

Stop the Nuclear Tests!

An Editorial

The world-wide demand to stop nuclear bomb tests, raised by scientists of unimpeachable authority and tens of millions of people, has run into one stall after another.

It is amply clear that at the very least there is grave doubt about Washington's assurances that all is well, that a "clean" bomb has "practically" been discovered.

Are we to take the word of the brass hats on a question that involves the fate of the human race? Or are we to heed the advice of scientists of international renown, like Albert Schweitzer, who tell us in forthright terms that to continue the tests invites disaster not only for our generation but for countless generations to come?

We socialists have never believed that disarmament was the solution to the constant threat of war in our epoch. We have said that the working class must destroy capitalism, the social system that breeds war.

We don't say that stopping nuclear bomb tests is a panacea for war. If capitalism is allowed to continue, it will inevitably plunge the world into an atomic holocaust.

But the mass demands to stop nuclear tests, and the sober warning of devoted scientists, are an entirely different thing than the cynical maneuverings of war mongers who screen their war preparations with the camouflage of a disarmament conference table.

The popular demand to stop the tests poses the question: who should make the decision? We answer: Let the people themselves decide by referendum vote!

The government claims that scientists are divided on how dangerous the tests are. If all the facts were put before the people, if all the testimony were debated, the good judgment of the American people, expressed through a democratic vote, would be infinitely more trustworthy than the opinion of professional militarists or Republican and Democratic politicians.

Most important of all: if the issue is taken to the people and decided by the people, it would establish a basic principle that would indeed lead to the abolition of war.

It would establish the principle of taking the power to decide such life-and-death questions out of the hands of the capitalist class and its political servitors and placing this power in the hands of the people who have no interest in making war, who do not want to exploit anyone, conquer anyone, rule over anyone — and who genuinely want a world of brotherhood and peace.

Senate Cuts the Heart Out of Civil-Rights Bill

Who Really Organized Assassination of Armas

By Fred Halstead

July 30—Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, dictator-president of Guatemala, was shot to death July 26 by one of his own guards. The vice president, Luis Gonzales Lopez, a wealthy real estate dealer, was sworn in as provisional president the next morning and immediately decreed a "state of siege" putting the entire country under control of the Army. This makes Col. Francisco Ojeda, Minister of Defense, the real ruler of the country, at least until martial law is lifted.

A government statement issued a few hours after the slaying claimed that the guard, Romeo Sanchez Vazquez, who was in his early twenties, committed suicide with his own rifle after having used it on Castillo Armas as the latter entered the palace dining room. It also claimed that documents in his personal effects "proved" that the assassin was a "Communist," although no details were given.

Later it appeared that these documents consisted of a handwritten diary and some correspondence with a staff member of Radio Moscow's Latin American bureau. In the "diary" the guard reportedly described himself as a "spiritualist," referred to the Soviet system as "first class socialism," and also as "a parody of true communism."

NOT ALONE

Finally, it appeared that the lone "fanatic" or "plant" was not alone but had accomplices in the palace guard. The government announced July 29 the arrest of at least eight guards, including a major and a lieutenant, for complicity in the assassination. Amazing as these alleged infiltrations appear, they become even more incredible when the government revelation that the assassin had twice been screened from government jobs as a suspected "Communist."

How such a person could find employment in the top security force of a police-rudden state like Guatemala would seem very difficult to explain. Actually, the assassination followed a pattern typical of government palace coups that frequently change one ruling clique

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COL. CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS (left), killed by one of his guards in Guatemala, shown above with a confederate shortly after he engineered the overthrow of the legally elected government in June 1954. Not shown is the former U.S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy, later killed in an accident, who organized the overthrow according to plans drawn up by the U.S. State Department.

Cuban Women Attacked As They Petition U.S. Official

AUG. 1 — The United States Ambassador to Cuba was protected by police, soldiers and fire hoses yesterday from 200 women dressed in black and shouting "Freedom! Freedom!"

