Ceylonese Trotskyist Visits USSR

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Vol. XXII --- No. 48

THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1958

30th Anniversary

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The Militant and Struggle For Socialist America

An Editorial

The aim of the Militant from its first issue, Nov. 15, 1928, has been to help build a party in America capable of organizing the working class for winning state power. Our goal is a Socialist America.

Throughout the years, we have voiced the conviction that the workers' struggle for power in America is not a perspective of a hazy and distant future but a realistic program of our epoch.

The Militant did not put this conviction forward as dogma, but as a conclusion lodged in the analysis of American

position, which based itself on the outlook |QFL resoluton declared that the of the Communist International in the days when Lenin and Trotsky stood at its Quebec "constitutes a really head. To Lenin and to revolutionary socialists everywhere, the significance of the Russian Revolution was that it began a which the economic earnings they held, could build a harmonious society — socialism — by its own forces, least of all economically backward Russia.

Speeds Victory

committee to begin the preliminary work for the formation of what in effect would be a labor party. 'URGENT NEED' According to the Nov. 22 Toronto Globe and Mail, the creation of a people's party in urgent need for the great majority of the citizens and par-

ticularly of the labor class of ever threatened by unrealistic provincial action."



Two dynamite explosions wrecked this Junior High School in Osage, West Virginia, last month. Although this school was integrated five years ago, its bombing forms a pattern with the dynamiting of more recently desegregated schools by racists in the South.

N.Y., N.J. Farm Operators Russian Revolution was that it **began** a world struggle for socialism. No country, and the right of association are

The Workers Defense League has made public the The resolution further stated, shocking story of the exploitation of workers from the "It is imperative to initiate in West Indies by big farm operators in the New York-New

the Province of Quebec a Jersey area. Vera Rony, Exec-movement with a program, utive Secretary of the WDL, on less workers can best be seen in the housing picture. Describ-[which] although in accord with the one to be adopted by Nov. 17 issued a news release in the housing picture. Describexposing the methods by which ing the situation at Tice Farms

Divided on Other Issues, **Democrats Unite Against 'Pinchpenny'** Armament

With no deal as yet worked out among themselves on such issues as civil rights, social welfare and union-control legislation, the disparate elements of the Democratic Party have united in denouncing Eisenhower's forthcoming arms budget as so skimpy that it endangers the U.S. Ironically enough, Eisenhower's statements on the 1959-60 budget propose no cut in military



(Tex.), chairman of the House By Gordon Bailey Appropriations subcommittee on As a result of the post-war the defense budget, declared it boom there has been much Chamber of Commerce oratory \$42 billion because of the "very must rise to a "minimum" of to the effect that poverty has great" danger of war. Typical been practically wiped out in of the liberal Democrats' prop-America and that the "one third aganda is the cartoon series beof the nation . . . ill-housed, ll-clad, ill-nourished" of the ington Post, N.Y. Post, etc.) de-1930's are now enjoying adepicting the Eisenhower adminquate living standards.

istration as pinchpenny and In an article in the Nov. 17 cheeseparing on vital defense New Republic, Helen Hill Milneeds. The labor bureaucracy ler punctures this myth. Some is in on the campaign. The legof the under-privileged workers islative program issued by the of the thirties have moved up, AFL - CIO Executive Council he writes, but other segments cries in pretended alarm: of the population are taking "America's security is too imtheir place at the bottom of the portant a matter to be determined solely by bookkeepers. If economic pyramid; and their chance of moving up is less today than it was 20 years ago. INFLATION

can never be a question of how much defense can we afford but can we afford to have anything Apologists for capitalism point less than an adequate defense." to rising incomes as proof of To portray Eisenhower, the greater prosperity for all. They greatest military spender in boast that whereas 30 million history, starving the armed

But Democratic politicians

ing done by Herblock (Wash-

and world capitalism at the time of the Militant's founding. And we drew this conclusion anew from the analysis of the subsequent course of the class struggle here and internationally.

Fateful Controversy

The Militant originated in the controversy inside the international Communist movement over the historic significance of the Russian Reolution and the perspectives of the Soviet State. This dispute, had world-wide implications. It concerned the fate of the struggle for socialism in the USSR and everywhere else throughout the world.

The Militant defended the Trotskyist

New York Hear William F. Warde Chairman, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party "Perspective for United Socialist Political Action" (Including an account of developments in the California socialist movement)

REPORT ON **CLEVELAND CONFERENCE** OF AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

Murry Weiss

Writer, the Militant and State Committee Member Independent-Socialist Party

Chairman:

Daniel Roberts Editor, the Militant

Friday, Dec. 5 – 8 P.M. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contribution \$1.00 Auspices:

THE MILITANT In celebration of its 30th Anniversary

What they did believe was that the with the one to be adopted by inspiration of the Russian Revolution, the the national organization on confirmation the revolution provided of the correctness of the Marxist program, problems which are of particuthe weakening of world capitalism it lar importance to the people of brought about, and the material aid that a our province on matters such workers' state could extend to working as fiscal policy, education and people in other countries - all these would enormously speed the revolutionary process in the rest of the world.

Then, on the basis of workers' states in the industrially advanced countries collaborating with the economically retarded areas of the world, a world order of plenty, peace and freedom could and of police intimidation of unionwould be constructed.

Thus the aim of the Communist Inter- at Seven Rivers where 40 ponational in Lenin's time was to extend the licemen were sent to ride herd became a significant factor, the initial working-class victory to all other countries of the world. The central task of revolutionary socialists in each coun- labor in Quebec was not only when the wages were pushed the men told us that they had try — America included — was to pro- the logical outcome of labor's down to the current level." mote the struggle for socialism in their own country. That meant, in the first now the very condition for orplace, to help develop the political struggles of the working people against all capitalist parties and against the capitalist state.

Battle for **Program**

This has been the program of the Militant for America during the past 30 clared: "In 1945, two out of five years. We counterposed it to the program of the city's (Berlin's) dwellings capitalist powers feared that his though it lay completely in the plied with the creation of the many. This includes "reunificaof the American labor bureaucrats who were uninhabitable because of downfall would be the signal Eastern sector. This has meant equally "sovereign" seek to tie the labor movement to the the vengeance that Adolph Hit- for a revolutionary uprising of that the Western powers have Democratic Republic. continued rule of Big Business. In the ler had brought down on the the German workers. This fear had access to the city only name of this program, we fought the "State Department socialists" - the social-democratic drummer boys for Wall vides a clue as to why the Street's crusade against the Soviet Union American government is ready and the revolutionary socialist movement to risk war to keep Germany all over the world.

And we also combatted the Commu- and other German cities at the nist Party's policies of "coalition" - that end of World War II were no is, of class collaboration - as exempli- more motivated by a desire fied in its support of the Democratic for "vengeance" on Hitler than claimed over 200,000 lives. Party.

and program of the international Commu- now represents. nist movement. When Stalinism over- KEY TO SOCIALISM threw Leninism, the goals of the movement were changed. The aim of the Germany was internationally (Continued on Page 3)

matters within federal jurisdiction would take into account others."

Delegates at the convention bitterly assailed the provincial administration of Premier Duplessis. Delegate Roger Bedard

on 25 strikers. The Steel Workers' delegate to \$1.25 and many Puerto Rican economic action but that it was **HOUSING**

corporation farm interests util- in Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey, ize the peculiar immigration the WDL news release says, status of the West Indians to ". . . the picture of desolation hire them for sub-standard begins with the setting of the wages and working conditions. camp. The cottages are sur-In her news release Vera rounded by garbage dumps of Rony writes, "This is how the all kinds, including piles of in- risen from 200% to 300% in job is done in Bergen-Rockland flammable junk, which consti-County where Ed Mitchell, an tutes a serious fire hazard. with \$500 income in 1936 could organizer for the National Ag- There is no running water in ricultural Workers Union, ac- any of the living quarters companied me on a field inves- privies and water facilities are

of the United Steel Workers of tigation: Throughout this area located several hundred feet America charged that the right the prevailing agricultural wage away from the cottages. The of association was not respected is now 80c an hour, because only facilities in the kitchen in Quebec. He pointed to cases growers have been able to force are two old kerosene stoves this wage on the British West no water, no utensils, no decent ists, such as the truckers' strike Indians. Labor officials report that before this foreign influx October two kitchen windows cency is \$42 a week, or \$2,184 prevailing rate ranged from 80c freezing cold.

said that political action by workers quit their farm jobs supplied in the cottages, and single persons but families includes nothing on civil rights. turned on the light bulb overhead at night for heat. In one tee for Research in Social Eco-

Vera Rony says the arrival of cottage 14 men slept in a room nomics at the University of these undefended and standard-



By Harry Ring

Discussing the current East-West Berlin crisis, a Nov. 23 New York Times editorial dedoomed capital." The statement is a falsifica-

tion of history, one that prodivided and occupied. The massive Allied bombings of Berlin

is the present stand in Berlin The American CP's course originated by a desire to preserve "the instinct toward freedom" which

command's decision for saturation bombings of working-

The continuing subjugation parties across the globe. of the German workers remain-

Prior to Hitler's rise to power, bureaucracy under Stalin.

