New Hoax Tried in Sobell Case

By C. R. Hubbard

imprisonment of Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz, did not meet with much success. The new charges of the theft of satellite secrets by the "Rosenberg spy ring," were reported in the press, but with few exceptions, treated skeptically.

secrets."

Tribune, in a Nov. 23 editorial, even emitted a groan about people who can explain Soviet prog-ress only through spy stories. The new "revelations" of Green-

glass were characterized as "one

secrets were these? If some car-

"Automation Age" Topic Of Forum

NEW YORK-Unusually live- maybe they could be dusted out ly discussion is expected at from the cobwebs and put into the Conference on "America's action. This is certainly useful Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" spon-

lems, Cultural Problems and Political Action.

A paper prepared for the Conference by Carl Dreher, engineer and author, will be discussed by Dave Dellinger, co-cussed by Dave Dellinger, co-bad passed the United States on the Conference becomes even more than t director of Libertarian Press; had passed the United States on liams College; Steve Nelson Chairman of the Communist Chairman of Chairman of the Communist Chairman of the Communist Chairman of Chairman Party of Western Pennsylvania; tainly spies could not steal what Farrell Dobbs, National Secreta- the U.S. did not possess.

ufied to make brief remarks at en to his original accusations etc .- all of which are really part the reception are Roger Bald- against the Rosenbergs and So- of the "defense" budget. win, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, bell? Russell Johnson, Sidney Lens Robert Morris followed up the ernment in this same period also John T. McManus, Tim Wohl-forth and A. J. Muste. | announcement of new "spy" spent in round figures, \$60 (Continued on page 2) | billion on veterans and \$64 bil-

"Spy" Hoax Victims





MORTON SOBELL, witchhunt victim in Alcatraz and his wife HELEN SOBELL, who is fighting for his release.

THE MILITANT

THE WORKING PEOPLE

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NOV. 26 — The attempt of Robert Morris, Council for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, to explain the Soviet Sputniks with new "revelations" from David Greenglass, alleged "atom spy" whose 1951 testimony led to the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the internal Security Subcommittee, to explain the Soviet Sputniks with new "revelations" from David Greenglass, alleged "atom spy" whose 1951 testimony led to the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the internal Security School Propries of Market School Propries Over Crisis At Home, Abroad The conservative N.Y. Herald

War Danger

view." The Tribune editors then commented, sarcastically, "What Why American **Capitalism Needs** bon copies of them are still left in the Defense Department files, A War Economy

By Myra T. Weiss

The international arms race The Nov. 22 N.Y. Times re-that has dominated all mankind sored by the American Forum-ported the Greenglass claims since the end of World War II For Socialist Education to be that the Rosenbergs stole U.S. entered a new stage with the held Dec. 7, 10 A.M. and 3:30 "secrets on earth satellites, race in the missile field. The P. M., at the Great Northern atom-powered planes and anti- U.S. explosion of the first atom Hotel, 118 W. 57 St., New York missile weapons." Then the bomb gave the prospect of war City. There will be panels on Times added that Morris "would an unbelievable new horror. Now Socialism and Democracy; Youth not say when the information the missile development puts the Problems, Trade Union Prob- was stolen, nor would he identi- delivery of these terror weaplems, Cultural Problems and Po- fy the agent from whom Rosen- ons on an automatic, push-but-

11-YEAR OUTLAY

ry, Socialist Workers Party; Greenglass' present claims First, what does the war drive Murray Kempton, columnist; were not even made at the trial mean for the U.S. economy? John L. Lewine, author; with of the Rosenbergs and Sobell in In the years 1946 through 1956 Russell Johnson of the Amer- 1951. That Greenglass "remem- the "defense" program cost the ican Friends Service Committee bers" these "facts" only after American people at least \$339 the Soviet Union has taken the billion. This amount does not On Friday evening December lead in missile and satellite de-include the vastly expanded 6, at 8:30 P.M., also at the velopment and six years after spending on international items Great Northern Hotel, a recepthe trial, doesn't make them any like foreign economic aid, intion will be held to honor A. J. the more credible.

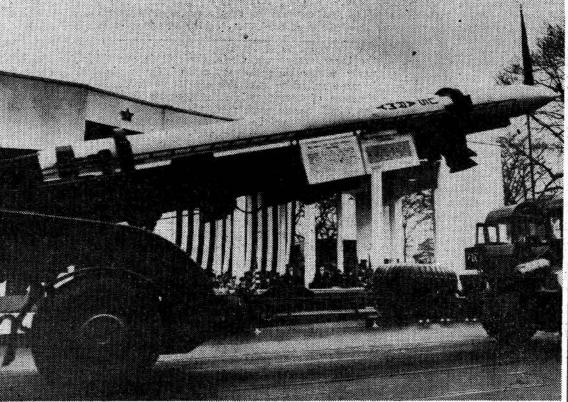
The formational and propaganda Muste "for his work in furthering political discussion on the legations evoke disbelief, why like road construction, increased basis of non-exclusion." Sched-should greater credence be giv- "security" costs, civil defense,

To pay for past wars the gov-

the nation. Few serious econ- rialist countries. omists would quarrel with the statement that U.S. post-war been rumors of some move by Public reports of the confer-

than war preparation. Instead was said that revival of the Com-North Korea). Technically it (Continued on page 2)

"More Guns, Less Butter"



It costs about \$10 million to stage a single test of a long-range rocket missile like "The Corporal," shown above in inaugural parade in Washington last January. The huge cost of developing such rockets was in Commerce Sinclair Weeks' mind when he recently said the country must shift to "less butter and more guns."

Kremlin Bolsters Soviet-Bloc Rule at Moscow Conference

nist Parties in the capitalist years, past wars and the prep-countries, who went to Moscow billion. Now Eisenhower pro- tion, stayed on for two weeks had been. One conference em- Communist Parties. The Amer poses that the American people of conferences. This appears to braced every country in the So- acan CP. was not among the tighten their belts for even big- have been the biggest and long- viet orbit in Europe and Asia. signatories inasmuch as The staggering sum of close all over the world since the bracing Communist Parties both illegal for their members to go to half a trillion dollars in an days of the Communist Inter- in the Soviet orbit and in the abroad. Consequently there were eleven-year period gives some national, liquidated during the capitalist countries. Though no no representatives of the Ameridea of the effect of the mili- war by Stalin as a friendly ges- permanent organizational struc- ican CP at the Moscow anni tary program on the economy of ture to the "democratic" impe- ture has been set up a formal versary celebration or at the

For some months there had ated and agreed to.

the 20th Congress, was being by the governments of those the present at least.

est session of CP leaders from The other was world-wide, em- witch hunt in the U.S. makes it political line has been enunci-

capitalist expansion was made Moscow to reconstruct an or- ence was restricted to the ispossible by this government sub- ganization to coordinate and suing of two documents. The sidization. Without this support, control the political lines of the first document to be released the economy would have col- various East European countries was that unanimously adopted and of the Communist Parties by representatives of the Soviet-Reformists, Stalinists and lib-throughout the world, all of orbit countries of Europe (USSR, erals, however, claim that cap-them considerably shaken up by Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, italist industry could be "stim- the 20th Congress and the East Germany, Poland, Rumania, ulated" just as well by govern- events following, particularly Czechoslovakia) and of Asia ment expenditures for other the Hungarian Revolution. It (China, North Viet Nam, inform, dissolved shortly after was not a document agreed to

The second document released

conferences which followed.

Study of the documents re veals that they do mot set forth

(Continued on page 2)

An Interview With Dr. Otto Nathan

See Page 4

South's Employers Use Racism to Block Unions

By Henry Gitano

Southern employers are atwage, open-shop South, by pit- struggle for equality. ting white against Negro, while

11 New Leader reports how "ra- for the IUE anyway. But in Bay the same job." Ed and Sam Russell, injected jobs if the union won. ed in forming an IUE local.

side was a crudely lettered post- segregation. er: "Do you want niggers rep-

four-column photo showing Carey Citizens Councils try to get un- go.

letters to each worker and made tempt to sell them on the idea bor movement is Adell Somer- few hours after the violence tiveness. speeches, linking the IUE with that union money is being spent sett's United Southern Employes which occurred when the Guardstempting to maintain the low- activities on behalf of the Negro on race integration. . . Gillman Association (USEA). In Rock men withdrew, race hatred besaid, adding: 'It's getting so that Hill, S.C., Somersett's attacks on came the dominant factor gov- whole rotten Southern ruling In Jackson, Miss. a similar ra- in some places the white man the Textile Workers at Klan erning union positions. . . When class! The AFL-CIO's subservilabor's officialdom slumbers in cist attempt by the management won't talk to the Negro and meetings, and promotion of his a number of community, church ence to the Democratic Party of the Vickers plant proved in- the Negro won't talk to the own "union" resulted in the "near and civic leaders later called for prevents organized labor from Benjamin D. Segal in the Nov. effectual when a majority voted white man, though they are on collapse of the hooded order in a day of prayer, labor was silent. fighting its worst enemies in the

of the Bay Springs, Miss. North- feels that racism was the fatal ions. Because of a convention Klansmen belonged to the Tex- Negroes, union members were known public opinion researcher, ern Electric Products Corporation factor. At Westinghouse, the mandate calling for the abolian NLRB election, the owners, ers that Negroes would get their ization, the American Federa- these particular KKK'ers that it slate in the recent elections drew billion annually. racism. The union lost 291 to 86, Inside a New Albany, Miss. the white Atlanta local with 1.- "membership is estimated to have class areas. although this past summer, a furniture plant, a company fore- 500 members. White Chattanooga dropped from 175 members to majority of Neco workers signed man posted pictures of Negroes teachers are also reorganizing on less than a dozen." cards saying they were interest- at a union convention. Along- an independent basis to maintain

