition" groups at work in Leeds, and in the London Young Communist League. But the fact that they exist, despite the exodus of thousands from the party in the past twelve months, shows that the ferment continues, and that consistent and patient work to persuade dissidents that there is a very different kind of communism, both in theory and in practice, from the Stalinist perversion of it, does get results.

SLANDERS A'PLENTY

The Stalinists, if they lack ideas and arguments, do not lack labels and slanders. The dissenters are branded as "anti-party." This accusation comes from gentlemen under whose direction the party has lost thousands of its most active and self-sacrificing members. It comes from "defenders of the Soviet Union" whose 40th anniversary celebration meeting in London last weekend was attended by a mere handful of the hard core, who foregathered in a hall very much smaller indeed than the venues of past years' celebrations.

It comes from leaders whose daily newspaper confesses that the response to its Fighting Fund last month was so poor that the paper is faced with "one of our deadliest deficits." These, one would have thought, are the "liquidators." The road to a powerful and influential communist movement in Britain lies through the exposure of these men, whose bankruptcy is steadily becoming apparent to more and more of their followers.

Conflict Between Soviet Labor and Bureaucracy

By Harry Ring

Last week we reported the views presented in the November issue of Monthly Review by editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy on the problem of the bureaucratic

the Trotskyist concept that workers' democracy in the Soviet orbit can only be realized through a political revolution? Huberman and Sweezy believe that it does. They write: "The Trotskyites have come closest to defining the problem correctly. But their solution (an anti-bureaucratic revolution of the Soviet masses) is part wishful thinking and part sheer revolutionary romanticism. . . . the masses are not going to revolt against a system that works as well as the Soviet system no matter how undemocratic the government may be."

The point made here by the MR editors is not completely clear to me. Defining the Trotskyist stand as an "anti-bureaucratic revolution," they apparently recognize that the Trotskyists favor a revolutionary change in the political structure while at the same time opposing any change in the system of nationalized property and of planned production. The only conclusion I can deduce from Huberman and Sweezy's statement is that they believe it unrealistic to assume that the masses will engage in revolutionary struggle against the bureaucratic regime—no matter how great its crimes—because they are satisfied with the economic foundations of the Soviet Union.

If this is a correct understanding of their thinking, then it is necessary to point out that by the same logic, it is unrealistic to anticipate that the masses will effectively press through the opening crevices in

the Trotskyist concept that workers' democracy in the Soviet orbit can only be realized through a political revolution? Huberman and Sweezy believe that it does. They write: "The Trotskyites have come closest to defining the problem correctly. But their solution (an anti-bureaucratic revolution of the Soviet masses) is part wishful thinking and part sheer revolutionary romanticism. . . . the masses are not going to revolt against a system that works as well as the Soviet system no matter how undemocratic the government may be."

Do these reforms invalidate

the bureaucratic structure to win sweeping reforms.

But the fact of the matter is that the Soviet people are doing so and have already registered a number of gains, as previously indicated. For its part, the Trotskyist movement firmly believes that every genuine partisan of the USSR should support the efforts of the Soviet people to win further reforms. Within the framework of such a stand, all those who seek a socialist solution to the problem of bureaucratic rule in the USSR have every opportunity to clarify and test their differing views as to how it will finally be achieved.

However, it should be recognized that political support to the efforts of the Soviet workers to re-establish socialist democracy implies a direct corollary—no political confidence in any section of the bureaucratic regime. Just as revolutionary socialists under capitalism support every mass movement for reform without furthering illusions about the regime from which they are demanded so they find it necessary to state clearly that the task of democratization in the Soviet Union rests with the working people. The bureaucracy will grant reforms only under great mass pressure.

Huberman and Sweezy correctly observe that socialists can settle for nothing less than "a good society [of] cooperation and brotherhood in which no group monopolizes power or enjoys special privileges. . . . a society in which all citizens . . . participate effectively in making and carrying out the decisions that control their lives. And, they add, "privileged minorities can never be trusted. . . . Leadership in the good society must not only spring from the people; it must also live the life of the people." (Emphasis in original.)

For the Soviet people to advance to this goal, they must have the necessary social and political vehicles. The democratically elected workers' councils (Soviets), which were smashed by Stalin, must be revived. All Soviet parties must be legalized. The trade unions must again become independent instruments of the working class. Democratic consumer co-operatives should be organized to control the price and quality of consumer goods.

The rebirth of such socialist instruments of the masses would bring democratic discussion of economic problems. It would lead to a radical revision of production planning in the interests of the toilers so as to improve the harsh conditions of the workers and peasants generally. It would mean a democratic reorganization of the farm collectives to reflect the will and needs of the working

farmers. Inequality of income would be confined within the limits of strict necessity and would give way to socialist equality with the growth of social wealth.

The regeneration of the Soviet Union would bring new freedom for the youth, an end to the stultifying restrictions on artistic expression and abolition of the caste system in the military. Finally, it would mean a return to the foreign policy based on Leninist internationalism that was abandoned under Stalin for the sake of status quo deals with imperialism. In short, as Trotsky wrote in 1937, it is a question "of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country."

Such sweeping changes would spell the end of the reactionary, privilege-seeking bureaucratic caste. Can they be realized through an extended process of reforms in which the masses play off one section of the bureaucracy against another to gain their objectives? Or would the bureaucrats move to contain, then smash the popular reform movement? If so, would this not pose the issue starkly as to whether the bureaucracy or the working class was to be undisputed masters in the land. In our opinion, experience has shown that the bureaucracy, by switching to repressions, would inevitably force the process of reforms onto the path of political revolution.

In the meantime, every reform gained by the Soviet workers gives them added strength and weakens the bureaucracy correspondingly. Thus every victory scored by the Soviet people reduces the overhead cost in the march to the "good society."