At the 1945 Potsdam confer-

class was the best organized Great Britain, France and the was broken by a year-long KHRUSHCHEV PLAN and most politically advanced. U.S., the Western. It was also U.S.-British airlift. In 1949, the When Hitler's power began agreed that Berlin, then the Western powers established the viewed as the first step toward to crumble toward the end of capital, would also be carved "sovereign" West German Fed- the realization of Khrushchev's World War II, the Western into four occupation zones even eral Republic and the USSR re- broader perspective for Ger-

COLLECTIVE GUILT

border of the Soviet-bloc coun-This reactionary division of tries. Organized as part of class districts in Berlin and the industrial heart of Europe NATO, there are today over in the East. Such reunification other key cities. An eyewitness was justified at the time by the 400,000 troops garrisoned in account by a Swiss journalist invidious propaganda myth of West Germany. Almost half are withdrawal of all occupation of such a bombing of Hamburg the "collective guilt" of the en- U.S. ground and air forces and in 1945 provides a detailed pic- tire German people for Nazism 130,000 are West German solture of how the workers' sec- and for the war. Here too, the diers equipped by the U.S. In

into a blazing inferno that istic chorus were those of the tains a force estimated at 400,-

tion of that city was turned loudest voices in the chauvin- East Germany, the USSR main-

Kremlin and of the Communist 000

The present Soviet moves are But with the development of designed to cope with the ever-

ed a guiding principle for the the imperialist perspective of present military threat that this East German government. In in the Stalinist perversion of the outlook the Times declares West Berlin imperialist powers at the close eventual war against the Soviet mobilization of forces represents. essence, this stand is a refusal of the war. And their plans for Union, occupied Germany quick- The Soviet government's appar- to "recognize" the Soviet-type ensuring that subjugation had ly became a staging ground of ent intention is to withdraw its property forms in East Gerthe support of the Kremlin the cold war, and the "con- 4,000 troops from East Berlin many.

American and all other Communist par- regarded by capitalists and ence, Stalin agreed with Tru- anti-Soviet mobilization and the over to the East German re- portraying the current Soviet ties became exclusively that of aiding in socialists alike as the key to man and British Labor Prime inevitable counter-mobilization. gime. By this tactic the Krem- moves as menacing and warlike building "socialism" in Russia. The strug-ism. It possessed the most de-many into four spheres of mili-dam had vanished. The first big gle for socialism was sacrificed in every veloped industrial machine in tary occupation, with the USSR crisis came with the Soviet Democratic Republic from the prediction was heavily disall Europe, and its working occupying the Eastern zone and blockade of West Berlin that Western powers.

families e earned less tha forces, the Democrats (assisted a year in 1936, only 7.3 million by the never-satisfied brass hats families received less than this and munitions makers and their today. But 20 years of inflation influence on the press) are makcancels out the improved living ing a great outcry over a comstandard these statistics might ing reduction of military persuggest. The price level has sonnel by 70,000. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the last two decades. A family boss of the Senate, appears un-

buy as much as a family with \$2,000 today. We can get a clearer picture of present living standards by aking U.S. Department of Health statistics. According to that agency, the minimum income needed to maintain a tables or chairs. At the end of single adult in health and de- their fight to abolish the filiwere missing, leaving the room a year. The seven million family units receiving less than this

iest, problem is to get the Northern liberals to compromise buster into a mere mitigation of Rule 22. It is ominous that, like Johnson's own "program," "No heat of any kind was minimum include not only the AFL-CIO's 10-point program with two, three or more people. Also noteworthy is the fulsome In 1956, the Heller Commit- praise recently given Johnson by Sen. Proxmire (Wis.), allegedly one of the "best" Demo-

ruffled by the "liberal sweep"

in the recent elections. His as-

surances that this 86th Con-

gress will be "prudent" betok-

en ill for social welfare and

unemployment legislation. His

immediate, and probably thorn-

cratic liberals.

This bid for recognition is German tion" of Germany through "confederation" of the East and

West German regimes with The massing of forces has capitalist property relations to continued along this decisive be preserved in the West and nationalized property relations is projected on the basis of troops and a de-militarized Germany constituting a "neutral corridor" between the East and West.

> Meanwhile, the Western powers continue in their refusal

to accede to the legitimate demand for recognition of the

querors" task of simple occu- and turn control of traffic into Seeking a propaganda advanpation became secondary to the the Western zone of the city tage, the Western powers are (Continued on Page 3)

Price 10c

Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, December 1, 1958

Our Task Was to Restore Banner of Marx'

(The author of this article was a leader of the pre-World War I Socialist Party, a leader of the left-wing of the Chicago Federation of Labor, a founder of the Communist Party. The second issue (Dec. 1, 1928) of the Militant announced that he had adhered to its program. Not long thereafter he became a member of the editorial board on which he served for several years. Since then he has been a frequent contributor.)

By Arne Swabeck

Events of great historical significance do not always appear initially in spectacular fashion, involving powerful forces, or visible to large audiences .For example when Marx and Engels, at the+

human destiny.

middle of the last century, and it frightened the Stalinist penned their scientific analysis bureaucrats out of their wits; of the capitalist mode of pro- but it passed unnoticed by the duction and of its class rela- general working-class public. tions into the Communist Mani- Yet there need be little doubt festo, the road to the future that to future historians the socialist society emerged clear- importance of this event, the ly. But relatively few people rise of the Trotskyist movement were then aware of the tremen- in the United States and the dous impact that these socio- founding of the Militant, will logical concepts would have on loom a good deal larger than we may even anticipate today The Militant came into being

With due regard to the immense difference of proportions in response to a pressing need involved, it can be said that the arising out of special problems founding of the Militant, 30 of our epoch. This need has not years ago, may at the time have diminished since that early date seemed a rather insignificant let alone disappeared, because event. Less than a handful of the problems still remain unrepeople, centered around Com- solved. These problems were essentially international in rade Cannon, its founding editor, brought out the first issue. character; but by that fact they To be sure, its appearance had important reference also to created a stir in radical circles the American scene.

The Issues in Dispute

Today some of the questions | tion of the Left Opposition in involved are much more widely this country (which later beknown. Since the Khrushchev came the Socialist Workers revelations the main outlines Party) and to the founding of of the murderous Stalin regime the Militant.

The emergence of our poliin the Soviet Union have entered into more general public tical tendency marked a de knowledge. But this by no cisive turning point in my means revealed all. The rise of conscious political life, as it did a parasitic bureaucracy amidst for the other comrades with the ruins of Soviet democracy whom I was associated. Its real and the monstrous inequalities, meaning can perhaps be exits perversion of Marxism, and pressed most clearly in the its emasculation of the parties words of Trotsky. His first letof the Communist International ter to the Militant from the - these were some of the is- Prinkipo Island of Turkey consues in dispute between the cluded as follows:

"The Banner of Marx and Stalin regime and the Left Op-Lenin is in the hands of the position led by Trotsky. These issues transcended the Opposition. I do not doubt that borders of the Soviet Republic. the American division of the They concerned directly the Bolsheviks will occupy a worthy

bureaucratization and deadly place under that banner." factionalism of the American CP no less than the false Marx and Lenin to its rightful maneuvers around the then place in the movement — this, which the Militant was devoted. went hand in hand as a natural noticeable especially by a com- task is not merely to interpret celebrated Anglo-Russian Trade and nothing less, we accepted In its issues, as they appeared, consequence of our Marxist parison of the Militant with the world, but to change it. Union Committee and the as our obligation, and this we we took our stand firmly in program and as a duty for the organs of other working- In this sense we look fortreacherous policies pursued in conceived to be our task. And defense of the conquests of the socialists to perform. the fateful events of the Chinese I am perfectly willing to leave October Revolution which still For example: during the early revolutionary upheavals of 1925- it to the readers and supporters remained. But we drew a line years of our movement, when still breathing a miserable ex- ica. We are fully conscious of

27. These were also some of the or not we have remained faith- between these conquests and almost non-existent, we still recognition. reasons leading to the forma- ful to this obligation.