But despite earlier fears, resenting you? Then vote 'No' Southern defections are the ex-Prior to the balloting, Ed Rus- today!!!" The Upholsterers In- ception. The Southern Regional walked out because discriminasell called the workers into the ternational Union, AFL-CIO, at- Council found that most Southplant lobby, where he shouted tributed its defeat partly to ern members do not get "riled ertheless these same local offithat the union was "nigger lov- White Citizens council activities. up" over, although they oppose, that the union was "nigger lov- white Citizens council activities, up over, atmough they oppose, ing" and its president, James Segal points to a pattern — the adoption of policies relating zens Council-inspired secession was a big factor in cancelling Negro from uniting for their Carey, was a "nigger lover." these are not isolated cases to segregation by their nation movement. Russell brandished the evidence: "Charles Gillman, AFL-CIO di- al unions. Many realize that out-

Last year at an auto workers educational institute in North Carolina, several racist-minded Washington representative of the working class. An energetic camleaders from Birmingham, Ala., Textile Workers Union, comtion was openly discussed. Nevcers helped defeat a White Citi-

man. Ed Russell also sent three executive boards and then at- be splitters of the Southern la- ual integration. "Then, only a that time will lessen its effect York County" (Rock Hill area) Further reports indicated that, Solid South, which sends Democism stymies unions in the Springs and at the Raleigh, N. In some instances, racism is according to one news report in at least one area of the state cratic racists and labor haters South." He gives the example C., Westinghouse plant the IUE causing defections from the un- Segal relates that most of the containing a large proportion of to Congress. Elmo Roper, welltion of Teachers, AFL-CIO, lost nearly erupted in violence and heavy support from working-

BANK ON TIME

The Nov 10 New York Times plained that the issue of inteployers before nearly every NLdancing with a young Negro wo- ion members to serve on their One of the most active would- and violence and supported grad- cist appeal, though they hope on.

What profound bankruptcy and abject capitulation before the

But labor is more powerful than those who profit from racism, and organized labor must face its responsibilities. Labor reported that John Edelman, tive the racists in the white must isolate and render ineffecpaign with battalions of organ gration is injected by the em- the South's unionization by com-RB election. Edelman said this judice which keeps white and batting the cancer of race prean organizing drive against a mutual interests. The fight for Segal outlines the treacherous chain of textile mills in the equal rights cannot be side-

Facing Balky Allies, Mideast, **Shaky Economy**

By Art Preis

America's ruling class, seemingly so confident a few months ago, now is gripped by a mood of crisis. The daily press continuously speaks of Wall Street's and the government's "jitters."

These "jitters" followed the first Soviet Sputnik, which marked an end to the clear-cut U.S. military lead. But it would be wrong to attribute the tremors of America's financial, political and military leaders to any real fear of Soviet armed aggression. "Loss of American prestige," "unstable allies," "growing lack of confidence in the U.S. economy" are the type of concerns more and more expressed by business and political commentators.

In a recent speech, Vice President Nixon complained that the Soviet Union has opened "a massive non-military offensive aimed at the overthrow of all free governments." This same fear of a "non-military" advance by the Soviet Union is stated more explicitly in a recent N.Y., Times editorial. Citing the Kremlin's own dread of mass uprisings, particularly since the East German, Polish and Hungarian revolts, the Nov. 8 Times writes off any revolutionary threat from the Soviet leaders:

"Consequently, the Kremlin rulers no longer appeal to the masses for a revolution from below. Rather, they now propagate a revolution from above by bribing or subverting ruling politicians, military leaders and a few inte lectuals. . . And this is the threat now confronting the democratic world."

WHY THEY HATE AMERICA'S RULERS

billion on veterans and \$64 billion on veterans and \$64 billion in interest on the public orbit countries and of Community Countries and of Community Countries and of Community Countries and of Community Countries and Soviet Union compete with the Community Countries and Soviet Union compete with the Wealthy U.S. in bribery and subversion? Why, this form has been decided upon for countries. country has already spent scores of billions in economic aration of a new one cost the for the 40th Anniversary cele- The conferences were wider the next day was a manifesto and military aid to foreign rulers. It has given lavish hand-U.S.government a total of \$463 bration of the October Revolu-in scope than the Cominform signed by representatives of 64 outs on a scale that beggars anything the Soviet Union could afford. Yet, the American ruling class is beset by the cold fear of isolation, of unfaithful allies, of worldwide hatred.

> This hatred was described in the Nov. 19 N.Y. Post by Dr. Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Motivational Research, Inc., following his recent international tour. Interviewed by Mike Wallace, Dr. Dichter said that America's reputation abroad "couldn't be any worse" and "everywhere I went I met anti-Americanism in virulent

> This "appalling deterioration" of U.S. prestige, said Dr. Dichter, is rooted in the fact that while "we still talk idealism. . . we have ceased to practice it in many ways. . . We talk freedom, but we back up dictatorships like Franco's." Asked by Wallace if he thought "that in the world's eyes we're hypocrites, a split personality," Dr. Dichter replied, "Absolutely."

In short, the common people everywhere mistrust the protestations of selflessness from America's ruling Big Business class. "You get nothing for nothing in this world - and damn little of that," goes the old saying. And U.S. imperialism offers even less. As Dr. Dichter conceded, " . . . We give the wrong way. We give grudgingly, condescendingly. We give with political strings attached. . . "

"LESS BUTTER, MORE GUNS"

The continuing Mideast crisis, the crisis of the NATO military alliance brought about by French objection to the shipment of a few rifles by the U.S. and England to Tunisia, the hand-wringing and outcries and mutual recriminations about "permitting" Soviet scientists to get a satellite aloft "first" - these reflect, in reality, the inability of U.S. imperialism to stabilize its domination (Neco) where two days prior to plant manager told white work- tion of segregation in its organ- attacks on the TWU so outraged In Little Rock itself, the WCC to discrimination at roughly \$30 in the anti-imperialist undeveloped lands — are finished internationally. The revolutionary masses - particularly with any form of imperialism.

> And yet, the internal needs of the U.S. profit economy keep pressing for solution by outward expansion. All the scores of billions spent and invested abroad in the past decade, all the hundreds of billions poured into war expenditures, all the "built-in stabilizers" of grudging social reforms have failed to assure a stable and steady development to U.S. capitalism.

Sputrik. . . Arms Race. . . Mideast. . . NATO Conflict. . . Little Rock. . . Stock Market Break . . These are the headlines of our time. They are the symptoms of a profound inner malady of U.S. and world capitalism. When a copy of the June 4 Jackson rector in the Alabama-Georgia- side the mainstream of organiz- role of the Arkansas AFL-CIO South. Al Kissler, AFL-CIO organiz- side the mainstream of organiz- role of the Arkansas AFL-CIO south. Al Kissler, AFL-CIO organizer, said that unions had no stepped in the Southern organ- for a shift to "less butter and more guns," he was not Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks said we must prepare sis. The Council deplored mobs ready answer to the bosses' ra- izing drive; it must be met head only plagiarizing the Nazi slogan, he was reciting the only program possible under capitalism.

The Marxists In Britain

By Peter Fryer Special London Correspondent

[In three previous articles (Oct. 28, Nov. 4 and Nov. chine within the Soviet bureau-25 Militant), Peter Fryer has analyzed recent develop- cracy. ments in the British radical movement. This is the conclusion of the series.]

trinally pure. Stalinism made And now to sum up. In the midst of all the confusion of resignations and declarations, expulsions and polemics, one fact of their Third Period Cominternstands out: that rich possibilities now exist for rearing, AS EAGER training and educating a strong TO LEARN AS TEACH and influential Marxist move-But there are Trotskyists ment in Britain. The streams are flowing together: Communists disillusioned with Stalinseeking a movement soon learns act of appeasing the Soviet pubsies of salf-proism; Bevanites disillusioned with that. And he comes to the genu- lic and a measure of self-pro-Bevan; trade unionists who see ine Trotskyist movement with tection by the other sections of the need for militant and prin- all the ardor of a thirsty man the bureaucracy. It left the par-

cipled leadership, political as who finds a stream of clear water. Here are Marxists who offensive is to be beaten back.