The women gathered in a park in front of Santiago's city hall to protest U.S. support to dictator Fulgenio Batista, as Ambassador Smith received the keys to the city.

When police tried to break up the demonstration the women shouted "assassins!" Troops were summoned and a fire truck began hosing the women with powerful streams of water. Thousands of people watching applauded the women as most of them knelt in the street and remained firm against the hosing.

When Smith left the building, the women rushed toward him to submit their petitions but were kept back by the soldiers as he escaped in his automobile.

Liberal Democrats Run Interference for Racists Against Vote Protection

By George Lavan

AUG. 2 — By a vote of 51-42 late last night the Senate cut the heart out of the already feeble civil-rights bill. This was done by passage of a jury-trial amendment

to what had been the right-to-vote section of the bill. Trial by jury in the Deep South assures acquittal to any white official or White Citizens Council member preventing Negroes from voting. Of the 51 senators who plunged their knives into the bill's already bleeding body 39 were Democrats and 12 Republicans. Of the 48 Democrats in the Senate only nine voted in defense of Negroes' voting rights!

The open betrayal of civil rights by the majority of liberal Democrats was paralleled by the action of the top bureaucrats of 12 railway unions, who sent telegrams calling for passage of the amendment.

For several days the Dixiecrats stalled off Republican leader Knowland's requests for a vote because they had not as yet lined up a majority. The swing-over of liberal Democrat Jackson of Washington to their side signaled that a deal had been worked out. What a group of liberal Democrats needed was a fig leaf to cover the nakedness of such a sell-out.

The fig leaf was provided by a clause that federal juries in the South could no longer be all-white. But this tiny concession weighs little in the scales against the destruction of the voting-rights section. Southern officials can rig jury panels so that out of 100 takersmen one or two are Negro. These can be prevented from ever actually sitting on a jury by peremptory challenges. If for show a Negro were permitted to enter a hitherto all-white jury box, he would have to be recklessly brave to hold out for a conviction against the white jurors. For economic ruin or physical violence would most likely be the consequence. Moreover, all that he could accomplish would be to deadlock the jury so that the case would either be dropped or a new jury would acquit.

What remains of the civil-rights bill will now have smooth sailing through the Senate. There will be no filibuster. What use would it serve? The Dixiecrats and their Northern allies have just won a resounding victory for Jim Crow.

The lonely tooth left in the bill is Section IV which authorizes the U.S. attorney general to apply for injunctions against those preventing Negroes from registering and voting. Violations would be punished by the issuing judge.

Jury trials in the Deep South of officials guilty of preventing

Negroes from voting would mean automatic acquittals. Precisely because this is so Southern senators are demanding passage of a jury-trial amendment. This amendment was introduced by three liberal Democrats—O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Church (Idaho) and Kefauver (Tenn.). This (Continued on page 3)

Racists Assault Negro Picnickers in Chicago

By John Travis

CHICAGO, July 30 — A wave of racist terror that has gripped Chicago was climaxed last Sunday when 100 guests and members of the Bodines Social Club were stoned, shoved and attacked by a mob of racists estimated at 150, armed with bottles and iron rods.

Victims of the attack were outraged by the refusal of police to use force against the mobsters. . . in almost every instance the victims complained that the police failed to either protect them or make an effort to arrest the hoodlums," reports the July 29 Chicago Daily Defender.

The Negro picnickers attempted to conduct women and children to their cars before meeting their attackers. About thirty persons were injured, and about twenty-five automobiles damaged at this picnic grove in Calumet Park on the South East Side of Chicago. The previous Sunday a similar vicious attack occurred against a group of 75 parents and children, but city and park officials managed to keep it out of the news.

Calumet Park is near the Trumbull Park housing project where Negroes have been beaten up and their houses bombed since 1953. As news of the attack at Calumet Park spread, the Trumbull Park racists stormed apartments of Negro tenants, destroyed their furniture and set fire to one home. Detectives arrived at the scene but no arrests were made.

