

'Peaceful Coexistence'
And the Sputnik
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WALL ST. PINS HOPES ON ARMS RACE

SWP Election Drive Inspires United Activities by Socialists

Candidates Campaign In N.Y., San Francisco

By Herman Chauka

The election campaigns being waged by the Socialist Workers Party in New York and San Francisco are providing a growing basis for united action by socialists of various persuasion who share a common belief in the need to advance an independent socialist alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties of Big Business. In both cities prominent figures in the radical movement are lending their support to public rallies on behalf of Socialist Workers Party candidates.

Vincent Hallinan, former Progressive party leader, will speak at rallies in both New York and San Francisco on behalf of the SWP slates. The San Francisco rally on Oct. 30 will be chaired by Warren K. Billings, heroic fighter with Tom Mooney, against capitalist injustice. Both Hallinan and Billings have urged San Francisco workers to vote for Barbara and Jordan, Socialist Workers candidates for Supervisor.

Further support in San Francisco to the movement for united socialist political action came this week with the endorsement of the Socialist Workers nominees by George Hitchcock and George Olshausen. Hitchcock, a well known San Francisco playwright, is chairman of the Independent Socialist Forum in that city. Olshausen is a prominent civil liberties lawyer.

Their statement declares: "We believe that Labor should have independent representation in government. Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, candidates for Supervisor, are running for office because they feel the same way. Moreover, they are both active socialists whose program emphasizes the socialist future of mankind. Although the undersigned do not necessarily agree with every point in the program of Frank Barbara and Mrs. Jordan, we endorse their candidacies for the stated reasons and call upon the citizens of San Francisco to vote for them on Nov. 5."

In New York, support continues to grow for the Oct. 25 Copley rally, at which Hallinan will speak. In a letter of Oct. 10, James Aronson, Editor of the influential weekly, the National Guardian, urges support to the rally. The letter declares that a "vote for either of the major parties in the New York Mayoralty election on Nov. 5 would be a foolish waste of a valuable ballot." John T. McManus, General Manager of the Guardian and the 1952 Gubernatorial candidate of the American Labor Party, heartily concurred. (See text of letter on this page.)

Additional speakers at the New York rally will include Mrs. Clifford T. McAvoy, long active in the Progressive and American Labor parties, and Tim Wohlforth, editor of the new youth paper, the Young Socialist.

A statement in support of the New York rally has been issued by Tim Wohlforth, George R. Stryker and others. The statement greets Hallinan's support for Copley as "in accord with his principled stand of supporting all actions which contribute to laying the foundations for a united, mass party of American socialism."

"Such a stand," they continue, "deserves the support of all those who seek a socialist society free of hell-bombs, witch hunts, racism and economic exploitation. Attendance at the Oct. 25 meeting at Central Plaza for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley will be a demonstration of your belief in the future of American socialism."

San Francisco Candidates



FRANK BARBARIA AND JOAN JORDAN, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Supervisors in San Francisco, united socialist advocates in their campaign.



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of N. Y. and VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for president, will speak at New York rally Oct. 25 for independent socialist political action.

Nat'l Guardian Editors Back SWP Rally in N.Y.

(The following is the text of the Oct 10 letter from James Aronson and John T. McManus, editor and general manager of the National Guardian respectively, urging support to the New York rally for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley. The letter is addressed to Miss Copley's campaign manager, Carol Lynn. — Ed.)

Dear Miss Lynn,
 This is to let you know, in reply to your query, that I will be glad to give my support to the meeting on Oct. 25 at Central Plaza, when Vincent Hallinan will speak for the candidacy of Joyce Cowley for Mayor.
 I have the utmost admiration for Mr. Hallinan whom the National Guardian supported in his campaign for the Presidency on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952. His courage and optimism

in a dark time in America have been most heartening to so many of us who suffered far less for our convictions than he did.

In addition, I am convinced that the dismal record of both major parties in the city and nation leave only one recourse for intelligent voters — independent political action. In my opinion, for a progressive citizen to vote for the candidates of either of the major parties in the New York Mayoralty election on November 5 would be a foolish waste of a valuable ballot.

Sincerely,
 James Aronson
 I concur!
 John T. McManus

OTHER COMMENTS

(The following are additional excerpts from the Stryker-Wohlforth statement reported elsewhere on this page. — Ed.)

The lack of fundamental choice presented by the Republican and Democrats in the New York Mayoralty election provides a graphic demonstration that the two party system has nothing to offer the working people and their allies.

We therefore welcome the activities of those who bring to the fore the issue of independent working class political action in the New York elections and who present a socialist answer to the major issues of the day.



JAMES ARONSON

Integration and The Southern "Moderates"

By George Lavan

The American public is suddenly hearing a lot about Southern "moderates." Northern newspaper editors are hailing them as the hope of the South, the answer to the school desegregation problem, the people who can prevent the recurrence of such "tragedies" as the federal enforcement of desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock.

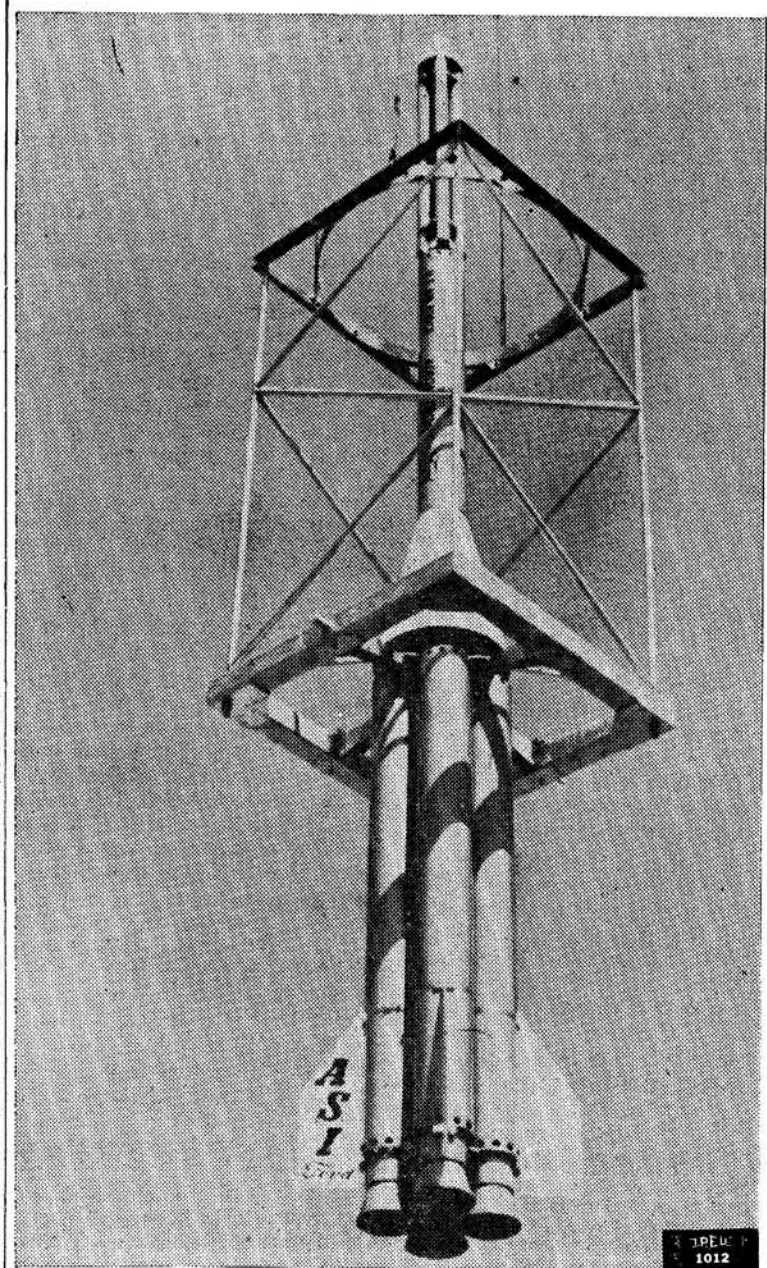
Who are these Southern "moderates"? What is their program? What can fighters against Jim Crow expect from them? These questions and their answers will assume increasing importance since the Southern "moderates" are being pushed forward into the national political limelight occupied up till now by the Byrnes-Byrd-Griffin-Eastland School of Southern politics. The pushing is being done by important economic and political interests in the South. And helping hands are being extended by the Eisenhower administration, the Northern Democrats and the Northern press.

