

40th Anniversary Of the Russian Revolution

An Editorial

Forty years ago, on Nov. 7, 1917, the Russian working class with the support of the peasantry seized political power under the leadership of the most revolutionary party in history — the Bolsheviks. The working people put an end to capitalist exploitation — the profit system based on private ownership of the means of production.

A new social order was established based on the nationalization of the means of production and their operation according to a plan. The workers took the first steps toward a socialist world. They replaced the hated political rule of the Czar, landlords and big capitalists with their own democratic organs of state power — the workers' councils. They appealed to working people everywhere to follow their example in order to end the first world war and build an international order of peace, freedom and plenty.

All this the Russian workers accomplished. But they could not perform miracles. They destroyed the illusion of the invincibility of capitalism. They demonstrated the capacities of a revolutionary working class. But on the backward foundations of Czarist Russia, isolated in a hostile capitalist world, forced to fight three years of bitter war for survival, they faced insurmountable obstacles.

Socialism is an international system. It requires a world arena for its full development. The construction of a socialist society in backward Russia was impossible. In the days of Lenin and Trotsky, anyone foolish enough to suggest otherwise would have been laughed off the political stage.

Reaction Begins

The Russian workers were forced to retreat in the age-old struggle to exist. And the bureaucratic caste took over, concerned only for its privileges, power and wealth. For decades since, this bureaucracy has disoriented advanced workers throughout the capitalist world, leading to tragic defeats and delays in Germany, Spain, France, Italy, etc. These, in turn, opened the way for another capitalist assault on the Soviet Union.

Again the Soviet workers were called to action. Millions died to hold Hitler's armies at bay. But victory brought no peace. The Soviet Union stood facing an imperialist world which was armed with the atom bomb and preparing a ring of military bases for a third world war.

Then a new stage in the Russian Revolution began. The first manifestation of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy appeared in the accounts in the Soviet press of open protests by returning veterans against working conditions in the plants. The sacrifices of Russian workers had been great and bureaucratic abuse and low living standards had become intolerable.

In 1953, the world learned of the stirring events and the Vorkuta prisoners camps and the appearance of an underground Leninist youth movement. The East German revolt in the same year foretold of the upsurge of workers in the East European countries.

The totalitarian regime was in crisis. With the 20th Congress in 1956 the vast edifice of lies that kept the bureaucratic caste intact began to crumble. The Soviet working class and its new allies in East Europe and China had grown strong and confident. In that same year the workers of Poland and Hungary organized themselves into workers councils, a dual power to the bureaucratic regime.

More than anything else the Soviet workers want peace. The cruel illusion, fostered by the privileged bureaucracy, that the capitalist world will permit the Soviet orbit to live in peace is beginning to die. Over and over again it has been demonstrated in the twelve years of cold war that "deals" with the imperialists will not end capitalist hostility for the working class or the hatred of the imperialist powers for the Soviet Union where the profit system was destroyed.

Peace can be won only when the workers of the world join hands against the profiteers. Internationalism — this is the real meaning of the demand of the Russian working class for a "return to Lenin."

Task of American Workers

With their growing pressure for an end to bureaucratic rule, the Soviet workers are once again beginning to move. And what is our task — we who live in the most powerful imperialist nation on earth?

With the Sputnik flying in its orbit, man has entered the space age. A new and exciting era has begun. But our social conflicts have not been resolved. As a result, great scientific and technological progress holds only terror for humanity, the threat of the nuclear destruction of civilization. Man is reaching to the stars — but only to extend a deadly arms race into space.

World capitalism in its death agony has yielded, in the life of one generation, two world wars, innumerable bloody colonial conflicts, a long twelve years of depression and constant fear of war or depression. America has the productive capacity to lead the world out of poverty, backwardness and misery. All that stands in the way is a small group of profiteering billionaires.

The Soviet workers opened the door to a world socialist society. It is the historic task of the American workers to close the door on the dark and barbaric system of capitalist rule with its wars and class conflicts.

The American workers have not spoken yet. Still before us is the political awakening of our class as an independent social force. But the laws of class antagonisms, working as inexorably as a law of nature, will compel the American workers onto the road of independent political struggle. When that process begins, the issues will soon be resolved.

We are proud to be a part of this great transition to a free society. And we dedicate ourselves anew to the task of creating a socialist world.

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Anti-Union Drive Threatened As Economic Decline Looms

Purge Seen in Zhukov Ouster

Spoke at Rally



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, and VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, were the principal speakers at an election wind-up rally on Oct. 25. (See article on page 2)

SWP in N.Y. Speaks on Radio, TV

By Carol Lynn
SWP Campaign Manager

NEW YORK, Oct. 31 — The barring of Communist Party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a candidate for the City Council, from participating in an election symposium at City College was sharply assailed today by Morris Zuckoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller.

Miss Flynn had been invited, along with Zuckoff and other candidates, by the Marxist Discussion Club, a campus organization, to address the symposium being held today. The decision to bar her came from City College President, Dr. B. C. Gallagher and was made on the grounds that Miss Flynn had served a prison term under the Smith Act. In reversing the student decision to hear Miss Flynn, Gallagher cited a decision by the five municipal colleges, last March barring Daily Worker editor John Gates from speaking because of his conviction under the Smith Act. The Flynn campaign committee announced yesterday that Daily Worker staff member Max Gordon would substitute for Miss Flynn at the symposium.

In a speech prepared for delivery to the student meeting, Morris Zuckoff characterized the ban on Miss Flynn as a "contemptible, new expression of the persistent efforts of the Wagner administration to keep the witch hunt alive on the City campuses."

"When the decision to bar

Khrushchev Tightens Own Rule

By John Thayer

OCT. 31 — Another member of the Kremlin's "collective leadership" which succeeded Stalin has bitten the political dust. Just what alleged crimes or misdemeanors Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov was found guilty of has not yet been revealed to the Soviet or world public. In any event Zhukov's real crime was that he had become too dangerous a rival of Khrushchev in the power struggle which has occupied the collective leadership ever since Stalin's death. He fell victim to a preventive purge organized and carried out by Khrushchev, who now emerges as undisputed top dog of the whole bureaucratic oligarchy in the USSR.

As was the case last June, when Khrushchev and Zhukov purged Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich, so today there is no possibility of the loser making public his version of the struggle. The Soviet people will have to sift the utterances of the victor and his yes-men for clues as to what their rulers were really fighting about and what effect the outcome will have on their lives.

Zhukov's downfall was preceded by the careful and devious preparation and plotting that is the Stalinist school's "contribution" to political life. A few of the details of the last stage can be made out. On Oct. 4 with fanfare and front-page stories in the Soviet press, Zhukov left for a state visit to Yugoslavia. He received orders extending his tour for several weeks and a propaganda campaign against him, though not using his name, was begun in the Soviet press. His home-coming rated but two lines on the back page of Pravda and that evening there was public announcement of his dismissal. He was met at the airport by his successor, as Defense Minister, Marshal Malinovsky, and an entourage of generals to underline the fact that the top military brass had accepted his demotion.

The accomplished fact with which Khrushchev confronted him had been rammed through the presidium of the Communist Party and later the Central Committee. Khrushchev has since said unofficially that Zhukov will be given a "good job." This is

(Continued on page 2)

The Old Gang -- As It Was



Ranks of top Kremlin bureaucrats continue to thin. Four of the above have been ousted since this May Day picture. From left to right: Vorozhilov, Zhukov (ousted), Bulganin, Khrushchev, Malenkov (ousted), Kaganovich (ousted), Mikoyan and Molotov (ousted).

French General Strike Shows Depth of Unrest

OCT. 30 — A mounting wave of militancy sweeping through the French working class showed its power on Oct. 25 in a 24-hour general strike. Strikers are demanding a general, across-the-board wage increase for all workers to make up the disastrous drop in the standard of living that has resulted from the past two years' inflation.

An unusual feature of the strike was that it came in the midst of a prolonged cabinet crisis. The Bourges-Maunoury cabinet fell Sept. 30. Since then there has been only a "caretaker" government while the French capitalists have juggled parties and politicians in unsuccessful attempts to piece together a new cabinet to cope with the highly expensive and unpopular war against the Algerian people and the government's fiscal difficulties resulting therefrom.

WAVE OF ANGER
The absence of a cabinet with powers to grant wage increases for government workers and to set wage policy for private in-

dustry was a talking point of the union bureaucrats against strike action. But the wave of anger over the intolerable drop in their already low standard of living overrode these objections.

On Oct. 17 gas and electrical workers throughout France staged a 12-hour strike. Save for hospitals, there was no light or power from 5 A.M. till 5 P.M. Workers were demanding a 30% general wage increase. The strike was notable for its completeness. Though this section of the working class has not previously been outstanding for militancy, it not only came out solidly on Oct. 17 but brought all supervisory and engineering personnel out with it.

On Oct. 25 the shipbuilding bosses in St. Nazaire, in a move to break the spirit of the workers with whom they have been engaged in a running wage dispute for a year, ordered a lock-out the day before the scheduled general strike. The lockout was not even at the end of the day's work but was arrogantly proclaimed in mid-afternoon. The 6,000 workers responded by entering management's offices

Same Old Union-Busting Techniques

By Fred Halstead
Some widely-used union busting techniques of U. S. businessmen were detailed in recent hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field. Undoubtedly, the Committee's head, Senator John McClellan, (D. Ark.), who would like to break up unions with anti-labor laws, was only trying to make his probing look impartial. Seven months of headlines on corruption in the unions he probably thinks can be balanced with a few weeks of publicity about a few of the industrial tyrants in this country.