The violence began at Calumet Park continued into the evening. Negro drivers on the highway leading out of the city were

stoned resulting in injuries to many riders. In the past two weeks Chicago's Negro press has reported numerous beatings of Negroes by gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes who warned Negroes to stay out of "white neighborhoods." The racists were emboldened by a white-jury verdict that freed two white youths charged with the shotgun slaying of a Negro youth, Curtis Bivens, who was killed last April 3rd while he stood on a corner with a friend.

A victim of the July 28 riot, Isaac M. Hunter who was confined to Provident Hospital, told this story to the Chicago Defender: "I spent eight terrifying hours running and hiding from a bloodthirsty, race-hating mob bent on murder. Only God knows how I am alive today. I certainly don't. In my hour of greatest need, all two white policemen would do for me was sneer and say, 'You better get out of here and run for your life. The folks out here are killing all niggers like you. Run!'"

Chicago racists are stepping up their campaign of terror against Chicago's Negro people in an attempt to destroy growing Negro-White unity in the struggle for civil rights. Chicago's defenders of equal rights must organize to isolate these racist terrorists.

First Trotskyists Get Entry Into USSR, China, E. Europe

A number of Ceylonese Trotskyists, leaders of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, have recently made official visits to the Soviet Union as part of a parliamentary delegation from Ceylon. Additional visits were made to China and Czechoslovakia.

This is the first known case of Trotskyists visiting the USSR with the consent of the Soviet government since the consolidation of Stalin's power some 30 years ago.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) is the largest working-class party in Ceylon. It is also the oldest political party in the country, having been founded in 1932 as a section of the revolutionary socialist international movement. It was the only party in Ceylon to fight for national independence during World War II. The LSSP played the leading role in the August 1953 hartal (general strike) for higher living standards. The party has elected numerous representatives to city and village councils as well as to the Ceylon parliament.

While those Trotskyists who visited the Soviet Union did so as members of the broader parliamentary delegation from Ceylon, those visiting China did so as a delegation from the LSSP itself upon invitation of the Chi-

nese government. The parliamentary delegation included LSSP leaders Colvin R. de Silva, author of the report which appears on this page, Edmund Samarakody and Hector Fernando. The party delegation to China included N. M. Perera, Bernard Soysa, H. D. Alexander and D. G. William. Robert Gunawardena participated in both delegations and also visited Czechoslovakia.

The delegation to the USSR arrived by plane in Tashkent, capital of the central Asian Soviet Republic of Uzbek, last April 21, spending three days there. They visited the Usbek Academy of Sciences, a collective farm and one of the world's largest textile factories. At a celebration in Tashkent of Lenin's birthday, Colvin R. de Silva made a speech on the life of Lenin, which was translated into Russian. It was well-received by the Russian and Usbek representatives present.

From Tashkent the delegation flew by jet to Moscow where they discussed with Soviet parliamentary officials. Colvin R. de Silva appeared on a television program there and the LSSP section of the delegation placed a red wreath on Lenin's tomb which read: "To the memory of

V. I. Lenin who has always been an inspiration to us in the struggle to overthrow imperialist power and capitalist rule and for the establishment of a Workers and Peasants' government in Ceylon."

After two days in Moscow the delegation separated, one section traveling North to visit Latvia and Byelo-Russia and the other going South to Azerbaijan. The party delegation to China arrived in Peking in the middle of May. They discussed with Chinese premier, Chou En-Lai, mainly on the problems of construction and cooperative farming in China.

They spent one whole day discussing with Mao Tse-Tung. After eight days they left Peking to tour other parts of China. Two years ago, N. M. Perera had visited Czechoslovakia as an official guest of the government there.

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What I Saw on My Visit to the Soviet Union

By Colvin R. de Silva

I see that both the capitalist press and the Stalinists are worried about our visit to the USSR. I can understand their worry.