A PECULIAR TERM

Use of the label "moderate" is as wide, all-embracing, and consequently as vague, as current usage of the term "liberal." As applied to the Southern scene it is being employed to describe (1) anti-integrationists not identified with fire-eating statements of absolute defiance of the Supreme Court decision and legislation to destroy it at any cost, (2) those who may have taken the above positions but who have since indicated that they believe nullification, interposition or abolition of the public school system unfeasible, (3) state officials who have endorsed such positions but are credited with secretly not being for them. The present leaders of the Southern "moderates" are Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida and Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina. Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee is also associated with this group. But since East Tennessee has long been a Republican stronghold, that state is not considered typically Southern and Clement must therefore yield primacy to Collins and Hodges as Southern spokesmen.

It was during the Southern Governors Conference that the

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Ford-built rocket, planned to be launched from a balloon-suspended platform above Eniwetok Atoll, is one of U.S. answers to the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile that has disrupted Wall St.'s war perspective.

Pushes War Spending to Block Slump

By Joseph Keller

OCT. 15 — Sputnik didn't flash into outer space a day too soon for Wall Street.

The stock market, an important indicator of the condition of the profit system, had begun in recent months to sag in the middle and droop at both ends, it the hopes of America's declining 15% since July. The Soviet "moon" has lifted with financial rulers. They see in it a pretext to speed up U.S. militarization and thereby give the capitalist economy another shot-in-the-arm of war spending.

Yesterday's Wall St. Journal, which complains that "cuts in war spending have already made themselves felt in part," observes in its lead article that "Sputnik and kindred Soviet achievements are propelling the cold war into a tough new phase."

"TOUGH" TALK

This leading financial and business newspaper cites the speech of Army Secretary Brucker last week before a women's group, when he stated: "You'll never know the power this country has, unless there is a war. That power is so massive that nobody should ever risk trying it out."

The Journal then quotes "one of the Administrations' most skilled diplomats" as follows: "When you talk peace all the time, people get to believe that you're never going to use whatever power you have."

All this "tough" talk, of course, doesn't preclude some maneuvers in the direction of "peaceful co-existence." But it does indicate that official propaganda is being pitched to prepare the American people for an intensified arms race and the sacrifices that further inflationary war spending will entail.

MORE SACRIFICES

Certainly, the Democrats are going to press the issue and have already fired their opening salvos. Thus, Senator Symington (D-Mo.), a former Air Force Secretary, sarcastically commented that "Eisenhower wants to meet the enemy at the border with a firmly balanced budget."

Even the most conservative financial commentators are declaring for no-holds-barred in tackling a stepped-up super-arms program. "At this moment we do not know whether a stepped-up missile program will cost us a fraction of a billion dollars or many billions of dollars a year from now on," states financial expert Lawrence Fertig in the Oct. 14 N. Y. World-Telegram. "But," he adds, "whatever the cost it will have to be done." Even, he states further, if this must be done at the expense of socially-beneficial projects "such as federal aid to education."

Sen. Styles Bridges, a Republican member of the Armed Services Committee, puts the prospect of "sacrifice" more directly: "The time has clearly come to be less concerned with the depth of the pile on the new broadloom rug or the height of the fin on the new car, to be more prepared to shed blood, sweat and tears..."

REMOTE DREAM

Naturally, this doesn't refer to the blood, sweat and tears of those who will profit from increased armaments and who have only old hand-made Persian rugs and fleets of Cadillacs and Jaguars.

Noting the recent aircraft plants layoffs, the Oct. 11 N. Y. Post pondered editorially, "What will happen if some real disarmament accord is finally achieved and defense industries begin to cut down on a national scale? How much of our economy is based on cold war? How will it withstand the shock of relaxed tension?" But then comes the reassuring thought: "Perhaps the dream of disarmament remains remote."

Hurl "Spy" Smear at Wife To Prejudice Sobell Appeal

By Myra Tanner Weiss

OCT. 17 — A ferocious campaign, inspired and organized by the FBI and the Department of Justice, was unleashed this week in a desperate attempt to prejudice

the appeal of Morton Sobell to

the U.S. Supreme Court. Sobell is serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz following his conviction in 1951 on trumped-up charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage" for the Soviet Union.

This campaign has been unfolding along two lines. First, an attempt is being made at a "spy" smear against Helen Sobell who has spearheaded an investigation of the frame-up of her husband which has uncovered devastating evidence that the Department of Justice is fearful to have presented to the Supreme Court.

At the same time leading newspapers and magazines have come out with editorials and articles attempting to bolster the government's case against So-

bell. One such article purports to give the results of its own private "unbiased" and "independent" investigation into the new evidence demonstrating the innocence of Sobell. This is the article, "The people who stole it [the atom bomb] from us" in the Oct. 29 issue of Look magazine. This article, which we will analyze in a following issue, bears all the earmarks of FBI inspiration as well as cooperation.

HAYHANEN

The vile attempt to smear Mrs. Sobell occurred at the trial in Brooklyn of Rudolph Abel, alleged Soviet "master spy." It was introduced during the di-

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Rally for Independent Socialist Political Action

New York City

Hear

Vincent Hallinan

(1952 Progressive Party Presidential Candidate)

Joyce Cowley

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York)

Mrs. Clifford McAvoy

Tim Wohlforth

(Managing Editor Young Socialist)

Friday, October 25 -- 8 P.M.

CENTRAL PLAZA — 111 SECOND AVENUE
 Contribution 50 cents

San Francisco

Hear

Warren K. Billings

(Chairman)

Vincent Hallinan

Frank Barbaria

(SWP Candidate for Supervisor)

Joan Jordan

(SWP Candidate for Supervisor)

Wednesday, October 30 -- 8:15 P.M.

ILWU Bldg., 150 Golden Gate Avenue
 (Auspices: Citizens Committee for Barbaria and Jordan)

Bittleman's 'Fresh Look' at CP Crisis

By Harry Ring

"By its very nature the 20th Congress [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] was bound to inspire true democrats, Socialists and Communists," says Alexander Bittleman in his serialized article on the crisis of the Communist Party entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look." As of this writing, eleven installments have appeared in the Daily Worker.

According to Bittleman, "Communists especially were bound to be stimulated by the fresh look which the 20th Congress took at the world, to themselves take a fresh look at their own programs, policies and organizations."

But, he woefully adds, "in our own Party it did not work out quite like that. The bright new vision tended to become somewhat obscured for the American people and the American Communist Party by certain aspects in the reappraisal of Stalin's role. . . This may not have added much to our difficulties," Bittleman informs us, "but it certainly did not help."

This almost ludicrous "estimate" of the shattering impact of the 20th Congress on the Communist Party is born of Bittleman's efforts to prove the roots of the CP crisis are purely "American," springing from unfavorable "objective" circumstances in this country and "subjective" errors by the party.

STEIN'S VIEW
The entire tract is intended to provide a "theoretical" platform for the drive now being launched by the Eugene Dennis-Sid Stein wing of the CP leadership (with the apparent acquiescence of Wm. Z. Foster) to "reconstruct" the crisis-ridden organization. This drive was opened with a report by Stein, national organization secretary of the party, to a July 27 National Committee meeting and entitled, "Rebuild the Party!"

