

Ceylonese Trotskyist Visits USSR

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Vol. XXII — No. 48

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Price 10c

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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

30th Anniversary



The Militant and Struggle For Socialist America

An Editorial

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

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

The Militant did not put this conviction forward as dogma, but as a conclusion lodged in the analysis of American and world capitalism at the time of the Militant's founding. And we drew this conclusion anew from the analysis of the subsequent course of the class struggle here and internationally.

Fateful Controversy

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

The Militant defended the Trotskyist

position, which based itself on the outlook of the Communist International in the days when Lenin and Trotsky stood at its head. To Lenin and to revolutionary socialists everywhere, the significance of the Russian Revolution was that it began a world struggle for socialism. No country, they held, could build a harmonious society — socialism — by its own forces, least of all economically backward Russia.

Speeds Victory

What they did believe was that the inspiration of the Russian Revolution, the confirmation of the revolution provided of the correctness of the Marxist program, the weakening of world capitalism it brought about, and the material aid that a workers' state could extend to working people in other countries — all these would enormously speed the revolutionary process in the rest of the world.

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

Thus the aim of the Communist International in Lenin's time was to extend the initial working-class victory to all other countries of the world. The central task of revolutionary socialists in each country — America included — was to promote the struggle for socialism in their own country. That meant, in the first place, to help develop the political struggles of the working people against all capitalist parties and against the capitalist state.

Battle for Program

This has been the program of the Militant for America during the past 30 years. We counterposed it to the program of the American labor bureaucrats who seek to tie the labor movement to the continued rule of Big Business. In the name of this program, we fought the "State Department socialists" — the social-democratic drummer boys for Wall Street's crusade against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary socialist movement all over the world.

And we also combatted the Communist Party's policies of "coalition" — that is, of class collaboration — as exemplified in its support of the Democratic Party.

The American CP's course originated in the Stalinist perversion of the outlook and program of the international Communist movement. When Stalinism overthrew Leninism, the goals of the movement were changed. The aim of the American and all other Communist parties became exclusively that of aiding in building "socialism" in Russia. The struggle for socialism was sacrificed in every

Labor Party Projected In Quebec

With only three out of over 400 delegates voting against, the Quebec Federation of Labor at its annual convention voted, Nov. 20, to take steps leading to the formation of a labor party in the province of Quebec.

The convention, representing 175,000 members, ordered the Federation's executive and political education committees to study and report on the resolution adopted by the Canadian Federation of Labor at Winnipeg last April. This resolution declared that the imperative need in Canada was the formation of an effective political force based on the needs of the farmers and workers and controlled and financed by their organizations. The CFL resolution instructed the executive committee to begin the preliminary work for the formation of what in effect would be a labor party.

URGENT NEED'

According to the Nov. 22 Toronto Globe and Mail, the CFL resolution declared that the creation of a people's party in Quebec "constitutes a really urgent need for the great majority of the citizens and particularly of the labor class of which the economic earnings and the right of association are even threatened by unrealistic provincial action."

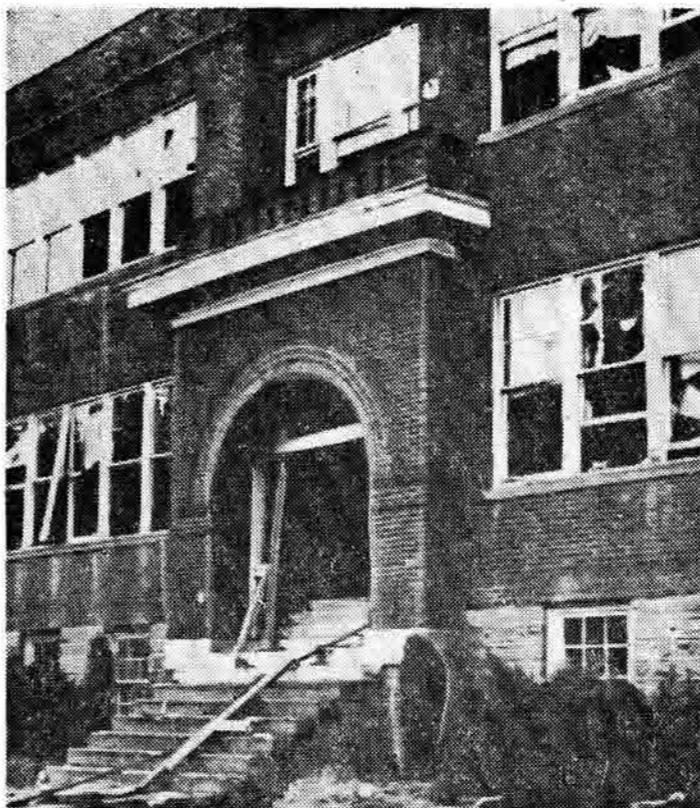
The resolution further stated, "It is imperative to initiate in the Province of Quebec a movement with a program, [which] although in accord with the one to be adopted by the national organization on matters within federal jurisdiction would take into account problems which are of particular importance to the people of our province on matters such as fiscal policy, education and others."

Delegates at the convention bitterly assailed the provincial administration of Premier Duplessis. Delegate Roger Bedard of the United Steel Workers of America charged that the right of association was not respected in Quebec. He pointed to cases of police intimidation of unionists, such as the truckers' strike at Seven Rivers where 40 policemen were sent to ride herd on 25 strikers.

