

CP Heads in N. Y. Back Big Business Candidates

Openly Oppose Independent Socialist Votes

By Herman Chauka

A policy statement on the New York elections by Ben Davis and George Blake Charney, co-chairmen of the New York State Communist Party was published in the Worker Nov. 3. It aligns the Communist Party with the cold-war, red-baiting union bureaucrats of the Liberal Party in support of Tammany's candidate, Mayor Wagner. The main fire of the statement is directed against the Socialist Workers Party whose candidates campaigned vigorously to popularize the need for a labor party and a labor administration and to spread the message of socialism.

UNITED DRIVE

Davis and Charney are spokesmen for the Foster and Gates wing of the CP leadership. Their statement represents a united effort by the CP tops to throttle an apparently growing rank-and-file opposition to the party's "co-alignment" line of supporting capitalist candidates endorsed by the labor bureaucracy. (The statement takes issue with "the argument for abstention in our ranks," that is, with the attitude of those who saw no real choice between Wagner and Christenberry.) At the same time the statement is a malicious attack on independent radicals who supported the Socialist Workers ticket in this election.

After dismissing the Socialist Labor Party as an electoral choice because of its hopeless sectarianism, the CP statement says: "The situation with respect to the SWP is somewhat different. We must take into account the position of a number of socialist-minded individuals including the editors of the National Guardian that the SWP provides the only socialist alternative in the elections, and thus merits our support."

The statement then presents a falsified version of SWP's views on "peaceful co-existence," on the "anti-monopoly coalition" and on the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. (See answer to the CP's falsifications on this page.) This purported "analysis" of the SWP program concludes with a scurrilous Stalin-type smear: "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolutions. Some g o o progressives do not take this sufficiently into account."

After presenting the SWP and those who supported its ticket as abetting "counter-revolutions," Davis and Charney announce the

13,915 VOTES



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York Mayor polled 13,915 votes by unofficial count. In 1953 the SWP Mayoralty vote was under 4,000.

Communist Party's support to Wagner. True, Wagner's anti-labor record has created such a stench that the statement of support is couched in a hypocritical way.

WHAT IT ADDS UP TO

Christenberry, we are informed, is the main enemy. To abstain or vote for the SLP is bad; to vote for the SWP far worse; Wagner's administration has "accomplishments which we do not desire to minimize," and a big vote on the Liberal Party line would be progressive. But, the statement coyly adds, "We neither endorse or take responsibility for any candidate or party in this Mayoral election." The authors safely assume that anyone of voting age will be able to deduce from all this that the Communist Party favors a vote for Wagner on the Liberal Party line.

A major justification offered by Charney and Davis for supporting Wagner is that Christenberry "is a candidate of the Daily News crowd and the McCarthyite element in New York." Overlooked is the fact that on Oct. 30 the Daily News endorsed not Christenberry but Wagner. And the News was not

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CP's Latest Smear of SWP

By Harry Ring

The attack against the Socialist Workers Party by Ben Davis and George Blake Charney in the Nov. 3 Worker demonstrates that the leaders of the Communist Party remain supporters of the political program developed by Stalin — a program that has nothing in common with the Marxism-Leninism to which they profess adherence.

The key plank in this program is the concept of peaceful co-existence as developed by Stalin and reiterated by Khrushchev. According to Davis-Charney "it is incompatible for people to oppose the concept of peaceful co-existence and yet profess to speak for socialism."

We are further informed that the SWP's rejection "of the idea that it is possible to achieve a lasting peace in the present world with imperialism" is "disorienting and dangerous."

The SWP has consistently opposed imperialist war. Despite its political opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy, it has unreservedly denounced every act of U.S. imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union. It opposed Truman's police action in

Korea and demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops. It campaigns for recognition to the People's Republic of China and for an end to the trade embargo against it. It demands that the U.S. government immediately cease all nuclear tests. It is a partisan of the great Asian and African national independence movements. Here at home, it stands in opposition to the cold war and all its Big Business and labor-bureaucratic proponents. The SWP thus would have no basic quarrel with a concept of "co-existence" which simply meant opposition to imperialism's preparation for a Third World War against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples.

Struggle for Peace

But the SWP does differ sharply with the Stalinist "co-existence" concept. This obviously does not mean — the record refutes the contention — that the SWP is pro-war, as Charney and Davis maliciously hint.

Now does it mean that it thinks imperialist war "inevitable" in the sense that the working people cannot prevent it. It means that the SWP proceeds from the historically tested Leninist premise that the drive to war is lodged in the imperialist system and that the struggle for peace cannot be successfully divorced from the revolutionary struggle for workers' power — that is, for socialism.

This is the heart of the difference with the CP leadership. About the only factually correct statement of SWP views in the Davis-Charney article is that the SWP regards the CP concept of co-existence "as an abandonment of the fight against imperialism."

The co-existence line pushed by the Kremlin and supported by the CP leadership is one of trying to get a "live and let

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National Guardian Blasts CP Support of Wagner

In its column "Report to Readers," the Nov. 11 National Guardian says the following about the Benjamin J. Davis and George Blake Charney attack on the SWP and their call on progressives to vote for Wagner on the Liberal line:

"We marvel, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anathematize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism; and in the same combination can approve (pardon: approve the approval of) a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water."

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"Buy Less" -- Eisenhower's Answer on Rocketing Prices

Will Nikita Khrushchev Become Another Stalin?

By George Lavan

NOV. 6 — After being kept in the dark for a week, the Soviet people were finally informed by the Kremlin of the fate of the second most powerful figure among their rulers, former Defense Minister Zhukov. At the bidding of Khrushchev he had been expelled not only from the Communist Party's Presidium, the committee at the very pinnacle of power in the USSR, but also from the CP Central Committee.

ANTI-ZHUKOV CAMPAIGN

The action was voted unanimously by the 133-member Central Committee which is the upper crust of the whole bureaucracy and in which there are numerous generals and admirals. Zhukov was himself a member and not only voted for his own expulsion but made a speech confessing his "errors" and thanking the committee for making them clear to him. The only mitigation of sentence that Zhukov's capitulation brought was that he was not expelled from the party itself. It is expected that shortly rank-and-file party

The denigration of Zhukov as a military figure went furthest in a re-writing of the history of the military campaigns of World War II by Marshal Ivan S. Konev. Printed in full in Pravda, this lengthy article belittles Zhukov's record at the battles of Stalingrad and Berlin, couples him with Stalin in responsibility for the USSR's defeats at the beginning of the war, and portrays him as a conceited and unscrupulous glory seeker.

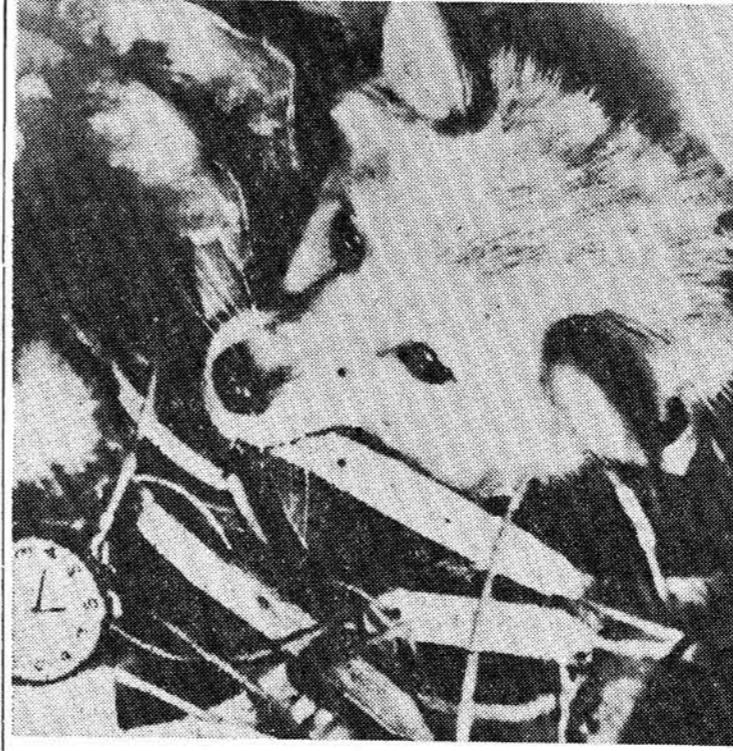
Khrushchev's victory over Zhukov thus appears to be complete. From the power struggle in the topmost reaches of the bureaucracy which since Stalin's death has seen the successive elimination of Beria, Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Zhukov, now Khrushchev emerges as the single predominant figure. He is without visible challengers. Does this mean that history is about to repeat itself, that Khrushchev is to be another Stalin?

TREND TO ONE-MAN RULE

The inherent tendency of the Soviet bureaucracy is, as Trotsky has pointed out, toward one-

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A Husky in Space



A Husky-type dog, like the one in Sputnik II, in a rocket 130 miles above the earth. It was not harmed by the state of "dynamic weightlessness" it occupied aloft for six minutes, according to the Russian navy newspaper, Soviet Fleet.

5 Million Unemployed Forecast for 1958

Conservative business spokesmen are almost unanimous in their predictions that 1958 will be a year of "recession" with at least five million unemployed.

At the fifth annual Conference on the Economic Outlook held Nov. 5 at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, professor Daniel B. Suits said that unemployment will increase by two million in 1958. Added to the present figure of close to three million, that would be seven percent of the nation's work force. (Any single area having over six per cent unemployment is presently classified as "critical" by the government.) Suits said the increased unemployment would stem from a decline in production, increased productivity, and an increase of 40,000 in the nation's work force.

According to the Oct. 31 New York World-Telegram, "most observers" expect the number of jobless to reach four to 4.5 million by February or March 1958.

Across the country, layoffs are already rising sharply in aircraft and textiles and particularly

Callously Tells People To Resign Themselves to Lower Living Standards

By Fred Halstead

President Eisenhower has strongly implied that the government expects the American workers to cut their standard of living in the coming period. He was asked at his Oct. 30 press conference, how best the "American consumer . . . particularly in the field of the white collar worker" could cope with the fact that the cost of living has risen for the 13th straight month. He replied that "people should attempt to purchase less."

As advice, this statement was hardly necessary. The vast majority of American workers, whose wages have not kept pace with price rises and whose total income is already required to meet current bills, are being forced to cut purchases. But as a warning as to who is expected to pay for announced increases in armaments expenditures, the President's statement is packed with meaning.

In spite of a continuing rise of consumer prices, Eisenhower himself admitted in the same press conference that the national economy was "taking a breather" as indicated by rising unemployment and the failure of business to pick up as much as expected this fall. The economy, said Eisenhower, "always seems to be balanced between a possibility of deflation and inflation." This is another way of saying that the alternatives are another depression or vastly increased armaments production leading to World War III.

At present the economy is teetering between these alternatives with the bad effects of each already in evidence.

JOBLESS CLAIMS UP

The estimate of five million jobless for 1958 refers only to those workers who will be registered with the state unemployment insurance offices. The actual number of unemployed will be considerably higher, even if next year turns out to be no worse than U.S. businessmen now expect it to be.

JOBLESS CLAIMS UP

The present situation, according to a national economic survey published in Scripps-Howard newspapers Oct. 31, is being compared with 1948 and 1953 when declines in business foreshadowed the mild recessions of 1949 and 1953. Overtime pay "has virtually disappeared in many areas," the survey reveals.

Meanwhile, Democratic House floor chief McCormack (Mass.) has told the Eisenhower Administration that he will back any move to lift the legal national debt of \$275 billion "to whatever level is deemed essential to provide the country . . . with the military measures that are required."

This indeed is a weird man with a weird memory. In 1951 he leaves the uncontradicted impression the trip was made by train. In the spring of 1956, he is in doubt about how he made the trip, but is sure it wasn't by air. In the winter of 1956-57, he remembers not only that he flew, but on which airline, and at approximately what time.

If this third account of the trip was the first account after Gold's arrest, why was it not pointed out to Gold at the trial in 1951? And why wasn't the correction made when Gold was on the stand at the Senate hearing in 1956? It has been conclusively proved that Gold was an inveterate liar. But that is apparently not all. Is someone prompting him or putting time-tables in his mouth?

The Look magazine article was meant to reassure people that justice was done to the Rosenbergs and Sobell. For anyone who has studied the record of the Rosenberg-Sobell case objectively, it will have the opposite effect. Unfortunately, the voice of the Sobell defenders is not as loud as the voice of the FBI.

Look Tries to Bolster Frame-Up of Rosenbergs

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NOV. 6 — Just as it is difficult to commit a crime and leave no evidence, so it is difficult to construct a frame-up that will stand up under close scrutiny. The Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951 is a case in point.

The Rosenbergs were executed and Morton Sobell is spending his eighth year in prison on a 30-year sentence on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage." But the government is still trying to convince the world the trial was just.

In order to do that, the Justice Department has attempted to patch up at least some of the holes in its case. But patchwork often only proves the shoddy condition of the garment. And so it is with the job done, Oct. 29, in Look magazine with the help of the FBI.

HOW DID GOLD TRAVEL

There is only one "new" argument presented in this rehash of the story given by the prosecution witnesses at the trial. That concerns the trip made by Harry Gold from New Mexico to New York in 1945. Gold was supposed to have obtained atomic secrets from Dr. Klaus Fuchs in Santa Fe and from David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother, in Albuquerque.

At the trial in 1951 Gold was asked: "En route to New York did you at any time inspect the material which you had received from Greenglass?"

"A. Yes, I did, on the train from Albuquerque to Chicago and somewhere in Kansas, I believe."

John Wexley, author of the book, "The Judgement of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," checked the train schedules from Albuquerque to New York and found that Gold could not possibly have arrived in New York at the time he claimed.

In April, 1956, an attempt to answer Wexley's charge was made at a Senate hearing. Gold was hauled out of jail to tell the Senators about Soviet espionage.

Robert Morris, Chief Counsel for the International Security subcommittee, asked him: "Did you go by train or did you fly?"

"Mr. Gold: I went by train.

"Mr. Morris: And when you returned to New York, what did you do with the material?"

"Mr. Gold: I went by train.

"Mr. Morris: And when you returned to New York, what did you do with the material?"

"Mr. Gold: Wait, now. I've got to get this straight. Some of these — you see, I was over this about six years ago. The events actually happened eleven years ago, and there is a tendency to blur.

STILL NOT BY PLANE

"What I want to say now is my present recollection. I want to say, as I recall it now, it is certainly not going to be an exact duplication as far as the minutest details go. I am trying to think, how did I get out of Santa Fe that particular time? That particular time I went by train. I hated waiting, but I went back by train. I am trying to remember, why I didn't fly. I was running short funds."

This sudden memory difficulty was not evident at the 1951 trial.

In all his testimony Gold mentioned not even one trip by plane, though he told of bus trips and train trips. And his testimony was full of minor details.

Anyway the Senate hearing would show that on this trip from New Mexico, Gold's memory wasn't so good and therefore Wexley's charge couldn't hold

N.Y. Conference, Panels Set by American Forum

By Art Preis

NOV. 5 — A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum — For Socialist Education, announced yesterday that a conference on "America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" will be held Sat., Dec. 7, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 Street in New York City.

The conference will hear speakers representing many different points of view. Prominent writers, journalists, scientists will participate as well as representatives of unions and working-class political parties, including the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

MUSTE TO PRESIDE

A. J. Muste will preside in the opening session at 10:30 A.M. Two of the speakers will be Carl Dreher, engineer and author, and Jack Cypin, writer. The object of the opening session is to pose some of the problems that the conference will discuss and to provide factual material for the consideration of participants.

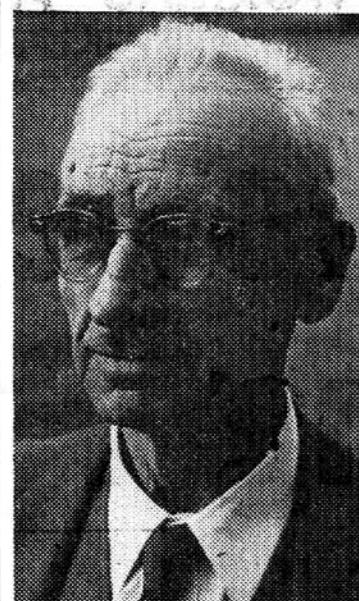
At 11:30 A.M. the conference will move into three panels dealing with youth, trade unions and culture. Each panel will be composed of about six persons chosen to represent varying viewpoints and for their knowledge of the field. A moderator in each panel will pose a series of questions to the participants, who will comment briefly on them, members of the audience will be given an opportunity to join in the discussion.

Sidney Lens will moderate the labor panel. Participants will be Stephan Gratten, Sam Pollack, Fred Fine, Tom Kerr, Bert Cochran and Russ Nixon.

The panel on culture will be moderated by Stringfellow Barr, John Dickinson and Harvey Swados will participate.

The youth panel will be moderated by Sheldon Weeks, Tim Wohlfarth, Dave McReynolds, Michael Harrington, Tony Ramirez, Earl Durham and Nina Landau will participate.

These panels will seek the widest participation of all those in attendance and the presentation of all points of view, whether-



A. J. MUSTE

er or not these are represented in the American Forum's national committee.

PANEL ON SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The afternoon panels will begin at 2:30 P.M. and will conclude at 5 P.M. One panel will discuss "Socialism and Democracy," moderated by Russell Johnson. In this panel all questions of the type of government in a socialist society, as well as of the problem of civil liberties in the Soviet-orbit countries will be considered. Speakers will be: Murray Kempton, Dave Dellinger, Farrell Dobbs, Frederick L. Schuman, John L. Lewine, Herbert Aptheker and Steve Nelson.

The other afternoon panel will discuss political action. It will consider what action may be desirable for the construction of a democratic socialist movement in the United States. This panel will be moderated by Conrad Lynn. Participants will be James Aronson, Joyce Cowley, Albert Blumberg, Milton Zaslow and Tyrell Wilson.

Mr. Muste will address the closing session from 5:00 to 5:30 P.M. This will not be in the nature of a statement of consensus since the American Forum is "solely a project in discussion and thinking together," the results of which each participant is free to use in his own way. Participants are not necessarily affiliated with the American Forum.

On Friday evening, Dec. 6, at the Great Northern Hotel, the American Forum — For Socialist Education will give a reception at which appreciation will be expressed to A. J. Muste for his role in promoting "untrammeled political discussion including spokesmen of all points of view" during the past two years. Among those who will speak at the reception are: Roger N. Baldwin; Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee; Elizabeth Flynn; Murray Wohlfarth, editor of the Young Socialist, and John T. McManus, business manager of the National Guardian.

... CP'S LATEST SMEAR AGAINST SWP

(Continued from page 1)

live" deal with the capitalist world. And recognizing that any deals presupposes a price, the effort to win "friendship" pacts with the ruling capitalist class of one or another country is based on abandoning class-struggle opposition to them.

For example, during both the Indo-Chinese and present Algerian wars for liberation, Communist Party deputies in the French Assembly voted war credits to the government. Another example — At the recent British CP convention, the leaders showed what good "Britishers" they were by defeating a resolution calling for unconditional independence for all sections of the British empire. These betrayals of the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples were perpetrated in pursuit of "peaceful co-existence" pacts with imperialism.

Here in the U.S., the CP co-existence line currently expresses itself in the "Anti-monopoly coalition" whose projected aim is to guarantee peaceful co-existence with the USSR. This will be done, we are told, by building a multiclass coalition embracing even "sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie." Obviously such a coalition precludes an anti-capitalist program. That's why the CP leaders are beating the drum for support to the reformist trade union bureaucracy and to its policy of keeping the workers tied to capitalist politics through the vehicle of the Demo-

cratic Party. Yet with out a blush, Charney and Davis accuse the SWP of "die-hard opposition" to a labor-led coalition.

The fact is that the SWP has consistently pushed for a genuine labor-led coalition. It advocates formation of a labor party based on class-struggle opposition to the twin cold-war parties of the monopolists. Such a party, built by the unions in alliance with the organizations of the Negro people and small farmers, could do effective battle against the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Big Business parties and in the process win the allegiance of decisive sections of the badly squeezed middle class.

Still Apologizing Blindly

The rejection of such a class-struggle policy by the CP leaders springs from their continuing ideological subservience to the Kremlin bureaucracy whose oppressive rule as a privileged caste in the Soviet Union, the "peaceful coexistence" line is designed to serve. The extent to which they remain blind apologists for Stalin's heirs is indicated by the fury of the Charney-Davis attack on the SWP's opposition to these bureaucrats:

"They [the SWP] advocate overthrow of the regime. How can any honest socialist, concerned about questions of democracy in the USSR, reconcile such a position with his socialist faith. Whose interests are served by such a position?"

Peace, Socialism and Soviet Sputniks

An Opinion on Sputnik

(The following is a letter to the Militant from a Detroit Worker. — Ed.)

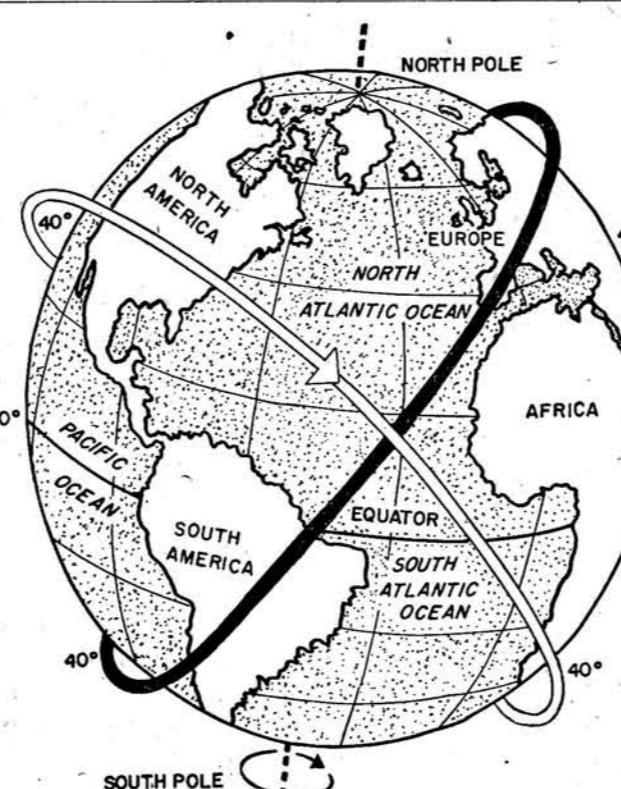
challenging the supremacy of the Atlantic fleet of the United States.

Herein lies the essence of the world bourgeoisie's fear. They are being outproduced! The bourgeoisie is being outproduced in the field they have always considered as most vital—the military field. Conternation surrounds them. How can any other country outproduce America? The capitalist press repeated upon every occasion, "Socialism can't work. There is no initiative under Socialism, etc., etc." How then, can the Soviets surpass the U.S. in the military field? What has happened?

One reason given is that there has been too much overlapping of research and program. Too much duplicity, too much rivalry. Duplicity and rivalry, however, are just other words for competition, and didn't the bourgeoisie teach that competition is what made this country great. But the essence of competition is now cited as one of the reasons for America's lag.

Another reason advanced to explain why the long-range missile was not developed is that a central authority is lacking. Lack of centralization, lack of coordination caused waste, duplication and the lack of maximum direction and experience. What this really means, however, is that there is a lack of planning, but planning is reminiscent of "creeping socialism." And any taint of Socialism will never do. Ask any of the Senators.

Here is the fundamental question underlying those polemics: "Is the Socialist method of production superior to the capitalist method?" It is the question that haunts the keepers of the capitalist system, and the liberals who pretend intellectual know-how and wherewithal. But there will be many who will take a second look at this whole business.



The black line indicates the orbit of the Soviet space satellite launched Oct. 4 (Sputnik I). The white line indicates the expected orbit of a U.S. satellite to be launched next year, which is similar to the orbit actually traveled by Sputnik II, launched Nov. 3.

Leninist concept of the nature of imperialism and the cause and cure of war in a dominantly capitalist world.

We cited Lenin in particular to show that imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism — the stage of monopolies and finance capital which was already reached before the first world war. We quoted Lenin's arguments against Kautsky's idea that imperialist policies and war are a mere matter of personal choice with the imperialist powers — a choice they can change at will.

First of all, the Soviet rulers and their echoes in the capitalist countries represent the development of the long-range missiles used to propel the Sputniks into outer space as a definitive war preventive. The imperialists, they insist, can be forced into a position of permanent truce from fear of Soviet "massive retaliation."

KHRUSHCHEV'S ARGUMENT

Thus, Khrushchev's first public pronouncement after the firing of Sputnik I was to emphasize its function as a demonstration of military power and a deterrent to imperialist aggression. He said the rocket "is a terrible and pitiless weapon. We do not want to misuse our superiority. But . . . we are now entering the period when fighters and bombers will have to be confined to museums..." Pravda, the Kremlin's chief newspaper, proclaimed its good offices, through its political allies in other countries, to muffle the workers' struggles for socialism. Indeed such a quid pro quo is being offered the U.S. rulers in return for a deal. Alex Bittelman's series last month in the Daily Worker spelled out the sordid terms of betrayal. He wrote on Oct. 8:

"The full establishment and consolidation of the emerging period of peaceful co-existence and competition does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U.S. What it does call for is a consistent struggle by the American people to keep the monopolies in check... To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of this struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

Nothing in Marx or Lenin proclaims the possibility of keeping the monopolies "in check" except the class struggle for socialism and the elimination of the profit system on a worldwide scale. Certainly, those great social revolutionaries would have had nothing but burning contempt for Bittelman's contention that it is possible to compel the most powerful imperialist force ever known, U.S.

capitalism, to follow "a course of non-imperialism and non-aggression abroad and a course of democracy and people's welfare at home." Even Kautsky never expressed his Kautskyism in such bald terms.

REPEAT U.S. ERROR

The Stalinist press even goes to the extent of proclaiming the "absolute superiority" of Soviet military power and implying that U.S. capitalism and world imperialism are now hopelessly outstripped and cannot duplicate, let alone surpass, the latest Soviet scientific feats. This is to repeat, in reverse, the thinking of the capitalists about the Soviet Union. They deluded themselves into believing that the Soviet Union, because it did not follow the profit motive, could never meet or surpass the scientific accomplishments of capitalism and derided the Soviet development of nuclear weapons as the mere work of "spies."

Both U.S. and Soviet science are based upon the findings of world science. Scientists from Germany, Italy, France, Denmark, England and other countries laid the basis for the development of atomic fission and fusion. This enabled both the U.S. and USSR to solve the problem of atomic power. Similarly, German scientists who had worked for the Nazis and developed the V-1 and V-2 rockets played and are playing a vital role in the field of rocket power for both contending countries today. Indeed, the present superior productivity of American industry might well argue that once the U.S. perfects its own rockets and "moon," they will begin to efface the stars and carry neon advertising signs, to boot.

The same thinking that attributes unbreakable superiority in the military sphere to Russian science by virtue of the "first" in Sputnik, likewise finds in the Sputniks' "proof" of the superiority of the Soviet economic system, not simply as a potential, but as a fact today. Thus, on the eve of the celebration of the

40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Radio Moscow boasted: "What other government in the world can provide as well for its people?"

MARXIST CRITERIA

What is the real criterion for social progress? Is it to be first in some outstanding scientific field, particularly armaments? By that criterion, Nazi Germany would have stood for the summit of human progress in Hitler's heyday. The U.S. of the "firsts" in A-bomb atrocities and pollution of the atmosphere with H-bomb radiations would be the supreme embodiment of man's aspirations.

In the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism Marxists measure social progress by the productivity of labor, by the degree of social and economic equality, and by the disappearance of the oppression of man by man. By comparison with Russian capitalism under Czarism, the Soviet economy has made titanic strides despite the drawbacks of a parasitic, voracious bureaucracy and the restrictions of an isolated backward country largely cut off from world economy. We can say that if the Russian workers took democratic control of the Soviet Union and if the workers of advanced countries like the U.S. established a socialist society in cooperation with the Soviet workers, the Soviet Union and all nations would rapidly surpass the highest levels of capitalism, both in standards of living and social and economic equality.

But Soviet production and labor productivity remain far below that of the U.S. For instance, the USSR has but a tenth of U.S. railway lines, an even smaller percentage of hard-surfaced roads. In the sphere of living standards for the great majority, the Soviet Union still remains far below the U.S. The former counts its autos in the hundreds of thousands, the latter in scores of millions. From clothing and shoes, to radios, TV's and refrigerators, the Soviet Union is immeasurably below the U.S. Only last year, the USSR reduced its work-week from 48 to 46 hours and boosted its minimum wage to about \$48 for a work-month of 200 hours, compared to the U.S. minimum of \$176 for 176 hours.

To conceal or deny the gross social and economic inequality, the extremely low general standard of living in the Soviet Union and the oppressive bureaucratic regime is to do the cause of socialism a great disservice. We must not let the flash of the Sputniks in the sky blind us to the real conditions on the Soviet earth. For the Soviet workers, the task remains the political revolution against the reactionary bureaucracy. For the workers everywhere under capitalism, the fight for security, equality and peace remains the struggle for a socialist society.

We Apologize

The review of Leon Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution in last week's issue of the Militant was by Bert Deck. This byline was inadvertently omitted. — Editor.

But the real question is: How can any socialist concerned about democracy in the USSR reconcile his socialist faith with support to the Khrushchev regime? This question has been posed for every participant of the USSR in crucial form since the 20th Congress.

It is a year and ten months since Khrushchev catalogued to the 20th Congress some of the foul crimes of Stalin and pledged basic reforms. Since then the Hungarian revolution for national independence and socialist democracy was drowned in blood. In the Soviet Union, the Jewish people are still denied their rights as a national minority, while Khrushchev — the head of a workers state — regales correspondents with a chauvinistic joke about "a little Jew." The iron restrictions on freedom of artistic expression — eased after the 20th Congress — have been almost completely re-established. And most decisive, the Soviet workers still endure privations while a parasitic bureaucracy appropriates the lion's share of the good things in life and denies them any political voice.

The present political situation in the Soviet Union is the first stage in a profound new development. For many years a weak and isolated Soviet working class suffered the smashing of the workers' democracy they established under Lenin. Today an advanced, self-confident working class is growing restive and beginning to

push for some of its rights. We believe that this developing mood of the Soviet workers will inevitably culminate in a working-class political revolution which will end the power of the dictatorial caste and re-establish Soviet democracy based upon the present nationalized property forms. This trend of development is being recognized and discussed today by ever wider circles of the radical movement.

The Soviet Workers

The SWP holds that a successful political revolution led by the Soviet workers will give undreamed-of new impetus to the Soviet economy and will make the USSR the great beacon for the world working class that it was before the crimes of Stalinism alienated millions of workers from it.

"Whose interests are served by such a position?" ask Davis and Charney. We reply: The same interests that are served when militant unionists band together to drive racketeering bureaucrats from power and re-establish internal democracy and militant policies in their union.

The analogy applies a hundred fold to the giant Soviet working class that stands on the tradition of the 1917 revolution and has no intention of giving up the nationalized property created by that revolution.

An Opinion on Sputnik

challenging the supremacy of the Atlantic fleet of the United States.

Herein lies the essence of the world bourgeoisie's fear. They are being outproduced! The bourgeoisie is being outproduced in the field they have always considered as most vital—the military field. Conternation surrounds them. How can any other country outproduce America? The capitalist press repeated upon every occasion, "Socialism can't work. There is no initiative under Socialism, etc., etc."

How then, can the Soviets surpass the U.S. in the military field? What has happened?

One reason given is that there has been too much overlapping of research and program. Too much duplicity, too much rivalry. Duplicity and rivalry, however, are just other words for competition, and didn't the bourgeoisie teach that competition is what made this country great. But the essence of competition is now cited as one of the reasons for America's lag.

Another reason advanced to explain why the long-range missile was not developed is that a central authority is lacking. Lack of centralization, lack of coordination caused waste, duplication and the lack of maximum direction and experience. What this really means, however, is that there is a lack of planning, but planning is reminiscent of "creeping socialism." And any taint of Socialism will never do. Ask any of the Senators.

Here is the fundamental question underlying those polemics: "Is the Socialist method of production superior to the capitalist method?" It is the question that haunts the keepers of the capitalist system, and the liberals who pretend intellectual know-how and wherewithal. But there will be many who will take a second look at this whole business.

in the 1920's and the defeats of the working class abroad. This enabled him and the bureaucracy he represented to intensify repression and terror at home and political betrayal abroad. The spiral ran its downward course for two decades.

THREAT OF EXPLOSION
But despite the terrible repression and bureaucratic mismanagement, the nationalized and planned economy in the USSR meant the steady numerical and cultural growth of the working class. Given self-confidence by its victory over the Nazi war machine, its isolation broken by the addition of East Europe to the Soviet orbit, by the Chinese Revolution, and by developing anti-imperialist revolutions elsewhere in Asia and Africa, it was no longer the cowed proletariat of the pre-war epoch. The rule by repression and purge now threatened to bring about the very opposite of its intent—an explosion of the masses against the regime.

It is this danger from the Soviet masses, expressed in a mood so intense that the thick-skinned bureaucrat can sense it. It was the need to placate this mood that led the bureaucracy to attempt to disassociate itself from Stalin at the 20th Congress and to forswear his methods. It is the pressure of these masses throughout the Soviet orbit that has brought about those concessions and reforms announced to date. It is this pressure that burst its bonds in the East-German uprising, in the strikes at Vorkuta and other Soviet slave-labor camps, in Poznan, Warsaw and Budapest.

The Soviet bureaucracy has been able to achieve a temporary resolution of its inner conflicts on a relatively level stretch of the ascending revolutionary spiral. This level stretch is the temporary arrest or retarding of the masses as a result of the smashing of the Hungarian revolution. But those who imagine that the blood bath in Hungary has reversed the process are totally mistaken. The very haste with which Khrushchev had to move in the inner-bureaucratic power struggle was dictated by the danger that a little later the masses might intervene either at the invitation of the "adventurist" Zhukov, or completely uninvited.

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From the Discredited Past

Like a voice from the past, the Sunday, Nov. 3, issue of the Worker called to mind several decades of frame-ups, slander and calumny. In those days the Socialist Workers Party was accused by Stalin of being "counter-revolutionary" and "fascist." The Communist Party in this country echoed every slander with the zeal of lieutenants anxious to prove their worth.

After publication of the "secret" revelations of Khrushchev in 1956 the Daily Worker grew somewhat contrite. In an editorial on June 7, 1956, there appeared the now-famous apology: "We were wholly ignorant that these crimes [of Stalin] had been committed, yet there was reputable evidence had we but listened. How then explain our consistent denunciation of many people as 'enemies' of the working class because they condemned these crimes? We were wrong, terribly wrong. . . . What was unforgivable and inexcusable was the manner in which we passed judgment — harsh and sometimes vindictive in tone — on many of our fellow Americans based solely on their criticism of the Stalin rule."

That was one mood. Today another is evident. We read in the Worker, Nov. 3, in an article signed by Benjamin J. Davis and George B. Charney, "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolution."

Perhaps there is some distance between calling one's working-class opponents "fascist mad-dogs" and using the more cautious formulation that Trotskyists "objectively" give "some measure" of

support to counter-revolution. But is cautious slander all that the apologies of 1956 have yielded?

The Daily Worker may consider the SWP election campaign "ineffective." Our candidates were not elected. The Daily Worker told its readers to vote for Wagner and the majority of New Yorkers did vote for Wagner.

Our campaign for working-class and socialist candidates can be considered effective only if one has the perspective of educating voters about socialism. In this sense, we believe the SWP electoral activity was extremely effective. We believe it succeeded in breaking down a great many misconceptions purposely developed by the capitalist opponents of socialism.

Davis and Charney do not charge the SWP alone of "objectively" giving "support to counter-revolution." Vincent Hallinan, former Progressive Party presidential candidate and the National Guardian editors must also be guilty of this crime. Both urged support of the SWP candidates.

To say that a campaign for socialism in any way "objectively" supports counter-revolution and to use the perfidious reasoning employed by Charney and Davis is to substitute vindictiveness, misrepresentation and slander — the old Stalinist techniques — for open and honest argumentation. We believe the radical movement in America, including the CP ranks, has had its bellyful of Stalinist-type polemics.

A Vital Right Attacked

The right of trade unions to engage in political activity is under attack in the current trial of the United Automobile Workers on charges that the UAW's television program violated the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. That act states that it is illegal for "unions or corporations" to give financial backing to candidates in Federal elections.

As far as corporations are concerned, the law is a complete farce. Corporations dictate the political policies of all the major propaganda media in the country by direct ownership or the money they spend on advertising. Corporation executives and big stockholders completely control both the Republican and Democratic parties, in large part through the huge financial contributions they make "as individuals" and that they "advise" their employees to make "as individuals."

A Convenient Out

The long silence of Senator Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat, on the world-shaking events in Little Rock, in his home state, has been broken at last. On Nov. 2 he expressed the fear that Congress might become "practically immobilized" over new civil rights quarrels in its next session.

"We have some vastly more important things to do than to spend our time wrangling over civil rights — including catching up with the Russians' sputnik and their missile development," said Fulbright.

The Daily Worker on Zhukov

Evidence continues to mount that the leadership of the American Communist Party is choking off free discussion within the party and abandoning any pretense of theoretical independence from the Kremlin. Its masquerade was required because of the revolt against thought control in the party following the revelations about Stalin. But the CP leaders never liked it and now that they have the party back in control they are forcing it back into the pre-20th Congress mold.

The abject acceptance and hosannah shouting in praise of the Kremlin's actions were illustrated in the Daily Worker editorial hailing the purge of Marshal Zhukov. This, cry the editors, was an "action for peace." It is to be noted that in its first news article (Oct. 28) on the Zhukov affair, the DW inclined to the belief that he was going to be moved up in the Kremlin hierarchy, possibly to the premiership, rather than down. The headline then was "Zhukov Shift Seen Part of Soviet Peace Aim."

Thus by the DW's "interpretation" either Zhukov's promotion or demotion

was an "act for peace." Behind this lies the basic rule that whatever the Kremlin does is automatically right and must be sold to the American workers. Had Zhukov triumphed in the power fight and purged Khrushchev, the DW would, of course, have faithfully hailed the outcome and explained it editorially as an "action for peace." In the interests of economy the DW might do well to save the lead of its editorial against the chance that Zhukov subsequently makes a come-back. Then it could be run again simply transposing the names so that Zhukov appears where Khrushchev is, and vice versa.

Like the American CP leaders, Togliatti was at first unsure whether Zhukov was going up or down. This caused the Italian CP the same embarrassment as the DW. One Italian newspaper commented: "Togliatti unlike Tito doesn't have lumbago. He is going to Moscow. All Kremlin bosses are OK with him: Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Zhukov, all as long as they are in power." By some coincidence this would seem to apply to the American CP leaders.

Why Howard Fast Quit the CP

[We publish below, for the information of Militant readers, excerpts from "The Writer and the Commissar" by Howard Fast, prominent novelist who resigned from the American Communist Party last winter. This article will appear in a new magazine, Prospective, scheduled for publication this week. An abridged version appeared in the Nov. 2 issue of Peter Fryer's Newsletter, from which the following excerpts are taken. — Ed.]



HOWARD FAST

communism," as we know it in America, is as fraudulent as "anti-Sovietism" is dangerous.

* * *

There is an addendum to the above, almost in the way of a footnote, yet a little more than that. It concerns a moment of bitter decision, the moment when I ceased to be a communist, and turns upon a pledge not to remain silent when I know I must speak.

I will speak to the harm of no man and name no man ever, if naming him confronts him, in his turn, with injustice. But when men coast on the awfully tides of history, they must be spoken of.

The story of this moment of bitter decision is the story of such a man, but I cannot name him, for it would bring death to him. I will therefore never identify him, or even the country he represented, and you must take the story on my word.

He will know that the story is true, and others will recognize the genre. I call him the diplomat.

I left the Communist Party in

February, 1957. Earlier, in June 1956, I wrote in the Daily Worker a bitter denunciation of the lack of civil rights and liberties in the Soviet Union.

TALKS WITH DIPLOMATS

Between the appearance of that denunciation and the public announcement of my leaving the party, number of diplomats and newspapermen from the "satellite nations" sought me out. Some were very high-placed persons in the foreign service of their countries; others not so high-placed.

Because of my past reputation, and the fact that, as a part of the communist movement, I had openly ranged myself against the Stalinist forces in the Communist Party of the United States, they felt free to talk to me.

They spread before my already tortured eyes such a picture of terror, injustice, and sheer nightmare as to make a Khrushchev "secret" speech seem but a moderate outline of a never-to-be-idealized totalitocracy.

They talked coldly, they talked with passion, they talked with hatred. Some wept as they talked. Some relived the agony of cherished comrades murdered by the Soviet secret police, of men tortured and beaten, of others robbed of every sense of their own human quality.

Some cried out, in strangely similar words, "We have learned how to wait. My land will not be another Hungary." Others said, "We will wait and wait. History has a way of being truthful."

But one spoke quietly, never raising his voice, spoke over a luncheon table, in the quiet simple tones one uses discussing the weather. So quiet and simple that there was never room for doubt.

He spoke of the pall of fear over his land, of the enshrinement of ignorance, of the punishment meted out to those who dared to disagree or offer a fresh opinion.

Life of Bureaucrats

He told how the communist leaders who ruled his country lived, of their sleek black limousines, servants, country homes, and bejeweled wives, of their mistresses and their passions.

He talked about the crumb that belonged to the people, and, because he was a Jew, he talked about anti-Semitism. Most horrifying of all, he spoke of this hatred of Jews as something I was familiar with, both long and well.

When I explained that I knew it neither long nor well, but have only recently learned of Russia's anti-Semitism, and only this very moment of its existence in the other nations who called themselves "socialist," he was both astonished and abashed, as perhaps he had reason to be.

In any case, if what he told me was new to me then, it is not new to many people today. Some of it I would like to put down here, but I cannot. Because this is what the diplomat said when we rose to leave our lunch-table:

"I must do something that makes me deeply ashamed of myself — because my very mention of it impugns you. Yet do I must, if not for myself, then for my wife and children. I must tell you, Mr. Fast, that

if my delegation should learn, not what I told you, but simply that I met with you alone, I will be arrested when I return to my homeland and in all likelihood put to death. I am not pleading for myself; but my wife and children need me. It is hard for a woman and children to be alone today in what my country has become, harder for them than any joy on my part in continuing to live."

Thus did both this man and I come to understand the stuff of which our dreams had been made.

I could say, there but for the grace of God go I; he could not. I could leave the Communist Party and live; he could not.

In this sense, then, he, this nameless diplomat, is the ghost and the spirit of this essay. It is of his agony, multiplied a hundred thousand times, that I write; my own is insignificant and unimportant beside it.

* * *

No force on earth can destroy the Communist Party, but the application of truth will melt it as rain melts salt. Its time is past.

The Russian people and the Chinese people are on the brink

of such growth and fruition as was never dreamed of in the first decades of this century — even as the whole world stands on the doorstep of an internationally functioning civilization that can forever abolish war and want.

NO ASSETS

Only a fool can believe that the clique of madmen who, by Khrushchev's own testimony, almost lost the war with Germany are a positive asset in the building of Russian civilization.

There is nothing conceivable of creation in the Soviet Union that its people — the workers and engineers and scientists, the teachers and artists — cannot create.

Rid of the parasitic burden of the Communist Party, given a democratic government upon their industrial base, they could in short order turn their land into a garden of plenty.

History appears to have spelled out the finish of the time of the Communist Party, and perhaps the dawn of socialist democracy and humanism. But only the people of the lands ruled by Communist Parties can decide this issue.

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|---------------|---------------------|----------|------------|
| Youngstown | \$ 300 | \$225.00 | 75 |
| Milwaukee | 250 | 182.00 | 73 |
| Buffalo | 1,800 | 1,236.00 | 69 |
| Chicago | 1,560 | 1,010.00 | 65 |
| Cleveland | 600 | 380.00 | 63 |
| Allentown | 102 | 60.00 | 59 |
| Detroit | 825 | 441.00 | 53 |
| Newark | 240 | 125.00 | 52 |
| Twin Cities | 1,584 | 816.00 | 52 |
| Los Angeles | 4,000 | 2,035.25 | 50 |
| Boston | 600 | 293.00 | 49 |
| Philadelphia | 480 | 215.00 | 45 |
| New York | 4,500 | 1,800.00 | 40 |
| Seattle | 500 | 200.00 | 40 |
| Oakland | 240 | 100.00 | 24 |
| San Francisco | 450 | 110.00 | 24 |
| St. Louis | 80 | 10.00 | 13 |
| General | — | 150.00 | — |
| Totals | Totals as of Nov. 6 | \$18,111 | \$9,388.25 |
| | | | 52 |

Fund Past Half-Way Mark But Must Speed Up to Finish in Three Weeks

By Constance Farr
National Campaign Director

With four more weeks to go, the Press and Publications Fund is lagging 20% behind schedule. Only Youngstown and Milwaukee are ahead of the percentage which should be paid in by this date. Other cities will have to step up their payments to keep up with these pace-setters.

Individual readers of the Militant have been sending in contributions. One of our supporters in New York pledged \$100 which he promptly paid. He explained: "I figure that I'm saving money by helping the publications fund. I've been paying book dealers big money for out-of-print books by Trotsky. The publication project should help make them available at prices I can afford. A great service is being done in reprinting these works for all those who have not read them."

We have also received a total of \$125 from friends in the Deep South and \$25 from a Buffalo couple who send us best wishes for a successful campaign.

The Twin Cities Press Fund Committee had a highly successful "Garage Sale" at which \$118 was realized. This unique affair might inspire other cities to bring up their quotas in like manner. All sorts of useful furniture and appliances were donated by friends and the sale was combined with a social. So successful was it that it continued the following day.

Evelyn Reed, Los Angeles Fund Drive Director, writes that they are planning a huge bazaar, the proceeds of which will be turned over to the fund.

We urge readers of the Militant to send in their contributions to make possible the publication of out-of-print works by Leon Trotsky. Address them to Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Books and Pamphlets

By Leon Trotsky

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|--------|
| —The History of the Russian Revolution | \$12.50 | —What is a Peace Program? | \$1.00 |
| —Literature and Revolution | 3.75 | (Compilation from 1915 to 1918) | .25 |
| —The Third International After Lenin | 4.00 | —Draft Program of the Communist International | .25 |
| (New Edition) | paper | —Lessons of Spain — The Last Warning | .25 |
| —The Revolution Betrayed | 3.00 | —The Class Nature of the Soviet State | .25 |
| | paper | —Their Morals and Ours | .25 |
| —Leon Sedov — Written on the Death of His Son | 2.00 | —Leon Sedov — Written on the Death of His Son | .25 |
| —The First Five Years of the Communist International | 3.50 | —Stalinism and Bolshevism | .15 |
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