

The Crisis Of Stalinism

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Imperialist Plot Against Syria Exposed, Balked

By John Thayer

U.S. State Department moves to overthrow the government of Syria have provoked such a wave of anti-imperialist solidarity among the masses of the Arab nations that the Eisenhower Doctrine itself is in danger of being swamped.

As the Christian Science Monitor (Oct. 18) describes it: "The Arabs themselves — from Lebanon to Saudi Arabia and all points between — are telling the world that they will fight on the side of Syria if that country is attacked by anyone. Though some Arab leaders might doubt the wisdom of such a policy, they would find it difficult to oppose their people's overwhelming sympathy for 'sister Syria.'"

ARAB UNIONS WARN U.S.

Giving bite to this sympathy was the cablegram sent to President Eisenhower by Fathi Kamel, secretary-general of the Arab Workers Union Federation, which has members throughout the Middle East. Without mentioning vulnerable oil pipelines, for that goes without saying, the cablegram warned: "Six million Arab workers need not remind you of all the vital supply and communications for the West in their hands, and we will support Syria's struggle to the end."

Earlier this month Turkey began massing troops and tanks on the Syrian border. With them are U.S. military advisors and instructors. Syria immediately denounced this troop concentration as preparation for an invasion. Though Secretary of State Dulles, with a straight face, told reporters that Syria might be planning to attack Turkey, the facts make this charge ludicrous. Syria is a nation of only four million people, Turkey has 23 million. The Syrian army numbers only 50,000 (and its ally, Egypt's, numbers but 100,000), while the Turkish army, which has been armed to the teeth by the U.S. ever since 1947, totals a half-million.

The Turkish police state's military action presaged, 1) an invasion of Syria, or 2) external pressure to coincide with an uprising inside Syria, and Guate-

In Doghouse



JOHN FOSTER DULLES, U.S. Secretary of State, would do well right now in a contest for the most unpopular statesman in the world. His growing difficulties, however, are not necessarily due to any personal faults. He only personifies U.S. imperialist policies.

mala-type invasion by a self-proclaimed government-in-exile. The U.S. has gathered together just such a potential group in Turkey. Egypt, Syria and Jordan are the Arab nations where anti-imperialist nationalism is greatest. After failure of the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt last fall, U.S. imperialism announced its take-over of the

Bigger War Spending Pushed By Democratic Party Heads

Stevenson-Truman Group Also Evades Endorsing Principle of Integration

By Art Preis

OCT. 23 — The Republican administration is bleeding from political wounds. In foreign relations, its "massive retaliation" and "brink of war" diplomacy has collapsed. The Eisenhower Doc-

trine of intervention in the Middle East has proved a fiasco. On the domestic front, the Administration is under attack for Eisenhower's long refusal to use federal troops to protect the rights of Negro children in Little Rock to go to an integrated high school.

At the same time, the economy has entered a decline while the cost of living continues to mount. Reflecting a drop in production and increasing unemployment, the stock market has been sliding, with almost 25% of stock values erased in the last three months.

DEMOCRATS RUSH IN

Democratic Party leaders have been excited by the smell of Republican blood. They are seeking to take full advantage of their weakened Republican opponents. The Democratic Advisory Council, which "includes besides the personalities of former President Truman and Adlai Stevenson, governors outside the South, the principal financial angels of the party, its labor allies and its intellectual weekend a series of denunciatory statements on the Eisenhower

spokesmen," (N. Y. Post, Oct. 22) has issued over the past Administration's conduct of affairs.

This statement, issued in bits and pieces, called on one day for bigger and better war spending and on the next day blasted the inflationary trend.

Although the Eisenhower Administration has maintained the highest peace-time military budget in U.S. history, the Democratic leaders demand an even bigger arms race and more belligerent imperialist policy. They complain that the Administration has "increasingly starved our national defense" and proclaim that war preparations should be "the first and overriding charge on its (U.S.) resources."

The next day, the Democratic statement on the U.S. economy boasted that Eisenhower "inherited a vigorously expanding economy" but his policies have led to the "worst peace-time inflation in our history." Both these statements are bald-faced lies.

Everyone knows that the

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What Record Of Southern 'Moderates' Tell

By George Lavan

NEWSPAPER readers in the North know that Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida and Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina are being hailed as the leaders of the Southern "moderates" on the school desegregation issue. What's the truth?

After his 1956 reelection Gov. Collins jammed through a special session of the Florida legislature his own five-point program against school integration.