Still, some interesting information has been yielded by these latest hearings. Since Oct. 22 the Committee has listened to witnesses tell of the activities of an outfit called Labor Relations Associates, a Chicago firm, headed by Nathan W. Shefferman, which provides union-busting advice and services to the bosses.

According to this testimony, one of Shefferman's techniques is to have his paid agents organize anti-union groups among employees to defeat union organizing drives. Another trick: Back-door, sweetheart contracts with corrupt union officials are arranged to bloc legitimate efforts to organize the workers. These techniques are supplemented with the firing and intimidation of union-minded workers, the use of labor spies and "psychological tests" of employees to screen out those who might favor unions, the use of provocateurs to commit acts of violence which are blamed on the union and bribery of union officials who are willing to take bribes.

A list of over 400 companies reported as having used the services of Labor Relations Associates was printed in the October 27 New York Times. It includes small and medium sized manufacturing, processing and service firms as well as many major retail stores such as Lerner and Macy's in New York,

J. L. Hudson in Detroit, Neuman Marcus in Houston and Dallas and several branches and affiliates of Sears, Roebuck and Co.

The committee staff presented figures showing that in the four years from 1953 to 1956 Sears, Roebuck & Co. had paid Labor Relations Associates \$239,000 to combat union organization drives in various Sears' stores. Testimony revealed details of intimidation, bribery and violence on the part of Sears and LRA in opposing a Retail Clerks' drive to organize Sears in Boston. After this testimony, W. W. Tudor, a Sears vice president said that his firm had engaged in "inexcusable, unnecessary and disgraceful" anti-union activities.

Sears dispensed with Shefferman's services, however, only after the committee had announced it would investigate the LRA.

While working for Sears (from 1939 until two months ago) the Shefferman agency cultivated certain union bureaucrats who

Seek to Put Crisis Load On Workers

By Joseph Keller

OCT. 30 — A new offensive against organized labor is developing in anticipation of a possible serious crisis in America's private-profit economy. As always, the first hints of economic faltering or decline are accompanied by moves to hobble the unions and to throw the burden of crisis on the wage-earners, small farmers and lower middle class.

Continuing threats out of Washington of union-curbing legislation are the natural accompaniment of increasing warnings about the shaky economy. To these are now added an increasing campaign from capitalist press and politicians on the theme of "sacrifice." This is always preliminary to moves to force labor to accept wage freezing, speed-up to reduce "costs," higher taxes, etc.

It is being freely predicted that Eisenhower, in his coming press conference and talks on domestic issues, will stress the theme of "sacrifice."

The concern of the Big Business ruling class to preserve its profits and privileges at the expense of the working people is intensified by the very real signals of distress heaping forth from the storm-tossed economy.

The most dramatic signal has come from the stock market which registered a 25 per cent decline in average share prices in the past four months. This was climaxed on Oct. 21 by the biggest single day's market break since Eisenhower's heart attack in September 1955.

Two days after the market break a flood of buying money appeared in the market following an Eisenhower talk about "confidence." This resulted in the biggest single day's advance, as many financial columns noted, since Nov. 14, 1929. That is an ominous date. It marked the one big market rally after the stock market plunge in October 1929. Thereafter, U.S. capitalism sank into a deep depression that continued for twelve years — until the war economy of WW II.

Last week's one-day rally barely recouped half the losses just for October. Since then, the decline has been resumed and at this writing is the worst in eleven years.

Most of the important economic barometers — sagging production and freighter loadings, reduced manufacturing work-week, increasing "pockets" of industrial unemployment — point to a dangerous instability in the economy. Most of the official and semi-official forecasts, including the Federal Reserve Board's, now concede the possibility of a "recession."

We must keep in mind that it is not necessary for production, employment and other important indices to fall behind to suffer a crisis. With a constantly expanding population and labor force, the economy must more than hold its own. It must keep pace with the population growth and allow for increasing productivity due to automation.

Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats see any possibility of bolstering the unsteady profit system except through intensified war spending. But the \$275-billion legal debt ceiling is being scrapped and more deficit spending appears in the offing just to meet current government obligations. The drive is on to breach the debt ceiling — an intensely inflationary measure and almost certain to bring a bigger tax squeeze.

Once more the American working class is being confronted with the only basic choices offered by capitalism: depression and unemployment or war-inflation and ultimately war itself.

Where British Former CP'ers Are Going

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

At a rough estimate, about half those who have resigned from the British Communist Party since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU—or have quietly failed to re-register—have dropped all political activities and discussion for the time being. The rest have been engaging in discussions—always lively, sometimes fierce, often repetitive, but by and large fruitful—among themselves and with other Marxists. The chief arena of these discussions is the local socialist forums which began to spring up spontaneously a year or so ago, and which are still coming into existence, though at a far slower rate now. The victims of emotional shock and bewilderment, unable any longer to rationalize out of existence their "doubts and difficulties" (as we used to call them patronizingly) sought clarity and understanding and the fresh, clean air of unfettered discussion.

CAPITALISM NO HAVEN

To many this air was so heady after years of living in an intellectual cage that they began flying rapidly in a Rightward direction. Some of these are still seeking the blissful panaceas of the John Strachey and the other latter-day Bernsteins. Others however discovered that Contemporary Capitalism is scarcely the made-to-measure haven from the storms of class struggle they took it for; that the renunciation of Stalinism is not something negative, but means for a serious socialist a more profound, rewarding and exciting study and creative application of Marxism than they had hitherto dreamed possible.

The forum discussions if they had done nothing else, would have been valuable in this respect alone: that for hundreds of us (though not for all by any means yet) they unlocked the door to a section of the library where we had never dared to venture before. Some of us had not even known of its existence—or, if we had, we accepted glib assurance that the contents of this section were merely political pornography, designed by "fascist agents" to confuse and corrupt simple working men.

And these forbidden books, now being read in Britain on a wider scale than ever before, turn out to be solid, meaty, forceful, brilliant pieces of Marxist analysis, polemic and scholarship wrought by men and women who carried the lonely torch of Marxism honorably through the darkness for a generation. Well, the torch has kindled others, in Britain at any rate, and its liberating flame is burning more and more brightly, shedding vivid light on our current problems, educating a new generation. But of this I will write more later.

To return to the forums. They conform to a pattern: about 15, 20 or 30 people, perhaps as many middle-class as working-class, gathered in a private home one evening a week, or more commonly one evening a fortnight, to relish and learn from the clash, shock and thunder of widely differing viewpoints.

Now a development of a similar type, but hardly a forum in the sense of a place where intimate discussion takes place, has been organized in central London by the editors of Universi-

ties and Left Review, a new journal which, highly publicized and highly successful, reflects the present ferment on the Left to the extent that intellectuals are involved in it. This is its positive side. Its weakness (shared by The New Reasoner) is that the views of working-class militants, of those who have refused to disarm themselves by casting aside Marxism, find little or no expression in its columns. The "U&LR Club" is attended by some 200 to 500 people, mostly young people, and a high proportion of them students who flock to hear speakers on political and cultural subjects. The alert and contentious atmosphere is reminiscent of the Thirties, of the Left Book Club and Solidarity with Spain.

While many of the contributions embody the illusions bred by twelve years of full employment and prosperity, the success of the U&LR club does mark the end of the bored, cynical, "couldn't care less" post-war apolitical phase among thinking young people in Britain; it shows that the "Angry Young Men" who refuse to be committed politically and who express inchoate resentment at the vapourings and failures of their elders are even now giving place to a reawakening of interest in socialist politics.

In their development the local forums have now, as it seems to me, reached a kind of watershed. This was brought out very clearly at the conference of the London socialist forums last weekend. Broadly speaking, there are two general trends within them. There are those who see the forums as the beginnings, if not of a new political party with its own program, aims and discipline, at any rate of a definite "forum point of view" distinct from that of any other organization and not contemptuous with a Marxist point of view.

On the other hand, there are those who feel that by definition the forums are places where people of different views exchange them and in the course of such exchanges clarify their ideas and attain a better understanding of the tasks now facing British socialists. These latter would add that while the forums ought most definitely to continue as independent discussion centers, any attempt to turn them into independent centers of political leadership would mean their ceasing to exist as forums, and hence would substantially reduce their attractive power for the next wave of Communist Party members coming into conflict with Stalinist practice and theory.

Most of those adhering to this second view, which won the day at the conference, have now made up their minds that the place for Marxists to work is inside the Labor Party, where they have the best opportunity for helping the British workers (whose political expression the Labor Party is) to generalize from their experiences and to see more clearly the road ahead. To the first trend of opinion the forums are a happy hunting ground for sects, whose attempts to "capture" the forums are an amusing field of study.

The second trend has succeeded in getting written into the constitution and aims of the forum movement (in London, at any rate) a guarantee that no section can "capture" the forums, and that they will remain forums. If the discussions lead to a majority of participants finding their way into the British Labor Party in order to strengthen the fight of the Left in face of the employers' and government attack on the workers, then that is all to the good.

Russian Revolution as It Really Was

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky. Translated by Max Eastman. Published by the University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957. Pages: 1,335. \$12.50.

A Soviet literary publication recently announced that from now on "writers and scientific researchers" will have access to the Central State Archives on the October Revolution and subsequent events in the USSR. One must ask the question: what sources have been available to Soviet historians up to now?

OFFICIAL HISTORY
The fact is that the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution finds official Soviet historiography in a shambles. The unravelling of the cult of Stalin since the "revelations" of Khrushchev has left the Soviet Union without a single authoritative official history of the revolution which brought it into being.