From Communist Party, Labor Communist Party, Labor Party and workshop floor alike with the fact that a least the letter had actually car-Party and workshop floor alike Who do not use the fact that there is coming forward the adTrotsky was right on so many ried out the Beria purge, and vance guard of a new Marxist issues as an excuse for any new was now the sole armed section leadership. The task is to forge Great Man theory. Who, above of the bureaucracy. That only this precious cadre, to weave all, are as eager to learn from by calling upon Zhukov and the these streams together in one the new adherents they are army was Khrushchev able to the bureaucracy as a whole, the It is one thing for the heads into a harmonious team, these able to teach them something. tov, Malenkov and Kaganovich is more suited to rule. For con-support. To the extent that they different backgrounds and expeWhose approach to people, therelast July, tremendously enhanced tinuance of bureaucratic rule in succeed they temporarily

APPARENT CONFUSION

past, even as the other foot is stance, and you see how the new the party apparatus headed by past, even as the other foot is poised for an enormous forward stride. The ex-Communist Party member is bewildered and dismatch by the multiplicity of the bureaucracy by the multiplicity of the bureaucracy by the multiplicity of the mass alcontent develop propose an industrial develop day of its direct political intervention.) But for a faction of the bureaucracy that is not is a requisite of the general impover-bureaucracy possible of the common people instruments of destruction they and the stormy times ahead. The military bureaucracy possible of the common people instruments of destruction they are calculated by the multiplicity of the party apparatus headed by calculated and the stormy times ahead. day of its direct political intervention.) But for a faction of the general impover-bureaucracy that is not is a requisite of the common people instruments of destruction they are calculated and the stormy times ahead. The mutually exclusive. A genuine welfare and a capitalist state are mutually exclusive. A genuine welfare state can only instruments of destruction they are calculated and the stormy times ahead. The mutually exclusive and the stormy times ahead. The mutually exclusive and the stormy times ahead. The mutually exclusive and the stormy times ahead. The propose an industrial develop and the stormy times ahead. The propose and luxuries in the propose a of "real" Marxism. His immedi- ky. the cause of Marxism very far. sequent enrichment of Marx-

The fact must be faced that ism. And so strong is this comsome of these groups are in re-bination that Labour Review. ality no more than vestigial rem- without a single tremor, could nants of a stage in the history open its columns to a long, deand done with. No ex-Commu-ber of the editorial board (himnist Party member, who shares self a member of the Commuin the moral responsibility for nist Party!) answered in the the persecution and vilification same issue. This kind of fundaof the Trotskyists in past years mental discussion is unknown in (even if he never participated the Communist Party, which for their sectarianism, their dog- brief period a year or so ago. matism, their unwillingness to

...Try New "Spy Hoax"

(Continued from page 1)

revelations with a proposal to ing a movement the "label" of release both Greenglass and Trotskyism is losing its terrors. Harry Gold (the other govern- There are many who think that ment witness in the Rosenberg- as the Trotskyist analysis comes Sobell trial) from prison as a to be recognized as the only reward for "cooperation." Mor- valid Marxist analysis, the word ris proposed that a committee Trotskyist will tend to fall into be formed to seek their release. disuse (just as one uses 'Lenin-Did Greenglass agree to make ist' rarely, and 'Engelsist' not

new charges against the Rosen- at all). Be that as it may, the bergs in the hone that such "co-Trotskvists' willingness (a) to lease from prison? And if he to learn, is making a steady imwould manufacture new "spv" pact. charges now in order to win I have no dramatic successes his release, is it not possible to record. that he agreed to manufacture Greenglass' wife though implicated in his 1951 spy story, was never arrested let alone failed for her part in the "confailed for her part in the "conof a deal between the prosecution and the witness.

UNRELIABLE 'EVIDENCE'

Once more we must take a plice" testimony. The conviction Labour Review. he gives is required. The U.S. had books in it. Now we and Constitution forbids conviction they are starting to build to-

Why Khrushchev Cut Down Zhukov

By George Lavan (Third of a series of three)

Khrushchev's victory over Marshal Zhukov in the recent Kremlin power struggle is a demonstration of the superiority of the party over the military ma-

The party apparatus permeates all sections of Soviet society, including rival sections of the bureaucracy. In Stalin's day this the means of coercion, was even more powerful than the party.

AFTER BERIA'S PURGE

The purge of Beria and releand "Trotskyists" in quotation gation of the secret police to a whose approach to people, there-last July, tremendously enhanced thrustee of better the USSR means much more to-strengthen the regime or abate the level of these workers who want to be communists.

Whose approach to people, there-last July, tremendously enhanced thrustee of better the USSR means much more to-strengthen the regime or abate the political position of the USSR means much more to-strengthen the regime or abate the usual strengthen the usual strength PPARENT CONFUSION

misunderstandings that come Number One position in the ous factions of the bureaucracy obvious need of the regime for from years of believing in lies. Kremlin ruling caste. Thus the for their overall benefit. It public approval along with con-SOLDIERS HATE Examine the past year's is- logic of the power struggle led means first and foremost keep- cessions to the people encourage it seems to me, one foot in the sues of Labour Review, for in- directly to a showdown between ing the regime afloat on the the latter, build its self-confi-

memper is bewildered and dis-mayed by the multiplicity of sentially Trotskyist ideas and sessed even greater power of is a requisite. groups, each claiming to be analyses. Four out of five of coercion than the secret police The party occupies a more up support in a bid for power competitors, each bawling its hoarse selling literature of the Communist Party (these meating Soviet society and the proper to the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the communist Party (these meating Soviet society and the proper to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepres to any literature of the popularity with the entrepresentation and the popularity with the po lungs hoarse selling literature of the Communist Party (these meating Soviet society and the tion as a whole. The network of ing called on—even though in a at the entrance to public meet- write under pen-names) or were rest of the bureaucracy but rela- party functionaries and units limited manner—to act against dier and officer is tremendous sions. ings, each carrying the banner in the party until quite recent- tively shut off from them. It penetrates all layers of the pop- the dominant section of the budid not exercise police func- ulation. Not only do these en- reaucracy. If they do engage in of "real" Marxism. His immediator. Not only do chese the such an action will they then at reaction is to ask why on on the editorial board, whose to ask why on on the editorial board, whose to ask why on on the editorial board, whose to ask why on on the editorial board, whose to ask why on on the editorial board, whose to ask why on one of the men cident that the U.S. govern-ness today absolutely requires a ate reaction is to ask why on On the editorial board, whose would have been an open declator, the stop? Might they not continue ferror social position of the men cident that the U.S. government that the U.S. government are not meetings I have attended since would have been an open declator, to steer, deflect or clumb to the officers' corps is the ment has failed to engage in war machine not only to serve its united. As soon as he begins to last March, I have met only two ration of war against the rival the masses, they are also an on and do away with the whole separate the sheep from the other persons who were Trot- sections of the bureaucracy. invaluable means of constantly bureaucratic regime including goats, however, he realizes that skyists before 1955. The old and Thus the military's coercive taking the political pulse of the that section which had suma purely organizational solution new go forward together on La- power had to remain potential population, thus permitting the moned them for the limited to what is a fundamental polit- bour Review, their common task in the inner-bureaucratic strug- kinds permitted by the balance in the balanc ical problem would not advance the creative application and con- gle until a show-down in which ingly. take over. Preparation for such stances the military is a force an action was all the more dif-to be reckoned with What made

that from the point of view of further de-Stalinization.

Are They Still Pals?

Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin are shown here at 1955 conference in Yugoslavia. At that time, ties were renewed as the Kremlin bureaucrats apologized for "Stalin's errors." Since then, relations have warmed and cooled on two occasions. At a recent Moscow Conference, the Yugoslavs refused to sign statement of Soviet-bloc countries. (See story, page one.)

an action was all the more dif- to be reckoned with. What made in the military body itself of ous rival was his mass popuof the British Trotskyist movetailed and closely-argued attack
ment that quite evidently is over
and done with No ex-Commutailed and closely-argued attack
on Trotskyism, which a memand done with No ex-Commutailed and closely-argued attack
on Trotskyism, which a memtailed and closely-argued attack
apparatus.

The outcome of the struggle figures, and his deliberate camThe outcome of the struggle figures, and his deliberate camfy their expectations? The outcome of the struggle figures, and his deliberate camillustrates more than the su- paign to increase it by identifyperiority of the party. It shows ing himself with the demand for

in the inner-bureaucratic strugficult because of the existence Zhukov an even more danger- precedent prepare them to come onto the political arena unsum-

> It is beyond question that democracy. cracy must have regarded Zhu-tural level of the conscripted

able to control?

the least hated section of the authority in general." bureaucracy since it plays no direct role in the economic oppression of the Soviet masses reaucratic regime but wish to "lesser evil." defend the country's economic Zhukov, the most successful general, increased after the war because he was persecuted by

PRUSSIAN SETUP etc., etc. Formalizing the in- seem possible. But it is no ac- truth is that American Big Busiwhole reactionary rigamarole of that kind of "pump-priming" on world-wide predatory aims but "military courtesy" and Prus- a serious scale. sian discipline, restored by Stalin as far back as 1935. The of undeveloped countries for inenlisted men at the officers' exarmies, exists in the Red Army in world economy is limited pri- matter of fact, an end to the it is not forgotten that the Revsystem of social equality and many elements of the bureau- As the educational and cul-

cedented ovation on Red Navy doubt has their resentment. In their own choosing -Day and his speech in Lenin-the campaign against "rotten may not happen until the grad calling for further de-Sta- elements" (those who soon after actual beginning of a political linization, in a tone of fami- the 20th Congress desired to car- revolution—the desire to get a liarity used by Soviet bureau- ry de-Stalinization beyond the foot in the political door by accrats before factory workers, as official limits) in the armed cording a relative popularity to sheer adventurism. Was not this forces, Zhukov and Timoshenko one or another rival in the inmilitary hero, grown politically denounced "false democratiza- ter-bureaucratic fights will reimportant overnight without any tion" and the tendency of young main strong. experience in that art, not play-officers to forego compulsion ing the role of the sorcerer's and try, instead, to convince STABILIZATION FOR NOW apprentice who would conjure the troops. In an address to up forces which he would be un- officers of the Polish Army, Zhukov, however, finally marks Zhukov's popularity is a relative theme lest "the struggle against the Kremlin and hence a politive and contradictory phenomethe cult of personality should ical stabilization of the bunon. The military is probably degenerate into a negation of reaucracy's rule for the pres-