Its provisions are: (1) a Pupil Assignment Act by which county school boards assign pupils to schools on the basis of "intellectual ability, scholastic achievement, sociological and psychological factors." This, it is believed, will make it impossible to prove in court that a Negro child has been assigned to a Jim-Crow school simply because of color; (2) a law to permit firing of teachers despite tenure or contract—its aim is to permit firing of Negro teachers when desired; (3) a law permitting the governor to make and enforce rules without legislative action concerning any state, county or municipal park, building or facility—the purpose being to permit Gov. Collins to shut down any school to which a Negro student admitted; (4) a law permitting the Governor to proclaim a state of emergency and use state police and militia "to preserve order"—an anticipation of the course recently attempted by Gov. Faubus of Arkansas; (5) last was a resolution addressed to Congress calling for an amendment to the U. S. Constitution invalidating the Supreme Court decision. The special session also set up a committee to "investigate" the NAACP, an action which Collins had not called for but which he did not veto.

How can such a program be considered "moderate"? The infinitesimal justification is that the legislation does not specifically forbid admission of a Negro child to a white school or provide that the school system be automatically shut down if the court ordered such an entry. Collins argues that inclusion of such provisions would make the law certain to be ruled unconstitutional in the federal courts and that, besides, he holds executive power for such action. John Wigginton, a member of the committee that drew up the program, has suggested, "It

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National Guardian Endorses Socialist Workers Party Slate

NEW YORK — The National Guardian formerly the weekly organ of the Progressive Party, editorially urged its supporters, in its latest issue, Oct. 28, to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in New York and the SWP candidates in San Francisco and Detroit. After explaining their long history of opposition to the Democratic and Republican Parties, the Editors said:

"In a few places where the Guardian readership is considerable there are independent candidates on the ballot. In New York and Detroit and San Francisco the progressive voter has a choice, and we urge you in those cities to vote for the candidates who have campaigned on platforms of social betterment for the majority of the people. They are:

"IN NEW YORK: Joyce Cowley for Mayor; Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller; Lillian Ke-

zel for President of the City Council. They are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. In Brooklyn, a write-in vote for Alvin Berman, SWP candidate for Borough President, whose name was ruled off the ballot although he had 7,000 signatures when 5,000 were needed for a place.

"Also in New York," continued the Guardian editorial statement, "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for City Council in the 24th Senatorial District (Manhattan's lower East side). The veteran Communist leader is running on the People's Rights ticket.

"IN DETROIT: Sara Lovell, on the SWP ticket, for Mayor. "IN SAN FRANCISCO: Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, SWP candidates for the Board of Supervisors."

GUTS AND INTEGRITY

Two reasons are given by the Guardian editors for the endorsement of the above candidates:

"(1) in defense of the right of minority parties to be on the ballot and (2) in support of people with the guts and integrity it takes to buck the machines and the apathy that dominates the American political scene today."

"You may disagree—as we do," said the Guardian editors, "with some of the policies of the parties sponsoring the independent candidates. But these disagreements should not take precedence over the urgent need to keep alive the spark of independent progressive political action."

John T. McManus, General Manager and James Aronson, Editor of the National Guardian had earlier expressed their support of the final election rally for the SWP slate in New York at which Vincent Hallinan, former Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party and Joyce Cowley are featured speakers.

Union Leaders Withdraw, Knife N.Y. Anti-Bias Rally

By Morris Zuckoff

SWP Candidate for N. Y. Comptroller

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 23 — About 250 pickets representing many organizations, today demonstrated in front of City Hall demanding immediate passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill.

The demonstration should have been much stronger. Labor leaders who had promised to support the picket line, backed down under pressure of Tammany Hall, after the call for the protest demonstration had already been issued.

CALL FOR ACTION

Last week, the Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill issued a call to the "citizens of New York," to "make known our support for the Fair Housing Bill. We call on all citizens and members of Church, Civic, Labor, and Community Organizations to take part in the DEMONSTRATION." "Help Little Rock," the call added, "by Helping New York."

Among those groups endorsing this demonstration and pledging support were the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action and District 65 Retail and Department Store Workers Union.

Mayor Wagner and Tammany wheelhorse, Carmine deSapio, immediately swung into action and applied pressure on the sponsoring committee to call off the demonstration under the obvious stall to set up a "special committee" to study the anti-Jim Crow housing bill. Although District 65 had already received and pledged the support of 2,000 of its members, David Living-

ston, union president, withdrew the support of the union.

In the past District 65 membership has always been in the forefront in the struggle against Jim Crow. It supplied one of the largest contingents to the Prayer Pilgrimage in Washington. Yet, in an effort not to embarrass Wagner and the present administration, to whom the official leaders of the union had pledged their support, an expression of solidarity of rank-and-file members with the victims of housing discrimination was denied.

This shameful sellout to the corrupt political machine of Tammany Hall was another chapter in the unholy alliance between the labor bureaucrats and the enemies of labor. Earlier in the election campaign the Liberal Party betrayed the needs of the working people and the minority groups by pledging its unequal support for Wagner and the top representatives of the Democratic Party. With confidence in victory gained from the labor chieftains' and the liberal Party's assurance of labor's support for his re-election, Wagner proclaimed his support of the anti-bias bill "in principle" while refusing to fight for its passage in practice.