The opening up of the State archives after many decades is one more symptom of the mounting demand of Soviet intellectuals and youth for the truth about the Russian revolution and its subsequent degeneration. The consigning by the 20th Congress of official Soviet histories into the museum of aberrations has reawakened a world-wide interest in the writings of Leon Trotsky.

For this reason the new edition of the History of the Russian Revolution by Trotsky, one of the leaders of that great event, is most welcome. In his preface Trotsky writes, "The history of a revolution is for us first of all a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny." In his work the author shows that the source of every major event in the Russian Revolution can be traced to the profound political processes occurring in the mass movement itself. The fate of the multitude of leaders and political parties that played a role in the revolution is understood in its connection with the developing class struggle. Bread, peace and land—the demands that moved the mass into action—

Co-Leaders of the Russian Revolution



LENIN (left) and TROTSKY together led the Russian working class to victory in the revolution of 1917. The events that brought the workers to power for the first time were subsequently distorted and concealed by the Stalinist falsifiers of history. With the new upsurge of the Russian workers and youth, a search for the true history of these events has begun.

tested all leaders, all parties and all governments. The role of the Bolshevik party from February to October yields the only concrete lesson in the science and art of successful leadership of proletarian revolution that history has provided. We see not a band of power-hungry conspirators, as capitalist observers portrayed the revolution, nor a collegium of infallible priests, as Stalin represented the party of Lenin, but a living organism, correcting its mistakes, at times in a crisis atmosphere, functioning with direct ties to the workers' movement and capable of providing the organization for the whole class in its assault on capital.

In its assualt and dramatic detail Trotsky unfolds each stage of the revolution: the overthrow of the Czar, the political rule of the liberals, the experience with coalition politics and the parties that practiced it, the struggle to win the peasants to the side of the workers, the attempted counter-

revolution, and finally the October days, the "ten days that shook the world."

Trotsky records the history and draws the lessons of each experience. As a result, this work is an indispensable tool for those who would struggle for world socialism.

The Russian Revolution had a profound effect on the world working class and the colonial people. The socialist movement everywhere experienced a deepening split—for the revolution against it. The victorious revolution lifted Marxism to a new level. From Marx's scientific analysis of the laws of political economy, the chapter of the struggle for workers' power opened. The Marxist conception of irreconcilable class struggle, now proved in action, was accepted by millions and provided the basis for the appearance of the young communist international.

The literary apologists for capitalism instinctively reacted to the establishment of the first workers state with "mas-

sive retaliation" in the form of a torrent of lies and slanders. The young Soviet regime fought back—in the days of Lenin and Trotsky—by exhausting every possibility for making the truth known about their revolution.

But with the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the past, the truth, became an embarrassment. For Stalin and the new-rich he represented, the conceptions that animated the old Bolshevik party were utterly alien. The "form" of Bolshevism was often, and necessarily, left intact. But the content was vitiated. And lest someone observe the slight of hand, the archives were closed and history was written to fit the bureaucratic needs.

It has become fashionable for some socialists in the U.S. to view the "setting right of yesterday" as an important task for academicians but of little moment to socialists concerned with tomorrow. Yet one has only to glance at the history of the radical movement in the 40

years that have transpired since the Russian Revolution to know the importance of this event for the world working class. One cannot begin to talk about socialism without explaining the nature of the present regime in the Soviet Union. Some who learned the truth about Stalinism for the first time after the 20th Congress, experienced such disillusionment that only a temporary disorientation could result. Others, however, seek a new and confident beginning through the tortuous method of re-discovering the past of their whole movement internationally. For them truth is a source of inspiration. But difficult or easy, there is no other way. For them the History of the Russian Revolution will prove invaluable.

S.F. Candidates Take Program to Local Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25 — With election day nearing, Nov. 5, the socialist candidates for the Board of Supervisors, Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan, are stepping up their activity. So far they have visited 37 unions and 18 civic and political organizations. The socialist candidates have been injecting issues into an otherwise issueless campaign. At a candidates' meeting held by the NAACP last week, one of the capitalist candidates felt so pressed for a reason to ask for support that he leaned on one of his ancestors. He had done nothing about public power — an issue raised by the socialists — but boasted that his grandfather had been instrumental in securing the city-owned power and water dam for San Francisco.

ADVICE — KEEP QUIET

Other capitalist candidates have complained that the socialists are raising "settled" issues. One in particular who voted for the emasculated version of a Fair Employment Practices law passed by the Board of Supervisors a few months ago, charged that talking about discrimination now would only "arouse racial antagonism."

Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan have demanded passage of an amendment to the ordinance to eliminate its secret proceedings and make it enforceable. "We think," said Bar-

baria, "that the ordinance is a step forward. But it is not strong enough to do the job. Discrimination is an integral part of the capitalist system and will not be eliminated by laws that don't mean business. I don't think it is arousing racial antagonism to propose a little bit of enforcement."

The People's World, unofficial voice of the Communist Party on the West Coast, gave its readers objective reports on the campaign of Barbara and Jordan on two occasions. On Oct. 5 the PW quoted statements of Vincent Hallinan and Warren K. Billings endorsing the two Socialist candidates. And on Oct. 26 the PW reported the views of the socialist candidates on the FEP ordinance and Frank Barbara's demand for enforcement.

On Oct. 19, the PW published in its reader column a slanderous letter from a reader, Archie Brown, attacking Barbara and Jordan as "known disrupters" and "inveterate enemies of the lands of Socialism." However, on Oct. 26 the PW published a reply to Brown from George Hitchcock, well-known San Francisco playwright and Chairman of the Independent Socialist Forum. Hitchcock wrote:

... Purge Seen In Zhukov Ouster

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The formula by which Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich were removed to remote areas of the USSR, far from the levers of power and contact with their machines inside the bureaucracy.

Khrushchev appreciates that Stalin's method of dealing with defeated opponents was final and that exile is risky, but times have changed. The Soviet working class is in no mood to tolerate "confession" trials or blood purges. It is determined to block any return to the dark days of Stalinist terror. The execution of Zhukov might be just the spark required to cause a popular explosion. Khrushchev must consequently spare his defeated opponents; though the possibility that a sharp turn in the political relationship of forces in the country, or merely inside the bureaucracy, might bring them back onto the scene must give him many a nervous moment.

Though the Soviet masses have no love for the privileged officer caste of the armed forces, which wields excessive and arbitrary powers over the rank and file, nonetheless of all elements in the top bureaucracy the military is the least detested. They do not play a direct role in the economic oppression of the masses. Not they, but the secret police bear the onus of political suppression of the people. Moreover, by leading the army to victory over the Nazi invasion they have won from the masses the grudging tribute, given to no other section of the privileged bureaucracy, that they at least have done something to earn their keep.

PRESSURE OF MASS

Public opinion in the USSR has greatly increased in power since the war. Pressing like a glacier on the bureaucracy as a whole, it has won some de-Stalinization and other concessions. But as yet this pressure is confined to indirect political intervention, to attempting to put its weight behind "lesser evils" among the contending factions of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy realizes this and tries to utilize public feeling only within very careful limits. A peril for the whole bureaucracy is that one faction may be tempted to overstep these narrow limits. If the door to political activity is opened enough for the masses to put their foot in, they will burst it wide open. Then the whole bureaucracy stands in danger of losing its privileges and power. Zhukov, most popular of the generals because Stalin persecuted him, was in a position to get some mass support. This made it imperative for Khrushchev to receive him quickly.

DEMAND FOR TRUTH

"Since you [the People's World] have opened your columns (Oct. 19) to a vitriolic attack by Archie Brown on the candidacy of two Socialist Workers Party members for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, I think elementary fairness and democracy calls for the printing of differing opinions by other subscribers. "Let me say," continues Hitchcock, "that like Vincent Hallinan and Warren Billings, I have endorsed the candidacy of Frank Barbara and Joan Jordan although I am in no way affiliated with the SWP and have profound differences with them on many questions, including their estimate of Soviet affairs. "However, like many other socialists of my acquaintance," said Hitchcock, "I question neither their sincerity or courage in running for office on a socialist platform. Their platform is excellent, they are both working people and should, I think, be supported by all socialist-minded voters, as their opposition consists solely of businessmen, lawyers, and the like." The election campaign will wind up with an Oct. 30 rally at which the candidates and independent socialist supporters will speak.

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CHICAGO

On the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a talk on:
"The Meaning of the Fall of Zhukov"
Speaker:
Howard Mayhew
Chicago Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party
Friday, November 15
8:15 P. M.
777 W. Adams Street
Auspices:
Militant Labor Forum

... New York SWP Speaks Out

(Continued from page 1)

Gates was made last year," the Socialist Workers nominee continued, "it touched off a strong city-wide protest among students and supporters of academic freedom generally. I hope very much that the present decision to keep Miss Flynn from participating in today's discussion will spark an even stronger protest and will serve to put an end to this practice of depriving students of their right to hear all viewpoints." "As you know," Zuckoff said, "We of the Socialist Workers Party have profound differences with Miss Flynn and the Communist Party. But we demand that she be given her basic democratic right to free speech. To bar her from expressing her views on any grounds is wrong. And the grounds that have been given are particularly reprehensible. "Like every other victim of the Smith Act, Miss Flynn did not put in a prison stretch for anything she did. She was railroaded to prison solely for her ideas," said Zuckoff. "And even according to present standards of justice," she has already paid the price for expressing her

views when she completed her term in jail. To now declare that she or any other victim of the Smith 'Gag' Act is also to be deprived of their right to free speech afterwards is a cruel, double blow at individual liberties."