In this report, to the party bureaucrats, Stein did not try to slither around the obvious relation of the 20th Congress to the CP crisis as Bittleman does in the Daily Worker. The basis for the crisis, said Stein, is found "in the serious weakening of our ideological foundations." These consist of "confidence in the first land of socialism. . . For 27 years such confidence abounded in our party." But, he added, "the foundations crumbled when it became clear from the 20th Congress of the CPSU that Soviet society was not as we had pictured it."

Stein, like Bittleman, signaled the need to divert the discussion in CP circles from the grave issues posed by the 20th Congress. The need of the hour, they both say, is to concentrate on "American" problems.

Stein assured one and all that democratization will be "accelerated" by Khrushchev and company. But he was very chary of putting all the CP's eggs in one basket. "I do not want to create the impression," he hastily added, "that it is the foundation of our ideological rebuilding. . . For the ideological roots of our party are right here in our own country."

This does not mean that Stein favors cutting the CP's ideological ties with the Kremlin. It is necessary to combat the notion, he declared, "that our future depends on disassociating ourselves from the land of socialism."

DANGER IN DISCUSSION
But both Stein and Bittleman understand that the projected "reconstruction" cannot proceed on the basis of a searching, party-wide discussion of the revelations from "the land of socialism" which made the "re-

construction" project necessary in the first place. Such a discussion would reveal not only that the CP leaders made the "error" of serving as blind apologists for Stalin, but also that their politics were, and still remain, tailored to serve the interests of Kremlin foreign policy and not the interests of the American, the Soviet, or the world working class.

For example, Bittleman points to the period when Earl Browder was dumped as one where the party "went overboard" in changing its line. Omitted, however, is the key fact that neither the decision to oust Browder, nor the change in line,

Some Buried History About Bittleman

The Daily Worker failed to offer a single biographical note in publishing Alexander Bittleman's "fresh look" series. This omission undoubtedly arises out of the fact that Communist Party history proved embarrassing after the Stalin revelations. Yet some of Bittleman's history should be of interest. In 1937 he undertook the defense of Stalin's frame-up trials. He wrote a pamphlet called "Trotsky the Traitor" in which he said, "Conspiracy with Hitler and Japan to dismember the Soviet Union . . . to engage in wrecking activities . . . to plan assassination of Soviet leaders. . . Trotsky and his agents have been proven guilty of all these unspeakable crimes." From the 20th Congress came the admission that these charges were all lies. Little wonder he and his fellow CP leaders fear discussion of the 20th Congress. It is easier to forget than to explain.

originated in the American CP. That particular somersault—as with all the others since the Stalinization of the party in the 1920's—sprang directly from the changed foreign policy needs of the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin.

But, it will be argued, all of that is in the past. Now "the ideological roots of our party are right here in our own country."

LIVE TOGETHER
Those who may believe this should read Bittleman with particular care. If nothing else, he has the dubious distinction of spelling out the policy of the party leadership in surprisingly frank fashion. His point of departure is the line reiterated at the 20th Congress on the need to establish a "durable era" of peaceful co-existence with world capitalism. He snells out the fact that the Kremlin concept of co-existence means a "live and let live" deal with capitalism which completely sacrifices the interests of the workers.

"The emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition," announces Bittleman, "does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S. . . . To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of the struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

Can the CP be "reconstructed" on the basis of a program which rules out a socialist perspective for an entire "historical period"? Does such a program coincide with the reality of American developments? We will return to these questions.

Hungary and 'Plot' Theory of History

By John Thayer

THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY. By Herbert Aptheker. New York: Mainstream Publishers 1957, 256 pp., \$3.00 (paper \$2.00).

This book's purpose is to furnish historical proof for the claim by the Kremlin and Kadar regime that last year's Hungarian Revolution was really a counter-revolution to restore capitalism and was principally inspired and led by imperialist agents and Horthyite fascists.

The Stalinist movement in this country has in the past commissioned similar jobs. The aim, a decade ago, of The Great Conspiracy by Sayers and Kahn was to prove the Moscow "confession" trials were gospel truth and that Trotskyists were fascist mad dogs. Such "proof" depended on slander and falsification. But times have changed requiring a different method and different authors.

Aptheker, the author of this book, has a reputation as a scholar for his very credible studies on Negro history. How well that reputation will survive this present work is questionable, but he indubitably stands on a higher moral plane than the literary frame-up artists who concocted The Great Conspiracy. His method is not that of open, conscious falsification. His sins are those of omission rather than commission.

NOT CHEMICALLY PURE

Since revolutionarily upheavals and the masses that make them are never chemically pure, almost any revolution in history can be detracted, smeared, even "proven" its opposite by omission of disagreeable facts and careful selection and compiling of those conducive to the desired conclusion. This is the method of the plot theory of history according to which blind masses are manipulated by clever conspirators. Thus the standard bourgeois "explanation" of Russia's October Revolution is that it was a cleverly executed coup d'etat by a tiny minority, not a real revolution by conscious masses. A century ago French royalists "proved" that the Great French Revolution of 1789 broke out and raged for years because the Orleans branch of the royal family aimed to supplant the Bourbons. It is indisputable that the Duke of Orleans paid huge sums of money to innumerable



Budapest workers shown inspecting two of the Kremlin's artillery guns they knocked out of action during the Hungarian revolution which began Oct. 23 last year. The anniversary article on this page exposes the propaganda lies of the Soviet bureaucrats against the suppressed uprising.

agents to detrone Louis XVI before and during the Revolution. And in the Russian Revolution of 1905 what about those crowds expressing at times reactionary and anti-Semitic prejudices? And what about the insurgent groups that were getting money from the Japanese imperialists with whom Czarist Russia was then at war? Lenin noted them, said such things were inevitable in a revolution and of minor importance.

What a travesty of historical reality Aptheker's plot-theory and selection-omission method could make of the February 1917 Revolution which overthrew Czarism. How many figures that emerged in leading roles turned out in ten months to be white terrorists, anti-Semites, restorationists? And would Aptheker maintain that even those masses which swung over to support of Bolshevism completely shed and never expressed their centuries-old prejudices of anti-Semitism during and after October? German imperialism spent considerable money to increase wartime disaffection in Czarist Russia. It had spies and secret agents in Russia. Did they not participate in the February events? A juicier fact than any Aptheker cites on Hungary is that the German General Staff transported Lenin from Switzerland to Russia. Using the treatment today employed by Aptheker to give an impressive "documentation" that the Bolshevik revolution was a German-inspired plot.

FALSE USE OF QUOTE

Three-quarters of this book is devoted to laying the historical and political basis for the concluding thesis about the actual revolution. Many useful and interesting facts are presented. The author has ransacked books, articles, speeches by U.S. politicians and Hungarian emigres, etc., for a useful phrase or sentence to fortify his argument. This slanting, this straining for detective-story clues, leads to many ludicrous assertions. Here

participation of every militant worker in his local Labor Party; these are the guarantees that socialist policies will prevail in the Labor Party.

When the next Labor government takes office it will start with a substantial and experienced Left wing in the party, a factor which did not exist in 1945. The Brighton conference has given the Left the opportunity, if its lessons are studied in the constituencies, as they surely will be, of beginning to arm itself now for the General Election and the great tasks which will follow it. The most essential weapon in the armory is a program: a list of fundamental political objectives around which the entire Labor Left, non-Marxist and Marxist, can unite. To the extent that such a program is agreed and fought for together by such vehicles of Left-wing opinion as Tribune and by the tens of thousands of "old-fashioned socialists" in the localities, it will act as a magnet for all the healthy forces in the British working-class movement and will galvanize and inspire the active members of the party for the hard, slogging but rewarding work that awaits them.