After all, the Soviet authorities knew well that I am a Trotskyist! Nevertheless, they put me on the Moscow radio three times; twice in broadcasts to South East Asia and once to give a message of greetings to the Soviet people themselves. On this last occasion they also made me appear on their television beam which is said to reach over five million people.

Both the capitalist press and the Stalinists realize that these occurrences scotch the principal line of their propaganda, namely, that even if the LSSP (Trotskyist Party of Ceylon) comes to power it will not be able to establish good relations with the countries of the Soviet bloc. With

Chou En-Lai's invitation to the LSSP to send a party delegation to China this talk of the impossibility of a Trotskyist party or government establishing good relations with Communist Party-ruled countries was seen to be untrue in the case of China. Now after our visit this propaganda is seen to be false also in the case of the USSR.

I should add that Comrade N. M. Perera was an official guest of the Czechoslovakian Government a couple of years ago. The press and the Stalinists hid this fact because this would have shown that the LSSP could establish good relations also with the East European countries.

VIEWERS CONFIRMED

The Stalinists too seem to think that my visit to the Soviet Union was bound to make me abandon my Trotskyist views. These people must indeed be sil-

ly if they seriously expected me to abandon Trotskyism just when literally thousands and thousands of members of the British Communist Party who have left it as the result of the events in Hungary are turning to Trotskyism as the correct programme and ideology for revolutionaries. I have to inform our blinkered local Stalinist "gentlemen" that the facts I found in the Soviet Union confirm without exception the analysis of Soviet reality made by Trotsky and developed thereafter by the world Trotskyist movement.

The capitalist press has taken a subtler line than the Stalinists. That master of political silliness who is known as the political correspondent of the Daily News has suggested that I committed some crime or other which is not clear to me by failing to

make an onslaught on the Soviet Government when I appeared on television. I had been asked to give a message of greetings to the Soviet people on that occasion and I did so. How in the name of good sense an onslaught on Stalinism could be fitted into a message of greetings to the Soviet people beats me. Besides, do these absurd people really think that the Soviet Government would give me their radio to attack the Government when no Soviet citizen even is given a legal opportunity to oppose the Communist Party or the Soviet Government? They do not seem to understand the meaning and conditions of a single party dictatorship which closely controls everything in the Soviet Union with a view to preventing opposition.

The single party dictatorship continues in the Soviet Union (Continued on page 2)

The Year Of Lost Illusions

By Nell Mc Grew

An important political and cultural event took place in Seattle in June when W. C. Cumming, a well-known Northwest artist, presented a lecture on "The Artist in Today's World" at a meeting and social sponsored by the Northwest Bureau of the Daily People's World.

Cumming, long persecuted in "respectable" art circles because of his out-spoken Communist ideas, gave a brilliant and provocative talk before a highly attentive audience. He began by calling 1956 the Year of Lost Illusions, caused by the Khrushchev revelations, the repressions in Poznan and Budapest, anti-Semitism in the USSR and the suicide of Padayev.

The speaker reported that when Picasso, Sartre, Joliot-Curie and others protested against Russian tanks in Budapest, they were called "disillusioned intellectuals," and he, for one, proposed to "rehabilitate disillusionment," for this meant being freed from illusion. He spoke of the pain the year had brought: "To the suddenly released dreamer, nothing is so unreal as the world of reality. . . But I choose to speak for those to whom disillusionment meant liberation."

After a scathing denunciation of the rank commercial standards imposed on artists by the "free enterprise" system, which forces them to conform or starve, Cumming exposed the arbitrary and vulgar slogans imposed on artists by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such "idiot's refrains" as Art is a Weapon, Socialist Realism, National in Form and Socialist in Content, etc., he condemned for having thwarted a generation of creative artists in the Soviet Union and wherever artists followed Stalin's theories.