The Steel Workers' delegate said that political action by labor in Quebec was not only the logical outcome of labor's economic action but that it was now the very condition for organized labor to survive.

Vera Rony says the arrival of these undefended and standard

Southern Bombing



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

N.Y., N.J. Farm Operators Abusing W. Indian Laborers

The Workers Defense League has made public the shocking story of the exploitation of workers from the West Indies by big farm operators in the New York-New Jersey area. Vera Rony, Executive Secretary of the WDL, on Nov. 17 issued a news release exposing the methods by which corporation farm interests utilize the peculiar immigration status of the West Indians to hire them for sub-standard wages and working conditions.

In her news release Vera Rony writes, "This is how the job is done in Bergen-Rockland County where Ed Mitchell, an organizer for the National Agricultural Workers Union, accompanied me on a field investigation: Throughout this area the prevailing agricultural wage is now 80¢ an hour, because growers have been able to force this wage on the British West Indians. Labor officials report that before this foreign influx became a significant factor, the prevailing rate ranged from 80¢ to \$1.25 and many Puerto Rican workers quit their farm jobs when the wages were pushed down to the current level."

HOUSING

Vera Rony says the arrival of these undefended and standard

less workers can best be seen in the housing picture. Describing the situation at Tice Farms in Woodcliff Lake, New Jersey, the WDL news release says, ". . . the picture of desolation begins with the setting of the camp. The cottages are surrounded by garbage dumps of all kinds, including piles of inflammable junk, which constitutes a serious fire hazard. There is no running water in any of the living quarters — privies and water facilities are located several hundred feet away from the cottages. The only facilities in the kitchen are two old kerosene stoves — no water, no utensils, no decent tables or chairs. At the end of October two kitchen windows were missing, leaving the room freezing cold."

"No heat of any kind was supplied in the cottages, and the men told us that they had turned on the light bulb overheat at night for heat. In one cottage 14 men slept in a room

(Continued on Page 4)

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

With no deal as yet worked out among themselves on such issues as civil rights, social welfare and union-control legislation, the disparate elements of the Democratic Party have united in denouncing Eisenhower's forthcoming arms budget as so skimpy that it endangers the U.S. Ironically enough, Eisenhower's statements on the 1959-60 budget propose no cut in military spending but merely a hope to keep it from rising much above this year's astronomical \$40.1 billion.

But Democratic politicians are making the most of this one issue on which they can readily find agreement. Key Democrat, G. H. Mahon (Tex.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on the defense budget, declared it must rise to a "minimum" of \$42 billion because of the "very great" danger of war. Typical of the liberal Democrats' propaganda is the cartoon series being done by Herblock (Washington Post, N.Y. Post, etc.) depicting the Eisenhower administration as pinchpenny and cheapsaving on vital defense needs.

The labor bureaucracy is in on the campaign. The legislative program issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council cries in pretended alarm: "America's security is too important a matter to be determined solely by bookkeepers. It can never be a question of how much defense can we afford but can we afford to have anything less than an adequate defense."

In an article in the Nov. 17 New Republic, Helen Hill Miller punctures this myth. Some of the under-privileged workers of the thirties have moved up, she writes, but other segments of the population are taking their place at the bottom of the economic pyramid; and their chance of moving up is less today than it was 20 years ago.

INFLATION

Apologists for capitalism point to rising incomes as proof of greater prosperity for all. They boast that whereas 30 million families earned less than \$2,000 a year in 1936, only 7.3 million families received less than this today. But 20 years of inflation cancels out the improved living standard these statistics might suggest. The price level has risen from 200% to 300% in the last two decades. A family with \$500 income in 1936 could buy as much as a family with \$2,000 today.

Lyndon Johnson of Texas, boss of the Senate, appears unflattered by the "liberal sweep" in the recent elections. His assurances that this 86th Congress will be "prudent" betoken ill for social welfare and unemployment legislation. His immediate, and probably thorniest, problem is to get the Northern liberals to compromise their fight to abolish the filibuster into a mere mitigation of Rule 22. It is ominous that like Johnson's own "program," the AFL-CIO's 10-point program includes nothing on civil rights.

Also noteworthy is the fulsome praise recently given Johnson by Sen. Proxmire (Wis.), allegedly one of the "best" Democratic liberals.

(Continued on Page 4)

New York Chair William F. Warde

Chairman, Los Angeles
Socialist Workers Party
"Perspective for United Socialist
Political Action"
(Including an account of developments
in the California socialist movement)

REPORT ON CLEVELAND CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

Murry Weiss

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

Chairman:

Daniel Roberts

Editor, the Militant

Friday, Dec. 5-8 P.M.
Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave.

Contribution \$1.00

Auspices:

THE MILITANT

In celebration of its 30th Anniversary

What Is Behind the New Berlin Crisis

By Harry Ring

Discussing the current East-West Berlin crisis, a Nov. 23 New York Times editorial declared: "In 1945, two out of five of the city's (Berlin's) dwellings were uninhabitable because of the vengeance that Adolf Hitler had brought down on the doomed capital."

The statement is a falsification of history, one that provides a clue as to why the American government is ready to risk war to keep Germany divided and occupied. The massive Allied bombings of Berlin and other German cities at the end of World War II were no more motivated by a desire for "vengeance" on Hitler than is the present stand in Berlin by a desire to preserve "the instinct toward freedom" which the Times declares West Berlin now represents.

