

# Rockwell Kent Backs Cleveland Socialist Party

NOV. 16 — Enthusiasm and mounting support from across the country has greeted the call for a National Conference of American Socialists to convene in Cleveland, Nov. 28-30.

A list of additional sponsors for the conference was announced today by Eric Reinthal, conference secretary. They include: Rockwell Kent, James Aronson, Scott Nearing, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Terry Pettus, Carl Haessler, Reuben Borough, Dr. A. J. Lewis, Herbert Rosenfeld, Milton Zaslow, Martin Hall, Carl Feingold and Leo Gallagher.

Registration and checking in of delegates will take place all day Friday, Nov. 28, at conference headquarters, Tudor

Arms Hotel, Carnegie at E. 107 St., Cleveland, Ohio.

## PROPOSED AGENDA

The proposed agenda of the conference calls for an informal reception Friday night at the Tudor Arms and the convening of the conference Saturday morning promptly at 9 A.M., with the first session devoted to "electoral activity and the advancing of labor's independent political action." This will be followed by a panel discussion on the issue of peace and a session on civil rights and civil liberties.

Saturday evening there will be a buffet supper followed by a public session of the conference with Harvey O'Connor, Vincent Hallinan, John T. McManus, Joseph P. King and Annette T. Rubinstein as participants in the program, plus folk singer Earl Robinson.

The wind-up session Sunday morning will be devoted to the question of "Where Do We Go From Here?"

The Conference Committee assures that "all sessions of the conference will be organized to guarantee maximum discussion and participation by those attending." "Socialists of all tendencies who are considering attending the conference are urged to make advance registrations if at all possible."

There is an urgent need for financial help to defray the cost of the conference. Send registrations (with \$2 registration fee) and contributions to: Eric J. Reinthal, Conference Sec'y, 177 East 316th St., Willowick, Ohio.

The call to the Conference (Continued on Page 2)

## Featured Speaker



John T. McManus, General Manager of the National Guardian, will speak at the National Conference of American Socialists when it meets in Cleveland Nov. 28.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Best Week for Fund; Banquet Nets \$700

By George Lavan

The best week so far — that is what the statistics of the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund show on this score-board. The sum of \$1,935 in checks, money orders and cash dropped into the fund's coffers out of letters from near and far, from individuals and groups. Out of one envelope fluttered a donation of 56 cents worth of air mail stamps.

The other big news this week is that Militant supporters in Oakland have already crossed the finish line and intend to keep going. Oakland zoomed from 18th place on the score-board last week to a lofty 105%. Not satisfied, they simultaneously asked us to change their quota from the previous \$300 to \$340 (those people just don't care how much clerical work they make for us in this office).

After considerable discussion pro and con, we decided to accede to Oakland's somewhat unorthodox request. Such a precedent, of course, gives us no choice but to grant the same favor to all others requesting it. But please — a little restraint! Just consider the extra clerical work, to say nothing of all the addition, long division, calculus and general havoc it puts us to.

The lion's share — \$911 — of this week's contributions came from Los Angeles. Bob Strauss, the local fund director, sends an excellent account of a double anniversary banquet which made this possible. The banquet celebrated the 41st anniversary of the October Revolution and the 30th birthday of the Militant.

"Opening the program, the chairman, William F. Ward, pointed out that, despite the difference in historical magnitude, the October Revolution of 1917 and the launching of the Militant in 1928, had certain features in common. Both actions came about through the initiative of Marxists animated by the same fundamental ideas and world outlook.

"The first speaker, Arne Swabek, further developed this theme. Both of these events, he recalled, represented decisive turning points in his personal, political life. The victory of the Russian Revolution served to reorient the political direction of his whole generation. In founding the Militant, he and his

(Continued on Page 3)



## Score FHA For Refusing To Fight Bias

Clark Foreman, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, on Nov. 14 denounced the refusal of the Federal housing authority to push a fight against racial discrimination in residential building and renting.

In a telegram to President Eisenhower, Foreman declared,

"Albert M. Cole, Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency, is quoted in today's New York Times as saying that he believed the Federal Government had no responsibility to promote the ending of racial discrimination in residential accommodations. If this report is accurate it is another example of the abandonment by the Administration of its responsibility in carrying out the spirit of the Supreme Court's unanimous decision in the Brown case."

The ECLC urged the Federal Government to assume its full responsibility in setting an example of integration for the rest of the country.

To this we would add: the ISP set an example of working-class political opposition to the Big Business parties. This is the beginning of a process that must culminate eventually in similar action by the entire class.

The platform of the ISP, because it was based on minimum agreement of differing tendencies, had inevitable defects, in our opinion. But it was an approach to the kind of socialist platform that is needed on the American scene. Through further discussion and evaluation of the campaign experience the differences of opinion can gradually be resolved and a more adequate socialist program can be hammered out.

## TV and Radio Time

The ISP radio and TV time set a record for socialists in New York, the highlight being the four-way debate among gubernatorial candidates over CBS-TV on Oct. 25. The full text of the debate was also published in the New York Herald Tribune.

The vote (still not completely tallied but estimated at 30,000 for John T. McManus and at 45,000 for Corliss Lamont) was impressive.