CAN'T STAGE-MANAGE WORKERS
The Right wing can no longer succeed, as it used to, in pulling the wool over the eyes of the rank and file. (No one has any illusions about the efficacy of the decision taken on rents, for instance. It means precisely nothing, as The Observer was quick to point out.) For years it has been possible gently and unobtrusively to stage-manage the annual conference. But the movement of millions of workers determined not to be knuckled under to the blows being struck at their hard-won rights is not to be stage-managed. Nothing can prevent the workers from resisting; and in the course of their resistance there will be many who will learn that economic militancy is incomplete without political militancy; that their place is inside the Labor Party, demanding there that the political fight against capitalism is waged relentlessly, thoroughly and vigorously.

These militant workers constitute the major reserve of the Left wing of the Labor Party. Their militancy and their support mean that the Left can take Bevan's defection without a tremor. The entry of a wave of active workers in workshops and on building sites into the local Labor Parties in the course of the coming battles will strengthen the British Left and make clear to the whole movement the validity of the Left alternative to a policy of adaptation to the Tories.

At the same time far more attention must be devoted to the composition of the trade union delegations to the Labor Party conference. The time has gone by when the movement could afford to leave hundreds of thousands of votes in the hands of full-time officials who on occasion pay scant respect to the decisions of their own annual conferences. A healthy and vigilant rank-and-file movement in industry, side by side with the active

is one taken at random: Aptheker, building a case that the uprising was planned abroad and the plans known to insiders, finds significant "for its clear sense of immediacy" and a "firmly prophetic vision that very soon this [uprising] would be attempted," the following statement by the exiled, former Premier of Hungary Ferenc Nagy (not to be confused with Imre Nagy). "I know that soon the time will come when I shall bend my knee and kiss that sacred American soil, and thank it for having given bread to my family, and respect to me. Then I shall turn my steps home, to my Hungarian people, to shoulder humbly new cares and new burdens, and build with my modest strength, on the physical and spiritual ruins — a new nation."

If one is patient enough to hunt back almost a hundred pages, one learns that the book in which this statement appeared was published in 1948 and that consequently its "clear sense of immediacy" predates the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution by eight years.

In laying the groundwork Aptheker minimizes facts that would weaken his case. Notable is the ignoring of the effect in Hungary of Tito's break from the Kremlin and the mere passing mention given the frame-up that shook Hungary — the Rajk trial. Moscow's control over Budapest is sloughed over. Thus Aptheker explains the 1956 downfall and expulsion of Premier Imre Nagy solely by internal economic causes, not hinting that Nagy was a "Malenkov man" and was accordingly dumped by Khrushchev when the latter won round one in the Kremlin. Wherever the author feels it necessary to censure the Kremlin, he softens the blow as much as possible.

In his treatment of the "errors" of the Hungarian CP leadership he also engages in apologetics. Though sometimes he goes as far as to describe these "errors" as "crimes," the reluctance is painfully apparent.

POLISH STRUGGLE IGNORED

Notably lacking is a description of the interaction of the events in Poland and Hungary leading up to their fateful October conclusions. There is no mention of the working-class ex-

plosion and general strike in Poznan which so greatly accelerated the march of events. Is this because Poznan was a miniature of the Hungarian Revolution and because Aptheker's thesis was attempted and ingloriously disproved in the trials which followed? Moreover, Aptheker is in the curious position of approving Poland's October while denigrating Hungary's.

The chapter entitled "Efforts at Change" attempts to give the regime credit for reforms, unwittingly it traces the rapid growth of a stormy mass movement. This movement abruptly disappears in the next chapter entitled "The Uprising," and in its stead emerge Horthyites, imperialist agents and a pitifully small handful of duped workers. In life, the growing mass movement, in the next chapter, made the leap onto the barricades.

If newspaper readers learned anything about the Hungarian Revolution it was that workers' councils played a very important role. I recall but one mention in this whole book of workers' councils. Here it is: "In the major factories it [the Kadar regime] is encouraging the development of workers' councils (not regional councils) which are to confine their activities to economic and management questions, however, and not, in a syndicalist manner, enter into the political arena." In addition to a definition which would make the Russian soviets of 1917 "syndicalist," a history of the Hungarian Revolution minus workers' councils is like a history of the Bolshevik Revolution minus soviets, which by no mere

coincidence is the Russian word for the same thing.

FACTS TREATED VAGUELY

Though Aptheker does not essay an estimate of the number of Communist Party members killed in the "white terror" and "pogrom" that he maintains was the Hungarian Revolution, he gives the impression that it runs into the tens of thousands. In the summer of 1957 the Kadar government issued Volume III of its "White Book" on the uprising, containing a list of CPers killed by the revolutionists. There are 201 names — 166 of them were members of the AVH, the hated secret police, 26 were party officials or in the service of the AVH. Between Oct. 3 and Nov. 4, 1956 the freedom fighters jailed 2,829 persons. Over 2,000 of these were members of the AVH.

This does not excuse lynching or execution without trial.

But it shows that the vengeance wreaked was not of the mass proportions claimed by Aptheker but compares with the unrestrained acts of other popular uprisings. It is, for example, less than that which followed the overthrow of Mussolini. Moreover, can Aptheker claim that the Kadar regime since its triumph has not executed more than 201 communists and socialists and jailed more than 2,829?

The Kadar regime has had a year now to produce evidence proving its thesis — which is Aptheker's — that the revolution was imperialist and fascist inspired and led. That it has not been able to do so is the strongest refutation of this book.

Young Socialist Creates Stir at Two Universities

By Fred Halstead

The official student newspapers of two major Western universities devoted front-page-lead articles to the appearance of the new radical youth newspaper, The Young Socialist, on the occasion of its first distribution at the campuses. The Colorado Daily which reaches 11,000 students at the University of Colorado in Boulder, headlined an objective and factual interview with a YS distributor: "Socialist Distributes Paper, Proposes Discussion Group."

The Daily Bruin, published at the University of California at Los Angeles (17,000 students) devoted half the front page and three long editorials in its Oct. 7 issue to an attack on the Young Socialist. The Daily Bruin's banner headline reads: "Socialists Stir at UCLA."

The Colorado Daily reported that YS supporters hope "to establish an organization either on or off campus, according to the wishes of its members. His [the YS distributor who is interviewed] hopes were raised by the 'fine reception of the majority of students who accepted the newspaper.'"

The Colorado Daily continues: "He stressed repeatedly that his aim is to further discussion of socialism, but not to propagate any particular belief. The socialist youth group which publishes the newspaper is the largest within the U.S., he claimed. It has no connection with either the Communist Party or any adult socialist party, he explained. The group has supported the Hungarian and Polish Revolutions, he said."

"As a working force, it hopes to establish a joint relationship with all radical youth groups willing to work together for a Socialist Movement. We will take anyone, even a former communist, who believes in Democratic Socialism."

UCLA — A "FOCAL POINT"
The Daily Bruin article, by Bruin City Editor Tom Welch, begins: "UCLA campus is becoming a focal point for a new movement among radical students and young people from all over who are supporters of the Socialist movement . . ."

The article, accompanied by a large picture of the front page of the YS, captioned "socialism's appeal to America's young people," lists the names of UCLA students sponsoring the YS and the organizations with which they have been associated. These include the Socialist Workers Party, the recently dissolved Labor Youth League, the Eugene V. Debs club and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"These organizations appear scores of times in the latest and previous reports of the state fact-finding on Un-American Activities," says the Daily Bruin. The remainder of the article contains quotes from the witch-hunt committee's reports. The three editorials were on UCLA students about that "potentially dangerous combination which is experienced by every campus,

A Paper Victory at Brighton

By Peter Fryer

This is the conclusion of the analysis of the recent conference of the British Labor Party and the tasks of the Left in Britain. — Ed.)

The Right wing cannot derive much satisfaction from its paper victories at Brighton. The British workers are moving Leftwards. Right-wing influence will melt like snow under the influence of the class struggle. A mass movement on wages and rents, against the hydrogen bomb and the Tory government, will solve the paradoxes which marked the conference.

