The Niagara Firetrap Deaths

(See Page 4)

THE MILITANT

INTERESTS OF THE WORKING

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Use "Ethical" **Code in Union Political Purge**

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 15 - In the first application of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code against a Wisconsin unionist, Wayne Leverenz, a member of Local 40 of the United Packinghouse Workers, 9-

(See Editorial, page three.)

Faces Grilling

WALTER REUTHER, pres-

ident of the United Auto Work-

ers. Reuther and the UAW will

be forthcoming targets of in-

vestigations by the anti-labor

CIO, was removed Nov. 8 as a to race, color, creed or political delegate to the Milwaukee County | affiliation." CIO Council and barred from holding any office in the union. The debate on the proposed constitution took place at an ex-A shop steward and respected ecutive session of the CIO Coununion militant of unquestioned cil but Leverenz' viewpoint was honesty, Leverenz was removed leaked to the daily press. His on grounds of association with ouster was demanded by his local the Socialist Workers Party and officers at a local membership the Committee to Secure Justice meeting Nov. 8 where only 30 of the local's 1,200 members from for Morton Sobell.

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Leverenz was a 1956 Presidential elector for the SWP and attendance. The CIO officials is vice-chairman of the Mil- pushed through Leverenz' rewaukee Sobell committee. He was removed on the basis of the Ethical Practices code provision AFL by demonstrating their op-Ethical Practices code provision AFL by demonstrating their opwhich states that no person position to "communism." In a should hold office in any AFL- statement to the press, Leverenz CIO body who is "a member, stated his determination to opconsistent supporter or who pose the action taken against actively participates in the ac- him. tivities of the Communist Party or any fascist or other totalitarian organization which opposes the democratic principles to which our country and the American trade union movement are dedicated."

OPPOSES CLAUSE

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

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

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

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

probe into the UAW is John 9-

ence of the three Republican

McClellan's Anti-Labor

Group Aims at Reuther

By Fred Halstead

McGovern, senior Republican labor legislation. "Should

committeemen - Senators Gold- lect Committee on Improper Ac-

water (Ariz.), Mundt (S.D.), and tivities in the Labor or Man-Curtis (Neb.)." Chief counsel agement Field" is now: seven Rebert Kennedy, brother of the months of hearings which inliberal Democratic Senator from cited screaming anti-labor head-Massachusetts, "prefers this set- lines across the country "bal-

up," said the Nov. 18 N.Y. anced" by three weeks of hear-

McGovern's agents have been ending Nov. 16) on a single

"in the field" preparing for the anti-labor agency used by the

probe into the UAW for about employers and on a garbage

known to have been investigat- to the UAW hearings, the com-

ing the Kohler strike, and pre- mittee has announced resump-

Robert S. Allen, "at the insist- would be enhanced."

60% Hit Nuclear Tests in World Poll Almost 60% of the people throughout the world believe Character of the Rhomb world believe Character and the World Poll Cy Character of the Rhomb world believe Character of the Rhomb 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 expressendangering the health of fued 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

Units Hit IBT's Ouster

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:

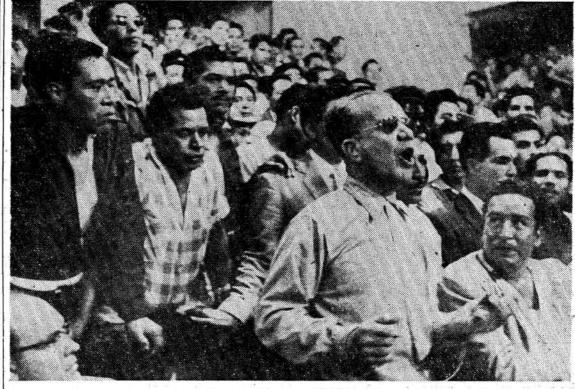
"... We are firmly convinced that such changes [in the IBT leadership] can never be brought about successfully by court orders, legislative intervention or directives from the AFL-

"Wall 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 destances 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 other six candidates endorsed by 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. Re-The next major target of the Senate labor-probe com- ferring to a previous decisive mittee will be the United Automobile Workers and its action that the Reuther machine helped engineer, Mazey said in nine Negro students in Little president. Walter Reuther. Heading preparations for the "You'll recall that in the CIO were beaten by white classmates. in 1949 we expelled nine unions counsel on the committee staff. strike result" from the UAW because they were dominated by who has shifted, equivocated and troops. Now the tide has turned. But the federal authorities back- U.S. in a missile age. The job was assigned to Mc-negotiations, says the Nov. 6 the Communist Party. We formed doubletalked on the subject of The racists have again become tracked on taking the promised According to a N.Y. Times \$38 billion arms expenditures, Govern, according to a Nov. 15 Business Week, "the legislators' rival unions. . . You've got the report by syndicated columnist mood for restrictive legislation same basic problems now." authorities, again took a firm greater influence over whites - the exposure and bringing to present missile race, the Soviet whetted for such "non essential" (Nov. 16 Business Week.) The score of the "Senate Se-

Guatemalans Protest Rigged Elections



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

Racists in Little Rock Grow Stronger as Gov't Retreats

council was to order the arrest tral High School." of Mrs. L. C. Bates and Rev. J. C. Crenshaw, leaders of the Arkansas National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

White Citizens Council and and their hero, Gov. Faubus. similar racist organizations suc-Government slate, which before the integration battle had been expected by all observers to win without serious challenge.

On Nov. 12 Terrance Roberts Milwaukee TV interview: Rock's Central High School,

Orval E. Faubus said today the months ago. The situation in Little Rock is desegregation deadlock in Little Direct responsibility for this

All the above news items are is currently blowing through Little Rock is one of renewed self-confidence and aggressive, In the Nov. 5 elections the ness on the part of the racists

heart and slink back to their holes. Shortly thereafter efforts and Jefferson Thomas, two of the by them to provoke a walkout of white students proved a dismal flop.