KEY TO SOCIALISM

Prior to Hitler's rise to power, Germany was internationally regarded by capitalists and socialists alike as the key to the future of European socialism. It possessed the most developed industrial machine in all Europe, and its working

class was the best organized and most politically advanced. When Hitler's power began to crumble toward the end of World War II, the Western capitalist powers feared that his downfall would be the signal for a revolutionary uprising of the German workers. This fear motivated U.S.-British high command's decision for saturation bombings of working-class districts in Berlin and other key cities. An eyewitness account by a Swiss journalist of such a bombing of Hamburg in 1945 provides a detailed picture of how the workers' section of that city was turned into a blazing inferno that claimed over 200,000 lives.

The continuing subjugation of the German workers remained a guiding principle for the imperialist powers at the close of the war. And their plans for ensuring that subjugation had the support of the Kremlin bureaucracy under Stalin.

At the 1945 Potsdam conference, Stalin agreed with Truman and British Labor Prime Minister Attlee to carve Germany into four spheres of military occupation, with the USSR occupying the Eastern zone and

Great Britain, France and the U.S. the Western. It was also agreed that Berlin, then the capital, would also be carved into four occupation zones even though it lay completely in the Eastern sector. This has meant that the Western powers have had access to the city only through the Soviet zone.

'COLLECTIVE GUILT'

This reactionary division of

the industrial heart of Europe

was justified at the time by the

invidious propaganda myth of

the "collective guilt" of the

entire German people for

Nazism and for the war. Here too, the loudest voices in the chauvinistic chorus were those of the Kremlin and of the Communist parties across the globe.

But with the development of

the imperialist perspective of

eventual war against the Soviet

Union, occupied Germany quickly

became a staging ground of

the cold war, and the "conquerors"

task of simple occupation

became secondary to the

inevitable counter-mobilization.

By 1948, the "spirit" of Potsdam had vanished. The first big crisis came with the Soviet

blockade of West Berlin that

was broken by a year-long U.S.-British airlift. In 1949, the Western powers established the "sovereign" West German Federal Republic and the USSR replied with the creation of the equally "sovereign" German Democratic Republic.

The massing of forces has continued along this decisive border of the Soviet-bloc countries. Organized as part of NATO, there are today over 400,000 troops garrisoned in West Germany. Almost half are U.S. ground and air forces and 130,000 are West German soldiers equipped by the U.S. In East Germany, the USSR maintains a force estimated at 400,000.

The present Soviet moves are designed to cope with the ever-present military threat that this mobilization of forces represents. The Soviet government's apparent intention is to withdraw its 4,000 troops from East Berlin and turn control of traffic into the Western zone of the city over to the East German regime. By this tactic the Kremlin hopes to force at least de facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic from the Western powers.

KHRUSHCHEV PLAN

This bid for recognition is viewed as the first step toward the realization of Khrushchev's broader perspective for Germany. This includes "reunification" of Germany through "confederation" of the East and West German regimes with capitalist property relations to be preserved in the West and nationalized property relations in the East. Such reunification is projected on the basis of withdrawal of all occupation troops and a de-militarized Germany constituting a "neutral corridor" between the East and West.

Meanwhile, the Western powers continue in their refusal to accede to the legitimate demand for recognition of the East German government. In essence, this stand is a refusal to "recognize" the Soviet-type property forms in East Germany.

Seeking a propaganda advantage, the Western powers are portraying the current Soviet moves as menacing and warlike and are predicting another blockade of the 1948 type. This prediction was heavily dis-

(Continued on Page 4)

'Our Task Was to Restore Banner of Marx'

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

By Arne Swabek

Events of great historical significance do not always appear initially in spectacular fashion, involving powerful forces, or visible to large audiences. For example when Marx and Engels, at the middle of the last century, penned their scientific analysis of the capitalist mode of production and of its class relations into the Communist Manifesto, the road to the future socialist society emerged clearly. But relatively few people were then aware of the tremendous impact that these socio-logical concepts would have on human destiny.

With due regard to the immense difference of proportions involved, it can be said that the founding of the Militant, 30 years ago, may at the time have seemed a rather insignificant event. Less than a handful of people, centered around Comrade Cannon, its founding editor, brought out the first issue.

To be sure, its appearance created a stir in radical circles.

The Issues in Dispute

Today some of the questions involved are much more widely known. Since the Khrushchev revelations the main outlines of the murderous Stalin regime in the Soviet Union have entered into more general public knowledge. But this by no means revealed all. The rise of a parasitic bureaucracy amidst the ruins of Soviet democracy and the monstrous inequalities, its perversion of Marxism, and its emasculation of the parties of the Communist International — these were some of the issues in dispute between the Stalin regime and the Left Opposition led by Trotsky.

These issues transcended the borders of the Soviet Republic. They concerned directly the bureaucratization and deadly factionalism of the American CP no less than the false maneuvers around the then celebrated Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee and the treacherous policies pursued in the fateful events of the Chinese revolutionary upheavals of 1925-27.

These were also some of the reasons leading to the forma-

Obstacles Gave Way

Art Preis has told our readers about some of the difficulties faced by the Militant staff.