Obstacles Gave Way

I could add perhaps even more Taking all these factors into grueling examples from the account, it becomes readily ap-**Exampler days.** But viewing these parent that the Militant from its inception occupied a unique its inception occupied a unique position. It did not emerge as seems at a loss to explain how an organ propounding a new militant has served activaly and a strike of both and the served activaly an seems at a loss to explain how an organ propounding a new Militant has served actively and eral strike of hotel and resthey were overcome. All I can working-class program. That say is that in face of the great program had already been laid struggles fought out in every Sad to say, the Militant was ideas that had come into our down in its basic contents by part of the United States. Al-possession the obstacles simply Marx and Engels. In its first wave it appeared as a spoker, the give these striking more than a spoker is a spoker. real test on the grand scale of had to give way. And the great ideas were the Russian Revolution, the ers' cause. These two tasks ceived by them as a real friend. fortified by the expressions of Bolsheviks took the initial steps solidarity, support and unbound- to carry this program to its ed faith in the justness of our triumphant realization in actual cause that came from comrades, life. sometimes in groups, but most- To explain the character and ty one by one, from various the lessons of the events that these tasks was executed can a socialist society. parts of the country and from had taken place from Lenin to be affirmed from the pages of abroad. Their solidarity was Stalin in the Soviet Union and the Militant over these 30 approach and the application translated into action, including on the world arena, this became years. On the one hand, there of our policy has been thor- spirit comparable to that of our In his study of "Problems of the matter of digging into their the first and foremost task to has been provided a rich source oughly realistic and sufficiently publication? Its high quality Life" he wrote:



THE ONLY VICTOR

MANIFESTO

of the National Committee

. of the Socialist Workers Party WORKERS, FARMERS - TOILERS OF AMERICA! The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discover of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect,

of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan. The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contem-plate the destruction and the run, the pain and the heartbreak, which the war has caused. Beople in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grin foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

Revulsion and Anxiety The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race. Harter of imperialits war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political con-the war, seek to present this at all costs.—They want to side track the workers from the struggle to end the capitalit system and establis socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible

The August 18, 1945 issue of the Militant reproduced above became famous. It appeared immediately after the surrender of Japan and thus the end of World War II. It jarred those celebrating what all other papers were guaranteeing was the dawn of an "enduring peace" for mankind. The Militant told the bitter, prophetic truth: "There is no peace!" This was received at the time with disbelief by

the degenerate features of managed to publish the Mili-

the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the cease-less capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of in-fluence. It is a lie that war han be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was deaid and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula of "peace by force" implies war and not peace. In unguarded moments the imperialists admit that they know of no way to prevent war. The admitsion is implicit in the maintenance of signitic arruments. First Washington dispatches on the atomic bomb quoted official quarters as saying this new weapon would "revolutionize all future warfare." Could anything ce plainer?

America Will Not Escape

America Will Not Escape Nor should any man deceive himself that America will escape the annihilating blasts of the atomic bomb in a future war. Air power and sea power will afford no sure protection. Scientists already tell us that an air force will not be necessary to carry this new missile on its deally mission. It will be fued immense distances in the form of a jetpropelled rocket that will speed to its target at a lighting rate and with unerring accuracy. New York or Detroit or Los Angelés will be as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is at this point that the liberal apologists and defenders of the bloody capitality system come forward to explain that the new weapon makes future wars "unthinkable." because its extensive us would mean the uter annihilation of the humagi race. Thus another dangerous illusion is sown. After World War I these same liberals declared that an-other war war "anthinkable." Now that markind has suffered another terrible blood-bath, do they exek to inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalitism war disobical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play. The liberal fakers are employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illu-sions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless in-cantation that a new war " unthinkable." THEY know of no way! Bur there if S a way = THE WAT OF THE SOCIALIST .

at the cost of so much suffering and slaughter, would not be everlasting as promised at Teheran. But its truth remained while in a few years all the false illusions and selfdelusions withered. The cold war faced mankind with the threat of H-bomb war - a threat which will last as long as capitalism does.

class political tendencies, both ward to the dawn of the sothose recently extinct and those cialist transformation in Amerof the Militant as to whether of demarcation no less firmly financial resources were al- istence, compromised beyond the immensity of the task; but every serious deed now will

The Stalinist publications help prepare the ground for Stalinism which also still re-tant three times a week for a survive today only by attempts that great event. main in spite of some modifica- period when the leaders of the to rewrite what was said in order now. As we launch the **Ubstacles Gave Way** Art Preis has told our read-ers about some of the difficul-ties faced by the Militant staff. The process for the process of the main in spite of some mountained our confidence in the ability of the Soviet work-ers about some of the difficul-ties faced by the Militant staff. The process of the main in spite of some mountained our confidence in the ability of the Soviet work-ers about some of the difficul-ties faced by the Militant staff. The process of the main in spite of some mountained our confidence in the ability of the Soviet work-ers to do away with bureau-ties faced by the Militant staff. The process of the organ publish-ets were then rather lean. we were able, about the deadly ed by the Shachtman group the present fund campaign. It menace of Fascism, that was before its demise was a repudiation of Leninism and Trot- may be the introduction of the effectively in numerous labor taurant workers in New York. positions once held. Their pages may send letters to the editor, or an occasional story about

C. R. Hedlund Sends **Greetings to Militant**

(The author, a locomotive engineer, noted for his trade union record, has been a supporter of the Militant since it was founded.)

On this anniversary event, after 30 years of activity for the cause of socialism and for the general welfare of all who toil at productive labor, the Militant, its editorial staff and supporters, are surely entitled to a warm and enthusiastic congratulation on thirty years of devoted activity for better

In this short article of greeting, no attempt will be made on my part to chronicle in detail all the political and historical events in which the Militant has played a progressive and educational role in news reporting and news interpretation.

However, this much can be said, that the Militant, and the people that make its publication possible, are in the forefront of the class struggle for political and social changes that will bring mankind the greatest social benefits in all human history.

The economic, cultural and social improvements that socialism will bring to humanity are so great and overwhelming as to baffle the most elastic imagination.

On this Anniversary of a truly workers' paper, let us devote some sober reflection on all the unnecessary hardships that capitalism imposes on humanity with all its waste of men and material for war and destruction.

When the goal of full-blown socialist and classless society on a world scale is reached, all these social defects will disappear because the causes that produced them will no longer exist. The Militant and its supporters are actively engaged in the world-wide struggle to reach that goal. For this noble and glorious work, I as a subscriber and reader of the Militant since its first issue, extend to you my sincere and warmest greetings.

C. R. Hedlund Minneapolis

South, Chicago Fulfill Fund Drive Quotas

By George Lavan National Fund Drive Director

The Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund is now in the home stretch. The deadline is Dec. 15 — 20 days from the date of the

scoreboard below ' This week two more areas crossed the finish line: Chicago and the South. But the overall picture is still marred by the lag of 11%.

From below the Mason-Dixon line came this message: "It is with the greatest pleasure that I am able herewith to pay our pledge of \$200. You can't imagine the anxiety that we experienced in the face of deep-going financial crisis here and the financial needs of our paper. With the very best fraternal greetings." Considering the difficulties under which this sum was raised, this is an outstanding demonstration of socialist devotion.

With a payment completing its \$1,000 pledge, Chicago fund director Ray Follett made the following comments: "If we knew of any 'secret' techniques we would certainly use them to solve local problems. But no - our procedure has been to outline goals, break down the amounts to be raised on an individual and time basis and keep reviewing performance week in and week out. . . One story I can pass on. One of our comrades expected to go out on strike, possibly for an extended period. He came to me and said: 'Here, I want to pay up my pledge before we go out, while I'm still able to."



y nation could learn the secret in about five tion, assuming it had access to the neces-

aterials." many - who could not believe that the victory, purchased

Worker's Bookshelf

The listing of books and | SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by pamphlets below gives a view James P. Cannon. 1941. 111 pp. of the program of the Socialist 50 cents. The official court tes-Workers Party, and the posi- timony in the first trial under tion the SWP took on events the Smith Act. TO THE MEMORY OF THE

ers Party.