"compromise" with the federal emboldened. They are gaining steps to improve the atmosphere survey (Nov. 18 and 19) of the the Congressional ax is being stand. According to an Asso- who stood aside from the battle

Rock could only be resolved by ominous situation rests on the hand, bomb sights ready, anx-The last act of the outgoing the voluntary withdrawal of the federal government. The Eisen- lously hoping to pierce the en-"moderate" mayor and the city nine Negro children from Cen- hower administration, jarred out emy defense force and return of its no-enforcement attitude on to home base—these are as outschool desegregation by the moded as the rapier. Sky obstraws in the wind. The wind that world-wide storm of anger over servation posts, already aban-Little Rock, sent federal troops. doned, stand as relics of the Instead of following through, past. What use are skywatchthe administration, once the pres- ers armed with binoculars or sure of public opinion on it had even radar equipment, when eased, slumped back into appeas- missiles can drop through space similar racist organizations and ceeded in electing a member of about? Only two months ago national the city council. Moreover, the tional and world indignation tional and world indignation Little Rock: the original 1,000 NATURAL PROTECTION DISAPPEARS ing the Southern white-supre- or travel across continents in a to Little Rock. The racist bullies halved on Oct. 14; reduced to Automation has taken over needed but one brief skirmish 225 on Nov. 6; now all are to be the field of war. The two oceans week last year. withdrawn by Nov. 27, thus leav- that served through two world ing protection of the Negro wars as geographical barriers Eisenhower's Nov. 13 call for students solely to the federalized to the involvement of this coun-Arkansas National Guard.

(Continued on page 2)

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

Where Does The War Danger Come From?

announce the beginning of the The Federal Reserve Board space age. But in the context announced Nov. 14 that it was of the cold war, they mean reducing its interest rates to much more. They announce a banks from 31/2 to 3% to ease technological breakthrough in credit and thus stimulate the warmaking, which - combined economy. Testifying before a with the explosive power of Congressional committee on Nov. atom and hydrogen bombs — add 19, spokesmen for the board said greatly to the already immense the action was taken because of destructive power of war. This a "widespread downturn in ecomakes an understanding of nomic activity rather than a rolwhere the war danger comes ling readjustment." (According from and how it can be elim- to official jargon, a rolling reinated more urgent than ever adjustment means some parts of

First, what is this techno-others are falling.) logical change? Squadrons of bombers manned by fallible FRB's action about is what the

try's civilian population in the spelled out. It is now anticipated Withdrawal of the federal holocaust, might just as well that the administration will troops would be of no great con- disappear. There is not a na- demand a staggering \$41 billion But that was in the first few cern, if the situation had im- tion in the world that does not, for direct military appropria-On Nov. 17 Governor Faubus, weeks after the arrival of federal proved rather than deteriorated. military speaking, border the tions. To partially compensate

(Continued on page 2)

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.

Two sputniks circling the earth WIDESPREAD DOWNTURN

the economy are rising while

crews, traveling through the sky with their loads of "an ominous note," namely, that deadly weapons, with radio, in the first ten months of 1957 weather and other instruments at there were 187 omitted or reduced stock dividends as compared to 101 in a like period last

> 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

Meanwhile, the implication of

(Continued on page 4)

Labor's Duty in the Fight for Integration

the committee," says the Times, bor Relations Board on the re-"said he thought it would start sults of NLRB elections held during the three month period This means that the UAW's ending Sept. 30. The percentage special collective bargaining con- of elections carried by a major-

ings (beginning Oct. 22 and governent intends to do the least it can get away with to enforce Negro civil five months according to the collection racket in New York rights. It is attempting to retreat from Times report. These agents are City. For the future, in addition the scene as hastily as possible, to the delight of the racist mobsters. No con- own members, it completely failed to be fidence can be placed in the capitalist | what it should be and claims to be - a the committee indicate that al- sters on Dec. 5. and Committee government to defend Negro school children in Little Rock or push through school integration anywhere else. The only scheduled to begin sometime is revealed in the latest figures reliable and effective defense of civil after Jan. 1 "A Republican on released by the National La- rights can be the mass organization and mobilization of labor and the Negro

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 To date, the official policy of troops to enforce school integration. Yet Bargaining will begin in the the AFL-CIO-cooperation with American organized labor, representing spring, just when the probers the McClellan committee instead 17 million workers, and pledged by numerous convention resolutions to deheadlines and when Congress mocracy, but it has helped to fense of Negro rights, played practically will be considering new anti-block the growth of unions. no role in raising the overwhelming — it was nil.

Events in Little Rock show that the | 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 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

An Editorial 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

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.

vious statements by members of tion of hearings on the Teamleged "strike violence" will fig- agents, Nov. 15, subpoenaed the ure prominently in the UAW files of the Carpenters union. phase of the probe which is The effect of McClellan's work

vention on the shorter work ity of "no union" votes was the week, scheduled for February, largest ever recorded-41% as will take place under the threat- compared with a low of 26% in ening atmosphere of the Mc- 1951.

will have the opportunity to of fighting it-has not helped smear the UAW in national to increase rank-and-file de-

Socialist Forums

Special London Correspondent

pass on next week to a final contamination. article summarizing the prospects before British Marxists. the attitude of the leadership title "End the Bans!," a party ally the ruling bureaucracy ful thinking and part sheer revdelicate. The only expulsion proscribed organizations, itself ures would cease to be required. against a system that works as nally be achieved. whatever was that of your London correspondent, and the leadership could scarcely have ideas! avoided expelling him.

The only other disciplinary action, as far as is known, was Not that the Stalinists are althe downgrading from a dis-together successful these days. The Newsletter. In May the from previous groups, now disleadership put out a turgid "po- persed, by: vague reference to participation working-class composition; in Socialist Forum discussions being incompatible with party membership.

EXPULSIONS BEGUN

Now, however, the kid gloves ty; and have been peeled off, and the witch-hunt has begun inside the Marxist ideas and a Marxist party in earnest. In one branch evaluation of Stalinism, both in Kent, on the outskirts of historically and in its presentbeen expelled and two suspend- tion's participants.

movement since its inception, concrete work against the Sta-Brian Pearce, has been asked hist leadership. by the CP's London district secretary to make a statement

Whoever else may be trying twelve months, shows is. So far as I know, none of suade dissidents that there is a sions. King Street's [CP head- version of it, does get results. quarters] obscurantist anxiety SLANDERS A'PLENTY to keep its rank and file in a tain lack of confidence some- ideas and arguments, do not lack where, in spite of Sputniks."