The trade union leaders and the Gaitskellites are very much afraid of the rising tide of working-class militancy. This is why the union leaders are so eager for a new Labor government. They are frightened that the Tory government will provoke industrial strife on a scale which might have unsettling effects in trade union head offices. The union leaders do not want to challenge the big capitalists; they do not want to mobilize their forces, lest these forces get out of hand. The logical extension of this unwillingness to fight is the Fabian New Statesman's appeal last week that the unions should undertake to accept "restraints and responsibilities" under the next Labor government. In other words, working-class standards are to be sacrificed to the interests of the monopolists in order to win the floating voter.

A GRAVE RISK

This entire conception of watering down socialism and cramping militancy in order to attract the middle-class voter disillusioned with Toryism but suspicious of Labor is riddled with flaws. First, a party which takes such steps runs grave risks of losing the support of industrial workers. Secondly, weakness, vacillations and hesitancy will never attract more than an insignificant section of the middle class. Thirdly, the kind of concessions the Right has made are such as will weaken Labor's fight against the very social forces which menace the security of small shopkeepers and small businessmen: monopoly capitalism. Either the Labor government takes immediate and bold measures when it comes to office to break the power of the big employers in a series of key industries, or it is doomed.

Industry and Society (the new Labor Party program) was described by Bevan in lobby conversations at Brighton as "rubbish" (though this did not prevent his applauding it!) It is rubbish indeed, for it envisages an approach to the economic tasks of the next Labor government which would castrate that government and pave the way for another spell of Toryism.

When the next Labor government takes office it will start with a substantial and experienced Left wing in the party, a factor which did not exist in 1945. The Brighton conference has given the Left the opportunity, if its lessons are studied in the constituencies, as they surely will be, of beginning to arm itself now for the General Election and the great tasks which will follow it. The most essential weapon in the armory is a program: a list of fundamental political objectives around which the entire Labor Left, non-Marxist and Marxist, can unite. To the extent that such a program is agreed and fought for together by such vehicles of Left-wing opinion as Tribune and by the tens of thousands of "old-fashioned socialists" in the localities, it will act as a magnet for all the healthy forces in the British working-class movement and will galvanize and inspire the active members of the party for the hard, slogging but rewarding work that awaits them.

CAN'T STAGE-MANAGE WORKERS
The Right wing can no longer succeed, as it used to, in pulling the wool over the eyes of the rank and file. (No one has any illusions about the efficacy of the decision taken on rents, for instance. It means precisely nothing, as The Observer was quick to point out.) For years it has been possible gently and unobtrusively to stage-manage the annual conference. But the movement of millions of workers determined not to be knuckled under to the blows being struck at their hard-won rights is not to be stage-managed. Nothing can prevent the workers from resisting; and in the course of their resistance there will be many who will learn that economic militancy is incomplete without political militancy; that their place is inside the Labor Party, demanding there that the political fight against capitalism is waged relentlessly, thoroughly and vigorously.

These militant workers constitute the major reserve of the Left wing of the Labor Party. Their militancy and their support mean that the Left can take Bevan's defection without a tremor. The entry of a wave of active workers in workshops and on building sites into the local Labor Parties in the course of the coming battles will strengthen the British Left and make clear to the whole movement the validity of the Left alternative to a policy of adaptation to the Tories.

At the same time far more attention must be devoted to the composition of the trade union delegations to the Labor Party conference. The time has gone by when the movement could afford to leave hundreds of thousands of votes in the hands of full-time officials who on occasion pay scant respect to the decisions of their own annual conferences. A healthy and vigilant rank-and-file movement in industry, side by side with the active

participation of every militant worker in his local Labor Party; these are the guarantees that socialist policies will prevail in the Labor Party.

When the next Labor government takes office it will start with a substantial and experienced Left wing in the party, a factor which did not exist in 1945. The Brighton conference has given the Left the opportunity, if its lessons are studied in the constituencies, as they surely will be, of beginning to arm itself now for the General Election and the great tasks which will follow it. The most essential weapon in the armory is a program: a list of fundamental political objectives around which the entire Labor Left, non-Marxist and Marxist, can unite. To the extent that such a program is agreed and fought for together by such vehicles of Left-wing opinion as Tribune and by the tens of thousands of "old-fashioned socialists" in the localities, it will act as a magnet for all the healthy forces in the British working-class movement and will galvanize and inspire the active members of the party for the hard, slogging but rewarding work that awaits them.

FOR IDEOLOGICAL ARMING

The political arming of the movement with a common program ought to be supplemented by an ideological arming. The results of the Brighton conference have set tens of thousands of Labor Party members talking: there is a new and salutary readiness to go to the very roots of the problems the movement is grappling with. In discussions on theory with other socialists, just as in the industrial and political fields, British Marxists can make a useful contribution to the common pool of ideas, provided they remember that they do not know all the answers, and that they have something to learn as well as something to teach.

PROGRAM FOR LEFT

This program ought to summarize the most important socialist steps which the Left believes the next Labor government should take on assuming office, and which it will campaign for at party conferences until they become the accepted policy of the party in Parliament and in the country. Needless to say, the precise terms of such a program can be decided only in the course of the post-Brighton discussions now beginning; but, judging by the feeling among delegates, it will in all likelihood contain such demands as these:

- (1) Nationalization of the engineering and shipbuilding industries. Nationalization of the building industry and of the land of the big landowners.
- (2) Renunciation by Britain of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons, and an appeal to the peoples of other countries to follow this lead.
- (3) Repeal of the Rent Act and the removal of all increases imposed under it.
- (4) Self-determination for British colonies, and the withdrawal of British troops from them.

Bigger Than the Bomb

America's atomic scientists have warned the world about the mounting threat from radioactive fall-out. Another world war, they declare, could mean the end of civilization. But what are their political proposals on what should be done? Read about the "Frozen map" they visualize for the future and how people will prove to be bigger than the bomb. In the fall issue of the International Socialist Review.

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Set-Back for U.S. Imperialism

The Eisenhower Doctrine, blared forth after the Suez crisis, is now under attack even by its staunchest supporters. The U.S. took over from Britain and France the job of "policing" the Arab countries to keep them safe for the profit system.

Hussein just dissolved the parliament and declared martial law. The U.S. fleet sailed into view and Jordan was apparently delivered over to the U.S. The State Department's time-table listed Syria and Egypt next. First, economic pressure was applied — called by Egyptians the "Big Squeeze."

The Hungarian Revolution

This week marks the anniversary of the great Hungarian revolution for national independence and workers democracy. It began on October 23, one year ago, when security police fired on a demonstration in Budapest.

ers continued. For two months the Workers Councils continued their open activity, organizing new demonstrations and strikes and repeating the demands raised early in the revolution — withdrawal of Soviet troops and the institution of workers democracy.

Helen Sobell

Anyone who has followed the sensationalized press treatment of the statements about Helen Sobell, wife of the famous Alcatraz prisoner, Morton Sobell, by Reino Hayhanen, witness against accused spy, Rudolph Abel, must wonder what the press is up to.

was proved guilty or was framed up by the FBI? Who is persecuting Helen Sobell and why? The answer is simple. After long years, the case of Morton Sobell is now before the Supreme Court.

The Sputnik and Disarmament

By Art Preis

In the heyday of world capitalism before World War I, many leaders of the Second (Socialist) International held the view that the capitalist system would evolve peacefully and painlessly into socialism.



Lenin, speaking, and Trotsky (marked X), co-leaders of the Russian Revolution of Nov. 1917, at a meeting of revolutionary workers and soldiers. Both urged international revolutionary socialist class struggle as the only way to halt or prevent imperialist wars.