Ceylon Trotskyists Lead Wage Struggle

Eighty-thousand Ceylonese government workers walked off their jobs Nov. 20, halting Ceylon's rail transport, trolley service, cutting off power supplies over the entire island and slowing work at the port of Colombo. The N.Y. Times, Nov. 21, under a headline, "Regime and Trotskyists Unions in Test of Strength," reported the struggle of 23 unions. Strikers are demanding a minimum wage increase from the equivalent of 29 cents an hour to 49 cents. Premier Bandaranaike rose from a sick-bed for an emergency three-hour cabinet meeting with representatives of the strikers. Schools were closed and evening editions of the newspapers failed to appear.

Bipartisan Buddies



Symbolizing the restored bipartisan foreign policy is Stevenson's (left) new position as consultant to Sec'y of State Dulles. Their offices are opposite each other.

... Where Danger Comes From

(Continued from page 1)

Union has operational Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles. What does this mean? It means that every air base in Europe could be wiped out in a matter of minutes. To put U.S. bombers now stationed there into the air a minimum 15-minute alert is required. The IRBM takes from five to ten minutes to reach its target.

That is why NATO will take up the question of the construction of ballistic missile bases in Europe. And that is also why the trend, as the N.Y. Times report puts it, is "definitely toward operating more and more of SAC's [Strategic Air Command] striking force from the western hemisphere." Such a shift, however, tends to move the line of fire in any war from the nations close to the Soviet Union to the home-ground of the United States.

SPEED OF ICBM

And this in turn poses the question of the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile. U.S. intelligence reports that the Soviet Union has already fired successfully two ICBMs with a range of 5,000 miles. The U.S. has fired none. The ICBM takes less than half-an-hour to reach its target. Given a 15-minute alert, U.S. bombers could get off the ground, at least. But, "right now, facilities for detecting ballistic missiles and flashing warnings are considered far from adequate."

In the race for missiles the U.S. expected to take the lead—as it did with the A-bomb and H-Bomb. The fact that the USSR made the technical breakthrough first is now illogically used as proof of the ruthlessness of Soviet militarism. The Soviet Union undoubtedly

ly concentrated considerable scientific and economic effort on the missiles race, enough to give it at least a temporary lead. However this does not prove that it has plans for launching World War III.

The U.S. also has a powerful military machine. Until recently, the U.S. held the military-technical lead. The U.S. used its lead to build military bases all around the Soviet Union—some on its very borders. Without the IRBM or the ICBM, U.S. forces have been within easy striking range of all Soviet cities. The Soviet Union has not been so strategically situated. This was incentive enough for an extraordinary effort to win the missile race.

Furthermore, U.S. policy makers are by no means unanimous in claiming that the Soviet Union threatens war. For example, there is a fundamental difference on this question between George F. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, and the State Department. Kennan has criticized in speeches and articles the "over-militarization of our thinking about the 'cold war.'" In a Nov. 17 speech over the British radio, he repeated his view that the Soviet "threat" was more political than military. (In the past Kennan has warned the State Department against a perspective of trying to change the Soviet system by "governmental" action. In effect he was taxing Dulles with war-like aims against the Soviet Union at the very time that Republicans and Democrats alike were charging the USSR with aggressive intentions toward the rest of the world.)

The editors of the N.Y. Times, Nov. 8, depicted the Soviet "threat" not as one of direct

military conquest—nor even of stirring the masses in capitalist countries to revolution. "The Kremlin rulers no longer appeal to the masses for a revolution from below," said the Times. "Rather, they now propagate a revolution from above by bribing or subverting ruling politicians, military leaders and a few influential intellectuals ostensibly in support of the latter's own ambition but ultimately, of course, for their undoing. That is the method they now attempt to use in the Middle East and elsewhere. And this is the threat now confronting the democratic world."

Partisan passions prevent the N.Y. Times editors from noting how their description of "new" Soviet strategy applies perfectly to their own strategy of purchasing Middle East feudal rulers like King Hussein of Jordan and King Saud of Saudi Arabia. In these terms the Soviet "menace" amounts to who can outbid whom.

The liberal N.Y. Post editors are concerned with the propaganda war that they consider neglected. On Nov. 13 they criticized Eisenhower's second "chin-up" speech in Oklahoma for the President's almost exclusive military concern. "But since the [U.S. armed forces] would never be used for aggression, what have we told the rest of mankind of our offensive strategy to break the bleak diplomatic deadlock?"

WILL RUSSIA GIVE US THE EXCUSE?

And, significantly, the Post editors ask, "What good are all these instruments of death if the Russians never give us the excuse to use them? What are the instruments waging peace?"

Why 'Von Harridge' Won't Confess

Last week one of the five Boston Smith Act victims who won dismissal of indictment, Sidney Lipshires, urged the release of Smith Act victims Green and Winston in the U.S. and the release of political prisoners in the Soviet orbit. Among those he named was the noted East German Communist intellectual, Professor Wolfgang Harich, who drew a ten-year term for circulating a document among Party tops calling for a program of de-Stalinization. In quoting Lipshires, a Boston paper misspelled the name as "Harridge." This misspelling was carried over in the Daily Worker report.

The only "Harridge" that rings a bell with us is the past president of baseball's American League, and he has obviously nothing to do with the case. But the lack of any knowledge of a "Harridge" in East Germany didn't get in the way of a couple of old-school Stalinist hatchet men working Lipshires over in the DW letters column for his defense of "Harridge." (To his credit, DW staff writer Lester Rodney wrote a vigorous letter in support of Lipshires' stand.)

One letter-writer demanded to know where Lipshires came off defending "counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet activities of people like . . . Harridge." Things got even better the next day when another letter writer wrote that "Von Harridge" was jailed for "organizing a counter-revolution in East Germany," and that "written material published here and elsewhere and not repudiated by Von Harich [sic] confirms this."

To reduce this way of thinking to its essence: "Harich," "Harridge," "Von Harridge" or "Von Harich" — the letter writers may not know who he is — but if he's in an East German jail, he must be guilty.