Place, New York 3, N.Y.

of the day during its existence of the past 30 years.

THE THIRD INTERNATION. August 28, 1940 at Trotsky AL AFTER LENIN, by Leon Memorial Meeting in New Trotsky. 1928. 400 pp. Cloth York, by James P. Cannon. 15 \$4.00. Paper \$2.50. The docu- pp. 10 cents. THE CASE OF THE LEGment suppressed by Stalin which was the direct base for LESS VETERAN, by James the construction of the Trot- Kutcher. 1941-1953. 178 pages.

skyist movement in the United \$1. The story of how Kutcher, States. FASCISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT, by Leon government job for being a Trotsky. A Compilation. 1928- member of the Socialist Work-1938. 47 pp. 15 cents.

P. Cannon. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75. cents. Statement adopted by Paper \$2.00. The exciting events from 1928 to 1938 in the build- SWP, January, 1957. ing of the Socialist Workers Party as reported by its found-

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM, by Leon Trotsky. 1939-1940. 211 REGROUPMENT. 1957. 8 pp. pp. Cloth \$2.75. Letters and ar- 10 cents. A programmatic basis ticles written during the strug- for discussion of socialist unity. gle against a social-democratic current within the SWP.

PROLETARIAN PARTY, by New edition, 1958. 54 pp. 25 James P. Cannon. 1939-1940. 302 cents. pp. Cloth \$2.75. Paper \$2.00.

Companion volume to "In De- Publishers, 116 University fense of Marxism."

democracy.

Alongside of presenting infor- our objective.

ways it appeared as a spokes- to give these striking workers man and champion of the work- solid support, and it was re-

Rich Source of Education

How well the combination of while pointing out the road to

In all of these efforts our

of education for a cadre of flexible to be effective and to of information and education "Small deeds without great revolutionists. On the other win devoted supporters. We has no peers. We have all bene- issues abound in the life of hand, a genuine defense of the never compromised on ques- fitted from the knowledge it men, but no great issues are workers interests, of their need tions of a principled character. has imparted. But the know- possible without small achievefor organization, for a living Because of this we cannot fail ledge thus gained, to be real ments. To be more precise, at wage and for trade union de- to notice the sharp distinction must be active; it must be dy- a time of great issues, small mocracy; articulation of their that prevails today in the field namic. It must be translated deeds, being a part of large demands and their aspirations, of radical publications. It is into action, for our ultimate problems, cease to be small."

tribute more extensive infor-As for us, however, we can mation or analytical articles. say, and proudly so: During the Combined, all these efforts three decades of the Militant's will appear in their true sighistory not one part of the nificance. They have formed valuable material that has ap- the foundation of past attainpeared in its pages needs to be ments and they provide assurchanged, because we always ance of a promising future. told the truth. What this means is most elo-

Where can one find a fighting quently expressed by Trotsky.

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Oakland	\$ 340	\$ 357	/105
Chicago	1,000	1,000	100
South	200	200	100
St. Louis	80	70	88
Connecticut	300	258	86
Boston	450	360	80
Buffalo	1,500	1,165	78
Newark	265	200	75
Cleveland	750	520	69
Twin Cities	1,742	1,201	69
Milwaukee	250	155	62
New York	4,500	2,797	62
San Diego	300	180	60
Detroit	600	345	58
Allentown	112	60	54
Los Angeles	4,600	2,440	53
Youngstown	300	150	50
Philadelphia	528	231	44
Seattle	550	235	43
San Francisco	440	180	41
Pittsburgh	10	2	20
Denver	50		
General	·	288	
madel Alexand			
Total through	-		a a' 122

Nov. 25\$18.867 \$12,394 69



Greetings from Chile on Anniversary OLD MAN. Speech delivered

To the Editor of the Militant:

The Latin American Secretariat of Trotskyism, representing the revolutionary workers' parties of Argentina, Chile and Peru, sends its warm greetings to the Militant who lost his legs in the Second on its 30th Anniversary. World War, was deprived of his

Throughout its existence, the Militant has been a model of revolutionary conduct especially in emerging REVOLUTION IN HUN. Trotskyist ideological clarification in the thirties and also THE HISTORY OF AMERI- GARY AND THE CRISIS OF in the struggles of the American working class; in the CAN TROTSKYISM, by James STALINISM. 1957. 34 pp. 25 heroic task of combatting war in the heart of the imperialist bastion; in the support of the colonial movements the National Committee of the which have become the principal motor of the world rev-THE CLASS.STRUGGLE olution in the last fifteen years; in the struggle in favor **ROAD TO NEGRO EQUALITY.** of the rights of the Negro people; and finally, among its 1957. 23 pp. 25 cents. Resoluinnumerable accomplishments, in the present effort to tion adopted by the SWP. regroup the forces in favor of socialism in the United States.

The Militant has also shown its concern over the THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, What It Is, What It problems of Latin America; we on our part have sent THE STRUGGLE FOR A Stands For, by Joseph Hansen. some contributions. Nevertheless we have not yet been and the position and strategy the revolutionary party able-to establish a permanent exchange of views — a should take toward them.

lapse that is the more unfortunate in light of the fact that Order the above from Pioneer Latin America is the key continent for American imperialism. A new offensive has been undertaken by imper-

|ialism, a plan of colonial domination which took form Santiago, Chile November 6, 1958 toward the end of the decade of the 1940's and which seeks not only greater penetration of finance capital but

also the further subordination of the political sovereignty of the countries of Latin America. Not only have military pacts been signed but a super-state organization (OEA) has been created which determines the policies of each of these countries. This is new.

Never before has Yankee imperialism imposed such colonial methods of rule on these countries. Contrariwise never have nationalist class movements arisen with greater support from the masses, posing in a more or less decisive manner the anti-imperialist struggle. We should like to see these problems and others like the common Latin American (or Pan-American) market treated in future editions of the Militant and to that end offer our collaboration. In the past, lack of such collaboration has led at times to differences over specific analyses on Argentina, Venezuela, Columbia, Cuba, etc. Finally, we have been following with interest the polemic over the signifi-

cance of Nasserism. We may possibly send our contribution characterizing the present nationalist movements

> With revolutionary greetings, Hugembert-Valdes

Monday, December 1, 1958



THE MILITANT

... Struggle for Socialist America

(Continued from Page 1) other country for this purpose. The Communist parties devoted themselves to winning alliances with capitalist parties and politicians who might be willing to promote pacts with the Soviet Union.

The Leninist regime, of course, had also concluded pacts with various capitalist nations or individual capitalists. But it never had proposed that the struggle for socialism anywhere else be abandoned thereby — even temporarily — or that socialists should enter into "coalitions" with capitalist parties on that account. The Stalinist policy flowed from the narrow national interests of a privilege-seeking bureaucracy that usurped power in the Soviet Union and came to exercise monolithic control over the international Communist movement.

The Stalinist course led to catastrophic defeats for the working class in many countries of the world - chronicled and explained in the Militant across the last 30 years. The victory of fascism in Germany and Spain, which in turn contributed to the outbreak of World War II, was directly attributable to the Stalinist policies pursued by the CP in each of these countries.

In the United States, the CP policy of supporting the Democratic Party helped mightily to undermine the strength of the socialist movement by corroding thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and youth with the poison of class collaboration, then losing them for socialism altogether. The CP policy thus greatly retarded and undermined the fight at home against U.S. imperialism.

During the last 30 years, the Soviet Union has scored great industrial ad- Soviet Union? vances thanks to the progressive property forms created by the October Revo- lon went to the Soviet Union lution. Furthermore, the capitalist system as delegates from the Ceylonese has been overthrown in China and Eastern Europe. But the Soviet-bloc countries LSSP - Dr. Colvin R. de Silare still a long way from having achieved va, Comrade Edmund Samarplenty and freedom for the working peo- akoddy and myself. ple — the true goal of socialism. Khrushchev's revelations at the Soviet Commu- Soviet Union and how long nist Party's 20th Congress about Stalin's were you there? crimes and the further manifestations of bureaucratic tyranny (notably the crush- 20 days. We visited many facing of the Hungarian revolution) belie re- tories — steel, textile factories, peated boasts that socialism has been Baku oil fields in the Caspian achieved in these lands. And despite all region. Then we visited the pacts and attempted pacts, capitalism health resorts, Sochi, on the menaces the Soviet bloc with World War Black Sea coast. III.