HUNGARY

invaders. The popularity of groups and take actions in stances for mass intervention.

courting of the unpre-|soldiers has increased so no | which they produced leaders of

Khruschev's triumph over Zhukov hammered on this same the unification of command in ent conjuncture. While it lasts, no "lesser evil" figures will be permitted to emerge. Thus the Certainly Soviet workers and Soviet masses, temporarily arand since the secret police, not students who sympathized with rested in their leftward developit, bears the onus for repres- the Hungarian Revolution must ment by the smashing of the sion. During the war the lead- have been disillusioned with Hungarian Revolution but not ing generals achieved a genuine Zhukov's crushing of it. So Zhu- driven back past the gains of popularity with the masses. This kov's popularity must be consid- the 20th Congress' de-Stalinizawas an expression of the atti-ered a relative thing—the sort tion, probably have before them tude of the masses to the So- masses, unable to exercise free a period of developing their own viet Union. They hate the bu-choice, give to a supposedly inner forces until they can themselves break the bureau-The Soviet working class has cracy's stabilization. This might pase against the restoration of not yet burst the political strait- take the form either of a direct capitalism. Stalin and his en- jacket into which Stalin forced assault or the exertion of such tourage were hated as the lead- it. They have loosened it here pressures on the regime that ers of the bureaucratic rulers and torn it there, but they have Khrushchev's domination is shatwhile the generals were popular yet to emerge as a free force tered and the bureaucracy's facsturdy movement, to assimilate into a harmonious team, these into a harmonious team, the harmonious team,

...Needed War Economy

and because of its excessive and propose spending at home for arbitrary powers over the ranks, the welfare of the people—spe-

No one can contest the need to buoy the economy. marily to supplying raw mate- arms race would result in a even permit, let alone aid the to consumer goods. industrial development of the non-industrial segment of world WILL SOVIETS CATCH UP economy to any significant ex-

At home, the capitalist class medical trust if the government this is not a Marxist speaking built enough hospital and re-but a pro-capitalist expert on

teaches that the CP's in these for massive government spendcountries would be directed to ing for their welfare was dur- the Soviet Union's economic Achievement of "peaceful co- support any capitalist regime ing the depression of the 1930's. growth. conceded, one-third of the na tion was ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed.

GOV'T DESTROYS FOOD

Yet the U.S. government never undertook production of decent homes (except for token held Saturday, December 14, at slum clearance), good food and warm clothes, not to speak of less essential commodities, for this would have interfered with the system of the private production of these goods for profit. Instead of producing what last year's fur coat (mink, chinthe people needed, the government destroyed food or paid for its non-production in order to boost prices, thus assuring a profit and therefore an incentive for capitalist production. In order to prevent complete demoralization of the unemployed millions, relief was supplemented by work projects, but never for the production of essentials. The arrange for a pickup. New Deal policies flowed from the nature of a capitalist gov-

(Continued from page 1) | ernment. They proved that That is but one side of the of foreign military aid, they state really concerned with sopicture, however. Because of its propose an industrial develop- cial welfare and a capitalist

cause of the cold-war military budget after 1946. The simple as the only way at its disposal

It is otherwise with the Soeconomic dependence on the ad- ued expansion are possible there vanced countries, for their role without an arms budget. As a rials for the industrial machines more rapid expansion of that of the imperialist countries. To industry which could be devoted

The Soviet rate of economic tent would have unsettling ef- growth is higher than that of fects on the economy of the im- the U.S. This is a source of perialist powers. It would cut anxiety to the ruling circles in off the principal source of chean the U.S. For it poses the quesraw materials. And industrial tion of whether the Soviet econpower that does not represent omy can catch up with the ism) and "revisionism" (the term a note of "militancy" inter- the press calls a peace plea. a mere extension of that of the American in the next period. Times analyst cited the following as a factor:

"First, will the Soviet Union have to continue spending vast an offer to mute the class strug-spending to the tune of half amounts on arms production in The scientific successes, they gle within the capitalist coun- a trillion dollars over an eleven- the future as in the past? Preshope, will establish confidence tries. Thus it refers to the year span. For this would unlident Eisenhower's intimation of The area of greatest ambi- that the Khrushchev leadership building of "popular fronts," dermine its profits irretrievably. greater United States military

Here we see the Soviet military budget listed as an obtwo needs of , the capitalist

New York Bazaar

The New York School of Social Science announces that its Annual Christmas Bazaar will be 116 University Place.

All our friends are urged to contribute their white elephants such as precious stones, jewelry, electric appliances, end tables, chilla, 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

the Communist Party, which in the beatings-up) can point a has nipped the tender buds of discussion that appeared for a discussion that appeared for a last sectorianism, their sectorianism, the sectorianism sectorianism, the sectorianism sectorianism sectorianism, the sectorianism sectorianism sectorianism sectorianism sectorianism.

(Continued from page 1)

"We are not afraid of discus-

building a movement."

LABEL LOSES TERROR

the answers! We are learning time. However, the tone, the gimes in the Soviet orbit. emphasis given certain points POLAND-USSR RELATIONS all the time-in the process of uments have a political significance.

And in this process of build-The declaration of the 12 Socounterposing the growth of their strength to the waning of imperialist power. Over 950 million people, a third of mankind, now live in the Soviet orbit. Another 700 million have thrown operation" would earn his re- enter into serious debate and (b) class antagonisms. Imperialist war plans and their NATO, Middle East and SEATO military alliances are castigated and their failure predicted. The same note But it is a sober fact that of confidence in the Soviet abilthe original charges in order the Marxists whose activity is ity to defeat imperialist attack mechanic on the atom bomb munist Party crisis has been document. Added is a bold note project.) Certainly, the fact that consistent and serious, and the of confidence about the ultimate

raises the question with splendid records on the No mention of "contradictions" historians, economists, journal- ment. Instead the tense social, look at the nature of "accom- ists etc. who are grouped round political and national relation- felt that signing would jeoships inside the Soviet orbit are pardize financial and military of the Rosenbergs and Morton I use the word "new" with brazenly ignored as follows: "In aid from the U.S. Sobell in 1951 would not have out any intention of denigrat- the Socialist states the broad been possible under rules of ev- ing the past. The comrades who masses of the working people fidence in a New York state stuck to their principles when enjoy genuine freedom and demcourt. Something more weighty the rest of us were dazzled and ocratic rights. People's power signalizes that Khrushchev, havthan the testimony of an ac-misled by Stalinism laid a solid insures political unity of the ing stabilized the power fight complice who has something to foundation. Theirs was the help- masses, equality and friendship inside the Kremlin bureaucracy, gain from the kind of testimony ing hand a year ago. The hand among the nations..." Similarly is now taking steps to stabilize ed off as an "imperialist plan" bloc and among the Communist

such unreliable testimony. Actually, Sobell and the Rosenthat there can be more helping that the yaunted "political unity" step toward restoring a working bergs were not tried on spy hands, more books, more jour- of the masses" is more a wish discipline. The documents give charges, but under the federal nals, more activity, and the than a fact. For political de- them all a single comprehensive "conspiracy" laws, which allow conviction on evidence that would be held insufficient in any well-equipped revolutionary lead-

guity is that dealing with is advancing the USSR to so- which in Stalinist language has Take housing for instance. As spending, in his speech last the relations between the vari-cialism and is therefore a fit always meant sacrificing work- Art Preis wrote in his pam- week, undoubtedly will exert viet-orbit countries begins by countries. Since one of the international leadership. Reference of the international leadership. Reference of the international leadership. Reference of the international leadership in for the sake of a coalition with ism, "What would happen to the its own large effort in the arms was the assent of Poland's Go- the capitalist world are for the capitalist parties. Similarly, the exorbitant profits of the con- race, thus diverting resources mulka to the document, this am- ears of CP militants genuinely slogan of the "people's anti- struction and real estate interests, otherwise usable for capital inbiguity reflects the unresolved desirous of fighting for social- monopoly coalition," - whereby to the landlords" high rents for but deadlocked relationship be- ism in their own countries and the CP in this country gives tenements, if there were enough off the colonial voke and won national independence. In addinational independence. In addi- The absolute equality of the ma- Kremlin overlords is not to fur- capitalist world. tion to these losses, the impe-tions of the Soviet bloc is pro- ther the revolutionary aspira- Elsewhere, a bid is made to claimed, but, as Orwell put it, tions of the CP cadres but to the British, French and Italian everybody's health meeds? Or Soviet affairs. If Schwartz observation is correct, then the

FBI scrutiny for stealing urani-um ore while employed as a work in relation to the Com-the Kremlin runs through the distinct of as little meaning for the Titoist bureaucracy as it does for tioners of empirical, power polities, for which theory is not a formula after a course of acjob. Their contribution to the within the Soviet bloc, such as tion has already been decided new Marxist movement in Brit- was heard at the time of the on. The document's formula ain is no less valuable than Polish defiance and Hungarian would have been just as satisthat of the smaller number of uprising, appears in the docu- factory to Tito as it was to Gomulka, if the former had not

AIMS AT STALINIZATION

Issuance of the documents the Hungarian Revolution is pass- the situation within the Soviet Parties throughout the world.