World Events

FOUR HUNGARIAN WRITERS

were given jail terms by the Hungarian Supreme Court, Nov. 13, on charges ranging from incitement against the state to attempted overthrow of the government. All were prominent Communist writers who participated in the Hungarian revolution a year ago. Tibor Dery, once listed in the Soviet Encyclopedia as a leading writer of "Socialist realism," was given a nine-year term. He is 63 years old. Gyula Hay, 56, Kossuth prize winner, was given six years. Zoltan Zelk and Tibor Tardos were given three years and 18 months respectively.

WORKERS COUNCILS IN HUNGARY

were abolished Nov. 19 by the Kadar regime. Regional workers councils were outlawed just one year ago when Sandor Racz, 23-year-old chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council was arrested, but they continued to function in separate factories until the recent decree. They are to be replaced by "factory councils" composed of two thirds of Stalinist officials and one third of workers in the plant. The fate of Racz is still unknown. The Soviet publication Pravda Ukraina has denounced workers councils saying the "idea of putting administration of production in the hands of producers is anarchistic."

MALAYAN POLICE

used tear gas against Chinese school children who had barricaded themselves inside an assembly hall in Penang, Nov. 14, to protest government discrimination against the Chinese minority in the Federation of Malaya. Strikes, processions and mass meetings by Chinese students occurred the same day in the capital, Kuala Lumpur. The immediate issue was a government ruling refusing education to

Chinese students over a certain age. Large Chinese minorities are common in many South East Asian cities and discrimination against them is sometimes government policy as in Malaya and the Philippines.

CHINESE STUDENTS

to the encouraging sound of drums and gongs at public demonstrations, have signed up by the thousands and probably by the hundreds thousands, to be "transferred" to work in collective farms and rural areas. Teachers, university employees, and scientific farming graduates are also joining this exodus to the country. There is a crucial lag in farm production after the rapid and relatively peaceful collectivization of farms. At the same time, the universities have recently been centers of student protest and ideological opposition. . . . The Peiping regime apparently aims to solve two problems with one answer.

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

headed by Pietro Nenni, has made a sharp turn back toward close collaboration with the Communist Party following the launching of the Sputniks last December. Nenni criticized the Kremlin action in Hungary and advocated complete severance of ties between his group and the CP. A few days before the launching of Sputnik I, leaders of Nenni's party cautioned its members to be "circumspect" in their celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. After the launching, however, Nenni proposed an electoral pact between his group and the CP next spring, and his followers were "vigorously conspicuous" in the Nov. 7 celebrations.

... Situation in Little Rock

(Continued from page 1)

justice of the ringleaders of the anti-Negro violence.

Here is the record of federal retreat as chronicled by the daily newspapers: "Another federal judge was assigned to Little Rock today as the government speeded preparations to indict agitators in the Central High School case" (N. Y. Times, Oct. 1). . . . "One possible weapon still unused by the White House is the dossier of 400 to 500 pages prepared by the FBI on racial agitation in Little Rock. . . . If this file should lead in any possible way into Gov. Faubus' official family" (Oct. 4, Christian Science Monitor). . . . "The Eisenhower administration intends to destroy the core of racial agitation in Little Rock by prosecuting the ringleaders of the mobs at the high school" (N. Y. Times, Oct. 6). . . . "Although the situation is quieting, thoughtful civic leaders have no illusion that the trouble is over. They feel it would be a tragic mistake for federal troops to pull out before the ringleaders of the mob are punished. They warn that if the Justice Department is unable or unwilling to punish the mobsters then there is virtually no hope of enforcing integration in Little Rock" (N. Y. Times, October 13). . . . "Although no civic leader would go on record as saying that the reduction [in the number of federal troops] was premature, some felt that no troops should be withdrawn until the leaders of the adult white mobs who rioted in front of the school on Sept. 23 were convicted." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 15).

On Oct. 20 N. Y. Times carried a story from Washington that was the tip-off that the government had abandoned the intention of prosecution. Reporting the thinking of the Justice Department, the story told how extremely difficult it was to prepare conspiracy cases against the Little Rock racists and how unlikely it would be to get an Arkansas grand jury to indict.

That the abandonment was motivated politically, not legally, can be seen from the fact that the indictments need not be for conspiracy but could be for individuals under another federal statute. Moreover, Faubus and the mob leaders could be immediately tried for contempt of the two federal injunctions against interference with integration at Central High School. There is ample evidence. Photographs of identifiable mobsters kicking and slugging Negroes appeared in almost every newspaper in the world; the victims themselves can identify some of their assailants. Finally there were police and FBI officers in the crowd, were they blind?

Small wonder that Faubus, and the racists are again imbued with self-confidence. They feel immune to prosecution. The rest of the white community senses this and many jump onto the winning bandwagon, while the disapprovers lapse into silence. When every white supremacist who slugged or kicked a Negro in front of Central High can openly parade as a hero, it is unexpected that impressive white children beat up Negro students inside the school?

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Monday, November 25, 1957

Democratic Party Gains

Recent elections in Wisconsin (in August) and in New York and New Jersey earlier this month indicate a definite shift of voters to the Democratic Party.

The first signs of economic recession are proving enough to occasion the voter shift. In addition the sputnik crisis is bringing sharp popular dissatisfaction with the Republican Administration to the fore.

What is noteworthy is that the shift is to the Democratic Party — traditionally regarded as a party of liberal reforms. No important section of the population at this time seeks to express dissatisfaction through extreme reactionary channels such as McCarthyism represented a few years ago. Indeed, in Wisconsin, a liberal Democrat won the election hands down in a race to determine the successor to McCarthy's Senate seat.

Since McCarthyism reached its peak in 1952-1954, the change in the political climate in the country has been registered by Supreme Court decisions in the field of civil liberties and civil rights. The shift in that direction has also brought ascendancy to a more liberal wing in the Republican Party.