"Such schematism," he said in reference to these slogans, "is similar to the jabberwocky of Madison Avenue in its pathetic assumption that infinite repetition breeds consumption. . . If art is indeed only a weapon in the narrow sense, then someone has the right and will use that right, to set up an ordinance-master. And behind that ordinance-master will stand another Bompart and another Thermidor. Over Shostakovitch stood Zhdanov and behind Zhdanov stood Stalin and the Moscow Trials."

Cumming cited artist after artist shot, forced to "confess artistic sins," driven to suicide or to death in concentration camps under Stalin's yoke. The poems of Blok and Mayakovsky, the paintings of Deineka, the stories of Babel, the films of Pudovkin and Eisenstein, Shostakovitch's First Symphony, Stanislavsky and Meyerhold, the satire of Ilk and Petrov, Katayev and Zoshchenko—the great human tide of creative work released by the emancipating 1917 Revolution—met a terrible fate.

"Since 1934, a straightjacket of conformism has been fastened on the artist in the Soviet Union," Cumming said. "It was precisely at the point when the Stalinist dictatorship succeeded in silencing all political dissent and opposition that the Soviet culture faltered." Instead of socialism, Stalinist degeneration took place; and instead of a flourishing art, a fantastic nationalist development occurred called Socialist Realism which glorified reactionaries and anti-Semites like Alexander Nevsky and Peter the Great.

"What are we to say of a socialist realism which covers up mountains of corpses with pic-

tures of a benevolent Big Brother; which covers up famine and starvation with movies about Michurin; which covers repressive labor legislation with odes to Stakhanovism?"

In a vivid description of what art is, Cumming quoted selectively. "What is art? Let me quote. 'Generally speaking, art is an expression of man's need for an harmonious and complete life. . . That is why a protest against reality always forms part of a really creative piece of work.' This true definition is quoted from what was long a sealed book for me—part of that Index Expurgatorius of which certain people today fear to speak, since its existence demonstrates that Jesuitry is not at all confined to Rome. This simple definition was written in his Mexican exile, shortly before his life was ended by the assassin's ax—Leon Trotsky."

Cumming added that this necessary rebelliousness of the artist "cannot be circumscribed by the demands of the political moment, by the voice of dogmatism demanding that art be shaped by the needs of the line and that the targets of the artist's wrath be chosen after consulting the editorial page, the Secretariat and the Short History."

The speaker paid tribute to Trotsky's great understanding of the artist's desperate inner need for creative freedom and extensively analyzed Trotsky's theory of art as opposed to Stalin's. He scored Mao Tse-tung's orders to Chinese artists and writers as the action of a "ridiculous interloper." "What can be the attitude of the revolutionary party towards creative art?" he asked. "Trotsky gave the answer: HANDED OFF!"

The tragedy of the artist today was graphically depicted: under capitalism only the wealthy can afford him; under Stalinism he becomes a machine hack. But Cumming made very clear that he doesn't reject Marxism. "I seek only to restore its significance to the artist. . . It was never the intent of the writers of the Manifesto, of State and Revolution, of Lessons of October that our doctrine should become a Procrustes' bed in which to mold a predetermined shape and size all art, science, philosophy and people."

Of special interest was Cumming's advice to artists. He quoted Camus, who "measures the greatness of an artist by the balance he manages to maintain between the values of creation and the values of humanity." The speaker eloquently reminded his colleagues of Trotsky's words: "Art will not stay unless society rebuilds itself. The function of art in our epoch is determined by its relation to the revolution." Added the speaker: "Think then of this, you who love art—only the people can save the art you claim to love. . . Artist, if you are alone, look to yourself. Mankind is not unwilling to stop long enough to listen to the sound of its own heart. What sounds in YOUR work? The authentic pulse of men and women, or merely the querulous snuffing of your own fears?"

Cumming's talk stimulated animated discussion afterwards, proving his contention that the 20th Congress had liberated thinking not only on politics, but on the role and function of art as well.