COWLEY ON TV

Meanwhile, the entire Socialist Workers Party ticket has continued to press hard on the issue of civil liberties in this campaign. In a spirited television interview sponsored by the Citizens Union last Sunday, Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor struck solid blows on the issue. In reply to a red-bating question by one of the panel of interviewers on the "subversive" list, Miss Cowley cut the ground from under her questioner when she declared that she did not think much of a list that pretended to concern itself with "force and violence" and ignored the force and violence organized by Governor Faubus of Arkansas against the Negro school children of Little Rock. In an impressive demonstration of seasoned campaigning, the Socialist Workers Party spokesman

utilized the barrage of questions from the panelists to present her party's views on the principal issues in this campaign. When her demand for an expanded program of low-cost housing, new school construction and greater social service facilities evoked the inevitable question, "But where do you propose to get the money to do these things?" Miss Cowley left her questioner visibly startled by replying, "You know I'm always surprised when people ask that question."

"After all," she continued, "New York is the richest city in the world. Why should we have any problem in raising the money for these necessary projects?" "But I see by your program," an interviewer interjected, "that you're opposed to the City Sales tax." "Of course I am," Miss Cowley replied, "the sales tax is an unfair burden on the working people. I think it would be a good idea to substitute a five percent sales tax on stock and bond transactions."

"You mean you're for some kind of a 'tax the rich' program?" countered the panelist.

Successful N.Y. Election Rally Held

By Ruth Norton

NEW YORK, Oct. 25.—Speaking at a rally tonight in support of the Socialist Workers Party ticket, Vincent Hallinan, the 1952 Progressive Party Presidential candidate, hit vigorously at the idea that labor or the radical movement can gain by supporting the Democratic Party. The best way for New York socialists to advance their cause, he said, is to pile up the biggest vote possible for the Socialist Workers Party candidates even though they might differ with the Socialist Workers Party on various questions.

In a withering criticism of the support being extended to the Democrats by the Communist Party, Hallinan said, "I don't know how many times you have to be kicked in the face by a man to discover that he is your enemy. These very people are right now holding parties to greet their friends just out of the penitentiaries into which they were thrown by Harry Truman and the Democratic Party. In mature people, this kind of per-

sistence can no longer be called a virtue."

Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, gave the meeting hard facts on the reactionary record of the Tammany administration in New York under Wagner and outlined the key planks in the SWP platform on housing, Jim Crow, the school system and civil liberties. She then went on to an eloquent exposition of what a socialist New York in a socialist America could be like.

MURIEL McAVOY

In a deeply moving address, Mrs. Clifford T. McAvoy, widow of the late American Labor Party leader, told the rally, "If my husband had known that I would be speaking here to you tonight, I know that he would have wanted me to give you his warm good wishes for a fighting campaign and a big vote on November 5th." Explaining that her husband had hoped to head a united socialist ticket in this election, Mrs. McAvoy said that when his

hopes proved premature, "Cliff was happy that the Socialist Workers Party stood firmly by the principle of independent labor politics; that it refused to become involved with futile and unsavory maneuvers, with the Democratic Party; that it did not permit this election, this opportunity to reach great numbers of people with a socialist message, to go by default.

"On Cliff's behalf, as well as my own," Mrs. McAvoy concluded, "I bring greetings tonight to Joyce Cowley and her running mates and to all who have worked so well in this campaign."

Tim Wohlforth, managing editor of the Young Socialist, told the rally that the newly-formed Socialist Youth Alliance in New York had taken a stand in opposition to both major parties and favored support to all independent socialist candidates. "Personally, I am urging the highest vote that can be mustered for the Socialist Workers Party ticket," Wohlforth said.

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Was Union Democracy Served?

The AFL-CIO executive council suspended the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Oct. 24 on charges of domination by corrupt elements. The Council's resolution said that suspension would be lifted if the Teamsters "remove and bar from office" certain officials including James Hoffa and agree to allow a special committee appointed by the Council to "clean up" the IBT. If these terms are not met, states the resolution, the Council will recommend expulsion of the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO at the federation's convention Dec. 5.

In explaining its action the council said the AFL-CIO constitution "requires, and the 1,400,000 members of the Teamsters union are entitled to have a clean union."

If the AFL-CIO tops were interested in helping the rank-and-file teamsters to clean out the corrupt IBT bureaucrats, they would throw their full weight behind a campaign for union democracy within the IBT and within the rest of the labor movement as well. But Meany, Dubinsky, Reuther and Co. fear union democracy just as the IBT leaders do. Neither group of privileged bureaucrats is willing to defend the full rights of opposition — without which democracy is impossible, or to encourage rank-and-file initiative, participation and control.

Instead, the AFL-CIO leaders ignore the rank and file, high-handedly suspend the teamster membership from the AFL-CIO and then set up absurd terms — demanding that certain IBT bureaucrats remove themselves. On top of that they want the whole IBT put under a "trustee-

ship" of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. In this way they add another anti-democratic weapon to their arsenal, another precedent of bureaucratic control from the top.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council is not interested in extending union democracy or in fighting corruption, only in running scared before the attacks of the newspapers, the corporations, and the committee headed by Senator McClellan, the arch-reactionary friend of Governor Faubus and advocate of a national "right to work" law.

A fight for union democracy is the only answer to corruption in the labor movement and to defense of the unions against the attacks of the Senators, the newspapers, and the corporations. If the expulsion takes place, Dec. 5, unions will be fighting unions instead of their enemies at the very moment when labor should have maximum solidarity to meet the anti-labor offensive.

Not even two years have passed since the AFL and CIO merged together with the promise of eliminating all jurisdictional, inter-union squabbles. Now, at the bidding of the labor-hating Senator from Arkansas, Reuther and Meany are threatening the workers with a new split.

It should be clear to all that if the labor movement is to defend itself in the period ahead it will require a fight against these disorganizers of the organized and a restoration of militant union democracy in the AFL-CIO as well as in the Teamsters.

Freedom — State Dep't Style

If ever there were a clear-cut, test case of what the U.S. State Department means when it says it wants to save small nations for the "free world," Guatemala is it. The State Department has had a completely free hand to carry out its policies in Guatemala since 1954 when it engineered the coup of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas and overthrew the elected government of the liberal reformer Arbenz Guzman.

Since then, the Guatemala governments have boasted of their allegiance to U.S. policies and have made no secret of the fact that U.S. representatives are consulted on all important decisions.

The U.S. government and the U.S. capitalist press consistently hailed Castillo Armas as a model statesman of the "free world." After Castillo's assassination last July, they gave complete support to the succeeding government of Luis Gonzalez Lopez and assured the world that this government would conduct free elections to fill the next full presidential term.

Throughout, the U.S. backed its regime in Guatemala with huge amounts of financial and military aid. Including figures for the current fiscal year, the U.S. has pumped in \$76 billion. What is the result of all this U.S. control in Guatemala?

"According to official figures," says the Oct. 20 N. Y. Times, "rural wages, affecting the majority of Guatemala's largely Indian population of 3,350,000 have gone down instead of up in the last three years." "There is evidence," says the Times, "that the monetary prosperity has failed to permeate to the lower levels

Meany's Sordid Role in UN

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, internationally known historian, and one of the founders of the NAACP demanded that the United Nations forbid "our enemies to speak for us." DuBois lashed out against George Meany, AFL-CIO president, who "undertook to tell you [the UN] of the success which the U.S. has made in the social progress of colored people."

Pointing to the abysmal record of discrimination in Meany's old AFL, DuBois asserted that many unions under Meany's jurisdiction still exclude colored people. DuBois also affirmed that immediately following the Supreme Court decision declaring segregation unconstitutional, five states with six million Negro children, declared their defiance of the law and openly threatened armed resistance.

The protest of DuBois is well taken. We have witnessed the sorry spectacle of George Meany, in the face of Little Rock, where federal paratroopers had to bare bayonets so that nine children could go to school, apologizing for the crimes committed against the Negro people. The world was shaken by Little Rock, but Meany ran interference for the U.S. State Department — telling the United Nations

of Guatemalan society," and the old problems of lack of industrial development and dependence on one crop have persisted.

In other words, economically Guatemala is still a colony exploited by the U.S. coffee and fruit corporations and her poverty stricken population is hungrier than ever. What about politically?

The presidential election was held Oct. 20. The largest party in the country, the Revolutionary Party, was banned from the ballot on the charge that it is "Communist infiltrated." The three parties allowed on the ballot have a combined following of less than that of the Revolutionary Party, according to a conservative estimate and are all right-wing groups.

When the results of the election were announced, giving the victory to Miguel Ortiz Passarelli, the leading legal opposition accused the government of fraud in the elections. Mass demonstrations in support of this charge swept the capital city and a military junta took over, accepted the resignation of the provisional government and admitted that the elections had been fraudulent. The junta then turned the government over to the second vice-president of the old Armas regime, Guillermo Flores Avendano, who is supposed to hold new elections in the future. These elections, however, will also confine the choice to one of the minority right-wing groups.

That's the state of democracy in the test case of U.S. capitalism's "free world."

that every day, in every way, things are getting better and better.

Federal intervention, said Meany, was part of a "peaceful revolution which has been going on for years. . . The struggle for equality of opportunity is succeeding," crowed the demagogic spokesman for capitalism. While Negro freedom fighters with mass protest actions are defending their right to dignity and equality as human beings, Meany stepped out to assure the world that all is well.