In the current voting swing to the Democrats, it is middle class voters who are crossing over, as well as those workers who in the 1956 national elections had voted for the Republicans. Given no other means of expressing their dissatisfaction

with the Republicans they cast their vote for the Democratic Party.

For the very fact that the top union officialdom kept labor subservient to the Democratic Party set rigid limits to the leftward shift in popular political sentiment at this time. The voting trends indicate a growing potential for a mass breakthrough to the left, but not yet its actuality. For no problem confronting any section of the working people or of the middle classes can be resolved through the Democratic Party, which — like the Republican Party — serves the interest of Big Business exclusively.

The key to a decisive change in the political situation in America lies with the union militants carrying through a break with the Democratic Party and forming a party of the working people — a Labor Party — that will have the Negro people, the farmers and city middle classes as their firm allies.

"The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement [of opposition to capitalist rule] is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party," wrote Frederick Engels in 1886 with special reference to American political problems. The American working class — well organized economically — has still to achieve this first great step.

The "Ethical Code" at Work

In its first use in Wisconsin, the AFL-CIO "Ethical Practices Code" has been invoked to oust a young union militant from his union posts because he spoke out against a bureaucratic violation of union democracy. [See story on page 1.]

The sinister implications of the Senate labor probe is clearly revealed in this case. It was in response to the McClellan committee's activities that the AFL-CIO executive council adopted the Code as the answer to publicity about corruption in the labor movement.

Wayne Leverenz, a 25-year-old Milwaukee packinghouse worker against whom the code was invoked, is not a "corrupt element" by any stretch of the imagination. He is a socialist militant of completely unchallenged personal honesty and union loyalty. His "crime" in the eyes of some bureaucrats in the Milwaukee labor movement, is that he spoke out against excluding people from the proposed new county AFL-CIO central labor body because of their political beliefs.

Said Leverenz: "Exclusion and corruption are closely related. A study of the Teamsters Union and Beck's rise clearly demonstrates this fact. . . Failure to get at the real needs of unity, to end political

thought control and discrimination, is at the bottom of our inability to organize the South and to move our members into union activities up here in the North."

Both the clause against which Leverenz spoke and his ouster reflect the fact that the government-manufactured witch hunt is still eating at the vitals of the American labor movement. The methods of the McCarthyites have been adopted by the labor probers and are camouflaged with a hypocritical hue and cry against corruption.

In this case, some high-handed bureaucrats, who fear free speech and union democracy as Khrushchev fears workers' councils, made use of the "Ethical Practices Code" in an attempt to silence a dissenting voice. The Code, which has been highly publicized as a device against corruption, turns out to contain a weapon against the arch-enemy of corruption — the militant unionist who fights for union democracy. We can expect similar results from government regulation masquerading as "protection of the rank and file."

The fight against the witch hunt, against government interference in union affairs, and for union democracy is part and parcel of the fight for a class-struggle program in the unions.

Amnesty for Smith Act Victims

A Christmas amnesty appeal has been issued for the two remaining Smith Act victims still locked in prison. These two are Henry Winston and Gilbert Green. They have already served nearly two years and face another six years in jail on charges of violation of the Smith Act and contempt of court unless President Eisenhower can be convinced of the need for justice.

The irony of the imprisonment of Winston and Green is that the Smith Act, the law that sent them to prison, has since been put into question by the Supreme Court of the United States. Decision of the high court early this year reversed the trial decisions of Smith Act cases basically the same as the prosecution's case against Winston and Green. Were they to be tried now, it is virtually certain that convictions could not be obtained.

The Supreme Court, of course, curbed the government's oppressive power under the Smith Act only after more than a decade and a half had passed and after many had already been convicted and served their terms in full. Starting with the imprisonment of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamster's Union, the government

used the Smith Act to imprison working class opponents of its war policies.

When the first Smith Act convictions were brought before the court, instead of using the trial as a means of testing the constitutionality of this new and repressive law, the court refused to review the case and give an opinion. The Justices turned their backs despite the fact that passage of this law had been opposed by the labor movement and civil liberties organizations. Without any Supreme Court opinion on the Smith Act, this law then was used to fire up the witch hunt after World War II, with a series of trials of Communist Party leaders. Political fear was the result and civil liberties, guaranteed by the constitution, were undermined.

The belated and only partial intervention of the Supreme Court to restore some of the civil liberties, however, still has failed to give freedom to Winston and Green. The mills of justice, indeed, grind slowly.

Neither Green nor Winston were convicted of committing a crime. As in all the Smith Act cases they were jailed for their political opinions. And no one can consider himself free as long as anyone can be jailed and kept there on the basis of ideas.

We urge all Militant readers to support the amnesty appeal issued for Winston and Green by writing or telegraphing Eisenhower before Christmas. Another prisoner should be included in this amnesty appeal. That is Irving Potash who is serving a jail term, not under the Smith Act violation, but on an issue that grew out of Smith Act persecutions.

Warde Analyzes Soviet At Anniversary Meeting

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 9 — Well over a hundred people, many of sharply differing political views, gathered at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here tonight to observe the 40th anniversary of the Russian revolution. The speaker was William F. Warde.

"In order to understand the forty-year history of the Soviet Union, and properly appraise its present nature," Warde said, "it is imperative to grasp its highly contradictory features and the dual character of its institutions. The unreconstructed Stalinists see only its favorable sides — or prefer to see nothing but them. For them its imperfections are episodic and insignificant and all

problems can safely be left to an all-knowing leader — whoever he happens to be at the moment.

"Some suddenly disillusioned ex-Stalinists have swung to the other extreme. Having taken what existed in the Soviet Union as pure socialism, they now turn all that into its opposite — and see nothing there that is socialist in character.