FEAR MARXIST CRITICS

these new sanctions being im- rection the party has lost thouposed on critics is the fear of sands of its most active and Union has operational Intercontact between the ordinary self-sacrificing members. It mediate Range Ballistic Missiles. comes from "defenders of the What does this mean? It means old critics of Stalinism, but Soviet Union" whose 40th antaction that every air base in Europe Marxist critics. Now this is a niversary celebration meeting in could be wiped out in a matter very important distinction. It London last weekend was at- of minutes. To put U.S. bombers was ridiculously easy for the tended by a mere handful of the now stationed there into the Stalinists to point to the way- hard core, who foregathered in air a minimum 15-minute alert ward political development of a hall very much smaller in is required. The IRBM takes the New Reasoner school of crit- deed than the venues of past from five to ten minutes to ics, to impress on working-class years' celebrations. communists their abandonment of | It comes from leaders whose class struggle in their desire daily newspaper confesses that up the question of the construcfor a non-class, abstract human- the response to its Fighting tion of ballistic missile bases in ism. Not that the Stalinists Fund last month was so poorhave taken up the polemical that the paper is faced with "one cudgels against Thompson, Sa- of our deadliest deficits." These, ville and Co. in their press. one would have thought, are wille and Co. in their press, one would have thought, are of SAC's [Strategic Air Comuated. This was incentive enough Partisan passions prevent the the American people to pay for room that it is not opportune a powerful and influential comto put in writing. And the flight munist movement in Britain lies to the right of some of the more through the exposure of these the line of fire in any war

ers, and is going to worry them

INTERNAL OPPOSITION

litical letter" which made a (a) Its almost exclusively

(b) The readiness of at least some of its members to do some practical work as well as discuss what's wrong with the par-(c) The influence which

In the northern manufactur-ing center of Leeds, following this faction there are those who Do the the downgrading of four mem- believe the British CP can be bers for a similar offense, the transformed into a genuine area committee has recom- Communist Party, and there are mended to the district commit- those who disagree, feeling that tee (a higher body) that three the ultimate object of the facothers—they signed a circular tion must be to take as many inviting CP members to hear Marxists as possible into the a delegate's report on the re- Labor Party. But the immediate cent Labor Party conference—practical activity of partisans of be expelled. And a Londoner these two views is clearly idenwho has played a prominent tical, since the issue can be repart in the Socialist Forum solved only in the experience of

It would be silly to overemwhich the committee would dis- phasize the strength and influcuss when it considered "what ence of this group, or of the action should be taken." Pearce's "Left Opposition" groups at reply was to send the corre- work in Leeds, and in the Lonspondence to The Newsletter, an don Young Communist League.

But the fact that they exist, dedear him to the leadership, with spite the exodus of thousands from the party in the past to 'capture' the Forums, nobody ferment continues, and that concan say the Communist Party sistent and patient work to perthe other socialist groups has very different kind of commuseen fit to forbid its members mism, both in theory and in to take part in Forum discus- practice, from the Stalinist per-

The Stalinists, if they lack labels and slanders. The dissenters are branded as "antiparty." This accusation comes And indeed, at the back of from gentlemen under whose di-

ly becoming apparent to more What really worries the lead- and more of their followers.

British CP Heads Conflict Between Soviet Bar Members from Labor and Bureaucracy

Last week we reported the views presented in the Novembebr issue of Monthly Review by editors Leo Hubermore and more, is the existence man and Paul Sweezy on the problem of the bureaucratic that the Soviet people are doing would give way to socialist

of a coherent, articulate, well- regime in the Soviet Union. there is now "precious little evi- to defining the problem cor-

> editors now incline to the view government may be." that the struggle for supremacy between rival wings of the bu- MR editors is not completely reaucracy may drive one or an- clear to me. Defining the Trotother of its factions to seek a skyist stand as an "anti-bureaufor democratic reforms.

forms. While clinging tenacious- Sweezy's statement is that they working people. The bureau- as to whether the bureaucracy

cially smashed the reactionary Soviet Union. ed for calling a meeting at This group issues a duplicated Stalin myth and pledged an end If this is a correct underwhich two prominent comrades bulletin, and uses it to spread to many of the vile practices standing of their thinking, then who resigned from the party information about bureaucratic associated with Stalin's name. it is necessary to point out that would be invited to state their methods of "disciplining" crit- At the same time, a number of by the same logic, it is unrealics and to encourage a concerted economic reforms have also been istic to anticipate that the

Do these reforms invalidate through the opening crevices in

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.

win sweeping reforms.

Since I began this series of informed and principled criti- Characterizing the Khrushchev the Trotskyist concept that a number of gains, as previous- cial wealth. articles on the situation in the cism of Stalin from the left, regime as "self-chosen and self- workers' democracy in the So- ly indicated. For its part, the British Left there have been which members might listen to perpetuating" and imposing its viet orbit can only be realized Trotskyist movement firmly besome interesting developments in the Forums. So they are do- will on the Soviet people through a political revolution? lieves that every genuine par- freedom for the youth, an end inside the Communist Party, ing everything they can to seal "through its monopoly of eco- Huberman and Sweezy believe tisan of the USSR should supwhich deserve mention before I off their members from such nomic and political power," Hu- that it does. They write: "The port the efforts of the Soviet on artistic expression and aboberman and Sweezy write that Trotskyites have come closest people to win further reforms. lition of the caste system in party whose general secretary's dence" to substantiate their rectly. But their solution (an a stand, all those who seek a mean a return to the foreign For six months after the Easter rare literary pronouncements previous belief that as the anti-bureaucratic revolution of socialist solution to the prob-Congress of the party this year include a recent one with the Soviet Union advanced economic- the Soviet masses) is part wish- lem of bureaucratic rule in the nationalism that was abandoned to the "Opposition" was extra- which protests volubly against would reform itself out of ex- olutionary romanticism . . . the to clarify and test their differ- status quo deals with imperialordinarily muted, hesitant and the Labor Party leaders' list of istence because repressive meas- masses are not going to revolt ing views as to how it will fi-

However, it should be recog-How then is the bureaucratic well as the Soviet system no to protect its members from cast to be eliminated? The MR matter how undemocratic the nized that political support to administering the economy and the efforts of the Soviet work- guiding the culture of the coun-The point made here by the ers to re-establish socialist de- try." mocracy implies a direct corolany section of the bureaucrat- privilege - seeking trict committee of a member I know of one faction working base of popular support and cratic revolution," they apparic regime. Just as revolution-through an extended process of the was wicked enough to relinside the Communist Party that such a development could ently recognize that the Trotary socialists under capital. veal some of its proceedings to in London which is distinguished provide the Soviet people with skyists favor a revolutionary ism support every mass movean effective means of pressing change in the political struc- ment for reform without fur- play off one section of the buture while at the same thering illusions about the reaucracy against another to Such an estimate comes closer time opposing any change in regime from which they are de- gain their objectives? Or would to the reality than did Monthly the system of nationalized prop- manded so they find it neces- the bureaucrats move to con-Review's previous stand. Mass erty and of planned production, sary to state clearly that the tain, then smash the popular pressure in the Soviet Union The only conclusion I can de- task of democratization in the reform movement? If so, would has already won significant reduce from Huberman and Soviet Union rests with the this not pose the issue starkly

sion, the Kremlin, since Stalin's that the masses will engage in under great mass pressure. death, has made important con- revolutionary struggle against Huberman and Sweezy cor- In our opinion, experience has cessions to the working people. the bureaucratic regime - nc rectly observe that socialists shown that the bureaucracy, by This process reached a dra- matter how great its crimes - can settle for nothing less than matic climax at the 20th Con- because they are satisfied with "a good society [of] coopera-London, three members have day practice, have on the fac- gress where Khrushchev offi- the economic foundations of the tion and brotherhood in which reforms onto the path of political revolution no group monopolizes power or enjoys special privileges . . . a society in which all citizens . . .

sions that control their lives." correspondingly. Thus every vic-And, they add, "privileged mimasses will effectively press norities 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 cooperatives should be organized to control the price and quality of consumers goods.