Victories of the Negro people in the fight for equal rights are won by the colored masses in bitter struggle. America's most oppressed are never the beneficiaries of capitalism's generosity. The same thing is true for the entire labor movement. It is not for Meany as the official head of organized labor to do the State Department's gutter work at the UN. His job is to work in the interests of labor. He would do better to get the Southern Organizing Drive into gear to smash the whole rotten pattern of Jim Crow and low wages that exists in Dixie. In the UN Meany spoke for neither labor or the Negro people. He spoke for Big Business.

Workers Councils in Hungary

By Shane Mage

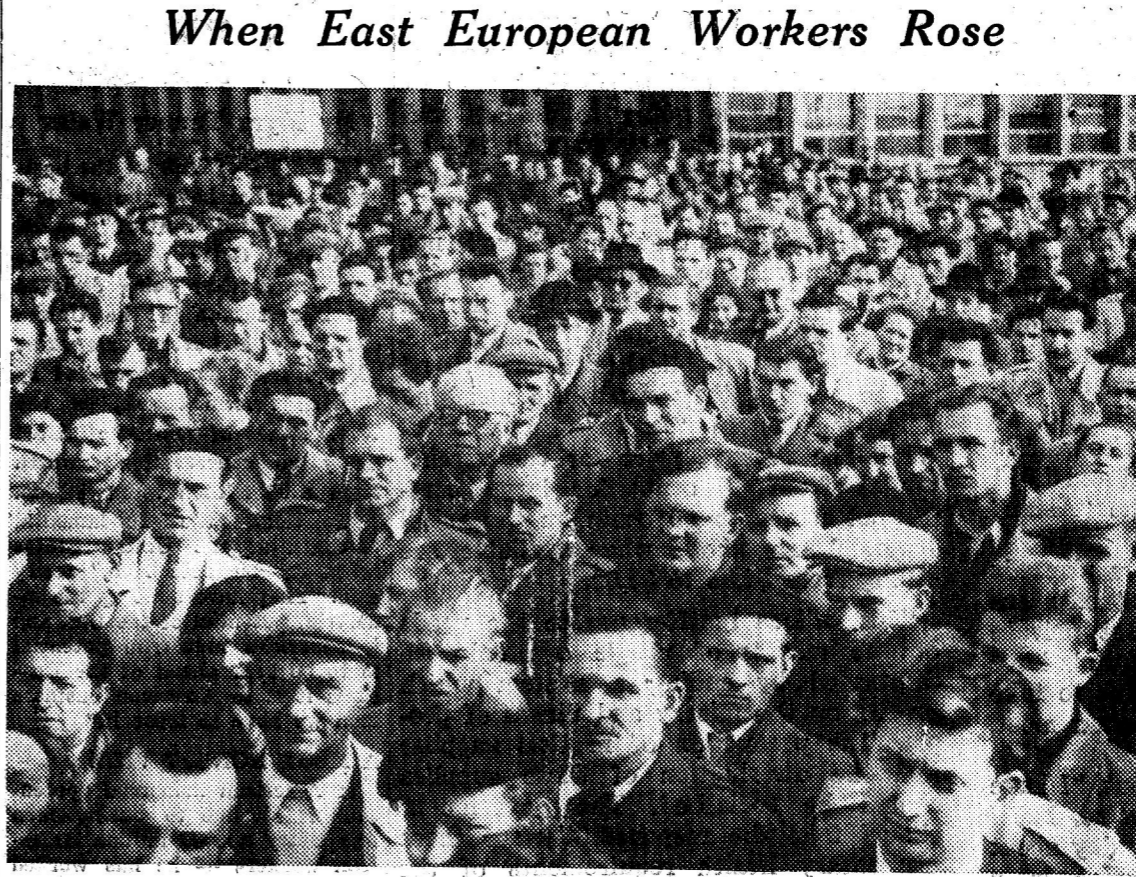
On Nov. 7 of last year the workers council of Dunapentele addressed this appeal to the Russian soldiers who had been sent into Hungary to restore Stalinist rule: "Your State was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have freedom. Today is the thirtieth anniversary of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

The Hungarian workers thus sensed the profound link between the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the Russian revolution of November 1917. Both were socialist revolutions, both were proletarian revolutions, and, most dramatic, both were soviet revolutions.

The hallmark of a great revolution is that the masses break through into the political arena and take an active part in shaping their own historical destiny. To prevent this, to keep the masses in their age-old servitude, is the most important aim of every social order. Naturally, when the masses at last find their voice in the tempest of revolution, they cannot use the old social institutions of church and state whose highest purpose was to stifle their voice.

The masses must create new institutions to express their revolutionary will. And, in every great revolution, they have created such institutions, under the most varied names and forms: the nonconformist meeting (England), the committee of correspondence (America), the section assembly (France), the speak-bitterness meeting (China), and the workers' council which became known to the world under its Russian name, the Soviet.

There is nothing arbitrary or



The revolutionary mood of the workers in East Europe can be seen in this view of a mass meeting held at the Zeran plant in Warsaw in 1956. The formation of workers councils in Poland and Hungary showed the way they will end bureaucratic rule and establish workers democracy. Chief Stalinist complaint against workers' councils is their "tendency" to enter into political struggle.

accidental in the development of the workers' council form. The revolutionary class in modern industrial society is the working class, and the power of the working class is based on the fact that it is concentrated by modern productive forces at the very heart of social power.

The workers' council organizes the proletariat strictly along class lines, starting from the basic unit of the factory and building up to represent the workers of an entire geographical area. The soviet, as distinguished from the ordina-

ry trade union, organizes the workers as a political class, not merely as an economic category. And insofar as it takes serious action to carry out the workers' political demands, the workers' council tends to become a new center of political power and sovereignty as a deadly revolutionary rival to the old state apparatus.

That is how it was in Hungary. The Hungarian revolution broke out spontaneously and unexpectedly, as a defensive response of the workers and students to the brutal provocations of the secret police and

the intervention of Russian tanks. In those last days of October, while the fighting was at its hottest, the workers in every factory, in every city in Hungary formed their own free elected councils. These councils directly took over the economic life of the country, and also took over political power in most areas, either in their own name or as the most important element of the "national committees" which took power in some areas.

So sweeping was the movement to create workers' councils that as early as Oct. 26 the Hungarian trade unions, still controlled by the old Stalinist leadership, actually agreed to the formation of workers' councils: "The praesidium of the Trade-Union Federation recommends the formation of workers' councils in all factories and workshops."

By the beginning of November the workers' councils and national committees, although they had no clear idea of the future course of the revolution, held political power so firmly that the national government headed by Imre Nagy was able to function only because it had their confidence. As Peter Fryer wrote, "effective power in Hungary was divided between the Nagy government, which had the support of the people because it reflected their will—and the armed people themselves. . ."

After the second Russian intervention on Nov. 4 the workers' councils emerged as the sole center of opposition to the Kremlin and its Kadar "government." The next month and a half saw a struggle to death between the Hungarian soviets and the Kremlin-imposed government. The workers' councils had the weapons of general strike and the isolation of the regime from the entire nation. The government had the weapons of hunger, cold, and military force.

The classical means of military force and police terror were not sufficient to break the power of the councils. In the first place, the problem of the government was to re-establish its domination over the entire

Hungarian working class. A frontal attack on the workers' organizations would merely make the struggle of the workers more determined than ever. And in the second place, the old police apparatus had been shaken almost to pieces by the revolution. Time was necessary to rebuild the machine of repression and to bring the weapons of starvation and cold into full play.

THE FINAL WEAPON

The Stalinist government therefore had to postpone as long as possible a frontal clash with the working class. For this reason it called into play its last, and decisive weapon—deception. Even after Nov. 4 many workers continued to have illusions about the motives (and powers) of Kadar. After all, they thought, this man in the past was a sincere oppositionist and suffered torture under Rakosi. Surely it must be possible to arrive at a compromise with him and with the Russians, a compromise by which something can yet be salvaged from the wreck of the revolution.

These illusions were to prove fatal. Kadar "recognized" the councils, negotiated with them, made all sorts of promises. In return, the workers' councils suspended the general strike, resumed it whenever Kadar broke a promise (for instance, by kidnapping Imre Nagy), suspended it again after each new "compromise." Thus by a policy of compromise and conciliation the Hungarian soviets let slip the best moment for an all-out struggle.

By mid-December it was too late. The Kadar government now was strong enough to arrest the workers' leaders and destroy the workers' councils. It outlawed the national and Budapest workers' councils on the grounds that they "have preoccupied themselves with exclusively political questions with the objective of organizing a sort of second power, opposed to the State Power."

No better words than this statement of the Kadar government could be found to express the real choice posed by the Hungarian revolution. On the one hand the "State Power" of the Stalinist bureaucracy; and on the other, the "second power," the state power of the Hungarian working class exercised through its elected democratic bodies, the Workers' Councils. And the threat of capitalist restoration? It existed, of course, but to smash it the Hungarian workers would merely have had to exert the power that already lay in their hands.

In Hungary the Stalinist bureaucracy was able to triumph; thanks to overwhelming military force. But its triumph will be short-lived. As the workers of Eastern Europe and Russia itself move forward to a genuine socialist democracy, and as the workers of the "West" move toward a struggle to destroy capitalism, they will find inspiration in the examples of the Hungarian Soviets of 1956 and the Russian Soviets of 1917.

The last word remains with the Hungarian workers, defeated yet triumphant. Other nations will take up the socialist aspirations expressed in the words of Sandor Racz, imprisoned leader of the Budapest soviet: "I have a tranquil conscience because I have been the unfortunate spokesman for the will of the workers and for all those who have fought for the ideal of a free, independent and neutral Hungary and for a socialist state."