"... Actually, all these recent developments have not strengthened but weakened the Soviet bureaucracy and is shaking its ruling group to its foundation. As the sputnik went up, Zhukov went down. And even before the Soviet space satellite circled around the earth, other of its satellites in Eastern Europe had tried to wrench themselves loose from Moscow's orbit.

"What are the propulsive forces behind sputnik? They are first of all the nationalized property and planned economy of the Soviet Union which enabled the national resources to be mobilized and concentrated on the attainment of a crucial social objective regardless of private interests. The comparable program in the United States has not only been impeded by service rivalries but by contracts let out to separate firms with their carefully kept business secrets and profit motivations."

A lively question and discussion period revealed many in the audience were students, others unreconstructed Stalinists and many others were individuals seriously re-examining Communist Party positions.

Seek Asylum from Franco's Terror



Five young Spanish seamen, who jumped ship in San Diego to flee Spanish fascism by going to Mexico, are being held by the U.S. for deportation back to Spain. Shown with them is ACLU attorney A. L. Wirin (front right). Also aiding is UAW Local 216 and a newly-formed defense committee. (See story, this page.)

Fast and Injustice in U. S.

In the Nov. 11 and 18 Militant, we printed excerpts from Howard Fast's article, "The Writer and the Commissar," currently featured in Prospect magazine. We did so because of the valuable portrayal Fast gives of the Communist Party. At the same time we stated our political disagreement with Fast, citing specifically his adherence to the Stalinist concept of "peaceful co-existence."

There is another matter in Fast's article requiring comment. That is the section dealing with Soviet writers. In telling about Stalin's murder of Soviet writers — particularly of

the noted Yiddish poet Itzik Feffer — Fast claims that, at least, he (Fast) fought injustice committed by his own government in the United States. He asks Soviet writers why they were silent when Feffer and others were slaughtered.

Fast says, "Yes, we [i.e. the United States] killed Sacco and Vanzetti, but our own cry went out to haunt the world. Was my own voice ever silent concerning injustice in my own land? In the name of all that is holy to you, my Russian colleagues, where were your voices when murder walked in your land?" We appreciate Fast's plea for

resistance to bureaucratic suppression of writers in the Soviet Union. But not so long ago — in 1949 — Fast's voice was not silent "concerning injustice in my own land." It was loud on the side of injustice.

When civil-liberties champions such as I. F. Stone insisted, in opposition to the Communist Party leaders, that support must be given to Socialist Workers Party victims of the Smith Act as well as to CP victims, Fast sided with the Stalinists. He wrote a letter to the New York Daily Compass charging that the Trotskyists were "admitted pro-fascist" and "were financially supported by the German Nazi movement."

The U.S. government fired James Kutchner, the legless veteran, from his Veterans Administration job in 1948 because of his admitted membership in the SWP. The government charged that his membership constituted the "advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government." Fast, in his 1949 letter to the Compass, backed the government frame-up with the false statement that Kutchner had "said quite frankly that he supported the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

IT WAS EASIER HERE

Kutchner has since won back his job thanks to the widespread support of a large part of the labor movement, the ACLU and other defenders of civil liberties. (He still hasn't won back the eight years of pay that he lost in fighting for justice.) But in these two cases of injustice, Fast joined the persecutors, not the persecuted.

If Fast could not find his way to take the side of these victims of injustice in the U.S., where by taking such a stand he risked neither prison nor death, by what right does he grow indignant at the silence of his colleagues in the Soviet Union? The truth is that some of his Soviet colleagues did find their voices against the persecution of writers. Fast himself tells how Feffer died in his attempt to save another Jewish writer from being murdered in Stalin's jails.

Both Fast and the American Communist Party leadership have expressed regret at their own past sabotage of the SWP's civil liberties. The SWP welcomed this change and continues to urge united action in the defense of all witch-hunt victims. No one wants or expects breast-beating over what is past. But we can and do expect honest people to keep the record straight.

Have you sent in a contribution to the Socialist Press and Publications Fund? If not do so today. Address it to 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Milwaukee Journal On Sobell Case

(The following is the text of an editorial in the Nov. 9 Milwaukee Journal. — Editor.)

Just as Herbert Brownell retires, his department is found to have been playing strange games again, raising a new cloud over its judiciousness and public demeanor.

The matter stems from the Rosenberg spy trial back in 1951 (pre-Brownell). It is not generally remembered that one Morton Sobell was convicted in the same trial, and is doing 30 years in Alcatraz. The department rather tenuously linked him to the Rosenbergs with less than conclusive evidence, which, however, the jury had no trouble believing in those panicky times. Sobell's wife and an organized group of backers have not ceased to try to get his case reopened. They are supported by a number of conscientious citizens, including legal scholars, who are uneasy about many aspects of the case and have haunting doubts that the integrity of justice was fully preserved in it. Two petitions, one wholly new in its legal basis, now pend before the United States supreme court.

So Brownell, last December ordered a study to be made, apparently reviewing and rearguing the whole Rosenberg-Sobell case and setting forth the government's rebuttal to the many questions raised about it. And suddenly last month, what purports to be the substance of this document — then and now still unpublished by the department — appeared in a national magazine!

The magazine, whose claims have not been denied, called its article an "exclusive preview" of the official report, made possible because its reporter "was aided by" and "worked along with" the government attorneys and "was given access" to their data! The question asks itself: How come? Actually, this "first real story" of the case was oversold. It is mainly a mere rehash of the history and the testimony, with a rundown of retorts to "the Communist charges" (the old smear technique) that Sobell might just possibly have been railroaded. It is not so great a scoop as advertised, but that's by the way.

The five young Spaniards left their ship in San Diego hoping to find political asylum from Franco's fascism in Mexico, which does not recognize the present government of Spain. The Mexican government has granted them asylum, but the U.S. Immigration Service is holding them at Chula Vista and threatening to return them to Franco's tyranny. The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California is appealing their case in the courts.

The next hearing will be held in Los Angeles before the District Court of Appeals on Dec. 9. ACLU Counsel A. L. Wirin and Hugh Manes are handling the case.