The rebirth of such socialist instruments of the masses would bring democratic discussion of economic problems. It would ead 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

bureaucratic structure to farmers. Inequality of income But the fact of the matter is limits of strict necessity and so and have already registered equality with the growth of so-

The regeneration of the Soviet Union would bring new Within the framework of such the military. Finally, it would USSR have every opportunity under Stalin for the sake of ism. In short, as Trotsky wrote in 1937, it is a question "of changing the very methods of

Such sweeping changes would lary-no political confidence in spell the end of the reactionary, ly to its instruments of repres- believe it unrealistic to assume cracy will grant reforms only or the working class was to be

> In the meantime, every reform gained by the Soviet work- old. Gyula Hay, 56, Kossuth dred thousands, to be "transparticipate effectively in mak- ers gives them added strength ing and carrying out the deciin the march to the "good society."

inevitably force the process of

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 ap-

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'

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

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 Geman jail, he must be guilty.

World Events

government. All were prominent the Philippines. Communist writers who participated in the Hungarian revolution a year ago. Tibor Dery, once listed in the Soviet Encyclopedia as a leading writer of gongs at public demonstrations, "Socialist realism," was given a have signed up by the thounine-year term. He is 63 years sands and probably by the hunyears. Zoltan Zelk and Tibor farms and rural areas. Teachand 18 months respectively.

Budapest Central Workers Countinued to function in separate factories until the recent decree They are to be replaced by "factory councils" composed two one third of workers in the plant. The fate of Racz is still unof production in the hands of producers is anarchistic."

children who had barricades themselves inside an assembly hall in Penang, Nov. 14, to Strikes, processions and mass meetings by Chinese students occurred the same day in the ruling refusing education to in the Nov. 7 celebrations.

FOUR HUNGARIAN WRIT- | Chinese students over a certain ERS were given jail terms by age. Large Chinese minorities the Hungarian Supreme Court, are common in many South East Nov. 13, on charges ranging from Asian cities and discrimination incitement against the state to against them is sometimes gov attempted overthrow of the ernment policy as in Malaya and

CHINESE STUDENTS, to the encouraging sound of drums and prize winner, was given six ferred" to work in collective Tardos were given three years ers, university employees, and scientific farming graduates are also joining this exodus to the country. There is a crucial lag-WORKERS COUNCILS IN in farm production after the HUNGARY were abolished Nov. rapid and relatively peaceful 19 by the Kadar regime. Regional collectivization of farms. At the workers councils were outlawed same time, the universities have just one year age when Sandor recently been centers of student Racz, 23-year-old chairman of the protest and ideological opposition. . . The Peiping regime apcil was arrested, but they con- parently aims to solve two problems with one answer.

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST thirds of Stalinist officials and PARTY, headed by Pietro Nenni, has made a sharp turn back toknown. The Soviet publication ward close collaboration with the Pravda Ukrainy has denounced Communist Party following the workers councils saying the launching of the Sputniks Last "idea of putting administration December, Nenni criticized the Kremlin action in Hungary and advocated complete severance of ties between his group and the MALAYAN POLICE used tear CP. A few days before the against Chinese school launching of Sputnik I, leaders of Nenni's party cautioned its members to be "circumspect" in protest government discrimina- their celebration of the 40th antion against the Chinese minor- niversary of the Russian Revoluity in the Federation of Malaya. tion. After the launching, however, Nenni proposed an electoral pact between his group and the capital, Kuala Lumpur. The im- CP next spring, and his followmediate issue was a government ers were "vigorously conspicuous"

Where Danger Comes From

(Continued from page 1)

reach its target.

That is why NATO will take report puts it, is "definitely toshift, however, tends to move Soviet Union to the home-ground of the United States.

SPEED OF ICBM

ered far from adequate."

as it did with the A-bomb and Democrats alike were charging GIVE US THE EXCUSE? H-Bomb. The fact that the the USSR with aggressive inthrough first is now illogically world.) used as proof of the ruthless-

ness of Soviet militarism.

ing World War III.

military machine. Until recently, by bribing or subverting ruling an economic competition in the the U.S. held the military-tech- politicians, military leaders and undeveloped nations. The N.Y. ward operating more and more not been so strategically sit-democratic world."

has been a useful weapon for men, whose bankruptcy is steadi- from the nations close to the in claiming that the Soviet Un- chasing Middle East feudal And this in turn poses the ambassador to the Soviet Union, can outbid whom, question of the Inter-Continental and the State Department, Ken- The liberal N.Y. Post editors Ballistic Missile. U.S. intelli- nan has criticized in speeches are concerned with the propagence reports that the Soviet and articles the "over-militari- ganda war that they consider Union has already fired suc- zation of our thinking about neglected. On Nov. 13 they critcessfully two ICBM's with a the 'cold war.'" In a Nov. 17 icized Eisenhower's second "chinrange of 5,000 miles. The U.S. speech over the British radio, up" speech in Oklahoma for has fired none. The ICBM takes he repeated his view that the the President's almost exclusive less than half-an-hour to reach Soviet "threat" was more po-military concern. "But since the its target. Given a 15-minute litical than military. (In the President pleaded that they alert, U.S. bombers could get past Kennan has warned the [U.S. armed forces] would nevoff the ground, at least. But, State Department against a per-"right now, facilities for de-spective of trying to change the have we told the rest of mantecting ballistic missiles and Soviet system by "government-kind of our offensive strategy flashing warnings are consid-al" action. In effect he was tax- to break the bleak diplomatic ing Dulles with war-like aims deadlock?" In the race for missiles the against the Soviet Union at the U.S. expected to take the lead- very time that Republicans and WILL RUSSIA

ly concentrated considerable sci-military conquest - nor even of What explosive force does Amerentific and economic effort on stirring the masses in capital- ica have to deflect the progress the missiles race, enough to give ist countries to revolution. "The of a tyrannous ideology so clevit at least a temporary lead. Kremlin rulers no longer ap- erly wrapped in idealistic pre-However this does not prove peal to the masses for a rev- tensions?" To the Post, then, that it has plans for launch- olution from below," said the the "menace" is ideological. Times. "Rather, they now prop- Vice President Nixon is con-

lead to build military bases all ostensibly in support of the lat- 13, said that "the 'major danaround the Soviet Union-some ter's own ambition but ultimateon its very borders. Without ly, of course, for their undoing. was not the Soviet Union's milthe IRBM or the ICBM, U.S. That is the method they now itary strength but its 'cold war' forces have been within easy attempt to use in the Middle activities." Both Nixon and the trend, as the N.Y. Times staiking range of all Soviet East and elswhere. And this is Dulles at this conference called cities. The Seviet Union has the threat now confronting the for increased economic foreign

mand] striking force from the win the missile race.