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(Continued on Page 3)

# THE MILITANT

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222

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## Dixiecrats to Keep Key Congress Posts

Face a Long, Cold Winter



There are still long lines at the New York unemployment offices despite the business upturn. Any reduction in the number drawing unemployment benefits is due, in large part, to the jobless exhausting their benefit right. In September 383,000 ran out of regular or extended unemployment insurance payments.

## Socialist Political Action In Light of '58 Elections

An Editorial

United socialist electoral activity was tested in the 1958 elections, principally in New York State. How did it fare? What conclusions are to be drawn about its validity? Has it realistic prospects for 1960?

We believe that the turnout was a success and that serious consideration should be given to broadening united socialist electoral activity on a nationwide basis looking toward a united socialist ticket in 1960.

As to the achievements of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York in this year's campaign, we concur with the National Guardian, which like ourselves supported the ISP slate. The ISP, says the Nov. 17 Guardian, "had three proud feathers in its cap: (1) a smashing victory over Tammany in its petition fight; (2) the introduction of meaningful issues as widely as possible in an otherwise no-issues contest between two millionaire-led political machines; and (3) beginnings of socialist unity in New York."

Beginning of a Process

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(Continued on Page 3)

## Northern Democrats Accepting Leadership Of Johnson, Rayburn

What may be realistically expected from the incoming overwhelmingly Democratic Congress is revealed by two items. (1) Immediately following election day the stock market took off like a sky rocket. The Wall Street boom is so spectacular that it has become front-page news and even the President of the Stock Exchange is calling for restraint. (2) AFL-CIO President George Meany's public statements deliberately minimize labor's role in bringing about the Democratic sweep.

The precise line and tone that the Democratic 86th Congress will adopt cannot yet be determined because the jockeying between its disparate elements — labor-backed liberals, big city machines and Southern racists — has not yet resulted in a compromise or deal.

The South is still firmly in the saddle through its chairmanships of most of Congress's powerful standing committees, though the increased numbers of Northern Democrats may force a little shortening of the stirrups. These Northerners (including an increased number of liberal Republicans) are publicly committed to some action on civil rights.

### RULE 22

It is hard to see how they can avoid changing Senate Rule 22 which permits the filibuster. Barring an open sell-out as in 1955, in which Senators Humphrey, Douglas et al should have learned a lesson, or a rotten "compromise" which the Southerners are now seeking, the filibuster should be abolished at the beginning of this Congress for the promised votes are there in sufficient number.

To make a "record" on which to garner workers' votes in the 1960 Presidential elections, the Northern Democrats are expected to propose more social legislation. How much of this is to be actually passed and how much, if any, passed over Eisenhower's veto, is one of the

big wrangles now going on in the back room between Northern Democrats and Congress's two plantation overseers from Texas — Senate boss Lyndon Johnson and House boss Sam Rayburn.

Congressional criticism of the cold-war will not be basic and apparently much less than some thought likely. The tip-off was Democratic chief Johnson's appearance in the UN for the administration. There he backed the hill State Dept. opposition to the Soviet proposal of banning military use of outer space. Johnson will next go to Mexico for Dulles to confer with President Lopez Mateos. As for the cold-war arms buildup, the disposition of most Democrats in Congress is to attack the administration for "too little and too late."

## 36,500 on Strike At Int'l Harvester

CHICAGO, Nov. 14 — The International Harvester strike is now in its second day, 36,500 United Auto Worker members have shut 15 manufacturing plants and 21 other

plants. Under the "zone" seniority, "nobody could get out of a foundry and nobody could get into skilled trades." "Promotions and transfers would be limited to departments." The new seniority law would be by "skill and ability," and the company would be "judge, jury, and Supreme Court." "Grievance procedure would go back to the busted-strike days of 1952."

The right of overrules "to hold on to their overrate if bumped would be taken away." The Company is also holding out for a cut of 10% in the night bonus, and the right to work the employees two, three, or four days a week as they see fit. (The present contract guarantees five days work a week except for emergencies.) "All in all 13 major changes for the worse and a number of minor contract impairments" are being demanded by the company.

The I-H strike follows on the heels of a settlement with I-H's next largest competitor, the John Deere Company. The union characterizes the Deere settlement as "smashing through with some 40 contract improvements and an economic pattern that is above the package negotiated for the auto big three." I-H is considered to be the "only company in the industry, in fact the only major company in the country that is demand-

(Continued on Page 4)

# People's World Fails to Follow Through

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The editors of the People's World, which generally expresses the viewpoint of the Communist Party on the West Coast, addressed themselves, Nov. 8, to the question "what next" after the 1958 elections. They correctly made their point of departure the victory of the working people of California against the Big Business-inspired "right to work" campaign. They urged that "The enthusiasm generated by the smashing defeat of 'right to work' and Knowland should not be permitted to dissipate. All efforts should be made to channel it into independent political action by labor and its allies."

The PW editors warn that the victorious Democrats are prone to "indecision, compromise and surrender to the very pressures against which the people voted." "More fundamentally," they say, "big business attentions and favors will be increasingly lavished on the party... We have witnessed such a development in California. As Edmund G. Brown gained in his race against Knowland, so did he gain big money adherents, including the Hearst press." Whereupon Brown watered down the issues, says PW.

It would seem from these warnings that the People's World is urging a struggle to end labor's political subservience to the Democratic machine. It would seem that it considers the time ripe for pressing for a labor party.

Unfortunately, that is not the case. In the same editorial PW also asks for strengthening of the Democratic Clubs and strengthening of the Negro and Mexican-American minority bloc "within the Democratic Party."