Formation of another committee to support the five sailors was announced here this week. It was spearheaded by Dr. Dwight L. Bolinger, the University of California Spanish professor who first brought the case to the attention of the ACLU.

Called the Committee To Free The Five Spanish Sailors, it is composed of prominent local people who are organizing a nationwide campaign to publicize the case.

With Dr. Bolinger on the committee are Dr. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, former Chancellor of USC; Prof. Jose Barcia, of the University of California at Los Angeles; Bishop James C. Baker; Prof. Frank Baxter; Atty. George Bodde; Rabbi Israel Chodos; L. A. County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn; Paul Jacobs, a writer for The Reporter; Atty. Henry Lopez; Prof. Jeronimo Mallo; Prof. Kenneth MacGowan; Atty. Loren Miller, publisher of the Negro weekly, The California Eagle; Edwin Sanders; and Mayor Albert Isen of Torrance, Calif.

This committee also intends to raise at least \$7,000 toward legal expenses of the case.

The spokesman for the five sailors who appeared before the UAW Local 216 said that the real reason the sailors were being held illegally by the U.S. was not the 1902 treaty with Spain but the campaign by the U.S. State Department to build friendship with Franco in order to establish U.S. air bases in Spain. She said it was up to the labor movement to protect the junking of our tradition of political asylum, especially when it is junked to support the anti-labor Franco regime.

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Professor Sharp To Speak in Mpls.

Malcolm P. Sharp of Chicago, will speak on "Was Justice Done to Morton Sobell?" on Thursday evening, December 5, 8:00 P.M., at the Leamington Hotel, Minneapolis.

Mr. Sharp, a professor of Law at the University of Chicago, was associated with the defense counsel in the closing stages of the Rosenberg-Sobell Case, and has an intimate, firsthand knowledge of the facts and many of the personalities involved in the case. He wrote the book, "Was Justice Done?" The Rosenberg-Sobell Case, with an introduction by the eminent scientist Harold C. Urey.

The meeting is sponsored by the Minnesota Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

American Forum Calls Conference

The American Forum for Socialist Education will hold a New York conference on "America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" Saturday, Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St. Morning panels, from 11 to one, will deal with trade union, youth and cultural problems. Afternoon panels, from 2:30 to 5, will discuss socialism and democracy, and political action. The closing session, from 5 to 5:30 will hear an address by A. J. Muste. Registration fee for the conference is \$1. A reception honoring A. J. Muste for his work in furthering political discussion on the basis of non-exclusion will take place Friday evening, Dec. 6 at 8:30 P.M. in the Crystal Room of the Great Northern Hotel. Contribution \$2.50.

Questions For the Left

By Sidney Lens

Introduction by A. J. Muste. Comments by John Dickinson, Tim Wohlforth, Stephen Grattan, Farrell Dobbs, Conrad Lynn, Albert E. Blumberg.

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San Francisco Debate

"The Method of Historical Materialism" — For and Against. Affirmative: Joseph Hansen, editor International Socialist Review. Negative: Leonard Asher, Prof. of Economics, S. F. State College. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 P.M. 150 Golden Gate. Ausp.: Independent Socialist Forum of S. F.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 600	\$ 704.00	110
Allentown	102	102.00	100
Milwaukee	250	250.00	100
Buffalo	1,800	1,623.00	90
Chicago	1,560	1,410.00	90
Youngstown	300	225.00	75
Detroit	825	612.00	74
Boston	600	428.00	71
Twin Cities	1,584	1,076.00	68
Los Angeles	4,000	2,543.25	64
Newark	240	145.00	60
Philadelphia	480	259.00	54
New York	4,500	2,235.90	49
San Francisco	450	180.00	40
Seattle	500	200.00	40
Oakland	240	100.00	24
St. Louis	80	12.00	15
General	—	157.85	—
Totals thru Nov. 20	\$18,111	\$12,263.00	68

The Niagara Firetrap Deaths

Groups Tell City Council: Build Homes

NIAGARA FALLS, Nov. 18 — At a jam-packed meeting of the city council tonight, Mrs. Dorothy Ballan, speaking on behalf of the Niagara Frontier section of the Socialist Workers Party, spearheaded the demand for new housing for the workers of Niagara Falls. The audience, 400 strong, was composed largely of Negro and white workers seeking a way to prevent any recurrence of the tragic tenement fire, which claimed the lives of 18 persons here last weekend.

Addressing the overflow crowd in the council chambers, Mrs. Ballan said, "The city of Niagara Falls is not only a tourist attraction for the whole world. It is a center of the chemical industry from which DuPont, Union Carbide, Olin Mathieson, and other giant corporations extract untold millions of dollars every year. They owe decent living conditions to the worker who provides their profits." Amid applause she added that money for slum clearance should be obtained by taxing those best able to pay, changing the laws where necessary.

Many individuals and representatives of various groups in the community then presented their grievances against unpunished landlords who charge outrageous rents, refused to make even the most necessary repairs, and turn down large families as tenants. Other speakers revealed that the city officials, despite surveys and reports to them showing desperate housing needs for families with many children, had done nothing about it. This meeting, however, ended in forcing the council to unanimously approve a motion requesting of the Niagara Falls Housing Authority permission to erect fifty additional low cost housing units with at least three bedrooms for large families.

Racists Murder 2 Negro Boys

Roger Hamilton, 17-year-old Negro youth of Burkville, Alabama, was taken from his home and lynched by a group of white men who carried him off in a truck. One of the lynch party then returned and told the boy's mother where she could find the bullet-torn body. According to the Pittsburgh Courier the boy was lynched because he didn't heed warnings to stay away from a Negro girl "who is the object of the affections of a white man." In Pontotoc, Mississippi, a lynching is feared in the case of 16-year-old Jesse H. Bradford abducted by three white men and not heard from for 12 days.