I could add perhaps even more grueling examples from the earlier days. But viewing these in retrospect, insurmountable as they would now appear, one seems at a loss to explain how they were overcome. All I can say is that in face of the great ideas that had come into our possession the obstacles simply had to give way.

And the great ideas were fortified by the expressions of solidarity, support and unbound-ed faith in the justness of our cause that came from comrades, sometimes in groups, but mostly one by one, from various parts of the country and from abroad. Their solidarity was translated into action, including the matter of digging into their

pockets; and they had to dig really deep because their pockets were then rather lean.

Taking all these factors into account, it becomes readily apparent that the Militant from its inception occupied a unique position. It did not emerge as an organ propounding a new working-class program. That program had already been laid down in its basic contents by Marx and Engels. In its first real test on the grand scale of the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks took the initial steps to carry this program to its triumphant realization in actual life.

To explain the character and the lessons of the events that had taken place from Lenin to Stalin in the Soviet Union and on the world arena, this became the first and foremost task

Worker's Bookshelf

The listing of books and pamphlets below gives a view of the program of the Socialist Workers Party, and the position the SWP took on events of the day during its existence of the past 30 years.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AL AFTER LENIN, by Leon Trotsky. 1928. 400 pp. Cloth \$4.00. Paper \$2.50. The document suppressed by Stalin which was the direct base for the construction of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

FASCISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT, by Leon Trotsky. A Compilation. 1928-1938. 47 pp. 15 cents.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM, by James P. Cannon. 1939-1940. 211 pp. Cloth \$2.75. Letters and articles written during the struggle against a social-democratic current within the SWP.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY, by James P. Cannon. 1939-1940. 302 pp. Cloth \$2.75. Paper \$2.00. Companion volume to "In Defense of Marxism."

Order the above from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

LEON TROTsky
MEMORIAL ISSUE

V-J Day Issue
THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX—No. 33

NEW YORK, N.Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1945

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO
of the
National Committee
of the
Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!

The second imperialist war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to a screeching climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contend with the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak, which war has brought. People are now beginning to realize the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot forget, however, the atomic bomb and the atomic war which is still to come. Over in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony of war for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Russia and Asia, joy at the war's end is also tinged with dread for the future.

Hardest of all to bear is the thought of what will come after the second atomic war.

Revelation and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety through the world. People are asking: Who are the victims? Who are the principal victims of war? It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was not used. Today, however, the atomic bomb is still there, and it is still there. That war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hardest of all to bear is the thought of what will come after the second atomic war.

Revelation and Anxiety

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

which the Militant was devoted. In its issues, as they appeared, we took our stand firmly in defense of the conquests of the October Revolution which still remained. But we drew a line of demarcation no less firmly between these conquests and the degenerate features of Stalinism which also still remain.

For example: during the early years of our movement, when financial resources were almost non-existent, we still managed to publish the Militant three times a week for a period when the leaders of the German working class parties (the Stalinist and Social Democratic) capitulated to Hitler. To sound the alarm, as loudly as we were able, about the deadly menace of Fascism, that was our objective.

Later we repeated the feat of bringing the paper out three times a week during the general strike of hotel and restaurant workers in New York.

Sad to say, the Militant was the only working class paper to give these striking workers solid support, and it was received by them as a real friend.

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Rich Source of Education

How well the combination of the lessons of the events that had taken place from Lenin to Stalin in the Soviet Union and on the world arena, this became the first and foremost task

while pointing out the road to a socialist society.

In all of these efforts our approach and the application of our policy has been thoroughly realistic and sufficiently flexible to be effective and to win devoted supporters. We never compromised on questions of a principled character.

Because of this we cannot fail to notice the sharp distinction that prevails today in the field of radical publications. It is

noticeable especially by a comparison of the Militant with the organs of other working-class political tendencies, both those recently extinct and those still breathing a miserable existence, compromised beyond recognition.

The Stalinist publications

survive today only by attempts to rewrite what was said in the past — by covering up.

But they still persist in spreading pernicious confusion.

The last gasp of the organ published by the Shachtman group

before its demise was a repudiation of Leninism and Trotskyism, that is, a repudiation of Marxism. And the Social-Democratic publications have long since renounced socialist positions once held. Their pages now reflect the imperialist policies of the Department of State.

As for us, however, we can

say, and proudly so: During the

three decades of the Militant's

history not one part of the

valuable material that has ap-

peared in its pages needs to be

changed, because we always

told the truth.

Where can one find a fighting

spirit comparable to that of our

publication? Its high quality

of information and education

has no peers. We have all ben-

efited from the knowledge it

has imparted. But the knowl-

edge thus gained, to be real

must be active; it must be dy-

namic. It must be translated

into action, for our ultimate

task is not merely to interpret

the world, but to change it.

In this sense we look for-

ward to the dawn of the so-

cialist transformation in Amer-

ica. We are fully conscious of

the immensity of the task; but

every serious deed now will

help prepare the ground for

that great event.

Some practical deeds are in

order now. As we launch the

Militant on its fourth decade,

whatever contribution we make

individually may seem small.

It may be a cash donation to

the present fund campaign.

It may be the introduction of the

Militant to new readers,

distribution of copies at a fac-

tory gate, or getting a few

subscriptions. Some supporters

may send letters to the editor,

or an occasional story about

conditions in the shop or the

community. Others may con-

tribute more extensive infor-

mation or analytical articles.