## More of the Same?

This kind of "independent political action" is not new. Labor has been "independent" in this fashion since mass industrial unions were organized in the 1930's. By asking for such "independent" action on the part of the labor movement, the editors of the People's World, are merely asking the workers to continue as before—as an "independent" appendage to the Democratic machine, garnering votes for capitalist politicians in return for the privilege of begging or pressuring them for a few modest, but still denied, concessions.

The Militant agrees with the editors of the People's World that we must press for "independent political action by labor and its allies." To do this, socialist and communist workers in the union movement should take advantage of every opportunity to explain the enthusiasm engendered by labor's independent campaign on the issue of "right-to-work" propositions. The potentialities of organized labor, as seen in this campaign, should free the working class of its feeling of political impotence.

Discussions should be encouraged in the shops, in union meetings and in special conferences on the lessons of the fight against anti-labor laws. The program and political demands of labor should be discussed. We should advance the idea that the unions should put up candidates of their own to run for public office—Independent of the old parties. In some areas this is not an unrealistic perspective for the next local elections.

The formation of an independent labor party—like the formation of industrial unions in the 1930's—will not appear out of the clear blue sky. It must be considered, first by politically advanced workers, agitated for, explained patiently, and presented simply. The next two years will provide ample material to press home the need for labor's own political party.

## Let's Show the Way

The work of socialists and communists in the union movement can be greatly aided by the united efforts of their parties in socialist election campaigns. The campaign of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York and similar campaigns elsewhere marked a beginning. They can accelerate the inevitable process of extending class-consciousness of workers to the political arena.

As socialist-minded workers our task is to point the way to a solution. The labor bureaucrats cannot forever block the road to working class politics. They couldn't stem the tide of industrial unions in the 1930's. And they will be unable to keep the workers out of politics as an independent class force forever.

In reality the policy of working "within the Democratic Party" means abandoning even education for the formation of a labor party. The confusion of the People's World editorial demonstrates this fact. How much more progress could be made if all who favor such a perspective would work for it openly, without fancy strategems that end up burying even the smallest beginnings.

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## International Socialist Review

116 University Place

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# Peace Issue in the Nov. 4 Vote

By Harry Ring

A few days after the election, a Democratic politician in Washington told the *New York Post* that popular opposition to the Administration's foreign policy was undoubtedly a factor in the Democratic Party's sweep on Nov. 4. "We'd only mention Quemoy and Matsu, but people seemed to get the point."

The real point is obvious enough. Democratic candidates, sensing the widespread uneasiness and fear created by brinkmanship, would holler, "And what about Quemoy and Matsu?" and then leave the issue quickly before anyone could get to ask where they actually stood on the question of the off-shore Chinese Islands.

### NOT 8 DEMOCRATS

The important thing that emerges from this is not merely the well-known fact that capitalist politicians are addicted to cheap demagogic. The moral of the story, as borne out by the national 1958 election experience, is that the anti-war sentiment in this country

was unable to express itself through either major party. Across the country, there weren't half-a-dozen Democratic candidates who campaigned against the bi-partisan cold war. Working people who sought to express themselves for peace, within the framework of the two-party system, found themselves registering their opposition to the Administration's war program by voting for Democrats who stood for the very same thing—and often, more of it.

I think this fact alone more than justifies the united socialist efforts that were realized in the '58 elections—particularly the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, the most extensive of such efforts. The ISP campaign was a significant job of spadework for the building of a vitally needed, meaningful alternative to the Big Business parties both of which are irrevocably bound to the perspective of eventual war against the Soviet bloc.

But, it may be argued, since there are many more people committed to the cause of peace than there are to the cause of socialism, and since the prevention of an atomic holocaust is the crucial issue of our time, wouldn't the ISP have been more effective if it had limited itself to a "peace" campaign rather than a socialist one?

### QUICK LOOK AT THE VOTE

This was the main argument made by the Communist Party leadership to justify its opposition to the ISP campaign. It is also the principal conclusion drawn by the CP leaders from a rather cursory examination of the ISP vote. The point is made by CP state secretary William Albertson in an analysis of the New York election results in the Nov. 16 *Worker*.

"Parenthetically," says Albertson, "the fact that John McManus, candidate for governor on the ISP ticket, received in New York City 23,538 votes while Corliss Lamont, candidate for the U.S. Senate, received 37,992 votes, indicates the correctness of the Communist position in that campaign."

"That position," he continues, "was that the Left should unite behind a single peace candidate, preferably Corliss Lamont, without encumbering him and the issue of peace with a full ticket and with the concept that it is necessary to embrace socialism in order to be for peace."

The ISP, of course, did not advance the nonsensical proposition that you have to be for socialism to be for peace. It did take the traditional socialist stand that the way to establish enduring peace is to abolish the capitalist system which breeds war. At the same time it hampered away at such crucial immediate issues as the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Middle East and Far East.

But to get back to the claim that the 14,000-vote spread between Lamont and McManus bears out that the CP was right all the time. The point might appear plausible had Lamont campaigned on a different platform than McManus, that is, had he confined his campaign to the issue of peace. But La-

mont campaigned as vigorously for socialism as McManus did. On what basis then can it be claimed that the 14,000 additional voters for Lamont were ready to "embrace" peace but not socialism?