Fartisan passions prevent the the American people to pay for N.Y. Times editors from noting the higher cost of the cold war. Furthermore, U.S. policy mak- Soviet strategy applies perfecters are by no means unanimous ly to their own strategy of purion threatens war. For example, rulers like King Hussein of Jorthere is a fundamental dif-dan and King Saud of Saudi ference on this question between Arabia. In these terms the So-George F. Kennan, former U.S. viet "menace" amounts to who

er be used for aggression, what

USSR made the technical break- tentions toward the rest of the editors ask, "What good are all from the Soviet Union then what should be withdrawn until the front of Central High can openly these instruments of death if is the source of the drive toward leaders of the adult white mobs parade as a hero, is it unex-The editors of the N.Y. Times, the Russians never give us the World War III? Nov. 8, depicted the Soviet excuse to use them? What are The Soviet Union undoubted "threat," not as one of direct the instruments waging peace?

The U.S. also has a powerful agate a revolution from above cerned that the U.S. should win nical lead. The U.S. used its a few influential intellectuals Times reports that Nixon, Nov. ger' confronting the free world aid and more sacrifices from

U.S. capitalism have not abandoned their claims about the Soviet "war threat." If for no other hower administration intends to mediately tried for contempt of reason, these claims are needed destroy the core of racial agita- the two federal injunctions to justify continued and mount- tion in Little Rock by prosecut- against interference with ining arms expenditures that are vital to sustaining production in that tried to obstruct integration School. There is ample evidence. this country. Yet these claims at the high school" (N. Y. Times, Photographs of identifiable mobare being challenged within their own ranks at the very moment tion is quieting, thoughtful civic groes appeared in almost every when the Soviet "war danger" would appear most imminent.

Just at the point when the U.S. has lost primacy - no matter how temporarily - to the the ringleaders of the mob are ficers in the crowd, were they Soviet Union in the missile race. authoritative Big Business politicians are in effect challenging the thesis that the USSR wants then there is virtually no hope of self-confidence. They feel imto launch a global conflict.

These weighty challenges to the "official" U.S. line serve to necessarily poses the question: of federal troops] was prema- every white supremacist who And, significantly, the Post If the war threat does not spring ture, some felt that no troops slugged or kicked a Negro in

justice of the ringleaders of the ried a story from Washington anti-Negro violence.

retreat as chronicled by the daily tention of prosecution. Reportnewspapers: "Another federal ing the thinking of the Justice judge was assigned to Little Rock | Department, the story told how today as the government speed- extremely difficult it was to ed preparations to indict agita- prepare conspiracy cases against tors in the Central High School the Little Rock racists and how case" (N. Y. Times, Oct. 1). . . unlikely it would be to get an "One possible weapon still un- Arkansas grand jury to indict. used by the White House is the dossier of 400 to 500 pages pre- motivated politically, not legally, pared by the FBI on racial can be seen from the fact that agitation in Little Rock. . . If the indictments need not be for this file should lead in any pos- conspiracy but could be of in-Certainly the spokesmen for sible way into Gov. Faubus's dividuals under another federal official family" (Oct. 4, Christian statute. Moreover, Faubus and Science Monitor). . . "the Eisen- the mob leaders could be iming the ringleaders of the mobs tegration at Central High Oct. 6). . . "Although the situa- sters kicking and slugging Neleaders have no illusion that the newspaper in the world; the trouble is over. They feel it victims themselves can identify would be a tragic mistake for some of their assailants. Finally federal troops to pull out before there were police and FBI ofpunished. They warn that if the blind? Justice Department is unable or unwilling to punish the mobsters the racists are again imbued with enforcing integration in Little mune to prosecution. The rest of Rock." (N.Y. Times, October the white community senses this 13). . . "Although no civic leader and many jump onto the winning throw a big cloud over it and would go on record as saying bandwagon, while the disapthat the reduction [in the number provers lapse into silence. When

that was the tip-off that the gov-Here is the record of federal ernment had abandoned the in-

That the abandonment was

Small wonder that Faubus, and who rioted in front of the school pected that impressionable white on Sept. 23 were, convicted." (N. children beat up Negro students.



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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 8, 1879."

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 Union, and properly appraise its ed but weakened the Soviet bur- to separate firms with their leftward shift in popular political sentiment at this time. The voting trends in- is imperative to grasp its highly group to its foundation. As the and profit motivations." dicate a growing potential for a mass contradictory features and the sputnik went up, Zhukov went breakthrough to the left, but not yet its the unreconstructed Stalinists Soviet space satellite circled audience were students, others actuality. For no problem confronting any see only its favorable sides section of the working people or of the or prefer to see nothing but them. satellites in Eastern Europe had many others were individuals middle classes can be resolved through the For them its imperfections are tried to wrench themselves loose seriously re-examining 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

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 a 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 the valuable portrayal Fast they were silent when Feffer the side of injustice. McCarthyites have been adopted by the gives of the Communist Party. and others were slaughtered. labor probers and are camouflaged with a At the same time we stated our hypocritical hue and cry against corrupciting specifically his adherence Vernatility and sisted, in opposition to the Com-

In this case, some high-handed bureau- "peaceful co-existence." crats, 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 telling about Stalin's murder of murder walked in your land?" 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

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.

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 has had a good response from wish to contribute should send death, by what right does he was the result and civil liberties, guaranteed by the constitution, were under-

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

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

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

Warde Analyzes Soviet At Anniversary Meeting

the 40th anniversary of the Rus- as pure socialism, they now turn the attainment of a crucial social sian revolution. The speaker was William F. Warde.

"In order to understand the episodic and insignificant and all from Moscow's orbit.