Thus, we believe, the international after the death of Stalin, what year? socialist tasks, remain essentially as the Militant set them forth 30 years ago. These tasks include defense of the Soviet property forms against capitalist restoration. Workers' democracy in the Soviet-bloc countries must be reestablished. New countries must be won for socialism.

It is above all here, in the United States, that the decisive battle for world socialism will be fought. Once the workers take power in America, the problem of creating a world socialist order will easily and speedily be solved.

As it has during the last 30 years, the Militant will in years ahead endeavor to help win our country's working people to the struggle for a Socialist America.

sition in Parliament.-Ed.) Q. You say that prior to your visit to China, you visited the

LSSP, a Trotskyist party, is the

country's largest working class

party and is the official Oppo-

A. Yes. Seventeen from Cev-Parliament. Out of the 17, three of us were Trotskyists from the

Q. Where did you go in the

A. We were there for nearly

Q. You were there, of course,

large number from the crowd at the different functions. We came and embraced me. Of met them and they really had course, here and there I saw special discussions with us . some eves turning.

of the deStalinization campaign, TROTSKY'S POSITION

which was then at its height, Q. In other words, in your and as far as the lessening of speech you presented the prob- different schemes. We were the terror which had been charlem as the extension of the given the opportunity of free acteristic of the Stalin regime? revolution to the rest of the discussion with them. A. I couldn't observe very much about de-Stalinization. world - which is Trotsky's position of the permanent rev-

The language difficulty was there. The only thing was that olution? A. Exactly. Without mentionwe were able to move a little ing that as Trotsky's.

more freely in the country. Q. I understand that Com-Whatever we had, we got through an interpreter. We disrade de Silva also was given cussed with workers at certain the opportunity of speaking to factories. But what they stated the Soviet people over the ra-

had to be interpreted to us dio and at meetings. A. Yes, he was given the op- countries are. They are not secalso. It was so difficult for us to find out any real change. portunity once to speak over

But I tried to state at certain the radio. parties and functions given for Q. Did you address any other us in different areas — I hap-pened to go to Georgia, that is Trotskyist delegates address Stalin's own home area — we any other meetings in the Sowere given a dinner there. I viet Union?

had to make an after-dinner A. No. But at the parties speech in which I definitely thrown for us at different places stated the position regarding the workers of the world. I **Q.** You were called upon to

Mood of W. German Workers

Q. From your observations

during your trip could you form

any conclusions on the extent



About 150,000 Germans took part in this rally in Hamburg protesting nuclear rearmament last April. So strong is the opposition of the German people to militarism that the Adenauer government has faced constant delays in rebuilding the German military machine.



(Continued from Page 1) counted with a Nov. 24 state-ritory poised against the USSR, made it clear that they did not ment by East German First ritory poised against the USSR. made it clear that they did not sectors, but only one small pic-leased in Lima the student or-There is a fundamental cause for the war Deputy Premier Ulbricht flatly At the same time maintenance want a return to capitalism.

Tighten Screws In Soviet Union

Page Three

seven-year plan, according to a N.Y. Times dispatch. V P. Moskovsky, who heads we were given the opportunity state propaganda departof discussion with them about ments, called for better Party the general development of the screenings and stricter local country and the planning of discipline. He warned that, though the Communists have been in power for 41 years, this does not warrant the as-SOVIET TECHNOLOGY sumption that every man's political reliability is beyond Q. You say you visited some doubt. "It is difficult to idenof the factories. From the techtify a secret enemy," he said, nological point of view would "for he is usually masked as you consider these factories an honest Soviet man, even comparable to those in the ad-

a patriot and an active worker." A new uniformed, arm-A. As modern as factories I ed police force, organized in have seen in other advanced the factories, is to patrol the factories and streets to curb "drunks," "hooligans" and other "anti-social" elements. ond to any other factories in the world that I have seen.

Q. So far as the conditions A. Yes, regardless. But in of the workers themselves are certain areas we find the big concerned, you couldn't have bourgeoisie always having a direct knowledge because of good say about the U.S. That A. It is so. About their genis the big bourgeoisie, but on eral standards, what we saw the whole the general mass is

was that they were having a a different story. Q. You have visited India? fairly high standard. But that alone would not fully satisfy Do the Indian people feel that us because I found that at way?

many factories there is a top A. The same way. I visited India and many other coun-Q. There is no workers' contries, recently, the Latin Amerrol in the factories? In this ican countries. They too feel egard what is the comparison the same. Particularly, I visitetween China and the Soviet ed Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela. Every-

A. I feel the workers in China have more direct parwhere I found so much resenticipation. The good aspect I ment against the United States ould say about the Soviet intervening in their matters. Further up, in Trinidad, the Union is that we found thousands and thousands of students, same — both against British vorkers' children who are just imperialism and the U.S.I coming out of the universities happened to see some of the back to the factories. With that trade unions in Trinidad and advanced knowledge I feel that some in Bolivia. The positions the present bureaucracy will were the same. And in Lima I not be able to control when happened to meet some of the these youngsters come back to university students and their the factories. position was the same.

DE-STALINIZATION

vanced capitalist countries?

They are comparable.

the language difficulty?

control.

Jnion?

neight of the de-Stalinization campaign. What manifestations of it as regards pictures and ception.

statutes of Stalin did you observe? A. One thing was very prominent during the May Day demonstration. I hardly saw any been an open clash against the pictures of Stalin. There was a group of about four workers carrying a small poster of skyists there were taken into Stalin. That was all in the prison by the government. And demonstration. We found huge due to workers coming out

". . . The Russians don't want war telling the truth would have to admit that these bases do in fact constitute an "ofany more than we do. The people, who suffered so horribly in the last war, don't fensive threat." Why not liquidate the U.S. bases on foreign soil and remove want it for obvious reasons; the leaders Khrushchev's "convenient peg for propbecause it would interrupt their great development program. . ." These are the aganda" and at the same time remove a words of Adlai Stevenson written in the major war danger?

Stevenson: Russia Wants Peace

Stevenson is right when he says that the Soviet people and the heads of the Soviet government do not want war. A planned economy does not require territorial expansion, militarism or war as does the profit system.

Yet the 13-year-old cold war has not been based on misunderstandings, either. drive. What Stevension will not admit is denying any plans for such a that the threat of war originates in this blockade. If the transfer of control to

AFTERMATH OF Q. You were there at the NIXON INCIDENT Q. That is where Vice-President Nixon got such a wet re-

> A. That is right. It has created tremendous feeling against the United States. Particularly after the incidents. There had government by students and workers. And some of the Trot-

ganizations wanted to have

some sort of victory celebra-

tion, a big meeting. It was ban-

ned by the government. Then

a few days after, the workers,

the trade unions, wanted to

have a meeting. They held a

meeting despite the banning by

the government. And when the

police came up with armed

the vehicles were burned down

workers' leaders were arrested.

A. The general attitude of

the people is that they all do

viet Union and in all of the

countries, there is tremendous

anti-war feeling. In all those

countries, wherever I happen-

ed to discuss with workers, in-

tellectuals or any one their

attitude was: the United States

Q. Is that the general con-

is driving the world to war.

not want war. Both in the So-

for war because we are threatened with Soviet aggression. If this has now turned out to be a mistake, why doesn't Stevenson propose an immediate end to the suicidal arms race?

last of his series of articles on his visit to

neither the people nor the regime. Why

then, is the huge U.S. military machine

insisted all along that this country must

spend tens of billions annually to prepare

The Russians don't want war —

The American Big Business politicians

the Soviet Union.

necessary?

Stevenson wistfully comments: "I wish I felt that our defensive bases in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East did not provide Khrushchev & Co. such a convenient peg for propaganda about America's offensive threat."

U.S. missile bases completely surround the Soviet Union. They make easy targets of Soviet cities. Any military strategist

country where the Big Business rulers are the East Germans is made withfearful of peace. They are scared of it for a very simple reason: Without the arms appears likely, the West may of capitalism. race, U.S. capitalism would collapse like well find itself granting a an old frame house long inhabited by limited, de facto recognition to tion also springs from a realitermites.