When Stalin was alive, he added a new twist to this conception. The capitalist nations had not been persuaded to maintain the peace among themselves despite the similarity of their economic system.

could be changed. The question of peace and war thus boiled down to an ability to reach the minds and the decent instincts of the capitalist rulers. The Kremlin has added a still further argument to this conception that the capitalists can be made to see the light and abandon war as a basic instrument of their international policy.

... Smear Sobell's Wife

(Continued from page 1) rect examination of Reino Hayhanen, who is represented as a self-confessed Soviet spy, an underling of Abel. According to the Department of Justice prosecutors, Hayhanen turn-coated five months ago in Paris and voluntarily offered his services to the FBI.

Tompkins: What did you do with the \$5,000 that you buried in Bear Mountain? Hayhanen: I kept it myself. Judge Mortimer W. Byers: Didn't he bury it? How could he both bury it and keep it? Tompkins: Did you dig up the money? Hayhanen: Yes. One wonders at the ineptness, not to say idiocy, of the department of espionage in Moscow which would order its allegedly key agents to have anything to do with anybody connected with Sobell's wife.

sized the latter point when he said on Oct. 8 that "the rocket is a terrible and pitiless weapon. We do not want to misuse our superiority. But... we are now entering the period when fighters and bombers will have to be confined to museums..." Pravda, the leading Kremlin newspaper, declared that the American rulers now face the "inexorable necessity of peaceful co-existence, cessation of the arms race, and renunciation of their cold war policy."

Lenin showed that "imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exist." (Emphasis in original.) CONFIRMED BY HISTORY The history of the world since 1914 has repeatedly and conclusively proved the truth of Lenin's theory. Over and over again the richest and the most powerful capitalist nations have temporarily saved themselves from mortal economic crises by resorting to militarization and war.

against those who spread the slogan "disarmament." He wrote in his famous article in the Dec. 1916 Sbornik Sotsial-demokrata, a Bolshevik journal published in Switzerland, that "the preaching of 'disarmament,' which is deliberately addressed to the present governments of the imperialist great powers, is the most hackneyed opportunism, bourgeois pacifism, which in reality serves only... to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle. For such preachings inculcate the workers with the thought that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are not entangled in thousands of threads of finance capital and dozens of hundreds of corresponding (i.e. predatory, murderous, preparatory to imperialist wars) secret treaties between themselves." (Emphasis in original.) Disarmament, said Lenin, is conceivable only under world socialism, because "in the socialist society there will be no wars, which means that disarmament will be realized." Of course, under certain unfavorable conditions, even the mighty U.S. imperialists might agree to some "peaceful co-existence" treaty, including some form of "disarmament." They might favor some such temporary expedient in the event of a crucial crisis at home, a new upsurge of labor struggle for instance, or a great revolutionary upheaval in another part of the capitalist world. The Kremlin has repeatedly demonstrated its willingness to betray the emancipating struggles of the working class and colonial peoples for the sake of deals with the imperialist powers. During the war-time coalition between the allied imperialist powers and the Soviet Union, the American Stalinist leaders were the most rabid strike-breakers and advocates of the incentive pay speed-up plan. Even conservative labor bureaucrats, like the late Philip Murray, attacked the Stalinist union leaders for their criminal strike-breaking and their offer of a peace-time no-strike pledge. All programs for peace which do not have as their starting point the class struggle and the fight for socialism, are a snare. They do not alter the war-like nature of capitalism in its most advanced stage of imperialist decay. But they can and do delude and disarm the working class in the real battle against war—the struggle for workers' rule and socialism. Lenin was especially scathing

.. Southern Moderates'

(Continued from page 1) Little Rock crisis came to a head. It was also at this conference that the "moderates" with the apparent consent of the anti-Negro extremists, such as Gov. Timmerman of South Carolina and Gov. Griffin of Georgia, assumed the role of public spokesmen for the South and intermediaries with the administration for withdrawal of federal troops just sent to Little Rock. Gov. Collins was also elected chairman of the Conference. A clue to what may be expected of these "moderates" is that during the conference none of their fellow delegates, Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, even though the Little Rock crisis was occupying the attention of the whole country. Only Gov. McKeldin of Maryland, a Republican, who owes his election in large part to the Negro vote, condemned Faubus. On the other hand the "moderates" quickly and unanimously deplored the sending of federal troops to Arkansas as "tragic." They were then given the assignment of going as a deputation to confer with Eisenhower on means of recalling the troops. Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, defeated for the conference chairmanship by Collins, was put on the deputation as the sole representative of the fire-eaters, but to facilitate the venture he resigned.

and Clement believe in constituted government of laws." It should be sufficient commentary on the reliability of the Southern "moderates" to point out that Gov. Faubus himself qualified for that label until last August when he began his campaign against the court order to integrate Central High. Indeed, Faubus was considered an outstanding Southern "liberal" and on that basis received campaign support from the AFL-CIO and Negro voters. What is the political record which entitles Collins to the label "moderate"? Campaigning for reelection in 1956, he boasted that during his tenure Florida had not admitted a single Negro child to a white school, that no lawsuits were pending for admission of a Negro to an elementary or secondary school and that a Negro student had successfully been kept out of the University of Florida despite a Supreme Court order that he be admitted. Against the counter claims of his rivals for the white-supremacist vote, Collins argued that their methods and plans for thwarting the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling were impracticable while his were practical. Upon reelection he called a special session of legislature to pass a five point anti-integration program devised by a committee of eight lawyers of his choosing. The program was passed and became the model for that soon adopted by North Carolina. It may well become the formula for Southern racist frustration of school integration. At present it is the second line of defense to which the Jim Crow forces, routed at Little Rock where they fought under Faubus and the banner of interposition, have retreated. Commanding this second defense line are the "moderates"—Collins and Hodges. (Next week: The "moderate" record in Florida and N.C.)

Workers' BOOKSHELF

- By Anne Chester Manager, Pioneer Publishers THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY (IN DEFENSE OF MATERIALISM). By G. V. Plekhanov. 410 pp. \$1.35. Long unavailable in this country, this brilliant study of the rise of materialist philosophy, beginning with the French materialists of the 18th Century, is an unusual bargain at this price. Lenin said of it: "A remarkably logical and valuable exposition of dialectical materialism." THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korgold. 460 pp. \$2.00 plus 15 cents for mailing costs. (Originally \$6.00). A magnificent biography of the leading capitalist revolutionist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. A full-length portrait of a tremendous figure and leader. By the author of Two Friends of Man. KARL LIEBNECHT. Man Without a Country. By Karl W. Meyer. 197 pp. \$3.25. In the generation since the assassination of this great revolutionary leader there has been only one other biography of him written and it has not been translated from the German. This new biography in English will fill a deplorable gap in the bookshelves of socialist-minded Americans. BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 1957. 264 pp. \$3.50 plus 15 cents for mailing costs. (Originally \$4.00). A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions — social, cultural and political — to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students. AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 1957. 225 pp. \$3.25. "Dr. Lilley explodes the myth that the only reason capitalism does not make a massive turn to automation is because of prohibitive costs," said an August review of this book in The Militant.

Detroit Socialist Leader Urges Vote for Patrick

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, Oct. 13—Only one important question will be settled in the Detroit election on Nov. 5, and it is this: Will the Negro people, over one-fifth of the city's population, at last win representation on the Common Council, or will the anti-Negro elements succeed in keeping the Council lily-white?

As candidate for Mayor in the September "non-partisan" primary election, I advocated the nomination and election of William T. Patrick, Jr. as Councilman. So did the Wayne County CIO Council, the Socialist Workers Party and large sections of the Negro community. Patrick ran ninth among the 18 candidates nominated for the runoff where nine Council members will be elected.

Patrick's good showing in the primary was due chiefly to the Negro community's justified desire to win representation in office at all levels. The desire was also reflected in the nomination of two other Negro candidates, George H. Edwards and Charles M. Diggs, who ran 13th and 16th in the primary.