AFTER LITTLE ROCK

Real Program of "Moderates"

By George Lavan

The boast of Southern "moderates," like Gov. Collins of Florida and Gov. Hodges of North Carolina, that their anti-integration programs are superior to those of the ranting Negrophobes, like Eastland and Byrnes, because their will get by the federal courts whereas the flagrantly segregationist programs will be declared unconstitutional is being borne out.

The U.S. Supreme Court has now upheld lower court decisions declaring void the pupil placement acts of Louisiana and Virginia. But the test of Florida's pupil placement act is still bouncing around in the lower courts while an appeal by a group of Negro parents to have North Carolina's act (modeled on Florida's) declared unconstitutional has been refused by the high court (Carson et al. v. Warlick). The Louisiana and Virginia pupil placement acts were typical of all the Deep South pupil placement acts openly nullifying the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling. The Florida and N. C. pupil placement acts represent the "new look" anti-integration program of the Southern "moderates." Actually all these acts are very similar. A layman might sum up their differences by saying the "old look" acts proclaim in their own provisions or by concurrent legislation that never, positively never can Negro children be placed in white schools, while the "new look" legislation says "hardly ever" or leaves out the "positively."

In Florida not a single Negro child has yet been integrated. The atmosphere under "moderate" Gov. Collins has just signed an act passed by the legislature empowering him to close any school to which federal troops have been sent to enforce court-ordered integration. 2) A false rumor on the day of school opening in Pompano Beach that Negro students might attempt to enroll in the white high school resulted in police throwing barricades around the school, stopping autos and making all students walk through a police line scrutinizing their color. Police are investigating reports that a white man had been "encouraging" Negro students to enroll in the white school and state that, if found, he will be indicted.

Gov. Hodges' reputation as a "moderate" has been enhanced nationally by the fact that there are now ten Negro children in formerly lily-white N.C. schools. There were eleven but Dorothy Counts, only Negro admitted to

Harding High in Charlotte, has been driven out by failure of authorities to protect her from persecution and physical harassment. This token integration in North Carolina follows the strategy expressed by one of the law's framers who saw it as at most permitting integration of one-tenth of 1%. This infinitesimal "sacrifice" was calculated to get the law past the federal courts and keep North Carolina's schools 99.9% Jim Crow. It should also be noted that "moderate" Gov. Hodges asked for such violently anti-NAACP legislation that the N. C. legislature felt constrained to refuse it.

Another part of the strategy of the Southern "moderates" is to get the Negro organizations to "cooperate" by not pushing too hard for integration. While such overtures and negotiations are naturally conducted in secret, their echoes have reached the press.

It is known that during the Little Rock crisis those seeking to effect a compromise tried to persuade the Negroes to give up the attempt to enroll the Negro children for a year. But to the credit of the Little Rock NAACP and its leader, Daisy Bates the compromise bids were spurned—even when they were reduced to holding off for a few weeks to allow Gov. Faubus to save face. Just how strong the pressure on the Little Rock NAACP was, may be gleaned from the fact that the New York Times editorially deplored the fact that the Negro children were sent to school the day following Gov. Faubus' withdrawal of the National Guard.

Wm. Stringer, chief of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington Bureau (Oct. 1) says: "It is not realized generally that some of these [Southern "moderate"] governments have even maintained confidential contacts with the local NAACP. . . The NAACP, along with influential moderate elements in the communities, has agreed to the moderate programs of desegregation which having begun in the colleges, now are moving to the high schools with great gradualness." In a list of prerequisites for success of the moderate program, which he heartily favors, Stringer puts "if the NAACP does not press its lawsuits where there is strong determination [against integration]."

It may or may not be as a result of such negotiations that Florida's Gov. Collins could boast in his 1956 campaign for reelection that not only was there no integration but that there were no lawsuits pending

for admission of Negro children to white primary or secondary schools in Florida. It should also be noted that the Southern School News (Sept.) reports: "By tacit agreement there was no new pressure for desegregated schools as sessions began throughout Florida." The October issue reports: "Florida opened its 1957-58 school year without a single attempt by a Negro to enter a white school."

NAACP head Roy Wilkins' recent speech at the convention of the North Carolina NAACP has been subjected to an unusually sharp criticism by Washington correspondent Louis Lautier, the most widely syndicated columnist in the Negro press. Lautier attacks Wilkins' speech for weakness, roundabout language, and a measure of praise for North Carolina's token integration.

Lautier adds: "If it had not been for the witless action of Gov. Orval Faubus in calling out the Arkansas National Guard to bar the entry of nine little colored children into the Central High School in Little Rock, informed sources say, the Southern Governors' conference was ready to seek a compromise with the NAACP whereby token integration would have been undertaken in several Southern cities on condition that the NAACP would not press for desegregation in communities where local resistance is high."

Since such deals would be all to the advantage of white Southern officials it is quite likely they have been planned and possibly offered to the Negro leaders. For the Negro leadership to swallow such bait would mean a terrible disorientation of the Negro struggle. The token desegregation that has taken place in North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas can be the thin edge of the wedge if the Negro people maintain a struggle for full integration in all states.

Even with such a battle the results will come piecemeal and slower than desired. But if their leaders compromise the demand for full compliance, if they become party to token and gradualistic deals, the results will dwindle and then stop. Instead of the thin edge of an entering wedge today's token desegregation will become the end result, the officially accepted "solution" that the Southern racists, the administration, Big Business, as well as many liberals and labor bureaucrats, who wish to preserve the Democratic Party's unity, are so desperately seeking.

High Court Refuses Review Of 1 of 3 Sobell Motions

OCT. 31 — The Supreme Court, Oct. 28, refused to review one of the three motions put before it by the defenders of Morton Sobell, Alcatraz prisoner serving a 30-year term for alleged "conspiracy to commit espionage." Two other motions have yet to be dealt with by the Court.

Sobell's lawyers petitioned the court for a new trial on the ground that its decision of last June, which condemned use of the Fifth Amendment as a means of discrediting a witness, applied to the Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951.

The appeal brief called attention to the fact that Judge Irving R. Kaufman had permitted extensive and improper cross-examination of Ethel Rosenberg on her use of the Fifth Amendment in a pre-trial grand jury hearing. The Supreme Court's decision did not weigh the arguments for or against this contention. It simply declined to consider the issue.

Despite the world-wide interest in this case, despite the fact that two people were executed and one is wasting his life in prison, the High Court has never given its judgment on the trial. It has never granted a review on past appeals. However, there are still two other motions before the Court. On the basis of either one, the Justices could open the case for a re-hearing. One motion is based on the fact that the prosecution used perjured evidence to convince the jury that Sobell had attempted "an escape" to Mexico. The other concerns violation of the extradition treaty of this country with Mexico. New evidence has been obtained, after long years of work by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, that proves conclusively the prisoner's account of events leading up to this trial. It also proves conclusively that the prosecution constructed a frame-up against Sobell.

The Flu Vaccine Scandal

By Morris Zuckoff

One indice of the advance of society is its attitude toward those who are ill and to illness. Primitive and medieval society used witch doctors and incantations to exorcise evil spirits that ostensibly entered into the body, thus causing disease. Modern society is aware that illness results, not from "evil spirits," but often from microscopic organisms. The "Asian" flu is caused by one of them and science has developed a vaccine to prevent the disease.

But many Americans might just as well find a witch doctor to conduct a ceremony against "evil spirits" as get some flu vaccine. In the richest and most technically advanced country in the world, we have seen, in the past few weeks, 179 people die, 70,005 people treated and 1,011 hospitalized as a result of the "Asian" flu.

In drug stores one encounters placards that say, "Before Asian Flu strikes, see your doctor." Good advice. But private doctors and even municipal hospitals have difficulty getting enough vaccine to take care of those who need protection most, the chronically ill.

One doctor bitterly pointed out, "I have tried all over to get the vaccine, but I only get promises. I read every day about show girls getting vaccine. This is a disgrace when people whose lives may be saved can't get it."

Big firms seem to find no difficulty in obtaining vials of vaccine. To mention a few, the National Broadcasting Company had 2,500 of its employees immunized. A cigarette firm and a large publicity house were able to give their employes vaccinations at \$5.00 a shot. Industrialists, of course, are not concerned with their

employees' health. They are worried about possible profit losses from absenteeism.

The N. Y. Post, Oct. 11, reported that an official of one of the six vaccine-producing firms estimated that 90% of vaccine supply is going to dealers and wholesalers. "What they do with it," he admitted, "is pretty much their business."

The bitter fact is that while there is not enough flu vaccine produced, the vaccine manufacturers are selling the limited supplies to private industries without consideration to public health needs. And in the process, they create a flourishing black market in "Asian" flu vaccine. While the average price for the vaccine ranges from 45 cents for large commercial stores to 60 cents on the retail druggists' lists, shots, when available, are selling from \$1.35 to \$5.00.

This callous indifference to the needs of the masses of people can only be eliminated by ending a system which profits on the misery and illness of people. The production of medical supplies and the distribution of these supplies should be socialized. The government should take the responsibility for these elementary health requirements of the people.

Even the term "socialized medicine," however, is a curse word for the drug companies, the American Medical Association and the capitalist class to whom profits come first. They don't want even enough control of their profiteering license to ensure protection to the chronically ill who are in the greatest danger in an epidemic.