The cause of the preparations for World War III is the same as the cause for World Wars I and II. The Soviet Union | flict. cannot be blamed for either of those disasters. Capitalism can and must be blamed.

The Struggle For Jobs

The personal tragedies that follow the economic swings of capitalism are many. The system that boasts it cares for and benefits the individual while planned economy "subordinates" the individual to the state, doesn't even bother to count the wrecked lives, broken plans, discouragement and agony that follow economic explosions like deadly fallout.

But when union men and women, in the absence of a militant union leadership, begin to fight each other for jobs, the tragedy is compounded. This is happening in one of the most powerful unions in the country, the United Steel Workers of America.

According to the Pittsburgh Press, 100 "furloughed" workers, a euphemistic term for jobless, demonstrated, Nov. 20, at the Allenport plant of the Pittsburgh Steel Co. demanding that older workers retire. Members of Local 1187, USWA, carried signs that read, "We got you your pensions-why don't you retire?'

The average pension these steel workers would get amounts to \$130 a month. Retirement therefore means a

Trotsky's Diary in Exile: 1935

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Advertisemen

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considerable drop in income. If a worker eligible for a pension can continue to work, he can avoid this loss in wages tirement later on. In addition, many men largest party in France, its and women who have done nothing but work all their lives, dread the prospect of retirement. They dread the idleness and seeming uselessness of their lives.

Undoubtedly, the younger steel workers know and understand this. But they has regularly received the largare in a desperate plight. The real blame est percentage of the total votes for this fratricidal struggle must be placed on the union officialdom responsible to provide leadership.

There is an answer to unemployment. It isn't necessary to harass the older steel workers. The demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay could spread work among all the men who need dropped to 18.9% in the Nov. and want jobs.

If the union officials do not organize 5,532,631 received in 1956. for such a struggle, if they permit futile, worker, the union movement will not Premier Mendes-France, former survive. Then no one will have either Minister of Justice Francois security or a decent standard of living.

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Illustrated

By Eric

(James Erickson)

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The defeat of forces opposing **Political Economy**

of troops in Berlin, inside the All of their demands revolved "iron curtain," remains a sym- around the establishment of

bol of their ultimate goal of workers' democracy based "liberation" of the Soviet satel- squarely on the existing, nationout a major flareup, as now lites - that is, the restoration alized property.

Meanwhile, the West German Their opposition to reunificathat, despite the terrible blows the Ulbricht regime. But divid- zation, that whatever the imremain a constant danger point tion, capitalism would not long for the eruption of global con- survive in a unified Germany. 1953 UPRISING

During the '1953 uprising The Western powers are de-

the giant 1955 strike struggles for higher wages that covered French Elections Register further in an anti-capitalist di- it resulted in any real and FOR WAR DANGER

rection.

Yet for the Kremlin, the German workers, East and West, trol?

remain but dispensable pawns in their diplomatic power strug-Soviet government's proposal future would have control for a "neutral corridor" is not because of the top control from based on consideration of the the bureaucracy. sentiment of the German work-

ers. For Khrushchev, reunification - like partition - reduces itself to what he sees as a good move for the preservation of the world status quo.

But from every possible viewpoint — including blocking of tries? the war drive against the Soviet Union — a solution of the Gerpensable. Elimination of all oc- tries.

cupation forces would give Gerhave won a decisive majority man labor the freedom of action 23 voting. It lost 1,650,427 of the victory in their districts which that would inevitably lead to a

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united socialist Germany. And of capitalism in all Europe.

A Special Buy! Literature and Revolution By Leon Trotsky

\$1.98

Written in 1924, this is a Marxist classic. It deals with the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after conquest of state power. **Pioneer** Publishers 116 Universiy Place New York 3, N. Y.

ture of Stalin small group.

Q. What about Khrushchev? A. There were certain pictures but not in large bulk. O. You didn't have a chance to speak directly to Khrush-

working class has demonstrated chev, did you? A. Not at that place. We had ed and occupied Germany will mediate basis for such unifica- of Hitlerism and the war, it an opportunity to meet Khrushtoo has regained the capacity chev and talk to him at a lavehicles, I understand, some of for organization and for strug- ter function — but he was just gle. This was first heralded by introduced to us for a few by the workers. Immediately the minutes.

Q. From your personal ob-But the following day there West Germany in 1955. Since servations and your own knowwas a general strike and withthen, the great workers' demon- ledge of the movement toward in 24 hours they were released. strations against re-militariza- reform in the Soviet Union, WHO THEY BLAME tion have taken them even what are your conclusions? Has

> Q. About the cold war and genuine transformation of conditions which would permit the the threat of nuclear war. In worker to reestablish their conyour travels through Asia, the USSR, China and South Amer-

A. As far as I can say, I ica, what would you say is the could not find any symptoms general attitude of the people gles with the imperialists. The that workers in the very near towards this constant threat that is hanging over them?

HOW ASIA FEELS

ABOUT QUEMOY Q. What is the general attiude in Asia toward the inter-

vention of American imperialism in China and other coun-A. The intervention of Amer-

filations?

ica in most of these matters sensus that the U.S. is the agman issue by the German work- is terribly resented by the ening people themselves is indis- tire population in those coun- gressor?

A. Yes. The feeling wherever Q. Regardless of political af-I discussed this was that America is trying to make war.

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ed between right-wingers and "socialists." The Wall Street stitution which was adopted by referendum on Sept. 28, has Journal reports that de Gaulle eliminated proportional repreis quietly working toward this sentation in France. aim ". . . so that he can decide The total vote of the CP vote all conflicts in his role as 'arhas also declined. It received 25.7% of the vote in 1956, but Thus far only 40 candidates

Mitterand and former Premier

de Gaulle has now been concretized by the great advance made by the Gaullist Union for the New Republic Party. This Party, which consists of a number of right-wing groups, is headed by de Gaulle's Information Minister Jacques Soustelle (elected last Sunday), Jacques Chaban-Delmas and Leon Delbecque. All three played major roles in the Algerian coup last

May which brought de Gaulle

Big Communist Party Loss The French Communist Party has suffered a serious defeat in the first round of the French national elections and possibly plan for a more secure re- held Sunday, Nov. 23. Although the CP remains the strength may be reduced in the to power in France. The UNR

National Assembly from 150 received 17.6% of the total vote seats that it won in the 1956 and is therefore the second largest party in France today. elections to as few as 20 seats. All reports indicate that de This is a serious blow to the Gaulle is anxious to unite his political power of a party that forces with those of the Social-

ists of the Guy Mollet variety in many districts so that the in elections since 1946. How-Assembly can be equally dividever, the new de Gaulle con-

The Negro Struggle

The African Pass Books

The Negro women of South Africa are conducting a heroic struggle against a government campaign to make them carry pass books. These pass books, which Negro men have to carry at all times on pain of arrest, are internal passports depriving Africans of freedom of movement. They are also labor control books enabling employers and police to identify "troublemakers" who want to form unions, object to working conditions and demand higher pay as well as those who have "abandoned," i.e. had the temerity to quit their jobs. The pass book system, well known to those who have read about the Negro struggle in the Union of South Africa, also exists in many African colonies.

Here is a description of the system from the point of view of the colonialist police-slavemasters. We reprint from Africa Special Report (November) an excerpt from a speech to the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs (at Durban, South Africa in 1955) by Senor Afonso Freitas, the present administrator of Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique, the Portuguese East African colony.

". . . The pass book is an interesting document because it provides the identification of the native and of his dependents and also contains details which may be of interest to his life. It is a kind of biographical register of great utility which allows one in a few moments to know everything in connection with him. . . For the employer this is an extraordinary facility . . . No native can ever be admitted to work if he does not possess a pass book or if the pass book does not show clearly that he is free to be employed and

authorized to stay in the city . . . Thus it is practically impossible for a native who has been living in the city illegally, or has been living in the city illegally, or who has abandoned the service of a former employer, to avoid the vigilance and supervision of the authorities. As he will need to work and nobody will employ **Protesting** supervision of the authorities. As he will him, he will be caught in a short time.

for work in another locality he will not get it because in the pass book it is not shown that he is free. If he destroys his down for half a day Nov. 18 as

not go far, because the pass book will be jobs to new mechanical techrequested from the place where he is niques in ship loading. registered and in the respective popula-

occurrence

". . . The authorities, knowing the use of "containers" for freight that enable a ship to be loaded necessity for each type of laborer, reguor unloaded fifteen times faster late the professional inscription in a man-than by old methods. Another ner to avoid unemployment as well as the was the use of conveyor belts lack of these units . . . Every native . . . | running through the side of the has an individual file card where all oc- ship linked to freight elevators currences of interest to his work are reg- in the holds. The Grace line istered . . . All registrations . . . are com- which is using this method to municated to the authorities of the areas cut the regular 21-man longto which the native belongs . . . Thus on shore gang to six.

