

The Niagara Firetrap Deaths

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1957

PRICE 10c

Use "Ethical" Code in Union Political Purge

By James E. Boulton

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

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

(See Editorial, page three.)

Faces Grilling



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

McClellan's Anti-Labor Group Aims at Reuther

By Fred Halstead

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

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

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

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

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

60% Hit Nuclear Tests in World Poll

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

Anti-Hoffa Units Hit IBT's Ouster

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

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

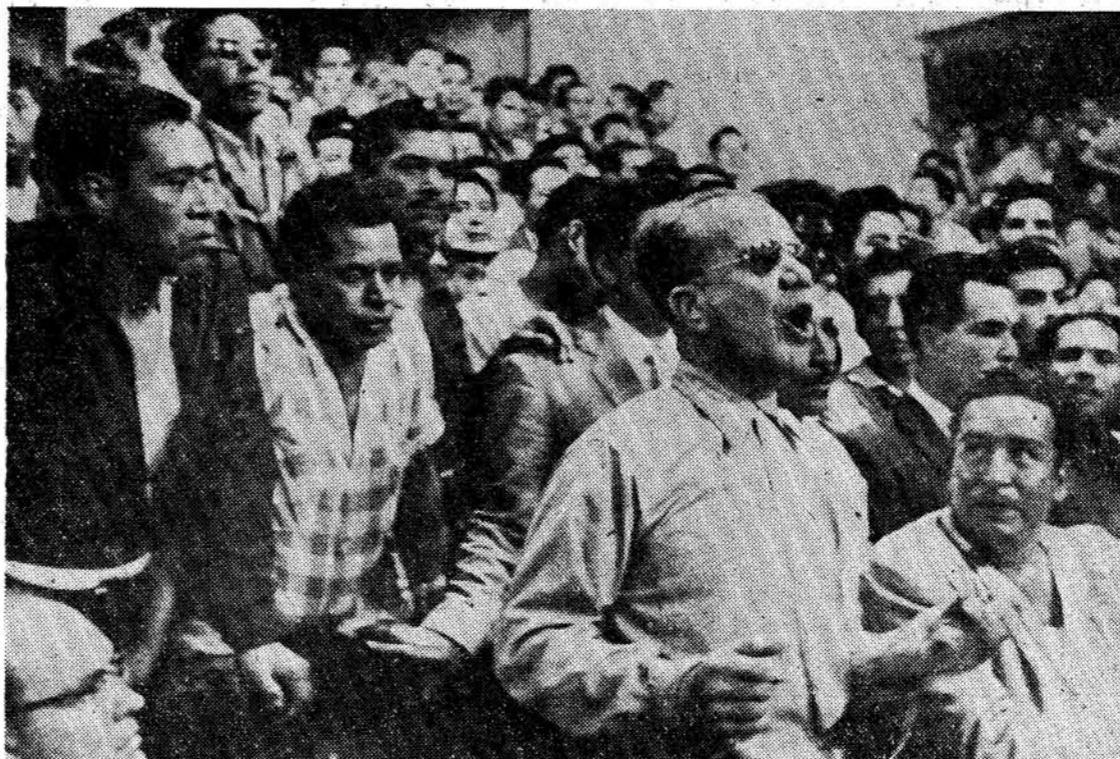
"Will expulsion of our union deter the enemies of organized labor in their efforts to pass anti-labor legislation? We think not; we believe they are determined under any circumstances to press for a national 'right to work' law, and to force labor into the noose of anti-trust legislation."

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

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

'Guns, Not Butter' Policy Pushed by Government

Guatemalans Protest Rigged Elections



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

Racists in Little Rock Grow Stronger as Gov't Retreats

By George Lavan

The situation in Little Rock is deteriorating.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Herman Chauka

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

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

Where Does The War Danger Come From?

By Myra T. Weiss

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

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

NATURAL PROTECTION DISAPPEARS

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

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

WIDESPREAD DOWNTURN

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

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

Reported with far less concern in the Big Business press is that the 2,500,000 workers now unemployed is expected to grow into an army of at least five million by next year if the "recession" continues. In the week ending Nov. 9, the Bureau of Employment Security reported 306,900 applications for unemployment insurance—a jump of 30,800 over the previous week and 90,100 more than the corresponding week last year.