Bosses I Have Known

By Henry Gitano

Colonel Codman recalled Old Blood-and-Guts General George S. Patton's relish of war: "We were speeding along . . . [amidst a] reeking mass of smashed half tracks, supply trucks, ambulances, and blackened German corpses. Encompassing with a sweep of his arm the rubble farms and bordering fields scarred with grass fires, smoldering ruins, and swollen carcasses of stiff-legged cattle, the general half turned in his seat. 'Just look at that, Codman. Could anything be more magnificent?'" he shouted. Reading this excerpt from Charles Codman's new book "Drive" dealing with his former boss, the late Patton, brought back memories of a boss I had — along with hundreds of thousands of others — the U.S. army.

Because we, unlike Patton, did not relish pointless death and destruction, the military's first task was to smash our sensitivities and beat us into the army mold. "Kick the mud out of your ears, and move fast, you jackass; what do you think you are, an individual? This is the last time someone'll talk to you wise clowns. Next time they'll wrap a rifle around your numb-skulls." These were the welcoming words at the army's reception center.

We were drilled from "left shoulder arms" to "right shoulder arms." We were marched and counter marched: "Double to the rear by the left flank march!" Automatic, instantaneous response to orders was the goal: "Yours is not to question why, yours is but to do and die." The army did not attempt to inspire us.

They struggled to make human robots — reflex action to commands was the goal.

A draftee was given a tooth brush to clean out the orderly room. Everyone concerned knew it was senseless, but it was meant to tell the new soldier that he does what he is told. Reason had nothing to do with it. There were the rat races in the middle of the night: "Fall out, that was too slow. When I blow my whistle, you'll run out of your barracks with foot lockers and you'll keep falling in and falling out till I get good and tired." The army wanted to impress everyone as to who was boss.

A corporal came over: "What's that cigarette butt doing in the ash can? Answer, you idiot! and address me as sir." There were countless inspections. Everything had to be uniform and in a precise place. Even the soles of boots had to be polished. Like a zombie, the soldier was to be permitted neither consciousness nor spontaneity.

When the president of the USA sent me "greetings" through my friends and neighbors on the Draft Board, I decided to give myself some slack and roll with the punches. After two years, when I was to be discharged, my company commander called me in: "Why don't you re-enlist? You don't have a job or a family waiting for you. Here you've got a chance for a future with promotions and security." Now it was time to take up the slack, and I answered: "Sir, you can keep your army. I like to walk at my own cadence and sing my own tune."

SWP Answers UCLA Witch-Hunt Attack

(We publish below a copy of a letter sent to the editors of the Daily Bruin, campus paper at the University of California at Los Angeles, by the Educational Director of the Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. With the distribution of the first issue of the Young Socialist, national youth monthly, the Bruin began a series of witch-hunting attacks on radicals, including the SWP.—Ed.)

Editors, UCLA Daily Bruin: "Fear has driven more and more men and women in all walks of life either to silence or to the folds of the orthodox. Fear has mounted—fear of losing one's job, fear of being pilloried, this fear has stereotyped our thinking, narrowed the range of free public discussion, and driven many thoughtful people to despair. This fear has even entered our universities, great citadels of our spiritual strength, and corrupted them. We have the spectacle of university officials lending themselves to one of the worst witch hunts we have seen since early days."

So wrote U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in an article entitled "The Black Silence of Fear," printed in the N. Y. Times, Jan. 13, 1952, at the height of the McCarthyite intolerance. The current Daily Bruin crusade against the Young Social-

ist newspaper and its campus supporters is just such a campaign of fear, intimidation, and thought control. It is not designed to inform, to discuss and clarify some great issues of our time but to generate an atmosphere of conformity, to stereotype thought, and to prevent free investigation of ideas.

THREE FALSE CHARGES

The Socialist Workers Party has been one of the targets of this campaign. Nothing has been said about its present program for the American people, but three false accusations have been launched against it. 1. The SWP is "subversive" and "Un-American." 2. It is no different and no better than the Communist Party. 3. It advocates the overthrow of the government by force. What truth is there in these allegations?

The sole evidence of the SWP's "subversiveness" cited by the editors is that it has been so designated by the U.S. Attorney General. But the Bruin neglects to report two far more important facts. First, that the SWP, along with other organizations, was placed upon that blacklist without due process of law. It was stigmatized without notice, without any specification of charges, without any hearing—and its continued requests for a full and fair hearing have been refused. The majority of the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on April 30, 1951,

that such action was "patently arbitrary" and that the Attorney General exceeded his authority in blacklisting organizations without a hearing.

Secondly, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals of New York stated on August 22, 1951 that the Attorney General's list "is a purely hearsay declaration. . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed organizations." The report of the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith's friend Jack Tenney, has even less standing.

Moreover, so prominent a figure as Supreme Court Justice Black has said that officially prepared and proclaimed governmental blacklists, which punish many organizations and their members merely because of their political beliefs and utterances, "smack of the most evil type of censorship" and "cannot be reconciled with the First Amendment."

To prove the "tieup" of the SWP with the Communist Party, the Bruin reports that James P. Cannon, present National Chairman of the SWP, was one of the founding members of the American CP. But it neglects to report that he helped found the American Trotskyist movement out of which the SWP originated after having been expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for protesting its policies.

It is well-known to every informed student of radical politics that the CP and the SWP are political antagonists with different programs. It is equally well-known that, despite the profound differences separating the two organizations, the Socialist Workers Party defends the democratic and constitutional rights of the Communist Party and its members as it does those of every other grouping in this country. We firmly believe in freedom of expression, political activity and organization for everyone—without exception.

As for the third allegation, I can do no better than to quote from the statement made by a well-known member of the SWP, James Katcher, the legless veteran when he was accused of "disloyalty" in 1948 and removed from his government job. "I do not advocate force and violence to achieve socialism," he wrote to the Veterans Administration Loyalty Board. "The only time in my life I ever practiced force and violence was under the orders given me in the army by the U.S. Government."

Today, after an eight-year fight, Katcher has been restored to his government job by order of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals who held that he had been illegally discharged and wrongly accused of disloyalty.

The SWP is a political par-

ty which seeks to convince the American people that socialism is the only system that can bring the American people peace and freedom. It is currently running candidates in the San Francisco and New York municipal campaigns. Its California candidates are endorsed by such figures as Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party Presidential candidate in 1952, and Warren K. Billings of the notorious Money-Billings case frameup. . .

A final point for Bruin readers to consider. The doctrines of socialism stemming from Marx today influence the majority of people on this planet—and even the man-made satellite whirling around it. They are bound to get increasing attention from thoughtful people in our own country.

Every educated individual ought to learn without prejudice what these ideas are, whatever their final judgment upon them. The Bruin editors are doing a disservice to the spirit of free inquiry and to UCLA students when they attempt to create an atmosphere of intimidation and harassment to prevent unimpeded and critical examination of the Socialist arguments and objectives.

Sincerely, Theodore Edwards, Educational Director Los Angeles Branch Socialist Workers Party

THE MILITANT

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The Men Who Own America

By Myra Tanner Weiss

OCT. 30 — "Without the businessman what have you got left in the United States?" asked Jean Paul Getty when he was interviewed after being declared the richest man in the United States by a Fortune magazine survey. The survey, prepared by Richard Austin Smith, in the Nov. issue of Fortune listed Getty as conservatively worth from \$700 million to \$1 billion. "I think the fundamental strength of the United States is in its business men," Getty said. "They have built up the industrial potential of the U.S. and if American industrial potential is to be kept ahead of the Russians it is to American business men we have to trust it."

A MORE HONEST VIEW

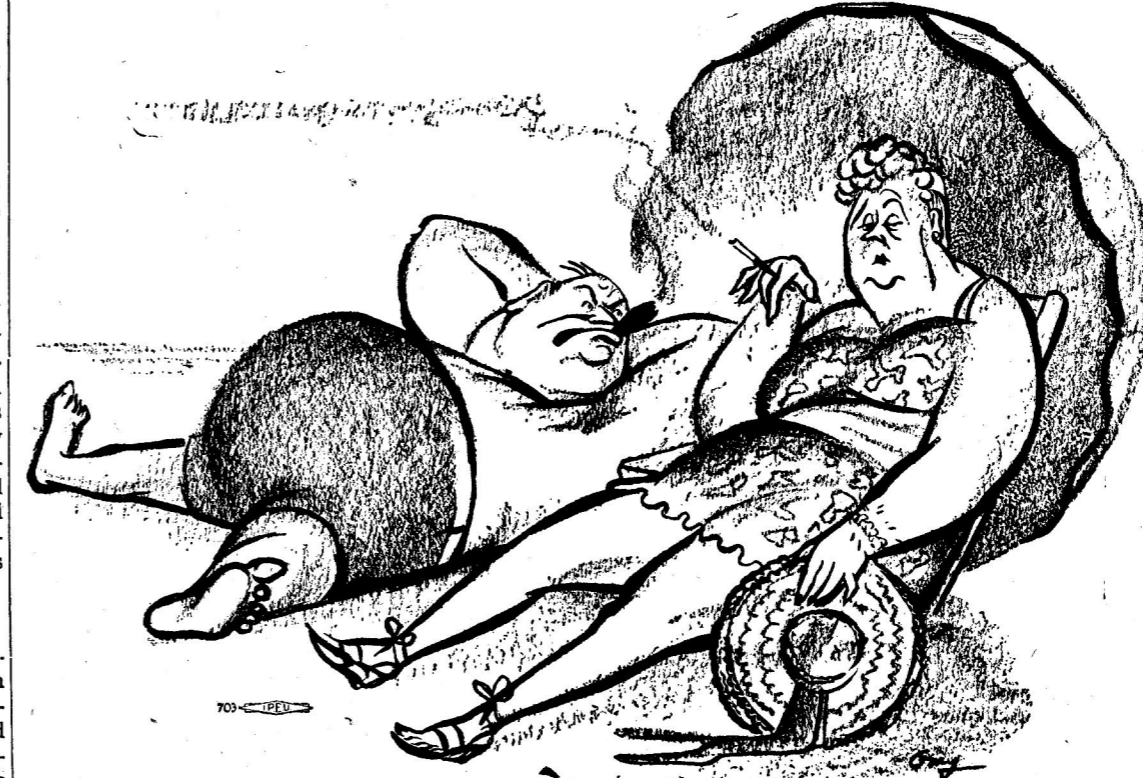
If American industrial "potential" is all due to businessmen like Getty not 60 million American workers — he has worked hard and deserves his many millions. But he modestly and more accurately attributed his own accumulations to "my father's good judgment and my own good luck."