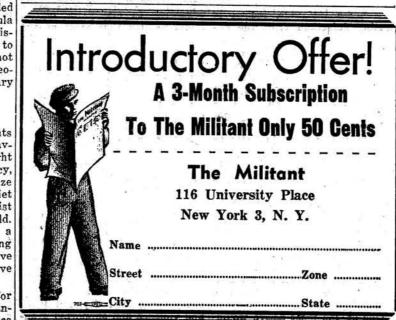
In discussing the struggle for name for unregenerate Stalin-tries, the documents introduce

learn, their insistence that every syllable in their journals shall be scrubbed till it is doc-shall be scrubbed till it is doc-shal ago. "We are sure we have the positions on the important in- The burden of the attack is, of chiefs hope that this together clude peace treaties with the right answers and the better ar- ternal and international prob- course, on the "revisionists," with the Soviet sputnik achieve- Soviet Union—a demand every CONFLICT WITH PROFITS guments. That is not the same lems that the Soviet leaders indicating that they are by far ments will reinvigorate the ca-genuine socialist would be duty thing as saying we know all have been proclaiming for some the greater danger to the re- dres of the parties in the cap- bound to support. It includes would never permit "welfare" italist countries.

tween the USSR and Poland, able on that account to win in- support to the Democratic Party decent homes for everybody? The formulation gives theoret- fluence in the mass movement. |- has been made a guiding pro- One could also ask, what would

the others, since it is "the first for arriving at a status quo "neutralist." This is done by imand mightiest Socialist power." deal with imperialism. It is for plication in a section describ-nopoly profits of the utilities if U.S. military budget, in addi-The Yugoslav delegation did this purpose that the Kremlin ing how U.S. imperialism is the government satisfied all the tion to preparing for war, serves not sign this document ostensi- has been anxious to reassert un- "threatening the national inde- demand for electric power? bly because this section was un- shakable political control over pendence of the developed cap- The greatest need the Amergain lenient treatment? conducted inside the Labor Party that has marked the post-Sputican people have yet experienced ican people PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

Khrushchev - both are practi- existence" is the "most impor- that gave the slightest sign that Slums, malnutrition and shabby tant world-wide task of the day," it might be turning to "neu-clothing were common amenus the document proclaims. This traism." What CP policy aims in the United States, the richard of the capitalist powers. As guide but a grab bag into which also is the main theme of the at ultimately, however, is a est of the capitalist powers. As one reaches for an appropriate second document, signed by the status quo deal with American the Roosevelt Administration 64 Communist parties, which imperialism.



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Monday, December 2, 1957

"Democracy" in Okinawa

One of the myths assiduously propagated by America's big-business press is that imperialism on the part of modern capitalist countries is a thing of the past. Direct colonial rule, as that of France in Algeria, is explained as a vestige of 19th Century imperialism. Though U.S. imperialism has long preferred indirect rule of its economic vassal states, it has in the past engaged in direct colonial rule and, indeed, last week furnished the world with a current example on the island of Okinawa which it looted from Japan at the end of the war.

By order of Lieutenant General James E. Moore, High Commissioner and military commander of the U.S.-occupied island, the rules of municipal government in Naha, Okinawa's capital, were revised to remove its elected mayor, Kamejiro Senaga, from office.

Making up rules as he went along, Moore decreed that henceforth anyone convicted of a felony could not hold office. This was designed to bar Senaga's reelection on Jan. 12. Senaga had been imprisoned by the Japanese militarists prior to World War II for his "anti-government activities" and he was imprisoned again by U.S. authorities in 1952 for "harboring a fugitive."

Senaga was elected by the Japanese people of this island in protest against

the national oppression which the U.S. occupation force represents. His election tor.] was hailed by organized labor in Japan

He had the backing of a United Front party composed of Communist Party ad- the October Revolution. In this herents and Socialists. But the military name was summed up the proauthorities swung their weight in the gram of an epoch - the transielection and succeeded in placing 24 pro-Americans on the 30-man assembly.

The American brass then opened a drive to get rid of Senaga. All public work in the city was brought to a standstill when the bank controlled by the U.S. authorities refused to make customary advances to the city. The Americans then loudly class. ·denounced Senaga for having brought administration of Naha to a stop.

Last June, the assembly, by a twothirds vote, decided to remove Senaga. But in new elections in August, the United Front doubled its strength in the assembly. Under the rules, this nullified the removal proceedings. Whereupon Moore changed the rules.

The American action is evoking sharp protest throughout Japan. The Socialist Party branded it an "action that denied the self-government of the Okinawans fleeting glimpse of what workand trampled on their democratic rights."

We believe that organized labor in this country ought to join in the protest.

The True Source of Corruption

Senator John L. McClellan, chief labor prober and Senatorial advocate of a national "right to slave" law, clamored against union corruption before the Arkansas Chamber of Commerce in 'Little Rock, Nov. 20. "There is a grave danger that in a few years our cherished free enterprise system will be supplanted by a racketeering, dictatorial-controlled gangsterism economy, unless some present trends can be reversed and a clean-up operation performed by corrective legislation," he said.

What McClellan is saying is that corruption in American society originates in the labor movement and that the unions are on the verge of corrupting his "cherished free enterprise system." The truth is exactly the opposite. Corruption stems from the capitalist class.

For instance, what crooked union boss or corrupt labor official could thrive if the employers didn't favor him? Business makes an extra margin of profit when workers' demands can be sold out by venal union officials.

Again, in making the "free enterprise" system work without too much scandal, all kinds of restraints have to be placed on the individual capitalists. The government has a Pure Food and Drug Act and special inspection agents to enforce it. Even so, there are plenty of unhealthy

foods and inferior drugs on the market. Then, all kinds of restraints must be applied to advertisers to prevent the more tion came into existence - counflagrant lies used to bamboozle consum- cils of working men, or soviets, ers. Even so, one has only to spend a few to give them their Russian name. hours with a television or radio set to understand the volume of corruption in the advertising racket.

There is no area of life untouched by the corrruption that flows from profitgreed. Look at the hypocritical, lying and corrupt politicians this system breeds. What is flimsier, more unsubstantial than the campaign promise of a capitalist politician? Men and women like McClellan sit in the highest representative bodies crat and revolutionary; all live ment discussion in the United Red Army: Mirror of Soviet today in the shadow of October. States are dealt with in this Society." "Theories and Pracof the land only because they know how today in the shadow of October. States are dealt with in this Society." to curry favor with the profiteers and political machines in the "free enterprise" its eruption to shake and re-Revolution must be undertaken the Soviet Screen."

No, Senator McClellan, it is not the labor movement that threatens to engulf free enterprise with community It is the free enterprise with corruption. It is the appear in the editor's introduc- letter. Included, in addition to Prof. Hyman Levy, British au- out of Bolshevism ensured "mon- country bears. capitalist class that has corrupted, either tion to a special issue of the the articles, are a chronology, there of many popular books on directly or indirectly, almost the entire labor officialdom.

The workers will have to combat the of the Bolshevik Revolution. The The articles range from a de- view, Joseph Clarke, recently corrupting influence of the capitalist class over their leadership in order to clean many socialist writers on dif-tober, 1917 to a criticism of Daily Worker and Tony Guthrie, up the labor movement. When they do, McClellan and his kind will also be swept

A Conference on America's Future In the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy Saturday, December 7 from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

OPENING SESSION, 10-11 A.M.

A. J. MUSTE, presiding. FRANK BELLO, science editor, Fortune. JACK CYPIN, social scientist and co-author of "The Robot Revolution." DR. CARL DREHER, engineer and author of the new book "Automation: What It Is, How It Works, and Who Can Use It." Dr. Dreher's paper will be read.

MORNING PANELS, 11 A.M.—1 P.M.

1. Trade Union Problems

Moderator: SIDNEY LENS, Chicago trade unionist and secretary of AFSE. Panelists: Trade unionists and labor writers including: BERT COCHRAN, FRED FINE, STEPHEN GRATTAN, TOM KERRY, RUSS NIXON and SAM POLLOCK.

2. Youth Problems

Moderator: SHELDON WEEKS, youth secretary, American Friends Service Committee, New York City.

Panelists: EARL DURHAM, national youth secretary, Communist Party; MICHAEL HAR-RINGTON, national chairman, Young Socialist League; NINA LANDAU, recent visitor to China, student at University of Wisconsin; DAVID McREYNOLDS; TONY RAMIREZ, member of F.O.R. youth group; TIM WOHL-FORTH, managing editor, Young Socialist.

3. Cultural Problems

Moderator: DR. STRINGFELLOW BARR, noted publicist and former president of St.

Panelists: JOHN DICKINSON, writer; EVE MERRIAM, poet; DR. OTTO NATHAN, economist; HARVEY SWADOS, novelist, author of "On the Line"; ROBERT WRIGHT, chairman, Social Action Committee, Union Theological

AFTERNOON PANELS, 2:30-5 P.M.