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

Labor's Duty in the Fight for Integration

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

British CP Heads Bar Members from Socialist Forums

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

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

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

EXPULSIONS BEGUN

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

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

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

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

What really worries the lead-

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

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

INTERNAL OPPOSITION

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

(a) Its almost exclusively working-class composition;

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

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

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

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

SLANDERS A'PLENTY

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

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

Conflict Between Soviet Labor and Bureaucracy

By Harry Ring

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

regime in the Soviet Union. Characterizing the Khrushchev regime as "self-chosen and self-perpetuating" and imposing its will on the Soviet people "through its monopoly of economic and political power," Huberman and Sweezy write that there is now "precious little evidence" to substantiate their previous belief that as the Soviet Union advanced economically the ruling bureaucracy would reform itself out of existence because repressive measures would cease to be required.

How then is the bureaucratic cast to be eliminated? The MR editors now incline to the view that the struggle for supremacy between rival wings of the bureaucracy may drive one or another of its factions to seek a base of popular support and that such a development could provide the Soviet people with an effective means of pressing for democratic reforms.

Such an estimate comes closer to the reality than did Monthly Review's previous stand. Mass pressure in the Soviet Union has already won significant reforms. While clinging tenaciously to its instruments of repression, the Kremlin, since Stalin's death, has made important concessions to the working people.

This process reached a dramatic climax at the 20th Congress where Khrushchev officially smashed the reactionary Stalin myth and pledged an end to many of the vile practices associated with Stalin's name. At the same time, a number of economic reforms have also been effected.

Do these reforms invalidate

the bureaucratic structure to win sweeping reforms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bipartisan Buddies



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

... Where Danger Comes From

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

SPEED OF ICBM

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

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

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

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

This was incentive enough for an extraordinary effort to win the missile race.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ceylon Trotskyists Lead Wage Struggle

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

Why 'Von Harridge' Won't Confess

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

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

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

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

World Events

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

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

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

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

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

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

... Situation in Little Rock

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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THE MILITANT
 Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
 THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468
 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
 Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 21 - No. 47 Monday, November 25, 1957

Democratic Party Gains

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Ethical Code" at Work

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amnesty for Smith Act Victims

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

San Francisco Debate

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

Warde Analyzes Soviet At Anniversary Meeting

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

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

problems can safely be left to an all-knowing leader — whoever he happens to be at the moment. "Some suddenly disillusioned ex-Stalinists have swung to the other extreme. Having taken what existed in the Soviet Union as pure socialism, they now turn all that into its opposite — and see nothing there that is socialist in character. " . . . Actually, all these recent developments have not strengthened but weakened the Soviet bureaucracy and is shaking its ruling group to its foundation. As the sputnik went up, Zhukov went down. And even before the Soviet space satellite circled around the earth, other of its satellites in Eastern Europe had tried to wrench themselves loose from Moscow's orbit.

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

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

Seek Asylum from Franco's Terror



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

Fast and Injustice in U. S.

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

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

the noted Yiddish poet Itzik Feffer — Fast claims that, at least, he (Fast) fought injustice committed by his own government in the United States. He asks Soviet writers why they were silent when Feffer and others were slaughtered. "Fast says, 'Yes, we [i.e. the United States] killed Sacco and Vanzetti, but our own cry went out to haunt the world. Was my own voice ever silent concerning injustice in my own land? In the name of all that is holy to you, my Russian colleagues, where were your voices when murder walked in your land?' We appreciate Fast's plea for

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

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

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

Three Cities Reach 100 Pct. But Fund Is Still Lagging

By Constance Farr
 National Campaign Director

We received a check for \$130 with a jubilant note attached from the campaign director, which puts Cleveland at the top of the scoreboard with 110%. The fund director reports that everyone is very pleased "at our going so far over the top, and two weeks ahead of the deadline." Best of all, he adds that there will be more to come.

Milwaukee, the first city to reach 100%, also sends us the welcome news that they will be sending in additional money after December 1st. Allentown reached 100% well ahead of schedule. Chicago and Buffalo are also well out in front with 90% paid in. The Chicago Campaign Fund Director, Ray Follett, in commenting on the necessity for stressing again and again the needs of the publications fund as well as the progress in raising it, notes that Chicago has had a good response from contacts in this drive, some of whom are contributing for the

first time. "One worker who has come close to us in the recent period contributed \$50."