### CP DIDN'T ACCOUNT FOR THE DIFFERENCE

The reason for the difference in the vote is neither startling nor difficult to establish. By the way, the difference was not due to the Worker's endorsement of Lamont, as some CP spokesmen would now imply. The Worker also endorsed Captain Mulzac, ISP candidate for Comptroller, and he led McManus by only 3,500 votes in New York City. Only portion of these 3,500 votes can be credited to the Worker's endorsement of Mulzac, at that.

That McManus polled less than the rest of the slate follows the vote pattern over the years for minority tickets in New York and other states. There is always a certain number of people who want to register a protest vote but are reluctant to do so for the particular top office that is being most hotly and closely contested by the two major party candidates. These voters mark their ballot for the major party candidate they prefer to see in office and then register their general protest by voting for minor party candidates for other offices. In this election, the exception was over the Rockefeller-Harriman contest for governor rather than the Keating-Hagan senatorial contest. Thus Lamont was favored by more voters than McManus.

Lamont was additionally favored because he was the most widely known personality on the ISP slate. But those voters who knew about Lamont's record of opposition to cold war and in defense of civil liberties—also knew about his long record of advocating socialism. In their case, clearly, the peace—but-not-socialism issue would not apply.

### REAL REASON

Actually, the CP leaders' real beef against the ISP is not its complaint that peace gets more votes than socialism. According to Albertson, the ISP "weakened the united struggle of the Left needed to help labor and the Negro people defeat Rockefeller." Or, to put it plainly, Lamont should have run as an "independent peace" candidate, concentrated his fire on Rockefeller, and thus helped hustle votes for Harriman. The position is based on the thoroughly false contention that it's possible to win the fight for peace

through the vehicle of the Democratic Party.

For socialists to accept this proposition means abandoning their fundamental convictions. Earlier, I said the ISP stood on the socialist principle that basically the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism. For those who take the socialist analysis of contemporary society seriously, this is not abstract propaganda, but the keystone of an effective socialist peace policy.

### SOCIALIST CONCEPTS

Some elementary and well-known socialist concepts need repeating. War and the threat of war in the 20th century arise from the irrepressible drive of imperialism to expand. The present Wall Street drive against the Soviet Union, China and the colonial world certainly demonstrates this.

Further, political parties dominated by the capitalist class and firmly committed to its system have no basis for opposing the capitalist war drive. The bi-partisan prosecution of the cold war certainly verifies this too.

If, then, these facts are correct, as socialists insist they are, doesn't it follow that an effective struggle against war must be directed against the system from which the war danger springs and against the political parties that execute capitalist policies? Doesn't it mean that above all else the fight for peace demands consistent work to build independent working-class political opposition to the capitalist war parties?

Such a stand by socialists does not imply abstention from specific anti-war struggles—no matter how limited the demands they raise. But socialists, if they are to be consistent with their convictions, have an added responsibility. They must show the link between every such struggle and the overall struggle against the capitalist order. There is no lack of sentiment for peace in this country or of a capacity to fight for it. What is lacking is an effective program and consistent leadership in the fight for peace. Who besides socialists, acting on their socialist principles, can provide that program and leadership?

### NO HELP WANTED

Some 850 corporation executives, attending an American Management Association conference in New York City, indicated that stepped-up productivity will allow them to operate at pre-slump levels with their current working forces.

## ...1958 Socialist Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

for Louis Shoemaker, for State Secretary of Internal Affairs.

In Michigan, New Jersey and Wisconsin, statewide candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are still awaiting their returns.

In the state of Washington, the United Liberals and Socialists Party, a new coalition effort similar to the New York and Chicago tickets, reports these returns: Jay Sykes, candidate for the U.S. Senate, 1,138 votes (incomplete); Clyde Carter, for State Representative in the 33rd District, 167; Jack Wright, for State Senator in the 37th District, 151; Thomas J. Barrett, for State Senator in the 32nd District, 118.

On the side of their activity and their response, socialist campaigners report the following:

In Washington State, the highlight was participation of the United Liberals and Socialists candidates in the Seattle campaign against Initiative 202, the "Right-to-Work" measure.

"No one can deny this is an important step on the road to building for the socialist tomorrow," declared King as he urged a continuation of the Chicago effort. He also urged deepening ties with united socialist movements across the country "with a view toward a national socialist ticket in 1960."

## Local Directory

### BOSTON

Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. Room 200.

### BUFFALO

Militant Forum, 831 Main St.

### CHICAGO

Socialist Workers Party, 777 W.

Adams, DE 2-9736.

### CLEVELAND

Socialist Workers Party 10809 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818.

Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

### DETROIT

Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2873 Woodward.

### LOS ANGELES

Boston Hall and Modern Book Shop,

1702 E. 4th St., AN 6-4933 or AN 3-

1533. Book Shop open Mon., 7-9 P.M.;

Wed., 8-10 P.M.; Sat., 12-5 P.M.

### MILWAUKEE

150 East Juneau Ave.

### MINNEAPOLIS

Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWMARK

Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.

### NEW YORK CITY

Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

### OAKLAND-BERKELEY

P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

### PHILADELPHIA

Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.