Combined, all these efforts

will appear in their true sig-

nificance. They have formed

the foundation of past attain-

ments and they provide assur-

ance of a promising future.

What this means is most elo-

quently expressed by Trotsky.

In his study of "Problems of

Life" he wrote:

"Small deeds without great

issues abound in the life of

men, but no great issues are

possible without small achieve-

ments. To be more precise, at

a time of great issues, small

deeds, being a part of large

problems, cease to be small."

With revolutionary greetings,

Hugembert-Valdes

C. R. Hedlund Sends Greetings to Militant

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

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

In this short article of greeting, no attempt will be made on my part to chronicle in detail all the political and historical events in which the Militant has played a progressive and educational role in news reporting and news interpretation. However, this much can be said, that the Militant, and the people that make its publication possible, are in the forefront of the class struggle for political and social changes that will bring mankind the greatest social benefits

THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid
at New York, N.Y.Published Weekly by the Militant Publishing Association
116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XXII — No. 48

Monday, December 1, 1958

...Struggle for Socialist America

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

home against U.S. imperialism.

During the last 30 years, the Soviet Union has scored great industrial advances thanks to the progressive property forms created by the October Revolution. Furthermore, the capitalist system has been overthrown in China and Eastern Europe. But the Soviet-bloc countries are still a long way from having achieved plenty and freedom for the working people — the true goal of socialism. Khrushchev's revelations at the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress about Stalin's crimes and the further manifestations of bureaucratic tyranny (notably the crushing of the Hungarian revolution) belie repeated boasts that socialism has been achieved in these lands. And despite all pacts and attempted pacts, capitalism menaces the Soviet bloc with World War III.

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

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

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

Stevenson: Russia Wants Peace

"... The Russians don't want war any more than we do. The people, who suffered so horribly in the last war, don't want it for obvious reasons; the leaders because it would interrupt their great development program. . ." These are the words of Adlai Stevenson written in the last of his series of articles on his visit to the Soviet Union.

The Russians don't want war — neither the people nor the regime. Why then, is the huge U.S. military machine necessary?

The American Big Business politicians insisted all along that this country must spend tens of billions annually to prepare for war because we are threatened with Soviet aggression. If this has now turned out to be a mistake, why doesn't Stevenson propose an immediate end to the suicidal arms race?

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

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

telling the truth would have to admit that these bases do in fact constitute an "offensive threat." Why not liquidate the U.S. bases on foreign soil and remove Khrushchev's "convenient peg for propaganda" and at the same time remove a major war danger?

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

Yet the 13-year-old cold war has not been based on misunderstandings, either. There is a fundamental cause for the war drive. What Stevenson will not admit is that the threat of war originates in this country where the Big Business rulers are fearful of peace. They are scared of it for a very simple reason: Without the arms race, U.S. capitalism would collapse like an old frame house long inhabited by termites.

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

The Struggle For Jobs

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

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

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

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

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

Undoubtedly, the younger steel workers know and understand this. But they are in a desperate plight. The real blame for this fratricidal struggle must be placed on the union officialdom responsible to provide leadership.

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

If the union officials do not organize for such a struggle, if they permit futile, fratricidal struggle of worker against worker, the union movement will not survive. Then no one will have either security or a decent standard of living.

Ceylonese Reports on Visit to USSR

(This is the third 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.—Ed.)

A. May, 1957. On May Day we were at Moscow.

IN MOSCOW
FOR MAY DAY

Q. You were at Moscow for the May Day celebration?

A. Yes. We laid a wreath upon Lenin's mausoleum.

Q. From your observations during your trip could you form any conclusions on the extent of the de-Stalinization campaign, which was then at its height, and as far as the lessening of the terror which had been characteristic of the Stalin regime?

A. I couldn't observe very much about de-Stalinization. The language difficulty was there. The only thing was that we were able to move a little more freely in the country. Whatever we had, we got through an interpreter. We discussed with workers at certain factories. But what they stated had to be interpreted to us also. It was so difficult for us to find out any real change. But I tried to state at certain parties and functions given for us in different areas — I happened to go to Georgia, that is Stalin's own home area — we were given a dinner there. I had to make an after-dinner speech in which I definitely stated the position regarding the workers of the world. I

said that after the October Revolution you have established this order. But we are not satisfied in our country because we are under the capitalist system. Till we overthrow those systems, it cannot be happy. When I finished my speech quite a large number from the crowd came and embraced me. Of course, here and there I saw some eyes turning.

TROTSKY'S POSITION

Q. In other words, in your speech you presented the problem as the extension of the revolution to the rest of the world — which is Trotsky's position of the permanent revolution?

A. Exactly. Without mentioning that as Trotsky's.

Q. I understand that Comrade de Silva also was given the opportunity of speaking to the Soviet people over the radio and at meetings.

A. Yes, he was given the opportunity once to speak over the radio.

Q. Did you address any other meetings or did any of the Trotsky delegates address any other meetings in the Soviet Union?

A. No. But at the parties thrown for us at different places we were expressing our views.

Q. You were called upon to

make a few remarks, I suppose?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have the opportunity of talking to any of the leaders of the government?

A. Yes. Most of the leaders of the government were there at the different functions. We met them and they really had special discussions with us. We were given the opportunity of discussion with them about the general development of the country and the planning of different schemes. We were given the opportunity of free discussion with them.