Getty's wealth was born in oil. It grew fast in the thirties by swallowing up the assets of other companies destroyed in the depression. And now he's an international dealer, dividing with slave-holding King Saud of Saudi Arabia some of the oil-take of the Middle East.

78 OF THEM

But Getty is only one of what the Fortune survey calls the "Very Rich." Fortune presents a list of 78 people in the top bracket — those worth from \$75 million to \$1 billion — "conservatively." (These figures do not represent total capital possessions, but the principal on which income is derived — stocks, securities, trust funds, etc.)

If one takes the lowest figure of the estimated wealth each person on the list possesses, the 78 favored sons and daughters of America altogether enjoy a



What they don't realize is that I made my hundred million with HARD Work!

fortune worth \$10,325,000,000. And that ain't hay. But don't think this wealth goes to their heads. According to the Fortune report, most of them "are advocates of inconspicuous consumption." They are not as embarrassed about their wealth as they were in the depression, but they don't care to have it talked about too much.

"Almost to a man," said Fortune, the Very Rich who were interviewed "were hard-pressed to define an extravagance. 'I buy what gives me pleasure,' said a du Pont. 'Who can say whether it's an extravagance?'"

Many of those who "have built up the industrial potential of the U.S." don't like to have anything to do with business. Charles F. (Boss) Kettering, worth between \$150 million and \$200 million said candidly, "I handed all my financial affairs over to the Winters Trust Co. of Dayton. I said, 'You're my executors, why not exec while I'm still around?'"

They pay all my expenses — airplanes, house bills, and so on. . . Never had anything to do with finances; I want to spend all my time inventing."

SIMPLY NAKED

Others also use trust funds to handle their wealth. Fortune reports a popular saying. "If you don't have a trust fund in Boston, it's as if you didn't have any clothes on."

Boston's Joe Kennedy — in the \$200-400 million category — claimed he does his "best work floating around in his Florida pool." However, "only a few" admitted to working less than a six or eight hour day.

Fortune reports that "many of the Very Rich hold to the personal philosophy that a man should scratch for what he gets, and this sometimes leads to a belief that any kind of philanthropy is dangerously enervating for the recipients." A \$50-million Texas man, Tom O'Con-

nor, asked to donate \$40,000 for a memorial to the Texas longhorn steer, logically replied, "Ain't no cow worth \$40,000." One might easily add, "Ain't no business man worth \$50 million." But that doesn't change the fact that quite a few have \$50 million.

A quick addition of the list of 78 of the Very Rich reveals that 23 of them basically got their wealth out of the national resources of the country — out of oil and 41 of the 78 got it from their "old man." The big majority, 54 out of 78, got it from either oil or inheritance or both.

The listing of individuals, of course, conceals the dynastic wealth of families who divide their possessions to cut down on income tax and other nuisances. But the list includes six male Rockefellers and one female Rockefeller, two Mellons, four du Ponts, two Whitneys and there are four Fords in the family. Perhaps the cleverest com-

ment among the Very Rich who were interviewed was provided by one E. V. Richards of New Orleans — \$50 to \$100 million — who is a firm believer in the old capitalist maxim "management money." He said, "If people just have wealth to accumulate income, they are the idle rich, the parasitical disease of capitalism. They should be turned over to the Communists, for they are the sort of people who breed Communism."

Richards doesn't seem to grasp the obvious and elementary fact that all incentive under capitalism, whether the owner plays around with any "management" or not, is profit. If income is invested instead of accumulated, it is only to get more income to accumulate.

But Richards should be more cautious before throwing his buddies down the drain. The Fortune survey pointed out that the Very Rich of America "have not traveled quite so far down the road to resignation of control as English wealth," but there is a growing dependence on professional help in the management of industrial empires. In simple language that just means the Very Rich are increasingly content to merely "accumulate income."

The Fortune report says "that a substantial section of the American rich (including of course widows and heiresses) have become rentiers [coupon clippers] in the most passive sense. And even where massive amounts of stock are still held by one person in a single corporation, the power is infrequently exercised and then only at a time of crisis."

To return to the question posed by the richest of the Very Rich — "without the business man what have you got left in the United States?" — we can say: Let's try it and see. Give all the business men a vacation on some nice quiet island, and leave America to the people who work and produce all that we have. We don't think they'll even be missed.

Union Defends 3 Buffalo Workers Victimized in Westinghouse "Probe"

BUFFALO, Oct. 26 — Westinghouse Electric Corporation, taking advantage of an attempt by the House Un-American Activities Committee to whip up a red scare in its October 1-4 hearings in Buffalo, discharged three members of the International Union of Electrical Workers. The three men, Vincent Pacile, Floyd Fried and James Anacone, all have been employed at Westinghouse at least ten years, and have been active unionists. James Anacone is a member of Local 315 and Vincent Pacile and Floyd Fried are members of Local 1581 IUE, AFL-CIO.

The trumped-up charges given by the company included: 1) "disturbing influences" in the plant, 2) "falsification of em-

ployment applications" and 3) "possible deterrents to getting defense contracts." The charges are so broad in scope and so vague that practically everybody could be victimized by them. These concocted falsehoods are used only to cover up the real reason why they are being fired. All three men, Fried, Anacone and Pacile refused to co-operate with the House Un-American Activities Committee, and used the First and Fifth Amendments.

The union, realizing this, contends that the exercise of rights guaranteed under the Constitution cannot create a reason for discharge.

Clifford Haley, Regional Director of the IUE, AFL-CIO in

New York was quick to issue a press release defending Anacone who is a member of the Organizing Staff. Haley charged the company with "union-busting" and with "violating Anacone's constitutional rights."

The right-wing leader of Local 1581, Ted Weirzick, however, has been ultraconservative in his actions. He merely said he would file grievances for Pacile and Fried in line with the contract. His only attempt, so far, to explain the issues involved to the members of his local has been to print in the "Union Member," organ of Local 1581, a wishy-washy statement that did nothing to help or clarify the case.

The District Council of the International Union of the Electrical Workers unanimously approved a resolution which severely condemned Westinghouse for firing the three men. The 82 delegates representing 45,000 IUE members in the state also voted to support the two locals in their fight to reinstate the three men.

The resolution in part stated, "We commend Locals 1581 and 315 for their efforts to stop the Westinghouse attempt to violate the mandate and spirit of the United States Constitution and the rights of employees who are members of our union."

While the District Council is fighting in this case, its commendation to the locals is more than they deserve. There has to be more support from other unions and organizations for this case. Further efforts are needed by labor to make the workers aware of the attempts of the bosses to weaken and eventually smash the labor movement.

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Janosco Case Hearings Continued to December

LOS ANGELES — Government deportation hearings against John Janosco, western field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers, were resumed here Oct. 24. The union leader is charged with belonging to the Socialist Workers Party in 1937-1940 which he denies.

The Janosco case is the first one in which membership in the Socialist Workers Party has been treated as a deportable offense under the McCarran-Walter Act. It is the first time the provisions of this law have been applied to any political organization other than the Communist Party.

This hearing session consisted of five motions made by Janosco's attorney, Marshall Ross. Two were granted and three denied.

FBI FILES

The hearing officer granted the request that the defense be provided with all statements made by Janosco in earlier hearings. He then turned down the request that copies of all

reports made to the FBI by prosecution witness Henry Harris be shown to the defense. Harris had testified that he had given regular reports on his fellow-workers in the Minneapolis Teamster's union to the FBI. The motion was rejected on the ground that the immigration hearing was not a criminal but an administrative proceeding.

The defense was denied the right to have all previous witnesses returned for examination on the new charges submitted against Janosco at the conclusion of the government's presentation. The attorney's petition to dismiss all the charges was denied. The case has been continued to Dec. 11.

LOS ANGELES

Socialist Workers Party Forum

will hear William F. Warde speak on

Forty Years of the Russian Revolution

Saturday, Nov. 9 8:15 P.M. 1702 East 4th Street

TWIN CITIES

"The Future of American Socialism" speaker:

Murry Weiss

Saturday, November 9 8:30 P. M. 322 Hennepin, (Rm. 201) Minneapolis Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Calendar Of Events

New York City Sunday Forum series. Opening session Nov. 10, 8 P.M. "The 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution." Speaker: Dan Roberts, editor of the Militant. 116 University Pl. Contribution: 50c. Auspices of Militant Labor Forum.

Detroit

Friday, Nov. 8, 8 P.M. "From Soviet Uprising to Sputnik." (In celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution). Auspices: Friday Night Forum Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave.

San Francisco

Fri., Nov. 8, 8 P.M. "Marxist Thought Today." Speaker: Prof. Paul A. Baran — author, "Political Economy of Growth." Chairman, Adam Lavin, Journalist, 150 Golden Gate Ave. Auspices: Independent Socialist Forum of San Francisco. Donation: 50c.