Well over a hundred people, an all-knowing leader - whoever forces behind sputnik? They are many of sharply differing pol- he happens to be at the moment. first of all the nationalized itical views, gathered at the So- ex-Stalinists have swung to the of the Soviet Union which enabled cialist Workers Party head- other extreme. Having taken the national resources to be quarters here tonight to observe what existed in the Soviet Union mobilized and concentrated on

forty-year history of the Soviet developments have not strenghen- rivalries but by contracts let out present nature," Warde said, "it eaucracy and is shaking its ruling carefully kept business secrets dual character of its institutions, down. And even before the sion period revealed many in the around the earth, other of its unreconstructed Stalinists and

cialist in character.

"Some suddenly disillusioned property and planned economy all that into its opposite - and objective regardless of private see nothing there that is so- interests. The comparable program in the United States has ". . . Actually, all these recent not only been impeded by service

A lively question and discusmunist 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). Als o aiding is UAW. Local 216 and a newly-formed defense committee. (See story, this page.)

Fast and Injustice in U. S.

tant, we printed excerpts from Feffer - Fast claims that, at pression of writers in the So-Howard Fast's article, "The least, he (Fast) fought injus- viet Union. But not so long ago Writer and the Commissar," tice committed by his own govcurrently featured in Prospectus ernment in the United States. silent "concerning injustice in magazine. We did so because of He asks Soviet writers why my own land." It was loud on citing specifically his adherence Vanzetti, but our own cry went to the Stalinist concept of out to haunt the world. Was my

By Constance Farr

National Campaign Director

there will be more to come.

reached 100% well ahead of

raising it, notes that Chicago

Totals thru Nov. 20

In the Nov. 11 and 18 Mili-the noted Yiddish poet Itzik resistance to bureaucratic sup-

Fast says, "Yes, we [i.e. the own voice ever silent concern-There is another matter in ing injustice in my own land? ment. That is the section deal- to you, my Russian colleagues,

Three Cities Reach 100 Pct. But Fund Is Still Lagging

come close to us in the recent period contributed \$50." We received a check for \$130 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 Trotsky. News that a German edition olence." going so far over the top, and

two weeks ahead of the dead- of "The Revolution Betrayed," is line." Best of all, he adds that now being published is indicative of the world-wide demand for

after December 1st. Allentown Germany. paign Fund Director, Ray Fol- total quota instead of which we the persecuted. lett, in commenting on the neces- have only 68%. Detroit, Twin fund as well as the progress in the deadline on Dec. 1.

contacts in this drive, some of their donations to 116 Univerwhom are contributing for the sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Que	ota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	. \$	600 5	704.00	110
Allentown		102	102.00	100
Milwaukee		250	250.00	100
Buffalo	1	,800	1,623.00	90
Chicago	1	,560	1,410.00	90
Youngstown	75	300	225.00	75
Detroit	27	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	
	The second			

\$18,111 \$12,263.00

-in 1949-Fast's voice was not of Southern California is ap-

pions such as I. F. Stone in 9. ACLU Counsel A. L. Wirin munist Party leaders, that support must be given to Socialist Workers Party victims of the "were financially supported ACLU. by the German Nazi movement."

eran, from his Veterans Admin- people who are organizing a volved in the case. He wrote the istration job in 1948 because nationwide campaign to publi- book, of his admitted membership in cize the case. the SWP. The government charged that his membership constituted the "advocay of the Kleinsmid, former Chancellor of violent overthrow of the gov-Since the last fund campaign ernment." Fast, in his 1949 let- University of California at Los cure Justice for Morton Sobell with a jubilant, note attached story, there have been two more ter to the Compass, backed the Angeles; Bishop James C. Bakpublications brought out: "The government frame-up with the er; Prof. Frank Baxter; Atty. Class Struggle Road to Negro false statement that Kutcher George Bodle; Rabbi Israel Cho-Equality," and "If America had "said quite frankly that he dos; L. A. County Supervisor Should Go Communist," by Leon supported the overthrow of the Kenneth Hahn; Paul Jacobs, a government by force and vi-

IT WAS EASIER HERE

Milwaukee, the first city to the works of Leon Trotsky. Dur- his job thanks to the widespread nia Eagle; Edwin Sanders; and reach 100%, also sends us the ing the period of the fascist support of a large part of the Mayor Albert Isen of Torrance, welcome news that they will be terror under Hitler, all the works labor movement, the ACLU and Calif. sending in additional money of Trotsky were destroyed in other defenders of civil liberties. (He still hasn't won back the Our Press and Publications eight years of pay that he lost schedule. Chicago and Buffalo Fund is still lagging behind. in fighting for justice.) But in are also well out in front with With only two more weeks to these two cases of injustice, 90% paid in. The Chicago Cam- go, we should have 86% of the Fast joined the persecutors, not

If Fast could not find his ing held illegally by the U.S sity for stressing again and again Cities, Boston have assured us way to take the side of these the needs of the publications that they will have 100% by victims of injustice in the U.S., where by taking such a stand Readers of The Militant who he risked teither prison nor grow indignant at the silence of his colleagues in the Soviet the labor movement to protest Union? The truth is that some the junking of our tradition of of his Soviet colleagues did find political asylum, especially when their voices against the persecution of writers. Fast himself anti-labor Franco regime. tells how Feffer died in his attempt to save another Jewish writer from being murdered in Stalin's jails.

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

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

Milwaukee Journal On Sobell Case

(The following is the text of an editorial in the Nov. 9 Milvaukee 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 9 Rosenberg spy trial back in 1951 uneasy about many aspects of (pre-Brownell). It is not gen- the case and have haunting erally remembered that one doubts that the integrity of Morton Sobell was convicted in justice was fully preserved in it. 7 the same trial, and is doing 30 Two petitions, one wholly new in years in Alcatraz. The depart- its legal basis, now pend before ment rather tenuously linked him the United States supreme court. to the Rosenbergs with less than

They are supported by a number ng legal scholars, who are

Five Spanish Sailors Get Union Backing

By Della Rossa LOS ANGELES, Nov. 14 -The Committee To Save The first support from the local Local 216 (General Motors) voted to give \$25 to help the

The five young Spaniards left their ship in San Diego hoping propriety and indiscretion of the to find political asylum from Franco's fascism in Mexico, ously propagandizing just as the which does not recognize the present government of Spain. court — and in an exclusive deal, The Mexican government has at that, to let one particular granted them asylum, but the publication exploit its files. U.S. Immigration Service is holding them at Chula Vista erly invited the supreme court's and threatening to return attention to this extraordinary them to Franco's tyranny. The American Civil Liberties Union pealing their case in the courts

The next hearing will be held in Los Angeles before the Dis-When civil-liberties cham- trict Court of Appeals on Dec. and Hugh Manes are handling the case.