SOVIET TECHNOLOGY

Q. You say you visited some of the factories. From the technological point of view would you consider these factories comparable to those in the advanced capitalist countries?

A. As modern as factories I have seen in other advanced countries are. They are not second to any other factories in the world that I have seen. They are comparable.

Q. So far as the conditions of the workers themselves are concerned, you couldn't have direct knowledge because of the language difficulty?

A. It is so. About their general standards, what we saw was that they were having a fairly high standard. But that alone would not fully satisfy us because I found that at many factories there is a top control.

Q. There is no workers' control in the factories? In this regard what is the comparison between China and the Soviet Union?

A. I feel the workers in China have more direct participation. The good aspect I could say about the Soviet Union is that we found thousands and thousands of students, workers' children who are just coming out of the universities back to the factories. With that advanced knowledge I feel that the present bureaucracy will not be able to control when these youngsters come back to the factories.

DE-STALINIZATION

Q. You were there at the height of the de-Stalinization campaign. What manifestations of it as regards pictures and statues of Stalin did you observe?

A. One thing was very prominent during the May Day demonstration. I hardly saw any pictures of Stalin. There was a group of about four workers carrying a small poster of Stalin. That was all in the demonstration. We found huge pictures of Lenin and of different people from government sectors, but only one small picture of Stalin was carried by a small group.

Q. What about Khrushchev?

A. There were certain pictures but not in large bulk.

Q. You didn't have a chance to speak directly to Khrushchev, did you?

A. Not at that place. We had an opportunity to meet Khrushchev and talk to him at a later function — but he was just introduced to us for a few minutes.

Q. From your personal observations and your own knowledge of the movement toward reform in the Soviet Union, what are your conclusions? Has it resulted in any real and genuine transformation of conditions which would permit the worker to reestablish their control?

A. As far as I can say, I could not find any symptoms that workers in the very near future would have control — because of the top control from the bureaucracy.

Q. What is the general attitude of the people in Asia toward the threat of nuclear war?

A. About the cold war and the threat of nuclear war, in your travels through Asia, the USSR, China and South America, what would you say is the general attitude of the people towards this constant threat that is hanging over them?

A. The general attitude of the people is that they all do not want war. Both in the Soviet Union and in all of the countries, there is tremendous anti-war feeling. In all those countries, wherever I happened to discuss with workers, intellectuals or any one their attitude was: the United States is driving the world to war.

Q. Is that the general consensus that the U.S. is the aggressor?

A. Yes. The feeling wherever I discussed this was that America is trying to make war.

• • •

HOW ASIA FEELS
ABOUT QUEMOTY

Q. What is the general attitude in Asia toward the intervention of American imperialism in China and other countries?

A. The intervention of America in most of these matters is terribly resented by the entire population in those countries.

Q. Regardless of political affiliations?

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... New Berlin Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

counted with a Nov. 24 statement by East German First Deputy Premier Ulbricht flatly denying any plans for such a blockade.

If the transfer of control to the East Germans is made without a major flareup, as now appears likely, the West may well find itself granting a limited, de facto recognition to the Ulbricht regime. But divided and occupied Germany will remain a constant danger point for the eruption of global conflict.

The Western powers are de-

termined to keep their huge striking force on German territory poised against the USSR. At the same time maintenance of troops in Berlin, inside the "iron curtain," remains a symbol of their ultimate goal of "liberation" of the Soviet satellites — that is, the restoration of capitalism.

Their opposition to reunification also springs from a realization that whatever the immediate basis for such unification, capitalism would not long survive in a unified Germany.

1953 UPRISING

During the 1953 uprising

against bureaucratic dictatorship, the East German workers made it clear that they did not want a return to capitalism. All of their demands revolved around the establishment of workers' democracy based squarely on the existing nationalized property.

Meanwhile, the West German working class has demonstrated that, despite the terrible blows of Hitlerism and the war, it too has regained the capacity for organization and for struggle. This was first heralded by the giant 1955 strike struggles for higher wages that covered West Germany in 1955. Since then, the great workers' demonstrations against re-militarization have taken them even further in an anti-capitalist direction.

Yet for the Kremlin, the German workers, East and West, remain but dispensable pawns in their diplomatic power struggle with the imperialists. The Soviet government's proposal for a "neutral corridor" is not based on consideration of the sentiment of the German workers. For Khrushchev, reunification — like partition — reduces itself to what he sees as a good move for the preservation of the world status quo.

But from every possible viewpoint — including blocking of the war drive against the Soviet Union — a solution of the German issue by the German working people themselves is indispensable. Elimination of all occupation forces would give German labor the freedom of action that would inevitably lead to a united socialist Germany. And that would soon mean the end of capitalism in all Europe.

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The Negro Struggle

The African Pass Books

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

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

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

Thanksgiving 1958

By Charles Seaman

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

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

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

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

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

'Look Back in Anger'

By Lillian Kiezel

A play voicing the protests of England's literary group, The Angry Young Men, is currently playing on Broadway. The play is "Look Back in Anger" by John Osborne.

This is the story about a rebel without a cause. Jimmy Porter is a young man. He wants a change in society and is antagonistic, rude, and abusive to anyone who wants to keep things as they are.