### SAN FRANCISCO

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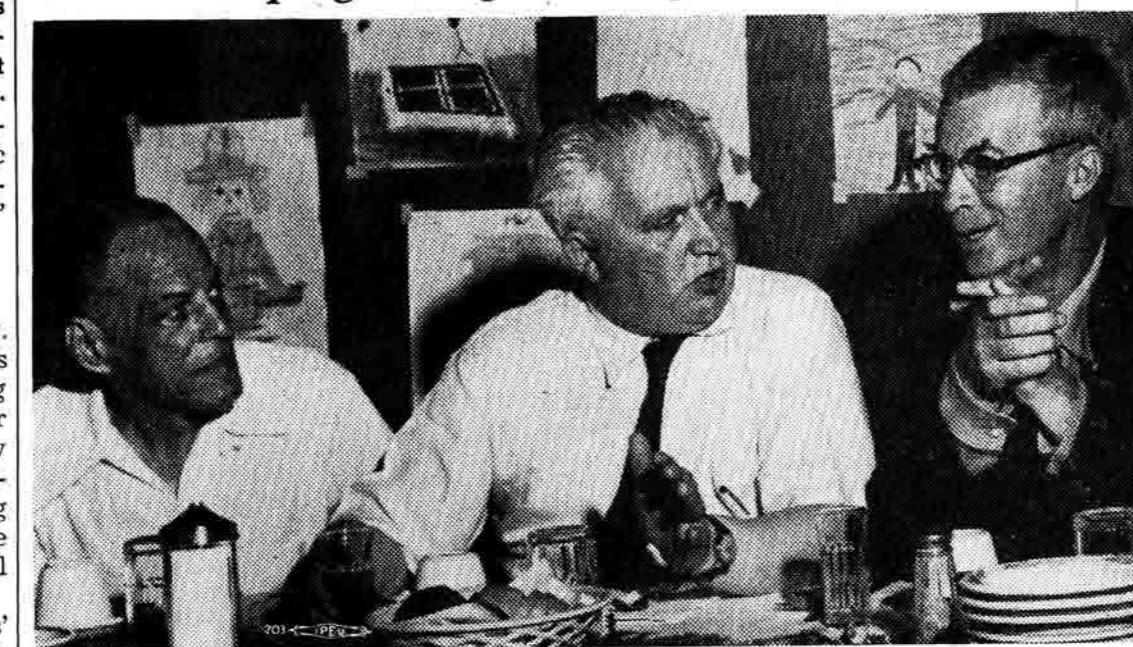
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## Campaigned Against Big Business Rule



Captain Hugh N. Mulzac (l), 1958 Independent-Socialist candidate for New York, Comptroller, and Scott K. Gray, Jr. (r), I-SP candidate for Attorney General, hold dinner conversation with British Labor MP Harold Davies during his recent visit here. The I-SP candidates have expressed their support of the Cleveland united socialist conference and Davies has sent greetings to the gathering.

## ...Cleveland Conference

(Continued from Page 1) was sent to all socialists—organized and unaffiliated. It declared: "The November, 1958, elections have offered new opportunities for promoting socialist unity and revitalization. The experiences of a dozen areas confirm this. They are of sufficient scope and importance to warrant socialist interchange and analysis.

"In fact a genuine need has developed to find the time and place for socialists from all over America to convene and—with the November elections as a starting point—to ask and answer the question: Where do we go from here?"

### WIDE RESPONSE

The call has evoked a wide, favorable response throughout the radical movement. Two groups, however, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Labor Party, have refused to participate. Their reasons were basically the same as those given

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## ... Socialist Political Action

(Continued from Page 1)

had no significance since socialism is not an issue in the thinking of the great majority of the working people?

To answer these questions in such a way as to deny the validity of socialist campaigns is to reckon without the basic trends operating in the country.

The Democrats in office will grant far less reforms than the working people who voted for them demanded. Furthermore as the crisis of capitalism becomes more severe, the demands of the working people will increase. The disparity between what the workers want and what they get will grow. Their disillusionment with the Democratic Party will lead them to organize for basic political change.

Only a part of this process, of course, may manifest itself by 1960. But socialism in America is not the outlook of a dim and faraway future, either.

The threat of war, another depression, inflation, a turn of Big Business to reaction looking to the installation of fascism — all these are lodged in American capitalist society today.

Class struggles will break out. A

movement within the ranks of labor for working class political independence will manifest itself. First hundreds of thousands, then millions, then tens of millions of workers will embrace the socialist program as social instability grows.

The tasks of socialists, we believe, is to prepare for these developments. Socialists should continue to regroup and unify their forces. They should develop a socialist program that fits the needs of the American working people. They should continue to educate for socialism, especially using their best forum — the election campaigns.

They should continue intransigently to oppose the Democrats and Republicans and to set the example of political independence from both big business parties at the polls.

This course of action will be the greatest service to the American working class that socialists can render. For it will aid the working class in drawing its own conclusions from the experience with the Democratic Party liberals and speed its break away from the capitalist two-party system.

## The "Atomic Stalemate"

Some people believe the stupendous destructive power of H-Bombs has made war impossible and that "a balance of terror" assures peace. Such self-delusion was widespread in the 1920's about the "impossibility" of World War II.

Ex-Secretary of Air Finletter recently advised, "We had better stop consoling ourselves with the idea that the possibil-

ity of war has disappeared from the earth," the reality is "the war which looms so menacingly before us."

Throughout its history capitalism has bred wars. It has produced governments capable of exterminating millions in gas chambers, of incinerating the men, women and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only is it capable of a third world war, it is organically driven towards it.