1. Socialism and Democracy

Moderator: RUSSELL JOHNSON, director of the Peace Section, New England Region, American Friends Service Committee.
Panelists: HERBERT APTHEKER, editor,

Political Affairs; DAVE DELLINGER, the Libertarian Press; FARRELL DOBBS, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party; MUR-RAY KEMPTON, newspaper columnist; JOHN L. LEWINE, educator; STEVE NELSON, chairman, Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania; DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, historian, professor at Williams College.

2. Political Action Moderator: CONRAD LYNN, civil rights at-

Panelists: JAMES ARONSON, editor, Na. tional Guardian; DR. ALBERT BLUMBERG, member of the State Committee, Communist Party of New York; JOYCE COWLEY, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York, 1957; TY-RELL WILSON, veteran socialist; MILTON ZASLOW, secretary, Committee for Socialist

CLOSING SESSION, 5-5:30 P.M. Address by A. J. MUSTE.

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Soviets--Reality and Caricature

[The following article, "The Soviets - Reality and Caricature," by George Cunvin, is reprinted from the special, Nov. , issue of Peter Fryer's The Newsletter devoted to the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. (See review, this page.) George Cunvin has been an active member of the British Labor Party for 22 years. - Edi-

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — it was no accident that this was the title given to the State which emerged from tional period between the end of capitalism and the beginnings of a new form of society - so-This transitional period was

characterized by Marxists as the "dictatorship of the proletariat"

For many years before the cialists had engaged in long academic discussions about the form about the transformation of the

Ever since Marx it has been generally accepted that this task TO THE SOVIETS' would fall to the workers as a class; but how would the workit achieved power?

Only in the Paris Commune

THE WORKERS' DIRECT MOUTHPIECES

Then came the 1905 revolution in tsarist Russia, a revolution in which the political parties of the Russian workers played the leading role. But for the task of organizing and guiding the revolution, a new type of organiza-These soviets were not politi-

cal parties or trade unions but of the Military Revolutionary

lished on the 40th anniversary ers of the Revolution.

Which Edition of Trib

articles.

ald Tribune evidently does not that the harm of fallout is well

know what the European edition within tolerable limits' seems to

global poll by the paper's 'World that government officials and

Poll' as written by its director, scientists have contradicted each

Elmo Wilson. Charts and an other on this matter has the av-

swers in both editions told that erage man on the anxious seat.

great numbers of people every- Many reputable scientists have

where, the great majority, fear- said with very little qualification

ed the results of H-bomb test that H-bomb testing is dangerous

fallout to unborn generations. in the extreme. . . "

"The past week end both edi- of those polled."

ry,' was eliminated.

tions about radiation. . . '

The fact that many experts. .

have gone on record as saving

have no effect on the thinking

"In the Paris edition: 'The fact

Are We to Believe?

explosions are endangering the

director of the poll, Elmo Wil-

son, railed against the fact that

so many people rejected the con-

tention of U.S. government "ex-

perts" that the H-tests do not con

stitute a hazard. He bitterly com-

plained that "educated" people

are as concerned as "laborers"

However, Mr. Wilson and the

Herald Tribune editors apparent-

ly felt that this view of the poll

would not sit well with the read-

ers of their European edition.

This is effectively demonstrated

in a letter to the New York

Post Nov. 20. The writer, Allen

Klein, contrasts the version of

Wilson's article that appeared

in the New York edition of the

Following is the text of Mr.

Klein's letter, which appeared

under the caption, "Which Trib

is doing and vice versa.

"The U.S. edition of the Her-

tions ran an article based on a

Herald Tribune with the one ap-

about the danger.

pearing in Paris.

do You Read?"

British



LENIN

tives of the workers at the point of production.

They were the direct mouthshop bench or the coal face, in daily contact with their work-

With the March 1917 revo-Russian Revolution of 1917, so- lution, soviets once again, emerged spontaneously as the expression of the workers' will. Soviets of government which would bring of workers' deputies, soviets of peasants and of soldiers.

Right from the start the soviets constituted a challenge to ing class organize its State when the power of the Provisional Government. Lenin recognized that here was the embryonic of 1871 did the world catch a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class had itself created the organs through which it would exercise

> "All power to the soviets" became the slogan of the Bolsheviks and this was the program which gave it victory in November 1917.

> That victory would have been impossible without the soviets. They welded the alliance of the the exploiters. They played a central role in

shape the world, to topple rul- by anyone seriously interested Problems of Kolkhoz Agricul-

the civil war; helped the work

raw materials, supplies. Above all, the soviets develop-

ed the initiative and creative ist empire. abilities of the people.

REALITY DURING FIRST YEARS

constitution of the young Soviet ly, if he no longer represented Republic stated that "Russia de- the views of those who elected clares itself to be a republic of him, he could be, and frequentworkers', soldiers' and peasants' ly was, recalled. delegates. All power, both central and local, is vested in these and the disappearance of freesoviets" it meant exactly what dom of discussion and the right

their "ABC of Communism":

pieces of the men at the work- masses of the people, the work- soviets. The right of recall reers and poor peasants, come to mained only on paper. participate in the joint labors of The original constitution of which, in plain English, simply mates, and to respond instantions of a the factory committees. This is Soviet Republic states: "The Allrapidly changing political situa- going on everywhere. In the Russian Congress of Soviets is people who never did anything must meet at least twice a year." of the kind before are now ac- It did so even during the perilbuilding of a new life. In this all power this clause became way the soviet power secures dead letter. the widest self-government for the various localities and at the SOVIET REPUBLIC same time summons the broad WITHOUT SOVIETS masses of the people to participate in the work of government." Union during that period confirm this graphic picture of a genuine and developing workers' democracy in action.

But even then the germs of degeneration were at work. At the best it was no easy task to transform "every cook into an administrator" (Lenin).

The flower of the Russian working class had been decimated in the civil war. Its vanguard paratus became more and more - the finest in the world was swamped in a sea of backwardness and illiteracy. This was workers and peasants against fertile soil for the rising bureaucracy to sink its roots into.

REVOLUTION ISOLATED

Only the extension of revoluconsisted of elected representa- Committee; mobilized the draft- tion to the advanced industrial

The Record of Forty Years "Bourgeois and proletarian, it is. The fact that many of How the Bureaucracy Arose." white man and African, intel- the fundamental problems, in, "The Bolshevik Resistance to lectual and Philistine, bureau- volved in the present regroup- Stalinism (1923 - 1928)." It dominates our time like a symposium reveals anew that a tice of Soviet Psychologists." volcano destined yet again by critical study of the Russian "Heroes, Cult and Spectacle on

independent socialist a suggested reading list and science and dialectical materialweekly, The Newsletter, pub- "Who's Who" sketches of lead- ism, Joseph Hansen, editor of

issue contains special features scription of how the Bolsheviks resigned from the foreign ediand 25 separate articles by as took power in Petrograd in Oc- tor's desk of the New York ferent aspects of the Russian present-day Soviet architecture. "the name under which a pro-In these articles the Revolu-tion emerges as the living force Bolshevik Party." "Why and The artic

Last week we reported that a world poll sponsored Sztalinvaros against the anniby the New York Herald Tribune found that almost 60% hilation of Rajk, are seen as the of the people throughout the world believe that H-bomb weaknesses of little men who do not know that people rise health of future generations. Re- Beyond that it seemed that two above defeats, renew their illusions, but the truth.

"The cult of the individual "In the New York edition: is based on the self-cult of All over the world tremendous many individuals forming an numbers of people believe, in elite, guardians of arcane sespite of expert opinion to the contrary, that continued H-bomb crets, directors of the people's will, builders of socialism, yet unborn.' In the Paris edition, guiders of the arts and sciences, the phrase, 'in spite of expert tions." and recipients of higher rascientific opinion to the contra-

"In the New York edition: 'The olution was presented in 1917 to attitude of the majority is plain- the readers of the Yorkshire ly a reflection of misinforma-Post — whose "readership of tion.' In the Paris edition: 'The Yorkshire business men need attitude of the majority is not somehow to get some facts a reflection of ignorance, misabout the world, and yet keep information or hysteria.' Miss- their illusions intact."

ing from the overseas paper was The optimism for the socialist the domestic sentence, 'It is well future of humanity, expressed to remember, though, that even in this issue of The Newsletter, educated people have misconcep- flows from a critical study of the Bolshevik Revolution-with "In the New York edition: no illusions needed.

- Fred Halstead

1917 - 1957 A special edition of Peter

Fryer's The Newsletter honoring the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. 40 pages

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ees; conducted a struggle against | countries of the West could have deserters; collected foodstuffs, stopped the process. But the Revolution was confined within the frontiers of the former tsar-

With the rise of the bureaucracy the role of the soviets be-

gan to decline. In the early soviets the right of recall was fun-In the first years of the Revo- damental to the proper functionlution, soviet democracy was a ing of soviet democracy. If a real and living thing. When the delegate fulfilled his duties bad-

With the advent of Stalinism to criticize in the Communist In 1922, Bukharin and Preo- Party and in the trade unions, brazhensky could still write in only those who found favor with the all-powerful secretariat "To an ever greater extent the could hope to be elected to the

the soviets, the trade unions, and the Russian Socialist Federative country towns and in the villages the supreme authority. . . and

tively participating in the work ous days of Civil War! But after of administration and in the the general secretary usurped

Years passed - and wha years - without the soviets be Many visitors to the Soviet ing summoned, until finally they were replaced, in the Stalin Constitution of 1936, with a spurious form of parliamentarism. Today the Soviet Union can truly be described as a soviet republic without soviets.