Soviet One-Party Rule — CP's Views and Ours

By Murry Weiss

John Gates, editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker, in his July 24 article, "The DW's Attitude on the Recent Soviet Changes," deals with the question of the one-party system in the Soviet Union. Gates presents the view that there is "no material base" for a multi-party system in the USSR; that the Soviet Union has gone beyond bourgeois democracy and is now faced with the expansion of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy has no need for more than one party, according to this view, because it is based on a society in which the class struggle has been eliminated and there are no social antagonism among the people that cannot be harmoniously expressed through a simple party.



JOHN GATES

Gates is merely repeating, in a stunned and dogged manner, the official litany of the Soviet bureaucracy which, moreover, becomes increasingly incongruous as the facts of life in the Soviet Union become known to wider and wider circles of Communist workers.

AFTER 20TH CONGRESS

How can Gates talk of the lack of a "material base" for rival parties in the Soviet Union after the Khrushchev report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU? Is he joking? There is obviously no party and no independent working class political tendency that has escaped material destruction by the Kremlin rulers.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was long ago taken over and transformed into the political creature of the bureaucracy. All opposition to the bureaucracy has been crushed with brutal force; every strata of the Soviet people and every area of the Soviet Union have felt the lash of bureaucratic tyranny; whole populations of national minorities have been exiled; the best representatives of Jewish culture were wiped out; artists were put in straitjackets; and a reign of terror and mass murder descended upon the working class and Communist youth through the institution of the secret political police directed by the all-powerful dictator Stalin.

It is therefore a monstrous fraud to speak about "socialist democracy" as a more or less efficient and functioning reality in the Soviet Union. It is true that bureaucratic terror has been relaxed under pressure of rising mass discontent and profound changes in the world situation, including the Soviet orbit. But the relaxation of bureaucratic terror is not the same thing as

the functioning of socialist democracy.

Take, for example, the hard fact that Trotskyism in the Soviet Union is still a forbidden subject: Trotskyists remain in jail; the Moscow trials frame-up against the Trotskyists has never been officially renounced; the works of the Left Opposition remain suppressed; the falsification of history, expunging the role of Trotsky, continues. In other words, the violent suppression of ideas, tendencies and all the processes of workers democracy remains the prevailing mode of political life in the Soviet Union. What does this signify?

The violent suppression of ideas and their carriers is for Marxists a symptom of a society gripped by deep contradictions (of the antagonistic variety, if you please). Violence is not an innate quality of the human species arising from a moral flaw in the structure of man. Violence is the product of the clash of material interests of social classes and groups vying for their portion of the social product. The class struggle in all its forms has been organically tied up with violence—with the state as the most finished expression of that violence as exerted by the ruling class against the oppressed classes.

That's why the idea of a socialist society that does not witness the "withering away of the state," that is, the elimination of violence as an everyday social phenomenon, was always regarded by Marxists as a complete contradiction in terms.

THE BOLSHEVIK VIEW

When the proletariat conquered power in Russia and established a Soviet government, this was regarded by the Bolsheviks in a twofold way:

First, insofar as the proletariat needed a state, that is, an organized form of violence of the new ruling class and its allies against the dispossessed classes of landlords and capitalists and the imperialist invaders, this state represented an inherited burden from the reactionary past. In that sense its maintenance would be a measure of the distance separating direct workers rule from socialism.

Second, the new type of state, organized on the basis of Soviets (workers councils), was regarded by the Bolsheviks as a higher and historically superior form of democracy, the first democracy of the producing toilers of society. It was so regarded precisely because the Soviet system was in its very nature a state that aimed at its own liquidation, that is, the abolition of the class struggle and thereby of relations of violence among men.