## Labor Did It Itself

Once again we return to the extremely important conclusions to be drawn from labor's fight against the misnamed right-to-work referendums. American workers can rejoice in their victory in defeating these laws in five out of six states. They should also draw some conclusions.

The "right-to-work" measures were not defeated by Democratic party machines, nor by liberal Democratic politicians carrying the ball for labor. For instance, in Ohio, Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate Mike DiSalle admits he did not campaign against RTW, and Sen. Frank Lausche (Democrat) supported the measure. If the workers had depended on the Democratic party they would have lost the fight.

Realizing this, labor campaigned on its own, independent of the party machines. Forming rank-and-file campaign committees, they mustered union locals into united fighting fronts to battle the open-shoppers.

First they mobilized hundreds of rank-and-file campaigners who carried the fight into the shops and the neighborhoods. Few of these voluntary election workers would have responded to an appeal from the Democratic party, but when called on by their unions they were willing to go out and campaign.

The union campaign committees were able to rouse thousands of workers from their apathy and get them to register and then to vote 'No.' Many who saw little difference between the various candidates,

were convinced by fellow unionists that their class interest was involved in the RTW issue.

Supporters of "right-to-work" had hoped to use the farm vote against labor. But union campaigners went to the farmers and convinced many of them that the same monopoly interests which squeezed the farmers were behind RTW. Working farmers, like Negroes and middle-class voters, responded to this appeal for solidarity with labor on this issue. In 70 out of 88 rural counties in Ohio, RTW was voted down; while in the 18 others the margin was very close.

Election figures prove that labor was able to bring out a vote on this issue in excess of the vote for the Democratic-politician "friends of labor." In Ohio, Democratic Governor Mike DiSalle got 1,887,925 votes, whereas 2,007,467 voted against RTW. This meant that at least 119,365 extra voters were mobilized by labor's campaign on the "right-to-work" amendment.

All this shows that labor could elect its own candidates on a program that commanded the support of its members, working farmers, minority peoples and the lower middle class. Labor already has the human resources for the job. The framework of organization is partly in existence. There is no lack of real economic, social and political issues which the two capitalist parties keep out of elections. But the "labor statesmen" obtusely say "No." Isn't it about time for the ranks to get in on this conversation?

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# Visit of Ceylonese Trotskyists to China

(This is the second installment of an interview with Robert Gunawardena, central committee member of Ceylon's Lanka Sama Samaja Party, and a member of Parliament Tom Kerr, Organizational Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, conducted the interview. The LSSP, a Trotskyist party, is the country's largest working class party and is the official Opposition in Parliament. This installment deals further with the communal divisions in Ceylon and with the trip of five LSSP leading members to China in 1957. — Ed.)

Q. Well, in dominantly Sinhalese areas where they were living they have more or less given up the idea of staying as a result of the riots and are returning back to those areas that are mostly Tamil.

Q. In other words, tendencies toward segregation?

A. Yes, tendencies toward segregation.

Q. And this would of course, be an even deeper division between the people?

A. That is correct.

Q. The LSSP is committed, if it becomes a majority in the government, to adopt both Tamil and Sinhalese as the official languages?

A. Yes. . . .

CHINESE GOVT. INVITES LSSP

Q. I understand the LSSP last year received an official invitation from both the government of the Soviet Union —

A. The LSSP received an official invitation from the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, not from the Soviet Union. From the Soviet Union there was also an invitation to the members of Parliament to come see the Soviet Union. That invitation was to the Parliament of Ceylon.

Q. The People's Republic of China issued an invitation directly to the LSSP?

A. Yes. When Prime Minister Chou En-lai came to Ceylon it was at the end of 1956 on the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon. He moved about in the country and I feel that he saw the strength of our party too at that stage. Then

he gave us an open invitation to the party to visit the People's Republic of China.

Q. Did he know when he issued the invitation that the LSSP was a Trotskyist organization?

A. Oh, yes. It was quite evident right through. During his stay in Ceylon we were having meetings, our press, our propaganda. There is no one who could fail to understand it was a Trotskyist organization.

Q. The LSSP accepted the invitation?

A. Yes. We accepted the invitation.

FIVE GO TO CHINA

Q. How many representatives of the LSSP visited China?

A. Five Central Committee members of the LSSP visited China.

Q. Including yourself?

A. Including myself. The



Robert Gunawardena, Trotskyist member of Ceylon's Parliament, addresses International Conference in China last August.

others were Dr. N. M. Perera, the leader of the Opposition in Parliament; H. D. Alexander, the Secretary of the United Port Workers Union; D. G. Williams, the Secretary of Wholesale and Shop Employees Union; and Bernard Soysa, the Member of Parliament for Colombo South.

Q. How long did you spend in China?

A. I spent ten days. The rest of the delegates, nearly a month.

Q. To what extent, according to your observation, has the nationalization proceeded?

A. Yes. We visited some factories and also the industrial magnates who are there yet — they threw a party for us. The industrial magnates have got a special association. We had a discussion with them too on their position.