Formation of another com-Fast's article requiring com- In the name of all that is holy victims, Fast sided with the week. It was spearheaded by Hotel, Minneapolis. Stalinists. He wrote a letter Dr. Dwight L. Bolinger, the Un-i Mr. Sharp, a professor of ing with Soviet writers. In where were your voices when to the New York Daily Com- versity of California Spanish Law at the University of Chi-

The U.S. government fired The Five Spanish Sailors, it is hand knowledge of the facts and James Kutcher, the legless vet- composed of prominent local many of the personalities in-

writer for The Reporter; Atty. Henry Lopez; Prof. Jeronimo Mallo; Prof. Kenneth MacGowan; Atty. Loren Miller, publisher of Kutcher has since won back the Negro weekly, The Califor-

> 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 bewas 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 it is junked to support

In Defense Of Marxism By Leon Trotsky

Struggle for a **Proletarian Party**

By James P. Cannon

Two books dealing with the building of a revolutionary socialist party in the United

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

So Brownell, last December

conclusive evidence, which, how- ordered a study to be made, apever, the jury had no trouble parently reviewing and rearguing believing in those panicky times. the whole Rosenberg-Sobell case Sobell's wife and an organized and setting forth the governgroup of backers have not ceased mant's rebuttal to the many to try to get his case reopened. questions raised about it. And .. suddenly last month, what purof conscientious citizens, includ- ports to be the substance of this... document — then and now still unpublished by the department appeared in a national maga-

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 his-Five Spanish Sailors won its tory and the testimony, with a rundown of retorts to "the Comunion movement here today munist charges" (the old smear when the United Auto Workers 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 imjustice department in so obvimatter comes before the high

Sobell's attorneys quite propprocedure. And the court might well take some notice of it.

Professor Sharp To Speak in Mpls.

Malcolm P. Sharp of Chicago, will speak on "Was Justice Done to Morton Sobell?" on mittee to support the five sail- Thursday evening, December 5, Smith Act as well as to CP ors was announced here this 8:00 P.M., at the Leamington

> stages of the Rosenberg-Sobell Called the Committee To Free Case, and has an intimate, first-"Was Justice Done? -The Rosenberg - Sobell Case," With Dr. Bolinger on the com- with an introduction by the emimittee are Dr. Rufus B. Von nent scientist Harold C. Urey.

> The meeting is sponsored by USC; Prof. Jose Baracia, of the the Minnesota Committee to Se-

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

Questions For the Left

By Sidney Lens Introduction by A. J. Muste. Comments by John Dickinson, Tim Wohlforth, Stephen Grattan, Farell Dobbs, Conrad Lynn, Albert E. Blumberg. Published by

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The Niagara Firetrap Deaths Groups Tell

City Council: **Build Homes**

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

-Addressing the overflow crowd in the council chambers, Mrs. Ballan said, "The city of Niagara Falls is not only a tourist attraction for the whole world. It is a center of the chemical industry from which DuPont, Union Carbide, Olin Mathieson, and other giant corporations extract untold millions of dollars every year. They owe decent living conditions to the worker who provide their profits." Amid applause she added that money for slum

Many individuals and reppunished landlords who charge make even the most necessary repairs, and turn down large families as tenants. Other speakers revealed that the city officials, despite surveys and reports to them showing desperate housing needs for families with many children, had done nothing about it. This meeting, however, ended in forcing the

council to unanimously approve motion requesting of the Niagara Falls Housing Authority tional low cost housing units with at least three bedrooms for large families.

"Guns,

(Continued from page 1)

items as public housing, veterans benefits, farm development subsidies and the school lunch pro-

gram. At the same time Eisenhower has declared that the "balanced" budget is no longer sacred and ganda is but the prelude to a tion Must Go." drive to hold wages down as an alleged means of "combatting" the inflation induced by deficit to meet the unemployment

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 demon-

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

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

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

Racists Murder 2 Negro Boys

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

Anti-Racket By NAACP

By Ruth Norton

taxing those best able to pay, in Brooklyn, New York was bolchanging the laws where neces- stered, Nov. 14, by a contingent sent by the Labor Committee of the Brooklyn Branch of the Naresentatives of various groups in tional Association for the Adthe community then presented vancement of Colored People. their grievances against un The Labor Committee responded to an appeal for aid by the outrageous rents, refused to Jansa's Rank and File Committee on the basis that the strike involved the issue of substandard wages based on racial dis-

they would be used as scabs. The company has been hiring Negro and Puerto Rican workers at wages ranging from \$1 to as a dues-collection agency.

The picketing began Nov. 7 with no prejudice against those groes, began to die. who continue to seek legitimate

union affiliation.

"Help Us to Be Free." "Many military expenditures. The drive of us make just a little more hulk for a few moments. Then demands for reduction of the leaflet, "we've never seen our dered us away. We got back in-'union's' office is."

fight racketeers."

in a series of attempts by Ne- than the Moonglow Hotel. in New York City's small shops to break out of "sweetheart con-

Los Angeles

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Racists Landlords, Officials to Blame 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. By Theodore Kovalesky 150 June 1

tel in that city. But we weren't going there

interested in. It was over for some of them, and for others, for most of them in fact, there plants. would never be any honeymoon.

act, and only three of them adults. And with them, in a condemned 20 years before.

Ave. Houses there face the railroad tracks, and beyond them loom the famous chemical plants of the Cataract City. As though camouflaged, the color of everyclearance should be obtained by Jansa Woodworking Corporation thing, houses, streets, earth, and even air is dusted and browned with the exhalations of blackness of the kind known only in factory slums.

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

The Moonglow Hotel still workers were being recruited by stood, a charred skeleton with the company without being told the guts burnt out of it. As we looked we could see that no one would ever climb its creaky stairs again. And the bedroom from which the fire - consumed \$1.40 per hour. The shop is under bodies of eight children were ramshackle frame building We didn't stop to see the lights contract to Teamsters Local 875 carried was closed to all but which the workers say acts solely official investigators—if it would was better, he said, than "living didn't drive past the mansions even bear their weight.