Because of the new methods any occasion, the situation of the native is known, both in the locality where he and the recession, hours worked dropped on the New York is staving, by means of an individual file docks from 46,000,000 in 1956 to card, and in the administrative area where 42,000,000 this year.

he has been included in the Population WANT BENEFITS TOO Records, and also by the pass book which A N.Y. Times story claimed the native must always carry with him the longshoremen were demand-. . . Our native migration control system ing "that the clock be turned back on automation." This isn't contributes in an accentuated manner true. What the International towards the peace and quietness we enjoy Longshoremen's Association is in this period of agitation which Africa is asking is that the industry going through." "share the benefits" of automation with the workers.

"If he escapes from the city and looks Automation

VOLUME XXII

New York docks were shut pass book and asks for a new one he will 17,500 longshoremen marched off the piers to protest loss of

Examples of improved techtion record it will be shown that he has niques that displace dock workabandoned the employment, or any other ers were cited at the protest meeting held at the Madison Square Garden. One was the

THE MILITANT MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1958

No Peace in Auto



Despite the agreement reached between John S. Bugas, Ford vice-president, (left) and UAW Pres. Walter Reuther last September, and other contracts signed since, there is little labor peace in the auto industry. Even Chrysler's unemployed are striking because the company is working overtime rather than rehiring.



(Continued from Page 1) California declared that an in- the Laundry Workers Union in sponse to the fight against come of at least \$5,593 a year - after taxes — was necessary signed a contract permitting for a family of four. Yet in 1957, 75% of U.S. families had an income of less than \$5,593 - tion is reflected in low-wage Demo-Dixiecrat Party or even before taxes. Nearly 20 million statistics. Though minority with "Massa Carmine," were out of 53.5 million families received less than \$4,000.

Still at subsistence level are half a million working farmers each of whose yearly crop brings less than \$2,000 - less spent in government price supless than \$1,000 a year.

ments do these working farm-In 1958 another category must be added to the bottom ers little good since the prothird — the nearly five million grams are designed to benefit unemployed, many of whom the big-farm operators.

have little chance of being re-People over 65 trying to eke employed in the near future. out an existence on pensions of A third of a million have ex-\$1,500 a year and less make up hausted their unemployment a growing proportion of people in the lowest one third income bracket. Over half of the botis \$33 a week. tom third are people too old or

otherwise unable to go to work. Greater longevity, arbitrary corporation age limits and totally inadequate pensions are older workers yearly.

NUMBER 48

Powell Campaign Led Harlem in **Blind Alley**

By Ethel Bloch

Last May when Tammany Boss DeSapio and Democratic Governor Harriman decided to dump him, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell mobilized widespread support in Harlem. This is how he ex-♦

plained the Democratic Party leadership's move to deprive him of renomination for Congress: " I am being purged because obviously I am a Negro and a Negro should stay on the plantation." He branded De-Sapio a "Mississippi boss" and added that Negroes had left Mississippi to get away from white bosses only to find them n Harlem.

Powell's defiance evoked so much support that he could have run as an independent and been re-elected to Congress. Realizing this, the Republicans offered him their nomination and he accepted it. Then in the Democratic primaries he beat Earl Brown, the Harriman and DeSapio candiganized industries. For instance, date. This was the voters' re-Washington, D.C., recently "Massa Carmine" and his party. But any illusions that Powwages as low as \$35 a week. ell would use the surge of mass The evil of racial discrimina- support to break with the workers comprise only 9% of soon dispelled. Powell's aim the population, their members went no further than getting make up 20% of the bottom himself securely ensconced in

economic third of the nation. the party machine he had been One out of eight of the lowest denouncing. On Oct. 7 he unsuing confusion. What started income families in 1954 were ashamedly announced his supheaded by women, while 2.5 port for the entire Democratic ed in a diffusion. In 1956 Powmillion single women received ticket. "From here on the air ell received 69% of the vote on has been cleared. We are a the Democratic Party line. This team of co-leaders. Bossism is finished. Bossism is no longer a

part of the picture," Powell told skeptical reporters.

Mississippi-style white bosses Party vote. This year Brown, left it? Had the Northern Dembenefits, while the average pay-Dixiecrat-Democrats of the this after stating that he was-South? Nothing had changed n't going to campaign. This is except that Powell had shown only 11/2% less than the Liber-

midst of plenty persists in better make a deal with him or the voting alignments in the America. In the richest country they'd lose their hold on the 16th District remained unchangmaking paupers of thousands of in the world such pauperiza- Negro voters in Harlem. tion of millions is both intoler-able and unnecessary. The labor



as a mobilization of forces endyear he received 67% on that line-after urging his followers to vote for him on that line. About 24% voted for him on But what had changed in the the Republican line. An inter-Democratic Party? Had the esting sidelight is the Liberal the only opponent of Powell, Despite Chamber of Com- them that he had a very pow- al Party vote in 1956, following merce boasting, poverty in the erful position and that they'd a strong campaign. All in all, ed, which underlines the fact

that Powell's position led no-

Thanksgiving 1958

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO --- November 27 is Thanksgiving. Families gather together for their traditional sumptuous dinners. Kitchens bristle with activities as the familiar smell of golden brown turkey, yams, cranberry sauce and pumpkin pie spreads throughout the house. Stomachs are filled and over-filled, and contentment and good cheer nestle over the household.

But for thousands of workers in the Buffalo area living on unemployment benefits and welfare checks this pleasant picture is a dream, a commercial on TV, or an ad on a street corner billboard. For them, no shopping for choice food in the cheerful bustle of the holiday-crowded supermarket. For them, it is standing in long lines at the Masten Street Armory for surplus food.

Across the street from the Armory is the Buffalo Civic Stadium, where often

turkey. It's tough to explain that it's not your fault, that you're strong and ready use of new methods. and able to work, but there are no jobs. It's hard to explain how day after day of disappointment at employment offices you begin to change inside. "Sorry, nothing right now." "We haven't called all our own men back yet." Your energy and instead of the present four. enthusiasm dims and your outlook darkens. Bills pile up, the rent is due; the kids need clothes and shoes. You can't make the check stretch. It seems hopeless. As a woman waiting in line with a small child said, "We just finished paying off our hospital bills. Now my husband got laid

off. Every time you try and get off the floor they kick you down again." But on November 27, the newspapers, radio and TV will sing the praises of this CLEVELAND CONFERENCE wonderful land that has blessed its peo- OF SOCIALISTS by the Chiple with opportunity and plenty. The spee-read delegation. Thurs., Dec. 11, 8 P.M. Room 420 Roosevelt

Calendar

contract relating to manning and mechanization until agreement was reached between the union and the operators on the Another union official said, We won't be able to stop automation. . ." He urged, as one production costs. The billions

Thomas W. Gleason, ILA

general organizer, said he would

enforce all clauses of the 1956

measure to share the work, a guarantee of six hours of work ports and conservation payto a docker called on the job



CHICAGO Report of the NATIONAL

exuberant sports fans stand in line at the ticket windows with much cheerful horseplay. But the surplus food line is not like that. It is a grim line of young and old, Negro and white, with babies in arms, and small children clinging, as they move slowly toward their allotment of surplus food. Flour and cornmeal, dry milk, butter and cheese. This will make the bulk of their Thanksgiving dinner.

"Last year I celebrated Thanksgiving in the plant with two turkey sandwiches. This year I'll be home with the wife and kids and macaroni and cheese," said a young worker with an edge of bitterness in his voice.

It's a tough thing to explain to the kids that it has to be macaroni and cheese for dinner while more fortunate neighbors who are still working are eating

who wants to keep things as they are.

Jimmy's hero was his father who

fought in the Spanish Civil War in the

thirties and returned to England to die a

year later from wounds received there.

He alone understood his father and what

he fought and died for. A burning desire

consumes him to have a cause to fight for

derstand what it is he wants out of life.