Anti-Racket Strike Aided By NAACP

By Ruth Norton

A picket line in front of the Jansa Woodworking Corporation in Brooklyn, New York was bolstered, Nov. 14, by a contingent sent by the Labor Committee of the Brooklyn Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Labor Committee responded to an appeal for aid by the Jansa's Rank and File Committee on the basis that the strike involved the issue of standard wages based on racial discrimination and that Negro workers were being recruited by the company without being told they would be used as scabs.

The company has been hiring Negro and Puerto Rican workers at wages ranging from \$1 to \$1.40 per hour. The shop is under contract to Teamsters Local 875 which the workers say acts solely as a dues-collection agency.

The picketing began Nov. 7 after the company fired 20 workers who were discovered to have formed a committee to organize the 120 workers in the shop into a legitimate union. About 80 additional workers joined the picketing and were fired the following Monday. The strikers are receiving some unofficial aid from other unions in the area. They are demanding reinstatement of all the fired workers with no prejudice against those who continue to seek legitimate union affiliation.

The picketers have so far succeeded in stopping production in the plant. Some of the roughly 30 production workers inside the shop left immediately when the NAACP contingent showed up carrying signs saying: "Negro Workers Don't Scab," "Rank and File Workers Must Fight For Union Democracy," "M a y o r Wagner Promised Aid To Anti-Racket Strikers," and "Exploitation Must Go."

A leaflet signed by the Rank-and-file Committee is headlined: "Help Us to Be Free." "Many of us make just a little more than \$1.00 per hour," says the leaflet, "we've never seen our 'union' contract, we never see our 'union' representatives, we have never had any union meetings, we don't even know where our 'union's' office is."

"Follows who speak English like me," said a young Puerto Rican worker as he picketed last week, "make \$1.20 per hour. Fellow workers don't make \$1.00." Another worker discussing the employment agency said: "They told me I was going to make more money when they took the fee than I did when I got paid. They do that with everybody." Another took a new look at the function of cops in a strike: "The police have already arrested three of us on excuses like carrying a penknife. We thought they were supposed to help us fight racketeers."

The Jansa strike is the latest in a series of attempts by Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York City's small shops to break out of "sweetheart contracts."

Los Angeles

Pre-Christmas Bargain Bazaar And Festival

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Racists Landlords, Officials to Blame For 18 Killed in Moonglow Hotel Fire

By Theodore Kovalesky

The car sped through the evening darkness, past the roadside reflectors on Grand Island, over the high, arching bridges that span the Niagara River. Our destination: the Honeymoon City of Niagara Falls, and more specifically, the Moonglow Hotel in that city.

But we weren't going there for a honeymoon, ours or anybody else's. The honeymoon was over for the people we were interested in. It was over for some of them, and for others, for most of them in fact, there would never be any honeymoon.

Because most of the people who had lived in the Moonglow Hotel were dead—18 to be exact, and only three of them adults. And with them, in a sudden, swift inferno, died the evil old building which had been condemned 20 years before.

FACTORY SLUMS

The address was 2449 Allen Ave. Houses there face the railroad tracks, and beyond them loom the famous chemical plants of the Cataract City. As though camouflaged, the color of everything, houses, streets, earth, and even air is dusted and browned with the exhalations of the factories. By night there is blackness of the kind known only in factory slums.

We drove painfully over the rutted unpaved street until we came to a floodlighted barricade. A crane with its long boom spearing the sky stood before our destination, and we got out to look.

The Moonglow Hotel still stood, a charred skeleton with the guts burnt out of it. As we looked we could see that no one would ever climb its creaky stairs again. And the bedroom from which the fire-consuming bodies of eight children were carried was closed to all but official investigators—if it would even bear their weight.

The whole thing began at perhaps 2 A.M., Saturday, Nov. 16. In the basement of the looming three story shack with its deceptively romantic name, something was smoldering ominously. Then, at about 4:30, it burst loudly into flame. (A next-door neighbor said, "Something went 'boom!'") In moments the ancient wood structure was enveloped, and the doomed inhabitants, most of them Negroes, began to die.

They were: Mary Ewing, aged 27, and every one of her children, Howard, 9, Horace Jr., 8, Arlene, 6, Belinda, 4, Gloria Jean, 3, twins, Terry and Jerry, 1, and Bonnie Patricia, 2 months. Horace Ewing, 35, the husband, is hospitalized with burns. Of the eleven children of Mr. and Mrs. Sanford Reid, seven are gone: Walter, 17, Herbert, 16, Carson, 11, Harvey, 7, William, 3, Sanford Jr., 1, and Mary Louise, 5 months. Also dead are two men, listed as "caretakers," John Jackson, 58, and Jack Thomas Ellington, 55.

We stared at the burnt out hulk for a few moments. Then a policeman came up and ordered us away. We got back into the car and drove around the block. More and more police appeared as we drove. A number of them had been clustered near the front of the roped-off ruin. Others patrolled the streets nearby. We had the strange feeling that we were in an area of martial law. We parked again and walked back to visit one of the neighbors.

Our host told us, "Sure, I know that place. When I came up from the South years ago, I looked at it. I had to get an apartment for my family. But when I went in there, I said to myself, 'Before I live in that place, I'll take my family and go right back down where I came from.' But that hadn't been necessary. He found another place nearby. It was a rathole too, but it was better than the Moonglow Hotel."

But Sanford Reid hadn't been

so lucky. He and his family lived in the Hyde Park Village, a number of rows of long barracks-like, one-story buildings made out of red clay tiles. It was a jerrybuilt wartime housing project, and the tiles had long since had holes kicked into them. Still, the rent was low, and large families were permitted to pile themselves into the little homes. And then, too, the project was in far better condition than the ramshackle houses and tenements in the shadow of the chemical and steel plants.