HAS BEST CHANCE

Patrick ran ahead of Edwards and Diggs, and has a better chance of being elected for two reasons: His candidacy is the result of independent and fairly broad organization in the Negro community, which they lack, although Negroes voted for them; and he has CIO support.

But Patrick's election is by no means assured.

For one thing, he has the bitter opposition of the organized anti-Negro forces in this city. In the primary they circulated vicious white-supremacist literature urging people to "Vote Right, Vote White." Under that slogan they are still trying to mobilize the prejudiced and backward elements, who make up a large part of the population, to turn out at the polls Nov. 5 for the express purpose of preventing any Negro from being elected to the Council.

Another danger results from the way the Patrick campaign is being conducted. Instead of boldly and proudly proclaiming that he defends the principle of

Negro representation in office, Patrick puts himself forward as a candidate of "all the people." This is supposed to be "smart" politics, but it isn't really.

HIS REAL STRENGTH

The FACT is that Patrick wouldn't even be in the runoff if the Negro community wasn't determined to win representation on the Council. This is Patrick's strength, not his weakness. By proceeding from this fact, and by defending and expounding the principle of Negro representation, he could inspire and mobilize the many Negroes who did not bother to vote in the primary, and whose presence at the polls next month may spell the difference between election and defeat.

By speaking out openly for the principle of Negro representation, and by stressing the common interests of the white workers and the Negro people, Patrick also could win greater interest and support among white workers. Candidates claiming to stand for "all the people" are a dime a dozen, and make little impression.

But many white workers can be attracted by a Negro candidate trying to show them that their interests too will be promoted by having on the Council a candidate representing the aspirations of the Negro community, which are basically the same aspirations that the white workers have.

Another weakness of the Patrick movement is the attitude of its leadership toward forces whose only interest in Negroes is how to use and exploit them. An example is its inviting Mayor Miriani to speak at some of the Patrick meetings.

WHOM MIRIANI SPEAKS FOR

Miriani, the big business candidate (stupidly endorsed by the labor movement), promises to continue the policies of his predecessor, the late Cobo, whose record on civil rights issues was notoriously reactionary. Miriani is also the candidate of the groups circulating the "Vote Right, Vote White" poison right now.

The fight for Negro representation is not helped, but hurt and discredited by letting Miriani speak at Patrick rallies.

The main asset of the Patrick movement is that it is independently organized, but that asset can be dissipated by association with the Mirianis and other capitalist politicians who are responsible for the Common Council being all-white today.

Despite such serious weaknesses, the Patrick movement remains the best vehicle of winning Negro representation in this election. We socialists urge all enemies of Jim Crow, white and colored alike, to promote that principle by working actively between now and Nov. 5 to elect Patrick to the Council.

Poll Shows Extent Of Detroit Bias

DETROIT, Oct. 13—Last week the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research reported the results of a survey among whites in Detroit. Here is what they found:

Fifty-six per cent think that white and Negro schoolchildren who live in the same neighborhood should attend classes together in Detroit.

Ten per cent think they should attend the same schools but in separate classes.

And the rest, a little over one-third, favor complete segregation of the two races in different schools.

The Detroit News hailed this with the headline: "Tolerant View on Integration Found in City."

Almost half the whites are against school integration in a city where integration is the official policy and is supposed to be in effect — and this is called "tolerance!"

No wonder that the prospect of electing a Negro Councilman — already achieved in many non-Southern cities where Negroes are a smaller proportion of the population than here — receives such virulent and passionate opposition in Detroit!

Poor Families Ousted from LA Area Condemned for City, Sold to Dodgers

By Della Rossa

Concrete steps lead to nowhere except weeds and refuse. There are narrow little roads, with sign posts, Garibaldi, Reposa, Paducah. A solid school still stands, but its windows are boarded up. Nearby there is a little grocery store, plastered with advertising, and a vegetable garden by its side. Its sign says, "City Center Grocery Store." Occasionally its screen doors bang because a handful of families in scattered houses remain, with their cactus patches, their chickens and their dogs.

This is the Chavez Ravine area of Los Angeles. It's bordered by Elysian Park and the Police Academy on one side, the

Naval Academy and six old and faithful oil wells on the other. The Los Angeles City Hall shaft is seen nearby above the hill-top.

Voices have been clamoring lately, "Look, what waste! This is the ideal home for the Brooklyn Dodgers."

The cause of the waste, the maneuvers, the treachery to the people who left behind only their concrete steps and a frying pan beside a rose bush, (their abandoned homes burned down, perhaps by vandals) are ignored by these voices. Yet it took place not long ago, when the smiling, pleasant faced Norris Poulson, front man for the enemies of the families of Chav-

ez Ravine, who is beginning his second term as Mayor, had just been elected to his first term.

DREAMS KILLED

It occurred when the dreams of the respected architect, Richard Neutra for a housing project with play areas and facilities for working families, were thrown out. Families had already been forced out, Federal funds were available, but the first act of the newly elected Mayor Poulson was to fly to Washington to cancel the whole plan.

Three people, two of them from Chavez Ravine, have filed a suit in Superior Court. Cutting into the clamor for bringing the Dodgers here, they want to remind the City Council that a 1953 deed restriction provides that Chavez Ravine must be held for public use for 20 years.

LAND GRAB

"This is not a baseball deal, this is an enormous land deal!"—these are the words of Julius Rubens, an attorney, and one of the three who filed the Superior Court suit. He had joined the Sept. 30 debate before the City Council. The hearing room was jammed and most of the speakers were in agreement. This is business and profit, they said unblushingly. They omitted to mention that it did not profit the majority of Los Angeles residents, and especially did not profit the families who had left their homes in Chavez Ravine.

Among those who gloated that it was the "opportunity of a lifetime" were the former head of the Chamber of Commerce and the manager of the big Statler Hotel.

The manager of a community newspaper remarked: "Professional sports are big business and should be treated as big business."

A representative of the four Los Angeles daily papers said, "These newspapers are 100 per cent behind this move."

Perhaps that is why they rarely print the words of people like J. J. Rodriguez, president of Los Angeles Community Service Organization, a committee of Mexican-Americans interested in protecting their civil rights. Mr. Rodriguez said at the Council hearings:

"I am not opposed to the Dodgers but I am opposed to the fact that the land in Chavez Ravine was condemned for one purpose and now is going to be sold for another purpose."

VOLUME XXI

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Dr. Nathan Gives Class On K. Marx

NEW YORK, Oct. 16.—Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the Albert Einstein estate, will teach a course in "Karl Marx and Contemporary Capitalism" as part of a program of socialist studies beginning next week, sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, renowned Negro Historian and author, will lecture on "The Negro in American History," as part of the same series. Other instructors are Dr. Barrows Dunham, former chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Temple University, Kumar Goshal, World affairs editor of the National Guardian and F. G. Clarke, socialist writer and lecturer.

A reception for the faculty of the series of classes was held October 13 at which Dr. Nathan spoke. He said that the society we live in is "profoundly sick" and pointed to the preparations for nuclear warfare and widespread corruption even within the unions as symptoms of that sickness. Dr. Nathan stressed the need for socialist education among workers in particular. Quoting from Trotsky's work "In Defense of Marxism," he said, "No matter how talented and devoted to socialism an emigrant from the bourgeois milieu may be, before becoming a teacher, he must first go to school in the working class."

MEMORIAL TO MCAVOY

Corliss Lamont was master of ceremonies for the faculty reception. A memorial tribute to Clifford T. McAvoy was delivered by Harvey O'Connor. Mr. McAvoy was chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity until his recent death. He was for many years a prominent figure in labor and radical politics in the New York area and devoted his last year to the process of socialist regroupment as a staunch advocate of independent labor political action.