Q. Are they comparable to the capitalists in the capitalist countries?

A. No.

Q. What is the difference?

LEGAL STATUS OF OWNERS'

A. The difference there is that the state generally controls all the raw materials that are supplied to these factories and also the commodities produced have to be given to the state. The industrialists just get the bare margin of profit at the moment. When we discussed with them, they explained that by 1961 they would just disappear completely and the state would take over. Also the Prime Minister (Chou En-lai) and, when we discussed it with him, Mao Tse-tung, head of the People's Republic, stated that position too. No worker can be dismissed by the industrialists. They more or less seem to be sort of managers at the moment. Still that has been developed perhaps. They are there till the workers come to a position to do special executive jobs. That is the position that I could understand at the moment.

Q. Do the workers exercise any control with management through any sort of committees in the factories? Or is it done done through representatives in the government?

A. They do exercise control in the factories.

Q. Through what medium?

A. Through their committees.

Q. Are these committees elected by the workers or are they appointed by the government?

A. There are some appointed by the government, mainly by the union itself.

Q. When you were in China did you have any opportunity of talking to any of the workers, the peasants, the people in China?

LANGUAGE BARRIER

A. In certain places we had. But the difficulty was the language. We had to go through an interpreter always.

Q. And what was the attitude expressed in such discussions?

A. They were fully with the state and government. They were fully cooperating at the moment.

Q. In your discussions with Chou En-lai did you discuss the political regime in China, that is, manifestations of bureaucracy, which they themselves have recently admitted exist?

A. We discussed about the bureaucracy that exists in both the Soviet Union and China. The reply in the talk we had was: some of us are old people — those tendencies do happen to develop in the older sections but as we get on, when the younger elements come, I think this will disappear. That was the answer to us.

Q. Was the question of Trotskyism ever raised in any of these discussions?

A. No. We could not raise the question of Trotskyism.

Q. Chou didn't raise it either?

A. No.

## FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Oakland	\$ 340	\$ 357	105
St. Louis	80	70	88
Boston	450	360	80
Chicago	1,000	716	72
Newark	265	190	72
Buffalo	1,500	1,065	71
Connecticut	300	200	67
Twin Cities	1,742	1,152	66
Milwaukee	250	155	62
San Diego	300	180	60
New York	4,500	2,481	55
Allentown	112	60	54
Los Angeles	4,600	2,440	53
Youngstown	300	150	50
Detroit	600	284	47
Cleveland	750	340	45
Seattle	550	235	43
Philadelphia	528	201	38
Pittsburgh	10	2	20
San Francisco	440	90	20
Denver	50	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	269	—
Total through Nov. 18	\$18,867	\$10,997	61

## The Militant Army

By Karolyn Kerr  
Subscription Campaign Director

In the past two weeks we received a total of 102 renewals and new subscriptions to swell our list of Militant subscribers. From the beginning of the campaign we have averaged better than 50 subs per week.

This week, a new subscriber, Mrs. B. P. of Seattle, sets the proper tone for our nationwide sub drive when she writes: "Enclosed is a dollar bill for your splendid, educating workingman's paper and I shall be glad to pass the good work along." Thank you Mrs. B. P. and welcome to the ranks of our Militant supporters. Another new subscriber sends us a five dollar bill for six 6-month trial subs under our Club Subscription Plan — one sub for herself and five for her friends. "Pass the good work along," that is what our 6-for-5 Club Subscription Plan is for.

East Bay (Oakland-Berkeley) sends us 11 subs along with the following message: "As we here in the Bay Area have been up to our ears in pre-election re-groupment activity the sub drive is off to a slow start. These 11 subs are mainly from friends made in the last several months. However, we have a considerable list of people whom we haven't had time to see yet and hope we will have some good results to report very soon." That is one hope we hope will be soon realized!

Los Angeles sends 17 subs and a note saying: "We are just getting started now although the campaign period is

## Letters from Our Readers

### Suggests Name For New Party

Editor:  
As a sponsor of the Cleveland Conference of American Socialists, I am interested in seeing the conference establish or contribute largely to the foundation of a national united socialist ballot party for the 1960 presidential elections. Not that I am for running Left candidates for president and governor all the time. I hold that the socialist movement should be built from the bottom up instead, from the grass roots, where the Socialist candidate for councilman and alderman will be known more personally by the voters and thus his socialist views can be gotten across more intimately....

I am for calling the new party the "Cooperative Commonwealth Party" because the name "Socialist" only means to Americans big government, and all-powerful state, and the tyranny of the USSR. Not that I think we should try to fool the voters with different names, as the Stalinists try to do with their various fronts ("Progressive Party," "People's Rights Party") as that would be suicide. It is the reputation that counts, and such a party would clearly have a socialist reputation, no matter what its name. But "Cooperative Commonwealth Party" would explain to the public what we mean by Socialism. It is attractive to both the idealistic and the practical-minded alike. It reeks with democracy, with equality.

George L.  
Pennsylvania

### Idea Overboard! (In Verse)

Editor:  
The following is a bit of satire on long and gabby executive board meetings.  
A little idea in my cranium stored  
Kicked around like a flea in a gourd,  
Tenderly, I carried him to the Board.

## L.A. United Socialists Hold First Symposium

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The newly formed United Socialist Political Action Committee sponsored its first public symposium here Oct. 30 with a discussion on "A Socialist Answer to Bi-Partisan War Policy in Asia." The speakers were Martin Hall, author and lecturer; Carl Feingold, Los Angeles organizer, Socialist Workers Party; and Herbert Rosenfeld, president of the Southern California Chapter of the American Humanist Society. Milton Zaslow presided.