I should add that not a single Bolshevik, including Stalin up to 1924, ever pronounced the absurdity that within the confines of the Soviet Union itself, in a backward country, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, a socialist society, that is, a classless society which witnesses the "withering away of the state," could be attained. It was the universally accepted program of Bolshevism to build and strengthen the Soviet Union as a "besieged fortress" which would achieve a socialist society in concert with the working class of the advanced capitalist countries through the international socialist revolution.

DANGEROUS MEASURE

The rule of the Soviet system was conceived and organized by Lenin and Trotsky as the democratic rule of the working class. This, of course, meant the right of parties to function within the Soviet system with different programs and organizations. Only with the civil war (1918-21) did the one-party system come into being as a temporary measure imposed by the harsh reality faced by the country. The Soviet Union was impoverished, wounded and hungry, invaded on every front by the armies of imperialism and the White Guards. The monopoly of power by one party was considered a dangerous temporary measure, to be immediately discarded as soon as the young workers state gained a breathing spell.

It was only with the rise of the bureaucracy, headed by the Stalin faction in the party, that the civil war measures were seized upon and turned into permanent institutions—and this

was passed off as Bolshevik principles!

Under Stalinism it became rigid dogma, not only to prohibit rival parties within the Soviets, but to prohibit factions within the party. And all this was merely the juridical expression of the fact that every organ of workers democracy—the Soviets, trade unions, youth organizations and the party itself—had been systematically strangled and destroyed as democratic organizations. The workers state ruled Russia, but the bureaucracy ruled the state, depriving the workers of any expression of democratic life whatever.

Under these conditions the historic alternative was posed: either the working class would regain political control over the state and reestablish workers democracy, or the bureaucracy would pave the way for a restoration of capitalism.

REVIVAL OF REVOLUTION

History is now providing the answer: alongside the growth of productive forces in the Soviet Union and the concomitant growth of an industrial working class, we witness the first intimations of a tremendous revival of the working class movement. The international crisis of capitalism and the revolutionary tide in the colonial countries has added enormous power to this trend. The working class of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries are showing the historic road that will be taken—the removal of the intolerable fetter of the bureaucratic caste through a working class political revolution.

The irreconcilable antagonism between the Soviet working class and the Soviet bureaucracy is at bottom a manifestation of the class struggle. Not because the bureaucracy is a "class" in the Soviet Union any more than the trade union bureaucracy is a "class" in the United States. But because the socialist struggle everywhere requires above all the development of the fullest, freest and most democratic expression of the self-emancipating revolutionary activity of the working class.

For this reason the working class of the Soviet Union will feel compelled to rebuild its authentic revolutionary party as against the party of the bureaucracy. This is exactly what the Kremlin bureaucrats fear and will oppose with all their might. And this is the prospect they are trying to halt by every means—including the falsification of the tradition of Bolshevism.

[second of a series of two.]

Report on Trotskyism From Latin America

By Jose Valdes (Special to the Militant)

SANTIAGO, Chile, July 16—Latin American Trotskyists, affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International are making rapid progress.

In Argentina, the Trotskyists came in second in the last elections held in the Metallurgical Workers Union which has more than 250,000 workers. The Peronists still hold the lead. The Trotskyists won far more votes than either the Stalinist or social-democratic groups in this large and fighting section of the industrial working class.

The paper of the Argentine Trotskyists, *Unidad Obrera* (Workers Unity), is under heavy attack by the catholic-oligarchy of the capitalist class. Two papers (Antorcha and Azul y Blanco) opened a general attack on Trotskyism, saying it is the real animating force of the Peronist workers. At the same time, a capitalist daily calls *Unidad Obrera* one of the most important weekly publications in the country. The circulation of this paper is now 15,000 a week.

RAIL STRIKE

In Peru, the P.O.R. (Revolutionary Workers Party) played a militant part in the great strike of Arequipa which took place at the beginning of July. A leading comrade of the transport industry was in the first line of struggle. He was one of 27 leading workers who were arrested. The railroad workers won their demands after a sharp struggle in which the streets were patrolled by tanks, street-cars were derailed and police vehicles were stoned.