In the early days the best worker-delegates to the soviets were drawn into the task of administering the State. Stalinism, the administrative apseparated from the people and transformed into an instrument of the ruling caste. The Soviet State, as it emerg-

ed from October, was the ideal instrument for translating into practice Engels' vision of the State "withering away." But this required that the material conditions for the expansion of culture should be to hand.

In the conditions prevailing in Russia at the end of the civil war this was impossible. Within limits the rise of a bureaucracy viet democracy could have exerbureaucracy and prevented its facts speak for themselves. worst excesses. It was precisely because soviet democracy threat- grips with the bureaucracy, the ened its privileges that the bureaucracy had to crush the so- re-establish these organs of



TROTSKY, WAR MINISTER-1923

olithic unity" in the soviets. Only the caricature remained.

HUNGARIAN EVENTS

Today we still talk and write of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics even though the traditional forms of soviet rule have long disappeared. Recent events in Hungary once again demonstrated that in a revolutionary situation the working class intuitively throws up workers' councils as instruments of struggle and for wielding power after victory.

The soviet form of government is, so far, the only one which has proved capable of abolishing capitalism and laying the

foundations of a socialist society. Half a century of parliamentary socialism in Scandinavia has left capitalism practically intact, complete with monarchy and the rule of finance-capital. Within a week of the establishment of was inevitable, but a healthy so- soviet power, capitalism disappeared from the Russian scene. cised effective control over the never to return. These historic

When they finally come to Russian workers will no doubt working class democracy which The same ruthless terror which served them so well in three revosmashed the opposition in the lutions, and will once again give CPSU and tore the living heart reality to the proud name their

World Events

TESTING - ONE, TWO - government which is friendly to Revolution from 1917 to the A partial list of titles: "Hon- minent member of the British TESTING! The U.S. govern- the Soviet Union." est, Realistic, Disciplined, Dem- Communist Party writes for the ment quietly paid \$600,000 into a fund for rural development in Egypt and released 25% of head on. An example of the results is this quote from Robert Hunter's article on purges and Invest. frame-up trials: "Before a policy of principle, all the torturing applications of principles and Journal, Nov. 21, reports that U.S. diplomats "will closely income applications of purges and Journal, Nov. 21, reports that it is a policy of principle, all the torturing applications of purges and Journal, Nov. 21, reports that it is a policy of principle, all the torturing applications of purges and Journal, Nov. 21, reports that it is a policy of principle, all the torturing applications of purges and policy of principle, all the torturing applications of purges and policy of principle, all the torturing applications of purges and purges ing explanations why Magnito-gorsk should be balanced against if it will be received "as a sign of U.S. friendship."

AT LEAST 90% OF THE CUBAN POPULATION supports, in one way or another, porting this finding Nov. 17, the different people had written both hopes, and above all need, not the armed rebellion led by Fidel Castro against dictator Batista, according to an on-the-spot report in the New York Herald GENERAL STRIKE of a mil-Tribune of Nov. 24 and 25. The lion civil service workers, the rebel army is only 2,000 strong, government has moved to put but "for anyone to rout them from the mountains would re- der military discipline. (In quire a full-scale operation such France railroads, buses, as the United States used in most utilities are nationalized.) Okinawa in World War II. Noth- French workers are expected to ing short of that could drive raise a "howl of protest," says Another article tells, through them out." (Batista has no visi- the Christian Science Monitor. extensive quotes, how the Rev- ble capacity to employ a similar fire power in Cuba.)

> strike was followed by a walk- nations. out of postal and telegraph workers. Then a large group of shipyard workers struck. The government has turned a deaf ear to these workers who are for the most part employed in nationalized industry. The Harbor Workers Union is threaten ing a new strike and an appeal for a general strike to compel the government to negotiate. The leadership of many of the striking workers has been reported as Trotskyist. On the other hand, the Associated Press, Nov. 25, reports that the Communist Party has "been trying to hold down the strike move ment lest it topple Ceylon's

TUNISIA'S PURCHASE OF ARMS from the United States and Britain has caused a rift between France and her imperialist allies. Tunisia announced she would buy arms for her small army on the open market after France had stopped shipments because of Tunisian sympathy with the Algerian revolution. Rather than have Tunisia buy guns from Egypt or the Soviet block, the U.S. and Britain sold her about 1,000 small arms Nov. 14 in spite of French protests.

AFTER THE NOV. FRENCH workers back on their jobs un-

INDONESIA'S request to negotiate with the Netherlands CEYLONESE WORKERS are over the fate of Western New engaged in a new, militant Guinea (which is still under round of strikes. Last week, a Dutch domination) has received three - day shipping workers' backing in the UN from most strike and railway workers' of the Asian-African bloc of

Buffalo

MILITANT FORUM "Is the Cold War Getting Hotter?"

Hear:

MURRY WEISS Associate Editor, the Militant

Sun., Dec. 8 - 7:30 P.M. 831 Main Street

Thus the famous Louisville 27, 1954, the house was half- Braden case. power to press forward to

THE TROUBLE BEGAN 18,000 new homes had been

Case has ended. In their heroic three-year struggle the Wades, the Bradens and their friends successfully fought off the frame-up directed against them frame-up directed against them Wades were widely known. The Wades finally gained with supremacists. But under the cirsupremacists. But under the circumstances, it was beyond their eral weeks a state Grand Jury gages and repaired it. In ancumstances, it was beyond their began an investigation which nouncing that they had sold the achieve their original aim—
namely, to win for the Wades
the right to live wherever they

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accused the properties and the properties are the properties and the properties and the properties are the proper and unused "sedition", law. The police will provide adequate pro-

built for whites but only 300 trial on the bombing charge but who have jurisdiction over the for Negroes.) They sought help the prosecution ignored the suburb, have failed to this day from Carl and Anne Braden, a bombing and tried Carl Braden to arrest or convict the dywhite newspaperman and his for "sedition." Braden, who had namiters.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew E. Wade

IV announced, Nov. 18, that they have sold their home in a Louisville, Ky. suburb because they

and got it from many Louisland g and their two children cannot count on adequate police protection against racists. The fam- Among these were three white Braden's conviction was reversed ily will continue to live in the trade unionists: Vernon Bown, in the higher courts and the oth-Louisville ghetto for Negroes.

Three weeks earlier, the frameup case against Carl Braden was Rue Spiker, a shop steward in erties Committee and many libofficially closed with the return the Grain Millers Union. An- eral, labor and church groups officially closed with the return other who helped was Louise participated in a nationwide de-to Braden of books and letters other who helped was Louise participated in a nationwide de-ceized in 1954 as "evidence" other who helped was Louise participated in a nationwide de-Just after midnight on June rulings resulted from the Wade-

for daring to challenge the white was turned into an attack on house, the Wades said they have

Bradens, Lubka, Spiker, Gilbert tection to her and our two little The case began in 1954 when and Bown's 79-year-old room girls. . It is a miracle that the Wades were unable to find mate, I. O. Ford, were also in she did not lose our youngest a suitable house. (In ten years dicted on "sedition" charges. child when the house was blown Bown demanded immediate up before." The county police,

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, DEC. 2, 1957

Dr. Otto Nathan Wins Acquittal

They Faced Racist Terror

VOLUME XXI



ANDREW WADE IV, CHARLOTTE WADE, and their daughters. After a three-year struggle to live in a Louisville suburb - during which they and their friends faced bombings and frame-ups - they have sold their house to protect their children from violence. (See story, this page.)

Letters from Readers

I believe in a higher power, ing and laying off to reduce

Noted Educator Tells Militant Why He Risked Jail to Defy House Committee

NEW YORK, Nov. 25 — This afternoon I sat with Dr. Otto Nathan in his study discussing the victory that he has just scored for civil liberties - the reversal last Friday of his conviction for contempt of Congress, a conviction that might have car-

ried a one-year prisono term with it.

Every available inch of space n his study is crammed from loor to ceiling with well worn books. On the wall over his desk is a photograph of the late Albert Einstein. Otto Nathan was his close friend and is the executor of his estate. He is a noted professor of economics who has taught in the major universities here and abroad. Seated in his study, a soft-spoken, courteous man, he seems to fit completely the tra-

ditional picture of the scholar. But Otto Nathan is as much a courageous man of action as he is a man of ideas. This became quickly apparent as he explained why and how he deliberately risked imprisonment to defy the witch-hunting House

Un-American Activities Commit-

some of the problems that we tee.

Down here they run circles hir- WON PASSPORT For want of a better name, call union strength on the job. I the House Committee on June tion as guaranteed by the First DISTURBING STATEMENT it God. But I never felt led to have seen at times nine out of 12, 1956. It was then "investi- Amendment. join a church and I never fit in 23 men in a department that gating" what it termed fraudu- This angered the witch hunt-

cent housing, food or clothes. off. Also, it costs nothing to man Communist Party. When recalled with a chuckle, "but I than the Fifth Amendment. While The churches also help educate hire and lay off because it is the Circuit Court upheld Dr. Napeople to conformity. That is chargeable as operational ex- than, the State Department took hands." to think alike and think what penses for learners. So they get the case to the Court of Apyou're told. I've been out get-credit on their income tax and peals which ruled that he was entitled to a quasi-judicial hearon integration. The radio is very would apply. Rather than do so, they must have got cold feet on open on reporting the news now, the State Department quickly the point, because when the cieven the local station not in the granted Dr. Nathan his pass-tation and indictment were

Committee inquisitors.