The program of studies will consist of five, six-week courses in economics, philosophy, history and world politics. Classes will be conducted at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and will commence Oct. 22 running for six weeks, three evenings a week. The participation of "everyone interested in the socialist viewpoint, and of socialists of all persuasions" is invited. Further information may be obtained by writing the Socialist Unity Forum, 74 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

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Labor Party, A-Tests Issues in S.F. Campaign



Warren K. Billings (left) and John T. McManus. Billings has endorsed Socialist Workers nominees in San Francisco. McManus is urging support to the New York rally for Vincent Hallinan and Joyce Cowley Oct. 25. (See story page 1.)

Publications Fund Drive Gets Growing Response

By Constance Farr
National Campaign Director

"We were very pleased to get several contributions to the Press and Publications Fund from Militant readers who want to do all they can to build for socialism and

specializing in the works of Trotsky. "We are the Italian publishers of Trotsky's works and have already published 'The Revolution Betrayed' (in 1956), 'The Third International After Lenin' (in 1957), and we are planning to issue within the first months of next year: 'The Autobiography'."

"Unfortunately, we do not have the texts for the following works of Trotsky which you have published," he said. The publisher then lists a number of works by Trotsky and asks our aid in furthering his publication program.

It has often been said that the mark of a serious political person is how deep he will dig into his pocket for the advancement of his ideas. Nowadays, when the "Hidden Persuaders" use the ideas of Freud to bombard us with pressure to BUY, it is indeed a politically-conscious person who is willing to sacrifice for the growth of the party which offers the rewards of being in tune with the great historical transition from capitalism to socialism.

Readers of the Militant are urged to help us in our fund drive. Remember the sweetest opening line of a letter reads, "Enclosed find check." Send your contribution today to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Last week, we received word from an Italian publisher

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 13 — The Socialist candidates for Supervisors, Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, spoke to a filled hall here last night on their campaign ex-

periences. Joan Jordan told of her appearance at the CIO Council where she was questioned on her program for over 45 minutes.

"The Council members were very interested in our call for the formation of a Labor Party," said Mrs. Jordan. "In fact this idea is getting a very fine reception. In nearly every union that allows questions from the floor the members want to know how a Labor Party would work."

Frank Barbara reported a similar experience and added, "I find that officials of the unions are listening with a great deal of care to the idea of forming a Labor Party. They realize that more and more repressive labor legislation is being supported by their so-called 'friends.' Independent political action is becoming more attractive especially in the eyes of local officials who are closest to the rank and file."

FALLOUT HAZARDS

The main topic for the evening was the danger of atomic fallout. L. Kelly Mayhew, an expert on the dangers of radioactive fallout gave a graphic illustration of how the Atomic Energy Commission hides very real hazards to our health. "At a horse show recently held in Nevada," she said, "a radioactive cloud passed over the bleachers. The editor of the Tonahap Times Bonanza while going into town on an errand ran into an AEC monitoring team. He told them of the cloud and they said they knew of it. He asked them if it would be a good idea to take a bath and wash his hair. They assured him it would be a very good idea. He then asked them if they would go back to the horse show and tell the people about the

dangerous cloud and advise them to do likewise. The head of the team agreed but had second thoughts at the entrance and called his boss. He was forbidden to mention the danger and would not allow Mr. Crandal, the editor to make one. It is to be hoped that everyone took their regular Saturday-night bath and added the precaution of a shampoo as well," she said.

Carl Fine, speaking on the struggle to stop atomic weapons testing, said, "There are three things we can do now. First, we urge the unions to pass resolutions similar to those passed in one of the Los Angeles AAW locals and here by the ILWU. . . . Second, we can join groups that seek to educate people about the dangers and lastly we can vote for the socialist candidates Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, who have a clear record of opposition to nuclear weapons testing."

The socialist candidates are visiting union meetings and civic groups every night. They had a very good response last week at the legislative committee of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

"What is a Peace Program?"

By Leon Trotsky

38 pp. 25 cents

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Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 250	\$157.00	63
Allentown	102	60.00	59
Newark	240	100.00	42
Seattle	500	200.00	40
Twin Cities	1,584	581.00	37
Youngstown	300	103.50	34
Buffalo	1,800	575.00	32
Detroit	825	266.00	32
Chicago	1,560	490.00	31
Los Angeles	4,000	1,202.00	30
New York	4,500	1,307.00	29
Boston	600	160.00	27
Cleveland	600	105.00	18
Philadelphia	480	79.50	17
San Francisco	450	4.00	1
Oakland	240	—	—
St. Louis	80	—	—
General	—	75.00	—
Totals	—	—	—
through Oct. 16	\$18,111	\$5,465.00	30

Corrupt Politics and Labor Corruption

By S. W. Argus

One aspect of the current exposure of labor racketeering has escaped the attention of the working people. That is the link between the two-party system and the labor bureaucracy in fostering the unholy alliance of corrupt big-city political machines and the racket-ridden apparatus of the conservative craft-conscious trade unions. Particularly in connection with the municipal elections in New York City is there a burning urgency to clarify this connection for the workers and for the class-conscious members and followers of the Communist Party. Clarity on this point will assist them to break with support to Tammany and to take the road of independent political action.

The frankest expression summarizing the unholy alliance of corrupt political and union bossism was given by labor czar, Joseph P. Ryan, once life-time president of the International Longshoremen's Association, when he was quoted as follows: "The [New York] Central Labor and Trades Council was Tammany first and labor afterwards." When the late Mayor "Jimmy" Walker resigned under fire, Ryan and the CLTC were the only forces strong enough to defend him. The old Building Trades Council in New York was notoriously known as the "annex of Tammany Hall." All New York labor racketeers of the period under review were represented exclusively by Tammany attorneys.

The reciprocal relationship between dishonest politicians and

crooked misleaders of labor was exemplified by Wm. P. Kennedy, vice-president of the Council, who served as chief of the Tammany wigwag and later became chairman of Tammany's executive committee. Sheriff Tom Farley of tinbox fame was a former business agent of the Cement and Concrete workers. (Robert Hunter's book, "Labor in Politics" and Joel Seidman's book, "Labor Cezars," are extremely valuable in setting forth these relationships.)

The motto of the crooked labor leader-crooked politician hookup was "get a fair flip"—which is not so different from the concept behind Reuther's and Hoffa's endorsement of an anti-labor Republican mayoralty candidate in Detroit this fall.

This crass class-collaboration is a natural consequence of the traditional policy of the labor bureaucracy to reward its (but not labor's) friends in both major political parties and torpedo any attempts to launch an independent anti-capitalist and anti-two-party-machine movement based on labor and its allies.

Gompers' dictum ("reward your friends, punish your enemies") has permeated the labor bureaucracy and spawned the labor racketeer. Labor bureaucrats granted support to corrupt political machines which provided protection in exchange for the votes afforded by their friends in the labor movement.

Only democratic, rank-and-file, militant unionism supported by a labor party administration can break the hold of the unholy combination of employer, racketeer, labor-bureaucrat and corrupt political machine.

The first step in this direction on the political arena this fall is to cast a vote for independent working-class political action by supporting the municipal ticket and the program of the SWP headed by its N. Y. mayoralty candidate, Joyce Cowley.

The SWP recognizes—alone of all the left-wing forces in the field—that a labor party embracing 30 or 40 million skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers allied to the working farmers and to the Negro people, would in no sense be a minority party. It would be a political force of

first magnitude that would carry through its program not by lobbying or currying favors at the table of Big Business—but by exercising its own organized might.

Independent political action is not only a necessary but a thoroughly logical step to rescue the rank-and-file from bondage to the labor racketeer, the employer and the corrupt two-party system. If the labor movement is to go forward on the political as well as economic front, it can only do so by freeing itself first from the narrow-minded bureaucrats and the ill-advised course of the Communist Party leadership of trafficking with the corrupt Tammany machine of Carmine De Sapio.

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