He hates having to work as a candy-store clerk despite an education that fitted him for better.

Jimmy's hero was his father who fought in the Spanish Civil War in the thirties and returned to England to die a year later from wounds received there. He alone understood his father and what he fought and died for. A burning desire consumes him to have a cause to fight for as his father had in Spain.

He cannot make Alison, his wife, understand what it is he wants out of life. He is convinced that she is bereft of understanding for his plight.

Alison has maintained friendly relations with her upper-middle-class family against Jimmy's wishes. Jimmy believes she is betraying him by so doing because the family openly despises him. The antagonism between them becomes intensified.

authorized to stay in the city . . . Thus it is practically impossible for a native who has been living in the city illegally, or who has abandoned the service of a former employer, to avoid the vigilance and supervision of the authorities. As he will not to work and nobody will employ him, he will be caught in a short time.

"If he escapes from the city and looks for work in another locality he will not get it because in the pass book it is not shown that he is free. If he destroys his pass book and asks for a new one he will not go far, because the pass book will be requested from the place where he is registered and in the respective population record it will be shown that he has abandoned the employment, or any other occurrence.

... The authorities, knowing the necessity for each type of laborer, regulate the professional inscription in a manner to avoid unemployment as well as the lack of these units . . . Every native . . . has an individual file card where all occurrences of interest to his work are registered . . . All registrations . . . are communicated to the authorities of the areas to which the native belongs . . . Thus on any occasion, the situation of the native is known, both in the locality where he is staying, by means of an individual file card, and in the administrative area where he has been included in the Population Records, and also by the pass book which the native must always carry with him . . . Our native migration control system contributes in an accentuated manner towards the peace and quietness we enjoy in this period of agitation which Africa is going through."

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1958

NUMBER 48

THE MILITANT

Dockmen Protesting Automation

New York docks were shut down for half a day Nov. 18 as 17,500 longshoremen marched off the piers to protest loss of jobs to new mechanical techniques in ship loading.

Examples of improved techniques that displace dock workers were cited at the protest meeting held at the Madison Square Garden. One was the use of "containers" for freight that enable a ship to be loaded or unloaded fifteen times faster than by old methods. Another was the use of conveyor belts running through the side of the ship linked to freight elevators in the holds. The Grace line which is using this method on two of its new ships wants to cut the regular 21-man longshore gang to six.

Because of the new methods and the recession, hours worked dropped on the New York docks from 46,000,000 in 1956 to 42,000,000 this year.

WANT BENEFITS TOO

A N.Y. Times story claimed the longshoremen were demanding "that the clock be turned back on automation." This isn't true. What the International Longshoremen's Association is asking is that the industry "share the benefits" of automation with the workers.

Thomas W. Gleason, ILA general organizer, said he would enforce all clauses of the 1956 contract relating to manning and mechanization until agreement was reached between the union and the operators on the use of new methods.

Another union official said, "We won't be able to stop automation . . . We urged, as one measure to share the work, a guarantee of six hours of work to a docker called on the job instead of the present four.

Calendar Of Events

CHICAGO

Report of the NATIONAL CLEVELAND CONFERENCE OF SOCIALISTS by the Chicago delegation. Thurs., Dec. 11, 8 P.M. Room 420 Roosevelt Univ., 430 So. Michigan Blvd.

PHILADELPHIA

Militant's 30th Anniversary Celebration. Sat., Dec. 13. 1303 W. Girard Ave. Hear Daniel Roberts, Editor, the Militant, on "The Road to Socialism in America and the USSR." Refreshments 6:30 P.M., Festive Baked Ham Dinner, 7:30; Meeting, 9:00; Social evening follows. For dinner reservations call SA 7-2166. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION — The Militant 30th Anniversary and C. R. Hedlund's 80th Birthday. Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 P.M. 322 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Buffet supper, speaking program, dancing, door prize, entertainment. Donation \$1. Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party.

New York Bazaar

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

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No Peace in Auto



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

...One-Third of U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

California declared that an income of at least \$5,593 a year — after taxes — was necessary for a family of four. Yet in 1957, 75% of U.S. families had an income of less than \$5,593 — before taxes. Nearly 20 million out of 53.5 million families received less than \$4,000.

Still at subsistence level are half a million working farmers each of whose yearly crop brings less than \$2,000 — less production costs. The billions spent in government price supports and conservation payments do these working farmers little good since the programs are designed to benefit the big-farm operators.

People over 65 trying to eke out an existence on pensions of \$1,500 a year and less make up a growing proportion of people in the lowest one third income bracket. Over half of the bottom third are people too old or otherwise unable to go to work. One out of eight of the lowest income families in 1954 were headed by women, while 2.5 million single women received less than \$1,000 a year.

In 1958 another category must be added to the bottom third — the nearly five million unemployed, many of whom have little chance of being re-employed in the near future.

A third of a million have exhausted their unemployment benefits, while the average payment for those still collecting is \$33 a week.

Despite Chamber of Commerce boasting, poverty in the

midst of plenty persists in America. In the richest country

in the world such pauperization of millions is both intolerable and unnecessary. The labor movement must demand adequate pensions for the retired workers, full trade union wages for the unemployed, and a minimum wage law that guarantees every worker and his family at least the Department of Health's minimum income for health and comfort.