Since the last fund campaign story, there have been two more publications brought out: "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality," and "If America Should Go Communist," by Leon Trotsky.

News that a German edition of "The Revolution Betrayed," is now being published is indicative of the world-wide demand for the works of Leon Trotsky. During the period of the fascist terror under Hitler, all the works of Trotsky were destroyed in Germany.

Our Press and Publications Fund is still lagging behind. With only two more weeks to go, we should have 86% of the total quota instead of which we have only 68%. Detroit, Twin Cities, Boston, have assured us that they will have 100% by the deadline on Dec. 1.

Readers of The Militant who wish to contribute should send their donations to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Fund Scoreboard

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

Milwaukee Journal On Sobell Case

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

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

The matter stems from the Rosenberg spy trial back in 1951 (pre-Brownell). It is not generally remembered that one Morton Sobell was convicted in the same trial, and is doing 30 years in Alcatraz. The department rather tenuously linked him to the Rosenbergs with less than conclusive evidence, which, however, the jury had no trouble believing in those panicky times. Sobell's wife and an organized group of backers have not ceased to try to get his case reopened. They are supported by a number of conscientious citizens, including legal scholars, who are uneasy about many aspects of the case and have haunting doubts that the integrity of justice was fully preserved in it. Two petitions, one wholly new in its legal basis, now pend before the United States supreme court. So Brownell, last December ordered a study to be made, apparently reviewing and rearguing the whole Rosenberg-Sobell case and setting forth the government's rebuttal to the many questions raised about it. And suddenly last month, what purports to be the substance of this document — then and now still unpublished by the department — appeared in a national magazine!

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

The issue is the gross impropriety and indiscretion of the justice department in so obviously propagandizing just as the matter comes before the high court — and in an exclusive deal, at that, to let one particular publication exploit its files.

Sobell's attorneys quite properly invited the supreme court's attention to this extraordinary procedure. And the court might well take some notice of it.

Five Spanish Sailors Get Union Backing

By Della Rossa
 LOS ANGELES, Nov. 14 — The Committee To Save The Five Spanish Sailors won its first support from the local union movement here today when the United Auto Workers Local 216 (General Motors) voted to give \$25 to help the case.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Professor Sharp To Speak in Mpls.

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

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

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

American Forum Calls Conference

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

Questions For the Left

By Sidney Lens
 Introduction by A. J. Muste. Comments by John Dickinson, T. M. Wolfarth, Stephen Grattan, Farrell Dobbs, Conrad Lynn, Albert E. Blumberg.

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The Niagara Firetrap Deaths

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

By Theodore Kovalesky
The car sped through the evening darkness, past the roadside reflectors on Grand Island over the high, arching bridges that span the Niagara River.

Groups Tell City Council: Build Homes

NIAGARA FALLS, Nov. 18 — at a jam-packed meeting of the city council tonight, Mrs. Dorothy Ballan, speaking on behalf of the Niagara Frontier section of the Socialist Workers Party, spearheaded the demand for new housing for the workers of Niagara Falls.

Racists Murder 2 Negro Boys

Roger Hamilton, 17-year-old Negro youth of Burkville, Alabama, was taken from his home and lynched by a group of white men who carried him off in a truck.

Anti-Racket Strike Aided By NAACP

By Ruth Norton

A picket line in front of the Jansa Woodworking Corporation in Brooklyn, New York was bolstered, Nov. 14, by a contingent sent by the Labor Committee of the Brooklyn Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

... "Guns, Not Butter"

(Continued from page 1)

items as public housing, veterans benefits, farm development subsidies and the school lunch program. At the same time Eisenhower has declared that the "balanced" budget is no longer sacred and that deficit spending will be necessary.

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

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



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Calendar Of Events

Los Angeles

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

Minneapolis

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

New York

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

New York Bazaar

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

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

The Glass-Struggle Road to Negro Equality

Resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its National Convention, June 1957.

23 pages 25c.

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

Philadelphia "Le Petit" Bazaar

Saturday, Dec. 7 Christmas Gifts, Delicacies at reasonable prices.

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