Hall, the principal speaker of the evening, is an active member of the USPAC. An anti-fascist fighter, he was a member of the German underground movement against Hitler from 1933 to 1937.

Discussing the Formosa crisis, Hall said, "We watch these events with the fascination of a person watching a madman with a knife ready to cut the world to pieces."

### UNSINKABLE CARRIER

Formosa is viewed by the U.S. as a "very nice unsinkable aircraft carrier," he said, and the U.S. has not gone to war over Quemoy only because of the declaration by the USSR that it would defend China and because the U.S. military allies refused to be dragged into a suicidal adventure. Recalling that the Democratic Party policy in Korea was as bad as the present Republican brinkmanship in Formosa, he said "the only way out is for the labor movement to rise up and organize toward socialism."

Rosenfeld charged that those really guilty of "subversion" in this country are the architects

## Worker's Bookshelf

OUT OF THE DEPTHS, by Barron S. Beshaar. 372 p. Cloth. \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

An absorbing and detailed account of the events leading up to the Ludlow massacre which shocked the world before World War I. The class struggle in its most naked form is shown here as is the relationship of the Rockefellers to their coal miner employees in Colorado.

BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK, An Autobiography. 368 p. Cloth. \$3.50 plus 15 cents postage.

This colorful, vigorous man was an outstanding personality and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World. Everyone interested in the history of American labor will be interested in this great and heroic figure in the turbulent period before World War I.

MARITIME, A Historical Sketch and a Workers Program. By Frederick J. Lang. 171 p. Paper. Formerly \$1.00. Now 50 cents plus ten cents postage.

Written during the war in 1943 with the purpose of showing seamen how and why they have been caught in the net of government regimentation way ahead of other industrial workers, and to show the only way out of the net. Its permanent

tarianism and fundamental social change, yet holds a promise of order, peace and abundance in a troubled, unjust and chaotic world.

As it has been used previously only by Western Europeans and Canadians, it would be new to Americans, whereas there is nothing fresh and appealing in the name "Socialist" which has been used steadily these many years on the ballot by the SLP, SP-SDF and SWP with no big results. Also it might enable principled liberals and labor union officers, as well as the rank and file, to support and even join, the new party. If we work hard enough at it, it might help us in gaining at least the partial support of whole unions like the ILWU and MESA....

I know I can depend on the SWP and the Militant for helping to work out a good program for the new party, and I hope readers of the Militant will discuss this question regarding the name and will concur with me and others who favor this idea.

George L.  
Pennsylvania

### Idea Overboard! (In Verse)

Editor:  
The following is a bit of satire on long and gabby executive board meetings.  
A little idea in my cranium stored  
Kicked around like a flea in a gourd,  
Tenderly, I carried him to the Board.

### New Cannibalism

Editor:  
... I would tell you that there is no profit in competition, and thus that there is no net profit in American competitive society. And you would think me wrong, for every day you see some men growing wealthy and corporations making profits. But that which you see is merely profiteering and economic buccaneering.

.

The profit system is merely economic cannibalism with one man to consume the substance of another man by economic means. The strong prey upon the weak. It is the survival of the fittest with the weak to be eliminated by economic means. Unemployed people are not just unemployed — they are eliminated people.

F. O.  
Paola, Kansas

### New York Bazaar

There will be an unusually wide selection of gift items at low prices at the Annual Christmas Bazaar to be held Saturday, Dec. 13, from noon on, at 116 University Place, New York.

A partial selection includes: hand made leather belts, jewelry, rope beads, Virgin Island straw baskets, children's toys and books, women's and children's clothes, hand made aprons, hats, steam irons, waffle irons, radios and other appliances, books, cosmetics, perfumes, ceramics, men's clothing and a special "thrift department."

Feingold declared the Chinese revolution the greatest event since the 1917 Russian Revolution and explained that the victory of the Chinese revolution had thrown a major monkey wrench into U.S. war plans. Discussing a socialist peace program, Feingold said socialists have the job of rallying the workers for independent, anti-capitalist struggle. Urging the unity of all socialists who oppose the bi-partisan foreign policy, he said, "every vote for capitalist candidates is a vote for a rifle to Chiang Kai-shek."

Greetings were read from Reuben Borough who was unable to chair the meeting as scheduled because of illness. The meeting adopted a resolution protesting U.S. intervention in the Far East and another demanding an immediate halt to nuclear tests, citing the recent dangerous increase in fallout here as a result of the Nevada tests.

The USPAC announced that it is forming socialist study classes and that it is aiming at establishment of a permanent socialist school. The committee also announced it is laying plans for participation in the local elections next spring.

## Calendar Of Events

### NEW YORK

Attend a FALL FESTIVAL Saturday, Nov. 29, 9 P.M., at 116 University Place. Music, dancing, refreshments. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

• HOLD THIS DATE — Friday, Dec. 5, 8 P.M., William F. Warde, Chairman, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, speaks on national perspectives for united socialist political action and reports on socialist re-groupment developments in California. PLUS — A report on the Cleveland united socialist political action conference by Murry Weiss. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (at 13th St.) Contrib. — \$1.00. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

Enjoy a sumptuous Thanksgiving turkey dinner with all the trimmings at this camp in the lovely Pocono foothills. The cost — only \$2.25. Children, \$1.50. For reservations, phone AL 5-7852 in New York, or MUrray 9-1352 at Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, N.J.

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