Thanks to Local 65's leaders, Wagner didn't have to face thousands protesting his double-talk. But 250 militant pickets let him know that the fight against discrimination in New York has just begun.

Chilean Union Congress Adopts Planks of Trotskyist Program

(Special to the Militant)

CHILE — The First Congress of the Central Union of Workers (C.U.T.), that took place in August with the participation of 1,378 delegates, adopted the basic ideas of the Transitional Program and the International Thesis of the Founding Congress of the Fourth International (Trotskyist). On the other hand, in another vote with regard to the thesis of the Permanent Revolution (especially as it is related to the unmasking of the native capitalists), the Trotskyists with the support of the left-wing socialists and independents, got about 350 votes against 550 of the Stalinist and pro-bourgeois tendencies.

This doesn't mean that the Trotskyists had a majority at the Congress. Some of the worker-delegates of the Communist and Socialist parties voted in

favor of the clear revolutionary program of Trotskyism. In the plenary meeting, five Trotskyist militants were among 24 speakers who addressed more than a thousand delegates. In the Commissions more than fifteen militants of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) spoke. The Trotskyists wrote the most important reports—the national and international theses. In addition the POR published a special pamphlet from which some delegates took the most important parts and presented them to the Congress as their own. Twenty percent of the delegates bought the pamphlet at the Congress.

As a result of this activity, the Radical and Socialist parties tried to get the POR to put up a joint slate of candidates. The POR rejected this proposal as these parties were participating in a list of a class-collaboration-

ist nature. Therefore, the POR had its own list and got 19 votes. However, this vote doesn't represent the real force of Trotskyism. Due to a Stalinist maneuver the right to vote was denied to some of their delegates despite the fact that they were elected directly by the membership.

It is necessary to point out that the few Pabloite delegates voted against the orthodox Trotskyists and in favor of the Stalinists. In a despicable way they printed a circular under the name of the POR that caused confusion among the delegates.

Never before have the papers and the radio given so much time and space to the activities of the Trotskyists. For more than a week papers and magazines such as Ercilla, Ahora Trabajadores, Vistazo, La Gaceta, Ultima Hora, El Mercurio, La Tercera, etc., discussed the

revolutionary position of the POR and its leader Humberto Valenzuela.

Among the comments that one could hear from the independent worker delegates, the following are examples: One worker said, "The Trotskyists won the day at the Congress." Another said, "Morally the Trotskyists were the gainers at the Convention."

The decisions adopted by the Congress represent an historic step forward, not only for the Chilean workers' movement but for Latin-America as a whole. The Communist and Socialist parties undoubtedly will sabotage them. But orthodox Trotskyism, with its new worker cadres, militant and dynamic, with trade union leaders in the Workers Central, in national Federations and local unions, will know how to keep up the agitation among the masses so as to demand their fulfillment.



FRANK BARBARIA (left) and JOAN JORDAN are the socialist banner-bearers in the San Francisco municipal election, Nov. 5. The two socialist candidates for the Board of Supervisors won support from many independent socialists for their hard-hitting campaign. They appealed for aid from all who favor independent working-class political action.

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The World Crisis of Stalinism

By Daniel Roberts



KHRUSHCHEV

STALIN

Independent Labor Candidates

According to the press, David J. McDonald, President of the United Steelworkers of America, recently told a conference of his union's District 15...

Democratic Party machine, which labor does not and cannot control.

If McDonald is not merely engaging in talk to cover up his responsibility for labor's political weakness, he will not only have to carry out his threat about sponsoring unionists for public office but also specify that they are not merely going to contend for nomination by the Democratic Party...

There certainly can be no quarrelling with McDonald's statement about politicians being able to take away gains which labor has won through its economic strength.

Practically everybody in the labor movement today, from the most mossback bureaucrat to militant rank-and-filers, will say amen to any statement about the need for engaging in effective political action.

But the rub comes with that word "effective." For the unions, under the direction of the bureaucracy, have for decades been pouring endorsements, money, legwork and votes into political action.

The reason for it is that labor has not engaged in independent political action. It has been the tail to the Democratic Party kite.

ACLU's Rebuke to Reuther

There was a time when the American labor movement stood in the frontlines in the fight for civil liberties.

In the vanguard of this great liberating force of the American workers was the United Automobile Workers.

In a statement distributed in Detroit, Oct. 12, the ACLU condemned Reuther's June 5 administrative letter outlining punishment procedure for union officials who use their constitutional rights...

Don't Let It Break Your Heart

During the last three months, the American economy has been sagging. Many workers have suffered a cut in hours if not outright layoffs.