Milwaukee

Chicago

Detroit

Oakland

Boston

Newark

Seattle

St. Louis

General

Youngstown

Twin Cities

Los Angeles

New York

Philadelphia

San Francisco

Totals through Nov. 27

DR. OTTO NATHAN

violated his Constitutional right judgment for that of the Su-Dr. Nathan was haled before of the free speech and associa- preme Court."

one either. They haven't done were on their trial period, and lent securing and use of pass- ers. But they went into a com- "It is highly disturbing," he anything except help keep the always a few days before their ports by "subversive elements." plete rage when Dr. Nathan repeople in ignorance. They speak trial period was up they were Dr. Nathan had won a passport fused to permit them to examport to those who want to take against slums and war but nev- laid off and a new person was in 1955 after a 21/2-year fight. ine his hard-won passport. "I er do anything about it. In- hired the next week. They save The State Department had de- told them that I would be glad the Wakins decision." stead they preach pie in the money that way by working nied his application, claiming, to read its contents to them sky-Thank God for what you men on the minimum wage, and among other charges, that he and some one could look over haven't got in the way of de- they have less vacation to pay had been a member of the Ger- my shoulder while I read it," he had invoked the First rather

> CITED FOR USING RIGHT "That was when they moved

Amendment." They asked him if he was The motion to cite Dr. Nathan

then or had ever been a mem- for contempt of Congress was ber of the Communist Party and adopted by unanimous vote of if he had sworn falsely on his the House of Representatives. friends advised me to. But that It is my belief that the so- passport application that he was Last April, Federal District was out of the question for me.

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1,191

2,777.25

2,500.90

165

259.00

180.00

12.00

157.85

\$13,357

250

40

same Judge Curran who was compelled to reverse his decision last week.

Curran "reluctantly" granted motion for acquittal on the basis of the Supreme Court decision of last June in the Watkins case which, he conceded, would apply in Dr. Nathan's case Watkins, a UAW organizer, had also been convicted of contempt of Congress after invoking the First Amendment against the House Committee. The high court ruled he had not been properly advised by the committee as to the purpose of its investigation and the pertinency

to answer. Bitterly assailing the Supreme Court stand, Judge Curran branded it "wrong" and "false" and declared he was directing questions Dr. Nathan refused to the acquittal of Dr. Nathan only reply on the grounds that they because "I cannot substitute my

of the questions he had refused

What do you think of Curran's answered quietly. "It lengs suplegislative action to counteract

Returning to the hearing itself, I asked Dr. Nathan why forded a limited measure of protection to First - Amendment witnesses at Congressional committee hearings, it upheld the penalizing of such witnesses at that time. On the other hand port. This was sufficient to make handed down they were based him a target for the House only on my invoking the First tablished by the Fifth Amendment had been pretty well established by the Figure 1.

McCarthyite smear against those who invoked it. "No, I couldn't do that," Dr. Nathan said, "Some of my called Workers Councils in Hun- not a member of the Communist Judge Edward Curran found him I had made up my mind long gary were not composed in the Party. To these and similar guilty as charged. It was the before that if I was ever subpoenaed I would use the First. It's the best way to fight for ment gives self-protection against these committees and strengthens civil liberties in that it makes things more difficult for the witch-hunters and paralyzes their investigations. But when you invoke the First

> and association." "Yes, it's true," he continued. "There were only adverse decisions up till then on the use of the First. The Hollywood Ten, Josephson, the Barski group and others went to jail for using it. It was likely that it would mean jail for me, too. But what could I do?"

Amendment, you are clearly

posing the right of free speech

CLEAR-CUT RULING NEEDED

How do you feel about it now? Do you consider the decision in your case a complete victory, I asked. "Certainly, every defeat of the Un-American Committee is a victory," he replied, "And I'm relieved it's over with. But I cannot consider it a full victory until we have a clear-cut decision enforcing unqualified rights under the First Amendment."

Have you suffered professionally as a result of your opposition to the witch hunt, I asked this 64-year-old fighter for civil spoken proponent of Marxist

"Yes," he said, "I have faced

paign just launched by the Emergency Civil Liberties Comtion from friends. Support like tion they have been wanting to this for the socialist press has been very gratifying and helps here very gratifying and helps here is no het. been very gratifying and helps New York 3. There is no bet- its campaign to abolish the com-

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out-of-work people have to face.

ting subscriptions for the Mili- get the work done too. tant. Hope they have come in Arkansas is the hot spot now ing where the rules of evidence to cite me for contempt, But

H. J.

I am forwarding letters to Disagrees With Us you from a friend in Mississippi.

R. C.

From Mississippi

berg-Sobell witchhunt.

on our stolen secrets?

the citizens?

a new South.

Council speaking through Mis-

sissippi favoring the segrega-

tionists and fighting the

his work is not un-American?

Sorry you are experiencing

Calendar

Of Events

New York

Sunday, Dec. 8, 8 P.M. - "In-

flation and other Current Prob-

lems of U.S. Capitalism." Speak-

er: David Miller, 116 University

Place (near Union Square). Aus-

pices: Militant Labor Forum.

Chicago Friday, Dec. 6., 8:15 P.M. -

Hear Howard Packer on "Sput-

nik, Science and Socialism." Mili-

tant Labor Forum, 777 West

Contribution 50c.

(The letters follow. - Ed.)

majority of class conscious worklife as always has its com- ers, but of Roman Catholics in sympathy with the Vatican and tions and drawbacks and if we stop and look we can al- therefore opposed to the curways find something that needs rent government which was then being done. If we had a real Communist. This belief is based labor leader now, we could let on the fact that the chief suploose a barrage on the Rosen- porters of the enemies of Communnism in our country were Since we have such a wonder- Roman Catholics or McCarthyful counter-spy ring (the best ites. The Militant advertises in the world) just how did the that rebellion in Hungary as a Soviet Union get so far ahead revolution, which was an error, as it was a counter-revolution. Doing that was playing into the I see where old Senator Martin Dies is heading a citizens hands of capitalism.

Joseph Manlet Cleveland, Ohio

NAACP. I'd like to know why Letter to Faubus

Did you see that the Grand Editor:

Dragon of the KKK in Mobile, Following is the text of a let-Ala., has resigned because he ter that I wrote to Gov. Faubus can't get enough support from of Arkansas:

"You may be a hero to a few The articles in the Militant Ku Klux bigots and white suon the Southern moderates were premacists desirous of retardwonderful. If only they were ing education for both white more widely read and circulated and colored children for the purby more people in the South. pose of furnishing a source of A party to fight the States cheap labor in your "Right to Righters already has the po-Work (scab) Law" Southern tential following that would states.

swallow both parties in the But the fact is, this sordid desouth. Just kill the poll tax and bacle of using bayonets to stop register the Negro and you have American children from entering class rooms in Little Rock Damp weather has me down has jeopardized the "already now but I am still much better shaken" integrity of the United and much encouraged by events. States far more throughout the world than the ridiculous antics political opportunist, the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

> Chester M. Cadle Cleveland, Ohio

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 American Forum -For Socialist Education

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2 More Cities Reach Goal; Fund at \$13,357 By Constance Farr

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National Campaign Director

Two more branches have hit 100% since last week's scoreboard of the Press and Publications Fund. "As I pre-liberties who is also a life-long of that other demagogue and viously told you," writes the Buffalo campaign director, independent socialist and out-"I was certain that Buffalo would 9come through before the dead- uted \$50, so far, in the Twin theory.

line. We did have to scrape the Cities."

the Twin Cities fund drive di- December 15th. rector: "You can count on the Twin Cities for 100% on Deconsiderably to meet the financial needs of the Publications ter way to show your support of mittee. It's extremely necessary Program. Friends have contrib- eur publications program.

bottom of the barrel and do a However, in spite of these en- grave professional difficulties. lot of maneuvering, but it sure couraging demonstrations of sup- Usually it's not something that is a great satisfaction to know port to the fund for the publi- you can pin down. A contract that we could do it again." Con- cation of out-of-print works by with a university expires. You sidering the lay-offs and the Leon Trotsky, as well as other have a good record, but the conhardships of illness in this area, socialist and Marxist publica- tract isn't renewed. Sometimes it is certainly a great achieve- tions, the fact is that with only they tell you frankly why, but ment on the part of this indus- a few days to December first, even when they don't you know

the total of \$18,111 has not been that it's because of your po-In addition the steel center, reached. Therefore, in deference litical opinions. Youngstown, reached its final to the requests from several As we wound up the intergoal before the finish. And we branches for more time, the view, I asked Dr. Nathan how are encouraged by a letter from deadline has been extended to he felt about the national cam-We want especially to urge readers of The Militant to take mittee to get Congress to abolcember 1st. Last week, we received a \$2 and a \$10 contribu-

for civil liberties."

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