...Abuse W. Indians

(Continued from Page 1)

about 9 x 15. These are the conditions in a camp which intends to keep the British West Indians on a year-around basis. The precise utility of the British West Indians to the growers is well illustrated by Tice Farms. Fourteen Puerto Rican workers were formerly employed there, but all of them quit because they could not abide the living conditions.

These housing conditions constitute violations of even the inadequate New Jersey migrant labor regulations, and the Workers Defense League is presently preparing a report to this effect to the New Jersey Department of Labor.

PRISONERS OF THE GROWERS

The WDL report goes on, "One official reports that the growers have gone so far as to establish 'model' camps for inspection purposes, while housing the majority of migrant West Indians in hidden localities on their farms which do not bear inspection at all. It has also been reported that Long Island growers have taken to demanding the Immigration permits of their British West Indian workers, thus rendering them completely immobile on the farms, since they may be picked up and deported without notice if found anywhere without immigration permits. (At least, this is what they are told by their government representatives.)

NO SOLUTION

"All these disparities add up to a cheaper, far less demanding work force than either native Americans or Puerto Rican workers provide. H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Agricultural Workers Union, has said: 'We do not solve the problems of these foreign workers by allowing them to come to the United States in sizeable numbers and lowering the wages and working conditions painlessly won by American agricultural workers.'

The WDL news release concludes by pointing out that the West Indians are permitted to remain in the country after their period of certification has expired, through collusion between the U.S. and West Indian governments so that they may be shunted about as needed, a helpless pool of labor at the mercy of both the immigration service and the growers.

Powell Campaign Led Harlem in Blind Alley

By Ethel Bloch

Last May when Tammany Boss DeSapio and Democratic Governor Harriman decided to dump him, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell mobilized widespread support in Harlem. This is how he explained the Democratic Party leadership's move to deprive him of renomination for Congress: "I am being purged because obviously I am a Negro and a Negro should stay on the plantation." He branded DeSapio a "Mississippi boss" and added that Negroes had left Mississippi to get away from white bosses only to find them in Harlem.

Powell's defiance evoked so much support that he could have run as an independent and been re-elected to Congress. Realizing this, the Republicans offered him their nomination and he accepted it. Then in the Democratic primaries he beat Earl Brown, the Harriman and DeSapio candidate. This was the voters' response to the fight against "Massa Carmine" and his party.

But any illusions that Powell would use the surge of mass support to break with the Demo-Dixiecrat Party or even with "Massa Carmine," were soon dispelled. Powell's aim went no further than getting himself securely ensconced in the party machine he had been denouncing. On Oct. 7 he unashamedly announced his support for the entire Democratic ticket. "From here on the air has been cleared. We are a team of co-leaders. Bossism is finished. Bossism is no longer a part of the picture," Powell told skeptical reporters.

But what had changed in the Democratic Party? Had the Mississippi-style white bosses left it? Had the Northern Democratic Party broken with the Dixiecrat-Democrats of the South? Nothing had changed except that Powell had shown them that he had a very powerful position and that they'd better make a deal with him or they'd lose their hold on the Negro voters in Harlem.

DE SAPIO ANXIOUS FOR A DEAL

Whereas before the primary Harriman and DeSapio were all out to dump Powell as hard as possible, now they were as anxious for a deal as he. Strong statements of support came from both Harriman and DeSapio in response to his statement at the news conference. Harriman said that he had long seen eye to eye with him on civil rights matters, and DeSapio stated that, "I will insist and urge that he be given complete and full seniority on all committees and in all matters as senior member of the House of Representatives of all parties in New York County."

So what were the results of Powell's momentary break with the Democratic Party machine? The genuine sentiment of the Negroes in Harlem for pushing the civil rights program with militancy, which Powell seemed to voice for them, was not mobilized into a fight against the Democratic and Republican Parties but was frustrated. The Negro voters, after being led to believe that they were participating in a struggle against the party which harbors the worst segregationists, found out in a short time that this was all a maneuver and that they were being led back into the confines of that party.

The vote reflected the en-



POWELL

suing confusion. What started as a mobilization of forces ended in a diffusion. In 1956 Powell received 69% of the vote on the Democratic Party line. This year he received 67% on that line—after urging his followers to vote for him on that line. About 24% voted for him on the Republican line. An interesting sidelight is the Liberal Party vote. This year Brown, the only opponent of Powell, received 9% of the vote and this after stating that he wasn't going to campaign. This is only 1 1/2% less than the Liberal Party vote in 1956, following a strong campaign. All in all, the voting alignments in the 16th District remained unchanged, which underlines the fact that Powell's position led nowhere.

POWELL'S RECORD

This is the third time in recent years that Adam Clayton Powell has shown that despite occasional militant talk, he is really interested in preserving the status quo. In 1955 as the unofficial representative of the U.S. government to the Bandung Conference, the great gathering of representatives from Asian and African countries, he distorted the picture of the life of the American Negro, in order to put the U.S. in a favorable light. Racism in the U.S., he said, had all but disappeared and "to be a Negro is no longer a stigma but rather a mark of distinction."

In 1957, he tried to justify Eisenhower's inaction against Faibus. Two days before federal troops were sent to Little Rock to enforce the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation, Powell said, "We cannot meet this crisis by force against force. Under no circumstances can federal troops be used. This would . . . open the stopper and send Democracy down the drain for at least our generation and maybe forever."

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