The whole thing began at after the company fired 20 work- perhaps 2 A.M., Saturday, ers who were discovered to have Nov. 16. In the basement of the formed a committee to organize looming three story shack with the 120 workers in the shop into its deceptively romantic name, a legitimate union. About 80 additional workers joined the picketing and were fired the following Monday. The strikers are door neighbor said, "Something went in there once several many things, that had burned, went in there once several the oder that rose up from the receiving some unofficial aid went 'Voom!'") In moments from other unions in the area. the ancient wood structure was un the stairs to the third floor, They are demanding reinstateenveloped, and the doomed inI turned right back and went Hotel and pushed its way ment of all the fired workers habitants, most of them Ne- down again. I just didn't think through the odors of the cheme

The picketers have so far suc-children, Howard, 9, Horace Jr., building. Mrs. Bertha Faulk told ceeded in stopping production in 8, Arlene, 6, Belinda, 4, Gloria of having lived with her husthe plant. Some of the roughly Jean, 3, twins, Terry and Jerry, band for six years in a two-30 production workers inside the 1, and Bonnie Patricia, 2 room basement apartment for that deficit spending will be shop left immediately when the months. Horace Ewing, 35, the which they paid \$10 per week. necessary. Deficit spending is a NAACP contingent showed up husband, is hospitalized with In a Niagara Falls Gazette inpowerful stimulant to inflation, carrying signs saying: "Negro burns. Of the eleven children terview she described how the Workers Don't Scab," "Rank and of Mr. and Mrs. Sanford Reid, sewage from the upper apartacute problem of keeping wages File Workers Must Fight For seven are gone: Walter, 17, ments frequently oozed up over somewhere in the vicinity of swiftly rising prices. The present Wagner Promised Aid To Anti
Wa government "sacrifice" propa- Racket Strikes," and "Exploita- Mary Louise, 5 months. Also the danger of fire, for her dead are two men, listed as apartment had only one door A leaflet signed by the Rank- "caretakers," John Jackson, 58, and one small window through and-file Committee is headlined: and Jack Thomas Ellington, 55. and one sman white escape. The than \$1.00 per hour," says the a policeman came up and or-'union' contract, we never see our to the car and drove around the got more answers. We looked Malcolm P. Sharp, Prof. of Law, 'union' representatives, we have block. More and more police apnever had any union meetings, peared as we drove. A number alone in this drive to place the we don't even know where our of them had been clustered near some of the Negro families Sobell?" Leamington H o t el the front of the roped-off ruin. evicted from Hyde Park Village Ausp. Minneapolis Committee to "Fellows who speak English Others patrolled the streets had managed to accumulate Secure Justice for like me," said a young Puerto nearby. We had the strange enough money for at least a Rican worker as he picketed last feeling that we were in an area down payment on a home. But week, "make \$1.20 per hour of martial law. We parked again Fellows who don't, make \$1.00." and walked back to visit one

Another worker discussing the of the neighbors. employment agency said: "They Our host told us, "Sure, I told me I was going to make know that place. When I came more money when they took the up from the South years ago, fee than I did when I got paid. I looked at it. I had to get an They do that with everybody." apartment for my family. But Another took a new look at the when I went in there, I said to function of cops in a strike: "The myself, 'Before I live in that police have already arrested three of us on excuses like carrying a penknife. We thought came from." But that hadn't port he called for the demothey were supposed to help us been necessary. He found another place nearby. It was a with several other buildings. The Jansa strike is the latest rathole too, but it was better But Sanford Reid hadn't been

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The car sped through the evening darkness, past the roadside reflectors on Grand Island, racks - like, one-story buildings capes, but was judged as being over the high, arching bridges made out of red clay tiles. It in compliance with the housing that span the Niagara River. Our destination: the Honeymoon ing project, and the tiles had staircases.

It is said that the real estate who had lived in the Moonglow agara Falls. That is probably liam Dietz wanted to get the Hotel were dead—18 to be ex- not very exact, because there tenants out so he could use the sudden, swift inferno, died the influence in the city's govern- had turned off the furnace. But evil old building which had been ment. Yet, the Hyde Park Vilthen it was also said that the ance, a fate shared today by condition to operate. The address was 2449 Allen many other low rent govern-

would accept them. That was Sanford Reid's the factories. By night there is children, where was he to go? Another housing project in the area would not take the fam-

> "Discrimination?" I asked. some Negroes there. They sim- some in cellars, some paid up ply refused to accept such a large family. They discriminated not against Negroes but against large families, against children. There were good reasons, fine pious reasons. The apartments were not large enough. They didn't want overcrowding.

> So Sanford Reid didn't overcrowd the project. He found a named the Moonglow Hotel, It rooms for \$64 a month, and in at Lewiston Heights or the oththose three rooms the family lived for a year. Little Mary Louise was born there, spent the entire span of her fivemonth life there, died there.

they'd even bear my weight."

They were: Mary Ewing, aged 27, and every one of her nesses to the condition of the There were plenty of wit- air. We stared at the burnt out Faulks fortunately moved out in August.

We asked more questions and over the pages of the Niagara Univ. of Chicago, will speak on Falls Gazette. We found that "Was Justice Done to Morton they were not wanted where they tried to buy.

We found that a man named Ben Bolden, a storekeeper, had been a housing investigator in 1937. At that time he found the Moonglow Hotel "unfit for human habitation." He also lition of the Moonglow along The city council listened, deplored the conditions-and did

The Class-Struggle Road to **Negro Equality**

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

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long since had holes kicked into We saw in the Gazette that specifically, the Moonglow Hoand large families were per-demolition contractor, junk man, mitted to pile themselves into and former cop, described the for a honeymoon, ours or any-body else's. The honeymoon was over for the people we were condition than the ramshackle at present a member of the Nihouses and tenements in the agara Falls Police Department, shadow of the chemical and steel turned in the alarm Saturday

morning from a squad car. There were some conflicting interests run the city of Ni- stories. It was said that Wilare huge corporate interests building as a storehouse, that there which cannot be without in the desire to evict them he lage was condemned and torn furnace had not been operating down in the name of slum clear- for a year, was not even in

But whatever the details may ment housing projects. Where have been, it is certain that the were the people to go? They only heat in the building came could buy homes. Or they could from electric heaters and kerorent from those landlords who sene stoves in the apartments. Whatever it may have been that exploded in the basement, it certainly was not the furnace.

We read of other families kicked out of Hyde Park, Negro families in which the husband earned \$80 or more a week but could find nothing but No, I was told. There are live in. Some lived in attics, to \$20 a week for one room for a family of five or six human

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

and left. We got back into the car and left the Honeymoon City. We on the great falls. And we er sections where millionaires live. It wasn't the night to crane our necks at the homes of the rich, so we didn't cross the

tracks. Instead, we went home. And we carried in our nostrils the Another man spoke up. "I heavy odor of something, of ical plants that lay upon the

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: Sor cialist Workers Party.

Minneapolis

Thursday, Dec. 5, 8 P. M. -Sobell. Donation 50c.

New York

Sunday, Dec. 1, 8 P. M. -Shane Mage, Editorial Board the Young Socialist, will review Imre Nagy's book. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Contribu-

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.

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