This side of the economic picture has not worried the Wall Street Journal, the house organ of Big Business.

It seems that many company executives receive one part of their income as salary—say \$20,000 to over \$100,000 per year—and another part in the form of stock options.

A stock option gives the executive the chance to buy company stock at a fixed price—regardless what its price might be on the stock market.

The trouble is that since July the stock market has been "bearish," or marked by declining prices.

The road to effective political action by labor requires organizational and programmatic independence. If it is to inspire the mass support that victory will require, the labor movement, in addition, must begin on a completely democratic basis.

What this amounts to is the building of an independent labor party. McDonald has never been known to think in such democratic terms.

shop steward, who invokes the Fifth Amendment must appear before a union trial or hearing and "unless the member involved can present to the local union executive board... clear and sufficient evidence that he is beyond a doubt not disqualified from holding office..."

The ACLU correctly pointed out that this procedure places the burden of proof upon the accused, undermines the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty, and punishes the member for the exercise of a constitutional right.

By his dictatorial edict, Reuther put the UAW into the disgraceful position of undermining the civil liberties of the American people.

(The following article was published in its entirety in the magazine, Ganavarta, in India.) That Stalinism is today fighting for survival is a statement that will hardly be disputed by any informed political person.

But to understand clearly what is at stake, it is first necessary to correctly define Stalinism. One definition was given by President Tito of Yugoslavia in a speech in Pula last November.

Thus to Tito, Stalinism is a political system of extreme repression, which may, however, be changed into socialist democracy by reforms and shifts of personnel while retaining the rule exercised by the present Communist parties throughout the Soviet orbit.

LESSONS OF HUNGARY

In our opinion, Tito's definition is superficial. The Hungarian revolution did not break out against a turn to extreme repression.

Anti-Stalinist reforms of the rulers did not resolve the contradictions of years of Stalinist misrule. It brought them to a head.

And yet, with the purges last June of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the course again ran to reform. Something is gnawing at the vitals of bureaucratic rule.

her husband and a neighbor stood at the basement windows all night with rifles.

The racist caravan circled the house a number of times honking their car horns and throwing firecrackers.

WATER GUNS WITH ACID Each morning Mrs. Bates waited in great anxiety for each of the children to arrive and "affirm their faith in American Democracy."

On the morning of September 23 all of the children had arrived except one.

Others, however, take a more humane view of the matter.

And that's where matters stand now. Neither the WSJ nor any of the corporations have yet found the solution to how, when the market is "bearish" — and many workers are unemployed — executives can do better than live on their salaries of \$100 thousand or so a year.

property relations established in 1945 of bureaucratic fetters.) Workers' councils—authentic Soviets as in revolutionary Russia from 1917-1922—confronted the institutions of the bureaucratic oligarchy.

The Hungarian events demonstrated that the granting of a few concessions to the masses and their savage repression are not mutually exclusive political systems.

And yet, with the purges last June of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the course again ran to reform. Something is gnawing at the vitals of bureaucratic rule.

biggest applause of the day was given to an announcement that the NAACP intends to have legislation outlawing discrimination in private housing in Minneapolis on the books before Christmas.

TORTURED CHILDREN When the children returned from school to the Bates home on Sept. 23, they were very discouraged.

That evening Eisenhower issued the proclamation to use federal troops. Earlier in the meeting the

International Socialist Review. The fall issue features an important article by James P. Cannon on "Socialism and Democracy." Order your copy now.

Actuals are already beginning to realize, it is not under Khrushchev's banner that the return to Leninism will be accomplished.

The spectacular upsurge of the Soviet economy is but one of the causes of the resurgence of the Soviet working class.

Stalinism grew out of the economic backwardness of Russia in 1922, the predominance of the peasantry in the population, the colonial-like dependence of Tsarist Russia on world imperialism.

CLAIMING that it was first necessary to "build socialism in one country," Stalinism imposed its bureaucratic rule on the Communist parties and transformed them into mere instruments for the pursuit of status-quo deals.

A vicious circle was created. The Soviet bureaucracy betrayed the revolution abroad, kept the USSR surrounded by imperialism, reinforced its rule over the Soviet working class.

Nevertheless, the vicious circle has been broken. World imperialism made full use of the aid given it by the Stalinists in maintaining its rule.

Simultaneously, the anti-imperialist revolution in Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, while not clear-cut victories over imperialism as in China, have thrown imperialism on the defensive.

New York Socialist Workers Party Candidates on TV and Radio

SUNDAY, Oct. 27 — 12 Noon. SUNDAY, Oct. 27 — 11:15 P.M. MONDAY, Oct. 28 — 11:20 P.M. FRIDAY, NOV. 1 — 11:15 P.M.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS by JAMES P. CANNON. On Problems of Socialism in America.