It is said that the real estate interests run the city of Niagara Falls. That is probably not very exact, because there are huge corporate interests there which cannot be without influence in the city's government. Yet, the Hyde Park Village was condemned and torn down in the name of slum clearance, a fate shared today by many other low rent government housing projects. Where were the people to go? They could buy homes. Or they could rent from those landlords who would accept them.

That was Sanford Reid's problem. A Negro, a worker with a pregnant wife and ten children, where was he to go? Another housing project in the area would not take the family.

"Discrimination?" I asked. No, I was told. There are some Negroes there. They simply refused to accept such a large family. They discriminated not against Negroes but against large families, against children. There were good reasons, fine pious reasons. The apartments were not large enough. They didn't want overcrowding.

So Sanford Reid didn't overcrowd the project. He found a ramshackle frame building named the Moonglow Hotel. It was better, he said, than "living in the street." He rented three rooms for \$64 a month, and in those three rooms the family lived for a year. Little Mary Louise was born there, spent the entire span of her five-month life there, died there.

TURNED BACK

Another man spoke up. "I went in there once several years ago, but when I started up the stairs to the third floor, I turned right back and went down again. I just didn't think they'd even bear my weight."

There were plenty of witnesses to the condition of the building. Mrs. Bertha Faulk told of having lived with her husband for six years in a two-room basement apartment for which they paid \$10 per week. In a Niagara Falls Gazette interview she described how the sewage from the upper apartments frequently oozed up over her floor or bubbled up in her sink. She had been aware of the danger of fire, for her apartment had only one door and one small window through which one might escape. The Faulks fortunately moved out in August.

We asked more questions and got more answers. We looked over the pages of the Niagara Falls Gazette. We found that some of the Negro families evicted from Hyde Park Village had managed to accumulate enough money for at least a down payment on a home. But they were not wanted where they tried to buy.

REPORT IGNORED

We found that a man named Ben Bolden, a storekeeper, had been a housing investigator in 1937. At that time he found the Moonglow Hotel "unfit for human habitation." He also pointed out that the building lacked fire escapes. In his report he called for the demolition of the Moonglow along with several other buildings. The city council listened, deplored the conditions—and did

nothing. At the time of the fire, the building was not condemned, still had no fire escapes, but was judged as being in compliance with the housing code since it had two inside staircases.

We saw in the Gazette that William Dietz, the landlord, a demolition contractor, junk man, and former cop, described the building as valued at between \$25,000 and \$30,000. His father, at present a member of the Niagara Falls Police Department, turned in the alarm Saturday morning from a squad car.

There were some conflicting stories. It was said that William Dietz wanted to get the tenants out so he could use the building as a storehouse, that in the desire to evict them he had turned off the furnace. But then it was also said that the furnace had not been operating for a year, was not even in condition to operate.

But whatever the details may have been, it is certain that the only heat in the building came from electric heaters and kerosene stoves in the apartments. Whatever it may have been that exploded in the basement, it certainly was not the furnace.

We read of other families kicked out of Hyde Park, Negro families in which the husband earned \$80 or more a week but could find nothing but shacks like the Moonglow to live in. Some lived in attics, some in cellars, some paid up to \$20 a week for one room for a family of five or six human beings to live in.

We listened to the stark tale of tragedy and death. Then, sickened, we thanked our host and left.

We got back into the car and left the Honeymoon City. We took no time for sightseeing. We didn't stop to see the lights on the great falls. And we didn't drive past the mansions at Lewiston Heights or the other sections where millionaires live. It wasn't the night to crane our necks at the homes of the rich, so we didn't cross the tracks.

Instead, we went home. And we carried in our nostrils the heavy odor of something, of many things, that had burned, the odor that rose up from the soggy ashes of the Moonglow Hotel and pushed its way through the odors of the chemical plants that lay upon the air.

Calendar of Events

Los Angeles

Friday, Nov. 29, 8:15 P. M. The Future of American Socialism. Speaker: Murry Weiss, 1702 East 4th St. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

Minneapolis

Thursday, Dec. 5, 8 P. M. — Malcolm P. Sharp, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Chicago, will speak on "Was Justice Done to Morton Sobell?" Leamington Hotel. Ausp. Minneapolis Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Donation 50c.

New York

Sunday, Dec. 1, 8 P. M. — Shane Mage, Editorial Board of the Young Socialist, will review Imre Nagy's book. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Contribution: 50c.

New York Bazaar

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

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(Continued from page 1)

items as public housing, veterans benefits, farm development subsidies and the school lunch program.

At the same time Eisenhower has declared that the "balanced" budget is no longer sacred and that deficit spending will be necessary. Deficit spending is a powerful stimulant to inflation, confronting the workers with the acute problem of keeping wages somewhere in the vicinity of swiftly rising prices. The present government "sacrifice" propaganda is but the prelude to a drive to hold wages down as an alleged means of "combatting" the inflation induced by deficit military expenditures. The drive would also be directed against demands for reduction of the work week with no cut in pay to meet the unemployment problem.

The Republicans will not stand alone in this drive to place the burden of the ruinous "anti-sputnik" on the backs of the workers. Already the Democrats have jumped into the fray by having Adlai Stevenson accept an advisory role to Dulles in a demonstration of "bipartisanship."

Almost simultaneously, UAW President Reuther presumed to pledge for American labor "every sacrifice necessary" in the arms race.

While this reactionary drive is being waged to cut U.S. living standards under cover of a missile race, there is a growing recognition among the capitalists and their spokesmen that the loss of their vaunted military superiority is but a reflection of the social and political blows they have been dealt by the colonial people and the non-capitalist countries.

Thus, James Reston, head of the New York Times Washington Bureau wrote, Nov. 17, on the smashing setbacks to Eisenhower's Mideast Doctrine: "The political tide in that area is running against the industrial nations that live off oil from that region . . . urgent political decisions must be taken if the West is not to suffer a political defeat far more significant than the sputniks. In comparison with these political problems . . . the lag in United States technology is easy to solve."

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