He is convinced that she is bereft of

tions with her upper-middle-class family

against Jimmy's wishes. Jimmy believes

she is betraying him by so doing because

the family openly despises him. The an-

tagonism between them becomes intensi-

He cannot make Alison, his wife, un-

Alison has maintained friendly rela-

John Osborne.

ted him for better.

as his father had in Spain.

understanding for his plight.

fied.

pious sermons will be heard round the Univ., 430 So. Michigan Blvd. world. But the thousands of unemployed workers who wait anxiously for their scanty allotments know different. The real truth for them on Thanksgiving 1958 is W. Girard Ave. Hear Daniel grimmer.

But along with despair is rising an America and the USSR." Reanger, a feeling and a knowledge that this freshments 6:30 P.M., Festive 'doesn't have to be, that the wealth of the world is held by a few, and that the pitiful share of the workers in the world's call SA 7-2166. Ausp.: Militant goods is being constantly reduced by the Labor Forum. bosses' formula for ever-greater booty: "Speed-up and lay off." As unemployment increases, our anger and numbers mount and will merge with the growing forces of those elsewhere in the world who are fighting for socialism — a social system which cherishes those who labor and pro-

THEY WORK YET NEED RELIEF

PHILADELPHIA Militant's 30th Anniversary

Celebration. Sat., Dec. 13. 1303 The Road to Socialism in

ing, 9:00; Social evening follows. For dinner reservations

> TWIN CITIES DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY

CELEBRATION - The Militant conditions in a camp which in-30th Anniversary and C. R. Hedlund's 80th Birthday. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 P.M. 322 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Buffet supper, British speaking program, dancing, door prize, entertainment. Do-

Workers Party.

New York Bazaar

There will be an unusually wide selection of gift items at low prices at the Annual Christmas Bazaar to be held Saturday, Dec. 13, from noon New York.

hand made leather belts, jewelry, rope beads, Virgin Island straw baskets, children's toys and books, women's and children's clothes, hand made aprons, hats, radios and other appliances, ceramics, men's clothing and

Advertisement

Just Reprinted **Bill Haywood's** Book

The autobiography of the great IWW leader.

368 pages \$3.50 **Pioneer Publishers**

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

movement must demand ade-

quate pensions for the retired workers, full trade union wages Harriman and De Sapio were Even some workers still putting a full day on the job have for the unemployed, and a mini- all out to dump Powell as hard to apply for relief to keep their mum wage law that guarantees as possible, now they were as families alive. Two and a half every worker and his family at anxious for a deal as he. Strong misery and poverty and tomorrow will be Roberts, Editor, the Militant, on million persons working full least the Department of Health's statements of support came time in 1957 earned less than minimum income for health and from both Harriman and De \$2,000 a year, even in some or- comfort.

W. Indians Abuse

and Puerto Rican migrant con-(Continued from Page 1) about 9 x 15. These are the tracts. Thus, the Puerto Ricans have workmen's compensation House of Representatives of all tends to keep the British West guarantees, the British West In-Indians on a year-around basis. dians do not. Puero Ricans have transportation insured under "The precise utility of the strict conditions, the British West Indians to the West Indians do not. The Puergrowers is well illustrated by Tice Farms. Fourteen Puerto without deductions - British nation \$1. Ausp.: Socialist Rican workers were formerly West Indians have \$2 a week employed there, but all of them quit because they could not

abide the living conditions." minimum amount of work in a "These housing conditions constated time, the British West stitute violations of even the Indians are given no guaraninadequate New Jersey migrant labor regulations, and the Workguaranteed minimum housing, ers Defense League is presently preparing a report to this effect to the New Jersey Depart- Rican Department of Labor. ment of Labor.'

While British West Indian representatives exist, it is the universal experience that they do being led back into the confines of that party. not police contracts, or demand better conditions.

"One official reports that the NO SOLUTION growers have gone so far as to

on

The WDL report goes

tatives.)

"All these disparities add u establish 'model' camps for inspection purposes, while housto a cheaper, far less demand ing the majority of migrant ing work force than either na West Indians in hidden local- tive Americans or Puerto Rica ities on their farms which do workers provide. H. L. Mitche not bear inspection at all. It President of the National Agr has also been reported that cultural Workers Union, h Long Island growers have taken said: 'We do not solve the prol to demanding the Immigration lems of these foreign worke permits of their British West by allowing them to come Indian workers, thus rendering the United States in sizeabl them completely immobile on numbers and lowering the wage the farms, since they may be and working conditions pain

picked up and deported without fully won by American agricu notice if found anywhere with- tural workers. out immigration permits. (At The WDL news release con

least, this is what they are told cludes by pointing out that th by their government represen-West Indians are permitted t remain in the country after the

"The government of the Brit- period of certification has en ish West Indies and the Baham- pired, through collusion h as is anxious to send its labor tween the U.S. and West In force here to counteract do- dian governments so that the mestic unemployment. The con- may be shunted about as need tracts signed by these workers ed, a helpless pool of labor a provide almost none of the pro- the mercy of both the immi tections embodied in Mexican gration service and the grower

OR A DEAL Whereas before the primary

vnere. POWELL'S RECORD

This is the third time in recent years that Adam Clayton Powell has shown that despite occasional militant talk, he is really interested in preserving the status quo. In 1955 as the unofficial representative of the Sapio in response to his state-U.S. government to the Banment at the news conference. dung Conference, the great Harriman said that he had long gathering of representatives seen eye to eye with him on from Asian and African councivil rights matters, and De tries, he distorted the picture Sapio stated that, "I will insist and urge that he be given of the life of the American Negro, in order to put the U.S. complete and full seniority on in a favorable light. Racism in all committees and in all matters as senior member of the the U.S., he said, had all but disappeared and "to be a Negro is no longer a stigma but rathparties in New York County." er a mark of distinction.' So what were the results of

In 1957, he tried to justify Powell's momentary break with the Democratic Party machine? Eisenhower's inaction against to Ricans are fed and housed The genuine sentiment of the Faubus. Two days before federal troops were sent to Little Negroes in Harlem for pushing Rock to enforce the Supreme the civil rights program with deducted for food and rent. militancy, which Powell seemed Court's decision against school Puerto Ricans are guaranteed a to voice for them, was not segregation, Powell said, "We mobilized into a fight against cannot meet this crisis by force the Democratic and Republican against force. Under no circum-Parties but was frustrated. The stances can federal troops be tees. The Puerto Ricans are Negro voters, after being led to used. This would . . . open the believe that they were partici- stopper and send Democracy and this agreement is policed pating in a struggle against the down the drain for at least our by active agents of the Puerto party which harbors the worst generation and maybe forever." segregationists, found out in a

CIGARET ADVERTISEMENT short time that this was all a maneuver and that they were Cigaret companies spent a total of \$127 million to advertise their wares in 1957. This



Local D	irectory
III., BOSTON III., Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. Room 200. III. BUFFALO Militant Forum, 831 Main St. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ke LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3- 1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. i-	NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 Univer- sity Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND - BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA

In desperation Alison, though preg-A play voicing the protests of England's literary group, The Angry Young nant, decides to leave him. Her father, Men, is currently playing on Broadway. Colonel Redfern calls for her. The Colonel The play is "Look Back in Anger" by has served his Majesty's forces well in India since 1914 and has only recently returned to England. He admits to Alison This is the story about a rebel withthat Jimmy is right to be belligerent on, at 116 University Place, out a cause. Jimmy Porter is a young against the family because they had treatman. He wants a change in society and is ed him badly. Then he sadly tells about antagonistic, rude, and abusive to anyone how things have changed in England since 1914 and how he can't bear the changes. He hates having to work as a candy-He fears that Alison is much like himself store clerk despite an education that fitin this respect.

Look Back in Anger'

By Lillian Kiezel

Alison tells her father: "You're hurt because everything has changed. Jimmy's hurt because everything is the same and neither of you can face it."

In turn the play is hurt and weakened because the author does not find any causes in modern day England or the world that are deserving of the support of young working people.

Nevertheless, "Look Back in Anger" presents the problem confronting many working people realistically and powerfully. It depicts the psychological and emotional problems they face in the attempt to find a cause or a road to follow that will lead them out of the humdrum poverty of today's existence toward a better future.

Fine performances by all actors enhance this stirring play.

steam irons, waffle irons, books, cosmetics, perfumes, a special "thrift department."

PRISONERS OF THE GROWERS A partial selection includes: