

Final Election Rally Of New York I-SP Hears Rockwell Kent

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 — "Comrades" — the hearty applause this traditional socialist salutation evoked each time it was used, summed up the spirit of the Independent-Socialist wind-up rally here tonight where 800 persons enthusiastically greeted addresses by the candidates and appeals for support of the ticket by three prominent figures.

"How does a man who is not a politician greet his audience?" said world-famed artist Rockwell Kent. "Comrades — that's fine! Rockefeller and Harriman can greet theirs. Fellow capitalists, we've made a god-awful mess of this world we're running."

The Rev. William Howard Melish, who won wide admiration for his stubborn fight against the witch-hunt campaign to drive him from his parish, chaired the rally. He was introduced by ISP Chairman Henry Abrams, as a man who has been a socialist since his student days as chairman of the Harvard Socialist Club. Dr. Melish hailed the "remarkable achievement" of the ISP in winning a ballot place. Hitting at the war drive and the violations of civil liberties and civil rights, he declared "many of us want a vehicle to express our feeling that these things must end immediately. It is a time not for apathy but for outspoken activity and militancy."

Mrs. Charlotte Bass, 1952 Progressive Party Vice-Presidential candidate and prominent civil rights fighter, congratulated the ISP as "really fighting for peace," and declared, "Sixteen million Negro people are tired of being deceived by those who tell us they are our friends — by statesmen who preach peace and practice war. We're more concerned with Mississippi than Quemoy or Matsu."

USSR WANTS PEACE

Demanding an end to the cold war, Corliss Lamont, ISP Senatorial candidate, said, "I've been critical of civil liberties in the Soviet Union — critical of its treatment of Boris Pasternak, but the Soviet Union wants peace and we can't let its mistakes in domestic or foreign policy interfere with achieving international peace."

"I'm in good health," Dr. Lamont told the applauding audience, "and I'll fight for the rest of my life for the aims of this socialist party!"

That the rally was ready to support a fighting socialist movement was demonstrated when it responded to financial appeal by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor, with a contribution of \$1,179.30.

"This campaign has proved its worth already," said gubernatorial candidate John T. McManus. "It was only the Independent-Socialist Party that discussed the issue of peace in

Gift Sub Plan Sends Militant to New Areas

By Karolyn Kerr

Subscription Campaign Director

In the three-week period since the Militant launched its Club Subscription Plan we have received a total of 152 renewals and new subscriptions from friends and supporters throughout the country.

This is an excellent beginning considering that many of our supporters have been deeply involved in election campaign activities and unable to concentrate on expanding the circulation of the Militant. Now that the election returns are in we look forward to a rapid acceleration of the drive to boost the circulation of our paper.

OPTIMISTIC

We believe that Detroit speaks for the rest of the country when they write: "We are not yet in full swing in this drive in the sense that mobilization for subscription are not yet underway. We are winding up our election campaign and are as yet too busy with related activities. The few subs gotten so far have been gotten at our forums and at distributions with little effort. We are now more optimistic about being able to surpass our original quota." As a measure of their future intentions six subs from the Detroit area accompanied this note.

One of the most heartening aspects of our campaign thus far has been the number of new subscriptions received from sections of the country new to the Militant. New subscriptions have come in from such disparate areas as Bangor, Maine, and Pensacola, Florida, from the Eastern Seaboard to the Pacific Coast, from the Deep South to the Canadian Border, including

Russia 1917 and America 1958

Architects of the Russian Revolution



V. I. Lenin (l) and Leon Trotsky. They shared the leadership of the 1917 Russian Revolution that brought history's first workers' state into being just 41 years ago this week. For years prior to the revolution, the Bolshevik Party resisted strong pressures to enter into coalitions with the liberal wing of the Russian capitalist class. Lenin and Trotsky's consistent refusal to water down their socialist program paved the way for the ten days of 1917 that continue to shake the world.

peace, civil liberties and anti-depression measures.

After the disheartening experience of Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Congress and the continuous crisis in the Communist Party since then, the appearance of the United Independent-Socialist coalition offered new hope to these thinking members of the Communist Party.

Many progressives and independents, unprepared to accept socialism as they understand it, nevertheless hailed the new development as a welcome alternative to the undignified, wearisome, and frustrating business of trying to influence the Republican and Democratic machines.

To members of the Socialist Workers Party, who for decades fought in isolation for the class-struggle principles that guided the Russian workers to success in October 1917, the new regroupment of forces in the American radical move-

ment was extremely heartening. They demonstrated their appreciation of this development by contributing their maximum of energy and self-sacrifice, to help win the United Independent-Socialist ticket its rightful place on the N.Y. ballot.

ELSEWHERE TOO

In other areas of the country, too, SWPers were in the forefront of efforts to duplicate and extend what had been accomplished in New York in finding areas of agreement among socialists and independents that would make united action possible.

Two facts were most significant: (1) The demonstration of the capacity of socialists and independents to get together despite important differences.

(2) The demonstration of the incapacity of the Communist Party leadership to break up the coalition despite some rather strenuous efforts to do so.

From these facts we can con-

clude that the Communist Party is no longer capable of blocking independent socialist political action — the basic premise for realizing in this country the great goal of the October 1917 Revolution. We can also conclude that the increasing number of radicals working for socialist regroupment and independent political action constitute an important ingredient in overcoming the political backwardness of the American workers.

It is quite true that we are a great distance from our goal of a socialist America. But 1958 marked a successful step forward. Our job now is to take the next step — to extend united socialist activity on a nation-wide scale in 1960.

The great Russian socialist leaders of 1917, we think, would have wished us well in accomplishing this assignment, for it is an essential stage in the historic process which they saw would end in America.

Seattle ULSP Fights Against 'Right-to-Scab'

The United Liberals and Socialists Party in the state of Washington has played an active role in mobilizing public opinion against the Right-to-Work amendment, Initiative No. 202 on the ballot. UL&S candidates, Jay Sykes for the U.S. Senate, Jack Wright and Jerry Barrett for the State Senate and Clyde Carter for State Representative, have emphasized the need to defeat 202 throughout their campaigns.

UL&S forces took the lead in frustrating a move to misinform Seattle's Negro community on the misnamed Right-to-Work measure.

BAIT OFFERED

A "mammoth mass meeting" was called by the "Minute Men for Freedom and 202" for Oct. 27 in one of Seattle's Negro churches.

UL&S candidates alerted the community and labor movement and exposed the right-to-scare forces. A number of ministers had signed a leaflet on misrepresentations that the meeting was to be a debate and that their signing was not necessarily a sponsoring of 202.

Because of this and pressure from their congregations, four ministers repudiated their signatures on the pro-202 leaflet and signed a call for an anti-202 meeting Nov. 3 at the Progressive Missionary Baptist Church. This call was signed by 12 clergymen and 22 other prominent figures in the Negro community, including Clyde Carter, the UL&S candidate for State Representative in the 33rd district.

PUT QUESTIONS

As a result of the socialists' activity, the "Minute Men" rally confronted a pro-labor audience. Person after person rose to put embarrassing questions to the speakers. A longshoreman, for example, over the repeated interruptions of the chairman asked if 202 would destroy the type of union contract enjoyed by his local.

Told it would not, the longshoreman then read from Initiative 202 a clause specifically outlawing the union rights in question. The chairman thereupon declared that no statements would be permitted from the floor. This caused most of the audience to walk out. Outside they held an informal conference on ways to build up the anti-202 rally.

Boris Pasternak's Controversial Prize Novel

DOCTOR ZHIVAGO. By Boris Pasternak. New York: Pantheon Press, 1958. 559 pp. \$5.00.

On one score all objective critical opinion of this work must be unanimous. It is the most distinguished novel to emerge from Russia in a generation. In view of the sad state of Russian letters these past years this assertion may well appear to be damning with faint praise. Nothing could be further from the truth, for in my opinion, Dr. Zhivago is a subtle and moving work, conceived in the glorious tradition of the Russian novel and faithful to its classical question "What must I do?" (the aesthetic counterpart to the great question of Russian politics, "What is to be done?").

THE CONFLICT

At the core of this novel lies a conflict of truly heroic proportions. Zhivago is a classical tragic figure — intellectual, poet-physician, and a Christian for whom "Am I my brother's keeper?" is the essence of the gospels. Though not an active political, when the revolution does occur, Zhivago supports and actually participates in the soviets. A non-Bolshevik, he nevertheless accepts the revolution as inevitable and necessary.

The impact of Pasternak's epic-tragedy is plain: If we mourn the defeat of Zhivago and the revolution, it can only be to take heart from contact with these to refresh the revolution's early libertarian goals. Indeed, in the epilogue, Pasternak is very explicit in this expectation. He tells us how, decades later, Zhivago's work is beginning to come into its own. Holding a recent edition of one of Zhivago's early, once-unread books, two friends breath the new air. "Although victory had not brought the relief and freedom that were expected at the end of the war, nevertheless the portents of freedom another. Upon which he breaks with the revolution, in a moment when such a break is tantamount to a break with society itself, and returns to his primary concerns in personal and intellectual life. At a moment in history when political disengagement was impossible, Zhivago's course (so alien to his best self, his Christian commitment to others) can have only tragic consequences. The abandonment of his hopes and his place, the rejection of politics, at this juncture, by one who is in the deepest sense political, destroys him."

The Russian bureaucracy suppressed "Dr. Zhivago." The Western critics distort it. To most of them, the conflict in the novel is one between a monolithic barbarism and an individual defending his right to be non-political, to prefer art and the contemplative life. This view seems, at best, a gross misreading of Zhivago's motivation. For his effort is not a principled fight for the right to be indifferent to the revolution, to have a different path of life. It is rather a rear-guard action, how to find a niche for himself in a world with which he was once deeply involved but now rejects as hopeless.

A MISREADING

This determination to see in the book a defense of middle-class individualism received its clearest expression in the recent award of the Nobel prize for literature. In doing so, the committee violated its own traditions, as well as that of good judgment, which dictate a decent interval before so definitive an evaluation of a book, as the award implies. For example, Andre Gide received the Nobel award in 1947 for a book written in 1924. It is obvious that Western critics who revile "socialist realism" as a euphemism for propaganda, are stooping to precisely the same level, in trying to use "Dr. Zhivago" as a weapon in the cold war. How sad for a work which deserves to be approached with nothing less than utmost respect and objectivity.

—David Miller

Calendar of Events

NEW YORK

Elinor Ferry, leading civil liberties fighter, speaks on "The FBI — Permanent Political Police," Friday, Nov. 14, 8 PM, 116 University Place (at 13th St.) Contrib. 50 cents. Auspices Militant Labor Forum.

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein announces two short pre-holiday courses, Mondays: Nov. 10-Dec. 8; Tuesdays: Nov. 11-Dec. 9, Penthouse 10 A, 59 W. 71 St. SC 4-3233.

MONDAYS, 8-10 P.M. Shakespeare's Political Themes Nov. 10: Shakespeare & Bourgeoisie Revolution.

Nov. 17: Authority & Responsibility.

Nov. 24: Tudor "absolutism by consent."

Dec. 1: Free Trade & Human Equality.

Dec. 8: Dictatorship & Treason.

TUESDAYS, 8-10 P.M. Five Generations of Youth in Revolt

Nov. 11: Art for Art's Sake & the English "decadents" of 1890.

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Monday, November 10, 1958

The Storm over "Dr. Zhivago"

Is the Soviet Union strong enough to permit its artists full freedom of expression? This is the main question involved in the Kremlin's pillorying of the 68-year-old Boris Pasternak, who won the Nobel prize for his novel "Dr. Zhivago" and his achievements in "contemporary lyrical poetry."

In the military field the Soviet Union demonstrated its capacities by defeating German imperialism, the strongest power on the European continent. In science it showed its competence by developing atomic energy on its own and producing a hydrogen bomb even before the United States. In technology the Soviet Union took the world lead by sending up satellites of a size and precision that not even America has yet been able to duplicate. The combined forces of the USSR and the People's Republic of China, with its 650,000,000 people, very likely represent the most powerful combination in the world today.

Yet a lone artist nearing his seventies, a poet, not a politician, has been made the target of a campaign of vituperation exceeding in virulence anything currently directed against the Soviet Union's avowed foreign foes. Pasternak has been forced to reject the Nobel prize; he has been expelled from the unions of writers and translators; he has been threatened with exile from his native land. The renowned translator of Shakespeare has been called "pig" and "traitor."

Purely Political Award?

The official excuse for this program is that the Nobel prize was not awarded because of the literary merits of "Dr. Zhivago" but for counter-revolutionary political aims.

We do not know how competent Khrushchev is to judge the literary merits of a novel. The literary level of his own pronouncements is not such as to arouse great confidence in his talents, tastes, or artistic understanding. We note, however, that those considered competent enough in this field to be trusted with Soviet publishing plans, listed "Dr. Zhivago" originally for publication.

If Khrushchev now finds it embarrassing to have a Soviet artist awarded a Nobel prize, he has only himself to blame. Why was Pasternak's book removed from the publication list, thereby making it possible for a novel to become a political football because it was unprinted in the USSR? It is stupid to say that the book has no literary merits; for it would be self-defeating to award a hack production the world's top literary prize. It is precisely because the book does have literary merits that the committee felt free, one must imagine, to permit political considerations to weigh in the choice so that it awarded the prize this year rather than a decade from now. (The Swedish Academy has been considering the choice of Pasternak for ten years.) The worst damage to Soviet in-

terests came when the novel was banned, not when it won a distinguished prize.

"Dr. Zhivago" was one of the products of the famous "thaw" which Stalin's heirs initiated following the dictator's death and which culminated in Khrushchev's admission at the Twentieth Congress of some of the monstrous crimes that were committed under Stalin. In the new atmosphere, Pasternak felt free enough to venture criticism in his novel of "rigid" regimes.

However, the "thaw" did not go far enough. The masses wanted the restoration of workers' democracy. The bureaucratic oligarchs balked at more than a few concessions, for they were interested only in preserving their own dictatorial rule. In 1956, the impatient workers took things in their own hands in Poland and Hungary.

With the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, Khrushchev and company ended the "thaw." They again imposed on literary circles a censorship of corpse-like rigidity, for they recognized the catalyzing role which the ferment of ideas among intellectuals had played in Poland and Hungary.

This is the background for Khrushchev's campaign against Pasternak. What Stalin's heir is doing is making a public example of Pasternak, stringing him up by the thumbs at no matter what cost in Soviet prestige abroad, in order to terrorize any Soviet intellectuals who might be toying with the idea of intimating their real feelings about the regime.

As in Stalin's time, the campaign is thus an expression of the acute contradiction between the bureaucracy and the Soviet masses. The crucifixion of Pasternak indicates how weak and vulnerable the Khrushchev regime feels before the social pressures and how much it fears political revolution. It also indicates how little the bureaucracy can be expected to carry out "self-reform."

For Intellectual Freedom

Forty-one years after the October Revolution, Soviet planned economy has proved its durability beyond all question. It has not yet been able to demonstrate that it is inherently capable of offering a new birth of freedom to the human spirit. The obstacle to this, as the storm around Pasternak reveals once again, is the bureaucracy with its narrow preoccupation with its power and the special privileges which power insures.

Once the workers reestablish democracy in the Soviet Union, however, we may expect this to change — and radically. The Soviet workers have nothing to lose and a lot to gain from guaranteeing full freedom of expression not only to artists but to dissident political views, no matter how critical these may be.

They will not crucify a Pasternak even if they feel that other Soviet artists might be more deserving of world recognition.

Report from France on de Gaulle Regime

Thinks He's An Eagle



With a flapping reminiscent of the eagles that symbolized the regime of his historical model, Napoleon III, de Gaulle exhorts an audience in Africa to support him and restore "the grandeur of France." Though de Gaulle's bonapartist referendum got a huge "oui" vote in France, most Africans voted "non," or "oui" only under duress.

present the choice in such a loaded fashion?

(1) Because the opposition had proved its complete impotence. The Communists and liberals had already had their chance to stop Massu last May, and they could do nothing more than hand power to de Gaulle. But while admitting to a defeat, the CP chiefs remained true to form. Thus in his report to the recent CP Central Committee meeting, Marcel Servin listed all sorts of reasons for de Gaulle's victory. Only one thing played no part in his account — the policy of the CP which, according to Servin, has been consistently and completely correct, not subject even to the mildest criticism!

Nevertheless, the real causes of the defeat are to be found in the political failure of the opposition, and principally of its strongest segment, the CP. Of course, de Gaulle could rely on a certain number of factors: the great prosperity of the last few years (but the galloping inflation of the past two years has wiped out most of the workers' gains); the enormous propaganda campaign in favor of the "Yes" vote (but this incessant repetition of the word "Oui" was not so diabolically clever as to convince CP voters to vote against the CP, or indeed to convince anyone of anything except de Gaulle's contempt for the people); the desire of the French people "for things to change" and the general revolution against the corrupt and bankrupt policies of "the system," the Fourth Republic (but de Gaulle was surrounded and supported by all the discredited politicians of "the system").

REAL ARGUMENT

The trump card of the government, the argument its spokesmen repeated incessantly and which in fact convinced millions of Frenchmen, was the threat of civil war. Everyone from Paul Reynaud (the grave-digger of 1940) to Guy Mollet (the gravedigger of 1958) repeated that only de Gaulle had saved the nation last May, if the constitution was rejected "the situation would be much worse than after May 30." The people voted between de Gaulle and a coup d'état by open fascists like General Massu.

And why could the Gaullists

though not yet on a mass scale. The situation is certain to become aggravated in a certain measure, but it is very probable that a depression would have the effect of further weakening and demoralizing the masses.

It would be the worst blindness to ignore the fact that the French workers have suffered a major defeat, with all this implies. Before May 30 the working class still held potential initiative, given the capacity to break through the barriers set up by Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucratic leadership.

Today French capitalism has stabilized itself politically and is prepared to take the offensive against the rights and freedoms of the workers. The struggles of the next months will be defensive ones.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

From this point of view, there are certain encouraging signs of preparation to resist the offen-

sive of the employing class. Most important is the decent decision by the General Council of the reformist Workers Force trade union, unanimously rejecting the idea of a Labor-Capital Association — the fascist corporate state idea that de Gaulle has persistently proposed for many years.

In addition, the new Autonomous Socialist Party, which, in spite of its thorough-going reformist philosophy is sharply opposed to de Gaulle and his stooge Mollet, represents a significant possibility for helping to regroup those working class forces determined to spearhead resistance to the reactionary offensive. The Autonomous SP has taken the important and courageous step of nominating its Secretary-General, Alain Savary, to campaign in Algeria on the basis of the party's program defending the right of Algeria to independence.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 80	\$ 52	65
Chicago	1,000	644	64
Buffalo	1,500	950	63
Newark	265	155	58
Twin Cities	1,742	1,006	58
Allentown	112	60	54
Boston	450	235	52
Youngstown	300	150	50
Detroit	600	284	47
San Diego	300	140	47
New York	4,500	1,793	40
Connecticut	300	105	35
Milwaukee	250	89	35
Philadelphia	528	162	31
Los Angeles	4,600	1,193	26
Seattle	550	136	25
Cleveland	750	175	23
Oakland	300	65	22
San Francisco	440	90	20
Denver	50	—	—
Pittsburgh	200	—	—
South	—	—	—
General	—	199	—
Total through Nov. 4	\$18,827	\$7,683	43

...Militant Fund Lags 13%

(Continued from Page 1)
come yet. Comradely Yours,
Dirk De Jonge."

day's Smith Act, such "teaching and advocating" was held to be "criminal" though it was at a peaceable meeting and though there was no incitement to violence.

I later took a course in labor history, especially as regards civil liberties, and followed the De Jonge v. Oregon case all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1937 overruled the conviction. This was the death blow to Oregon's Criminal Syndicalism Law, which was then wiped off the statute books.

And in Oregon the Criminal Syndicalism Laws, originally put on the books in 1919 to suppress the IWW, were being used against union organizers and socialists. Dirk De Jonge and three others were arrested for holding a meeting of the Communist Party. De Jonge was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for speaking in favor of the then current maritime strike, the police department's illegal raids on CP headquarters and the conditions in the city jail. As under to-

I must confess that after seeing "De Jonge v. Oregon" so much in the books, it had come to be a single name to me — like Marbury v. Madison, Smith & Wesson, or Mason-Dixon. I nearly addressed an envelope to him: "Mr. Dirk De Jonge v. Oregon." Unexpectedly to come across the name De Jonge all by itself gave me a funny feeling, as if a couple I had long known had been divorced.

HEARTENING

But this was a very pro-

gressively heartening to learn that a veteran fighter for socialism of the 1930's is still in the fight. It is no less encouraging to hear that he is hopeful about united socialist action nationally and in his state, and that he has made the acquaintance of the Militant and finds it an informative paper.

tacks on the wage freeze, protests against the denial of civil rights to Negroes, exposures of anti-labor elements such as Admiral Emory Land of the Maritime Commission who said "union organizers should be shot at sunrise." Even direct quotations from leading capitalist newspapers which The Militant had reprinted were cited as "objectionable."

IN RETROSPECT

When we look back on some of the experiences through which the Militant has come, when we recall how intransigently it has fought reaction and defended labor, we can say that no other paper has better earned the right to be heard. Other papers which professed to speak for socialism cut corners on principle, kept silent when it was dangerous to speak up or swam with the stream when it was unpopular to take a truthful position. They have disappeared or declined. The Militant has always dared to swim against the stream when necessary and to tell the truth.

That is why, as in the past, its readers will want to make the financial sacrifices required to keep The Militant coming out every week in full and on time.

The Militant Across 30 Years

Recollections of a Veteran Staff Writer

[To mark our 30th Anniversary we have asked some of the founders and others outstandingly connected with the Militant to write commemorative articles. The following reminiscences are by the Militant's top-seniority staff member.]

By Art Preis

As socialist newspapers go, The Militant is something of a Methuselah. Unlike the old Biblical patriarch, however, The Militant is as vigorous as ever and just reaching its prime. No other genuinely Marxist publication has ever survived for 30 years. This is the proud achievement of our paper. That is not because we had it easy or because we compromised or concealed our aims. On the contrary. It has been a grueling struggle all the way.

EARLY DAYS

The inspiring record of the early years of The Militant, going back to its first issue of Nov. 15, 1928, has been related by its founding editor James P. Cannon in his book, "The History of American Trotskyism." Cannon describes the origins of the Socialist Workers Party, the early struggles to publish and maintain The Militant, as well as the conflict of various tendencies in American radicalism during the Twenties and Thirties.

My association with The Militant in the capacity of a staff

member goes back to October 1940. The chief rivals of The Militant then were the Communist Party's Daily Worker, the Norman Thomas Socialist Party's Socialist Call, and Labor Action, organ of Max Shachtman's Workers Party, later renamed the Independent Socialist League.

This year saw the demise of the Daily Worker. The Communist Party suffered such catastrophic splits and the readership of the Daily Worker declined to such a low point that the Daily Worker was abandoned; only the former weekend edition, The Worker, continues publication.

The great enfeebled and inactive Socialist Party had reduced the Socialist Call from a weekly to a monthly several years ago. Now realigned with the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party and its monthly retain nothing of socialism save the name they use so fraudulently.

THE SLP PAPER

Just for the record, I must speak here of the Socialist Labor Party's Weekly People. While considerably older than the Militant, the SLP weekly functions outside the realm of the living class struggle. The Militant has been an active participant in all of labor's battles. We scarcely consider the Weekly People an active com-

petitor, since The Militant swims in the great turbulent stream of the American labor movement while the Weekly People has little trouble surviving in a placid sectarian sidebar of its own.

During my first years on the Militant staff, I had a special interest in Shachtman's Labor Action. The Shachtmanites had split from the Socialist Workers Party. They opposed the SWP's position that the Soviet Union was a workers state, despite gross bureaucratic deformations, and that its progressive features such as nationalization of industry and national economic planning should be defended.

When the Shachtmanites

launched their own organization and paper after the split in 1940, they taunted us with the claim that they had taken most of the writers and intellectuals from our ranks and that we would never be able to put out an effective paper and publish it regularly. It is true that a good part of our ranks and leaders were workers and unionists. But what we may have lacked in literary polish we made up for in understanding of socialist politics, the labor movement and the class struggle. And these, after all, are what the Militant dealt with.

The Militant points with pride to just the opposite. We do and have always subscribed to Leninism and Trotskyism. That's what has kept us going and why we expect to keep on going in the stormy days ahead.

It wasn't easy after the Shachtmanites took about forty

per cent of our forces and a big slice of our regular sources of personal satisfaction that I retrace the record of The Militant vis-a-vis Labor Action. Eighteen years after Shachtman condemned The Militant to wither on the vine for lack of the fertilizer of his "intellectuals" and "writers," I can point out that The Militant has maintained uninterrupted weekly publication during the entire time. We have never missed an issue. We have never come out late with an issue.

NOT OPULENT

Our entire editorial establishment consisted of one room, measuring about ten by twelve feet. The room contained two desks, two chairs and two antique typewriters, but no heating facilities — neither radiator nor stove. The winter of 1940-41 was one of the coldest within living memory. We worked much of that fall and winter wearing our overcoats. Times improved, we thought, when someone dug up a small oil stove for us. It didn't give much heat but it produced a powerful amount of fumes. We went back to cold but clean air when we got a small coal stove. We could stay reasonably warm if we kept turning at regular intervals to give all sides of us a chance to toast.

In the spring of 1941, George Breitman was added to our staff. He had learned his journalism chiefly in the school of the class struggle as an unemployed league and socialist organizer. He proved an enormous addition to the staff. His contributions as a writer, especially on the Negro struggle and civil rights, greatly

strengthened the paper. Then, in the summer of 1941, he was

Death in the Mines

By Harold Wilson

Three major mine disasters in a single week, one in Nova Scotia and two in West Virginia, turned public attention once more to the deadly hazards of the coal mining industry.

While major disasters make the front pages, the yearly toll of miners killed or maimed by the two and threes are reported only in the local press. Yet the casualties suffered by the mineworkers in 1957 alone add up to the staggering total of 477 men killed and 17,290 injured.

In summarizing the accident toll for 1957 Charles Ferguson, Director of the United Mine Workers Safety Division, wrote, "there is no reasonable excuse for having sacrificed any of these men on the altar of production... too many coal operators push, push, push for production without a thought for the lives of their employees."

The mine owners' push for production is reflected in the phenomenal boost in bituminous coal productivity from 6.26 tons per man in 1948 to well over 10 tons today. The greatest increase in coal output on record occurred in 1954. It was accompanied by a sharp increase in the fatality rate, launching a trend that has continued to this day. Much of the rise in output is due to the introduction of machinery that adds overloading of ventilation facilities and greater dust-explosion hazards to all the other dangers the miners confront.

Mineowners for years have considered the deaths and maimings as part of the overhead cost of producing coal — and profits. They have stubbornly resisted, step by step, every move to introduce adequate safety measures.

It took a generation of struggle to get the government to set up the Federal Bureau of Mines in 1910. This Bureau was not empowered to enforce any of its

safety recommendations; it could not even inspect unsafe mines against the owners' will. It took another 30 years to give the Bureau powers of compulsory inspection in 1942. Another decade passed and two terrible accidents, both plainly preventable, took the lives of a total of 230 miners at Centralia, Illinois, and Frankfort, Kentucky, before the Bureau of Mines was given the power to close unsafe mines. But this power can only be used where safety violations threaten an "imminent disaster."

Moreover, a huge loop hole has been left in the law through which seven out of eight mines can continue to operate — even though they are known death traps. Mines employing fewer than 15 workers are exempted from the compulsory closing provision. There were 7,659 such small, exempted mines as against 1,484 larger mines in 1957. There were three deaths in the small mines to every one in the large ones.

This year the UMW unsuccessfully sought legislation to bring all mines under the safety law. Bills to that effect were introduced in Congress at the start of the 1958 session. After months of stalling, while the coal operators exerted pressure, a mutilated bill was reported out of the Senate Labor Committee. This aborted bill, the UMW declared, "is completely unrealistic, and will not only handicap the Federal inspectors in mines employing 14 men or less, but will have an adverse effect on their present methods of inspection in Title II [larger] mines."

Thus the mineowners and their stooges in Congress have beaten back another attempt to place human lives above profits. How many more miners must be needlessly killed before adequate safety measures are extended, and enforced, to protect every miner in every mine in the country?

The C. of C. Liked It

By Ethel Bloch

Is it true that "the American workers are dedicated to strengthening the free enterprise system and have no ambition to run the government?" So declared George Meany, AFL-CIO President, over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Oct. 29. Describing as "utter nonsense" the charges that the American labor movement wanted nationalized industries and other socialistic ventures, Meany said, "No group is more convinced than American labor that control of Government by any special interest group, such as organized labor, organized business or the organized financial interests would mean an end to the American way of life."

So speaks Meany who can't see past his pot belly when it comes to the interests of the American workers. The truth is that today the government is completely controlled by the special interests of "organized business" and "organized financial interests" — and the Democratic and Republican parties are the political arms of these interests.

Meany and the rest of the labor officialdom keep re-dedicating the workers to the "free-enterprise" system, but it is this chaotic "free enterprise" with its production for profits instead of production for use which is the cause of all the social ills of the workers. The present recession, the constant war scare and the frightening fallout from the bomb tests: all are part and parcel of a system whose main concern is profits.

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Since 1929 this system which isn't a free enterprise system at all but rather a huge network of industry-wide monopolies, has reeled from depression to war and back again. Only the production of armaments for World War II was able to halt the depression of the 30's.

'Deliberate Speed' in Slum Clearance: Tenements to Stand Until Year 2018

By Gordon Bailey

Sixty years after they were first condemned as unfit for human habitation nearly 400,000 "old-law" tenements are still occupied by New York families according to a recent survey by the Department of City Planning. At the present rate of demolition there will still be some standing in 2018, sixty years from now, the survey estimates.

Typical "old law" tenement apartments feature 7 to 8 foot bedrooms, kitchens "ventilated" by 28 inch wide air shafts, and toilets in yards or corridors shared by two or more families. No central heating is provided, nor in the past even hot water: hence the still-current term "cold water flat." Individual coal fires and kerosene heaters make these tenements extremely dangerous. This hazard is increased further by the design of most tenements that turns them into virtual forced draft furnaces, incinerating the oc-

cupants, when fire breaks out. Socialists and reformers at the turn of the century campaigned against these fire-traps, and in 1901 a new building code was passed raising the minimum health and safety standards. However, the code permitted continued use of sub-standard tenements already built or under construction. Over 641,000 families continued to occupy these tenements after the law was passed. Today, over fifty years later, less than half of these sub-standard structures have been replaced.

1901 CODE

Landlords have been forced to make some modification in them, but they still remain unfit for decent living. Even many of the newer buildings that have replaced old tenements are almost as unhealthy and dangerous as the old structures, the report of the Department of City Planning survey admits.

New York real estate interests today are not building

apartments that working class families can afford to rent. Another survey by the Department of City Planning discloses that rentals of the 3,184 new apartments built in New York by private enterprise this year range from \$81 to \$303 a month for from two to six rooms. Only 15% of all new apartments rent for as low as \$30 a room, and the majority of these are in co-operative buildings that require tenant investments of several hundred to several thousand dollars.

Meanwhile the Federal program for public housing is bogging down in New York as well as in other cities. The city has not yet contracted for all the Federally aided housing authorized under the very limited Federal housing law. Another 8,244 units could be built in New York this year with funds available from Washington, but New York authorities have not signed any contracts for federally aided housing since June. They claim they

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Mack Truck Walkout Was 100% Solid

By Zoltan Kovalsky

PLAINFIELD, N. J. — A week-long strike of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers in five plants of the Mack Truck Corp. in Plainfield and Bridgewater, N. J., Allentown, Pa., Sydney, Ohio, and Corliss, N. Y., ended Oct. 27 with the "non-inflationary" contract of the Reuther machine.

Still to be voted on by Nov. 21 by some 8,000 Mack workers are the details of this agreement which includes a retiming-of-jobs clause, in other words, a proposed speed-up for bonus workers. Though the settlement yields a cent-an-hour less than the national Big Three pattern (six cents for production workers, plus eight cents for skilled trades), Mack workers are being told they won a victory.

SOLID

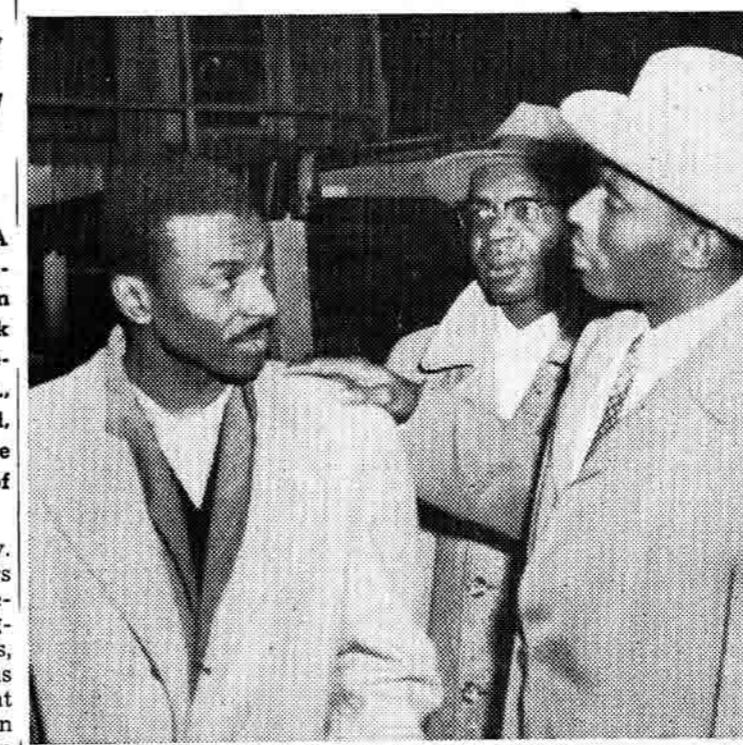
The strike was 100% effective. It even included the office workers, though the fact that the payroll department hit the bricks meant that the strikers couldn't get their deferred pay. Picketing was on a round-the-clock basis. It was participated in by all the members, who received strike-duty cards with specific time assignments for picket shifts.

The union locals involved resisted the attempts of the UAW national leadership to end the walkout. Reuther refused to authorize the strike despite the termination of the contract and enormous pro-strike majorities in the secret-ballot strike vote. Reuther's refusal to authorize the strike was not revealed to the members by the local leaders.

Commenting on the importance of the conference, committee secretary Abner Green said that despite recent Supreme Court rulings bolstering the status of naturalized citizens, and the right of non-citizens to remain in the U.S., the anti-foreign-born Walter McCarran Act must go and the immigration and naturalization policy of these United States rewritten from beginning to end.

Organizations and individuals are invited to participate in the conference. Full details may be obtained from the American Committee offices at 49 E. 21 St., New York 10, N.Y., or calling OR 4-5058.

Southern Freedom-Fighters



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth (left) of Birmingham, Alabama, conferring with other parents who have filed suit for the admission of their children to Alabama's lily-white public schools. Shuttlesworth, a particular target of racists and the Birmingham police, has been beaten, jailed and threatened with death for his courageous integration struggles. His church and home have been subjected to bomb threats and arson attempts. Recently he and 13 others who challenged city bus segregation were illegally jailed for five days. They were held incommunicado. Neither their families nor lawyers could see them.

Committee for Foreign Born to Meet in N.Y.

The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born has announced it will hold its 26th annual national conference Dec. 6 and 7 in New York. Representation from at least 14 national groups is expected.

Commenting on the importance of the conference, committee secretary Abner Green declared, "The Walter-McCarran Act must go and the immigration and naturalization policy of these United States rewritten from beginning to end."

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Letters from Militant Readers

Help and Advice

Editor

Please find enclosed \$5.00 money order. Please extend my sub for another year and use the balance for the good of the cause. As it looks from here the Militant and the Worker ought to expose the enemies of the people and quit name calling.

Editor: Please find enclosed \$5.00 money order. Please extend my sub for another year and use the balance for the good of the cause. As it looks from here the Militant and the Worker ought to expose the enemies of the people and quit name calling.

C. S.
Fond du Lac, Wis.

Thanks for the contribution. It will go toward the \$18,000 of our 30th Anniversary Fund. We agree about name calling. We try to avoid it and instead to furnish our readers with the facts and arguments, based on those facts, as to the best course for the working class in the fight for socialism.—Ed.

The Vote in Algeria

Editor:

The Algerians are being taken for a psychological ride by that parasitic puke, de Gaulle, and his stooges, the army in Algeria. De Gaulle and the army no doubt planned the whole series of events that have taken place in Algeria and France in the last few months. The army, which was the power that brought de Gaulle to power, is now being told by de Gaulle to get out of politics. They will make a false show of resistance, then get out, and that psychological stratagem is supposed to draw a picture on the minds of the Algerians and the French in France, and anybody else who might be looking of the invincible power of de Gaulle.

With private enterprise failing to meet the housing needs of New York workers, and the federal program bogged down, it is not surprising that housing experts foresee the continued existence of New York's rotting, disease-spreading, fire-trap tenements for the next two generations at least.

virtually "marched" to the polls with bayonets in the backs and told to vote "yes" or else.

E. G.
Santa Rosa, Cal.

'Thou Shalt Not Kill'

Editor:

A Father Shiffler was quoted by the newspapers as stating at Fordham U. that he would be in favor of using the Atom bomb against the Russians. Such a statement is shocking to anyone who takes the teachings of Jesus seriously, as any employment of nuclear weapons can only result in the wanton and indiscriminate slaughter of both good and evil alike...

I have no doubt that in spite of all the fury and racial hatred engendered by the Nazis there were still a lot of Germans who retained this belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. But just like a lot of other people all over the world who are intimidated by the idol-worship of Patriotism, they were afraid to speak up for that which they knew in their hearts to be right...

If people were to put aside for a short while their narrow selfishness they would see that the other may also have a legitimate right to his point of view. For example, if our positions were reversed and we lived on the mainland of China, we would certainly find it intolerable to have a few rocky little islands, at the entrance to our harbors, occupied by a strong military force of our rivals.

If the clergyman feels as he expressed himself, he ought to resign and try to obtain a position on the General Staff, for his words do not harmonize with the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.

Perhaps the government is making a mistake in granting a special privilege of exemption from military service to clergymen. At any rate so long as the fellows with their collars on backwards are granted these special privileges, no one should hold it against the Conscientious Objectors who shun military service as opposed to their religious beliefs and God's commandment that "Thou Shalt

Not Kill," sometimes called the Fifth Commandment and sometimes the Sixth, depending on Catholic or Protestant...

Clergymen who feel as Fr. Shiffler does should not be entitled to special privilege but should have the same right as CO's to "take the Fifth" as grounds for exemption.

A. C.
Chicago

Calypso Rhythms

Meddle East

Onkl Sam, the meddling man, He meddle in the East, He meddle in the West, He meddle where the INTERESTS best.

He meddle in Greece, He meddle in Oil, He irks the people who toil, And crops their pay checks To send a fifth To the Chiang Kai-shek's.

—Anon

Ditto (in Verse)

On No. 202

A Confirmed Sinner

Eleven ministers and one bail bond broker Sat with the Devil in a game of poker. Freedom and security bet across the board, Poverty and segregation, the Devil's hoard, Was freely rewarded to the winners; Old Nick, calmly took the freedom of the sinners. It is a sin, you know, we've been told by sages To join a union strong and demand union wages. Now in accordance to this pious eleven Starvation's the shortest route to Heaven; But I, O, sinful cuss, think it would be swell To beat 202 and take our chances.

ON ORGANIZING HELL

Jack Wright
Seattle, Wash.

From a Teen-Ager

Editor:

I notice that my subscription to the Militant ends. Due to conditions beyond my control, I will not be able to subscribe again. Perhaps when I am of age I will commence to read your truth-relating newspaper. The Militant has helped me to become a liberal-minded, informed, and observant teenager.

R. C.
New Jersey

Negroes Protest Bus Arrests In Birmingham

By Henry Gitano

NOV. 4 — Birmingham's freedom-fighters are picking up steam in their struggle against a police reign of terror. Last night, 2,000 people overflowed a mass meeting, protesting bus segregation and the wholesale jailing of Negro leaders. Mass meetings are scheduled every night in different parts of the city, to afford Birmingham's 100,000 Negroes an opportunity to demonstrate their feelings. Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, militant integration leader, said: "A lot of people haven't heard about the boycott yet. We've got to get the word to more people. We expect the protest to grow greatly during the week. The tempo of the people is bus boycott. The people are enthusiastic; there are quite a few people not riding the buses."

Rev. Shuttlesworth, one of those imprisoned, noted: "The fact that 14 of us were arrested and jailed, shows how voluntarily and peacefully their new scheme operates. And the fact that 3,000 Negro citizens gathered around the courthouse when we were arraigned shows the temper of our citizens in this crusade for our rights." INCOMMUNICADO

In addition three ministers from Montgomery were arrested as vagrants in Shuttlesworth's home and held incommunicado for five hours. Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the victorious Montgomery bus boycott, denounced the arrests and expressed his solidarity: "If the people of good will, both Negro and white, will not take a stand against the Gestapo-like tactics, our southland will be plunged into a state of fascism like the world has never known."

Bus integration is not the only battle. Last year Shuttlesworth was badly beaten for trying to register his children in an all-white school. Of this fight he says: "Our federal suit to obtain integration in the Birmingham public schools is now before the Supreme Court and city officials have refused to answer our request for conferences on the barring of Negroes from public parks here. We intend to go to Federal Court on that, too."

Interviewed by the Militant last year, Rev. Shuttlesworth expressed his people's aspirations: "We fight segregation, period, amen, that's right, all over, anywhere. God is against sin, we're against segregation. We sing: 'And before I'd be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave. And go back to my Lord and be free!' Then we go out and fight."

people are fooled by slick propaganda for the proposed law. We've got plenty of doorbells ringing to do. Get the unemployed and people outside the plants to vote no with us.

An old time rubber worker expressed his ideas along these lines: "I think I'll split my vote. I'll vote no on issue No. 2 but vote for O'Neill. He's a Republican but DiSalle doesn't do any thinking for himself. Besides I'm tired of voting for the Democrats. The union is always urging a vote for the Democrats and nothing comes of it — in or out of office.

M. and E. S.
Chicago, Ill.

Ditto (in Verse)

On No. 202</