In Chile a Communist leader of the miners as well as a leading member of the Socialist Party in the Textile union joined the ranks of Trotskyism. Last month a Trotskyist was elected as a leader of the Workers Central of Santiago province (the most important in the country). Another comrade was the most popular speaker at a large gathering of construction workers. The paper of the Chilean P.O.R. (*Frente Obrero*) is daily becoming more popular among the workers; at present more than

ten percent of the workers at union meetings buy the paper.

Recently, the Trotskyist leader Humberto Valenzuela, a member of the leadership of the Workers Central (C.U.T.) was able to defeat a policy advocated by the Stalinists that would have led to street-riot adventures—a policy that would have brought defeat without question in view of the split in the labor movement and lack of a clear objective. The Trotskyists proposed that the way to fight the rising cost of living is to prepare for a general strike with the demand for a rising scale of wages (the escalator clause, as it is called in the U.S.) and for additional "Family Allotments."

Finally, the Chilean Trotskyists after a two-year campaign, were able to bring about the unity of the municipal workers who were divided into different and irreconcilable sectors. We participated in the National Congress of the textile workers at the end of June and are now preparing our participation in the Metallurgical and Construction workers congresses, and especially for the national congress of the Workers Central which is to take place Aug. 15-18 of this year.

In conclusion, the Latin-American Secretariat of Trotskyism (SLIATO) is preparing for a special meeting in the near future. On the agenda will be the following items, among others: the resolutions adopted by the last National Congress of Argentinean P.O.R., the Yankee Plan of Colonization of Latin-America, the significance of the Common Latin-American Market, proposed by the La Paz conference, the new situation in Bolivia with the open break between the government and the C.O.B. (Bolivian Workers Confederation), the down-fall of Rojas Pinilla of Colombia, the struggle in Cuba and the next world gathering of the Trotskyist movement.

Letters from Readers

Lavan Article Praised

Your article by George Lavan in the June 24 issue on the NAACP and the task that faces the Negro people was very much in my line of thinking. As a local union leader in the downriver section of Detroit and a member of the NAACP, I find it helps in my discussions of the problems of my people. I would like to obtain your paper locally. Is it possible for me to buy the issue here that I feel will help me in my desire to strengthen my union and enlighten my people?

VJ Michigan

Zeal for Socialism

When milk drivers in Chicago earn as much as \$10,000 a year, railroad engineers \$600 a month and building workers up to \$5.00 an hour where is the zeal for a new workers social order to come from? It cannot come from a small group of intellectual thinkers who like to solve problems and publish intellectual papers like the Militant. The American worker is not interested in socialism. He has no soaring ambitions and the only altruism that he has is to give to the red-feather charity. The American worker does not read any theoretical labor paper. He reads popular junk like everybody else. No reforms in society seem to be coming from the well-paid American worker. He has his television set has he not?

Are intellectuals supposed to starve for this kind of guy? A better order of society will have to come from an increase in ethical ways or religious insight on the part of the masses.

C.P. Chicago

Slums in Dallas

I am sending some newspaper clippings [mostly on the slums in West Dallas]. Through the years accounts of slum areas appear in the newspapers, and that's that—till the time of the next "discovery," as if it were news. News to whom? Not to me. For I live where you buy water for 50 cents a barrel, bathe in a wash tub if you can get the water and use an outside privy.

I don't belong to a church, but

I believe in God and don't think it's His will that people should live like this. I'm better now but I was sick for four years and not eligible for the County hospital and unable to pay for other medical care. I like the Militant and pass it on when I find anyone with a mind of his own—or even one-half interest, as long as he's willing to read it.

The City got worked up over the Hungarians—so let's see what's done for slum-clearance. Last spring newspapers pictured tons of change collected by paperboys for "truth dollars" to send over seas. Either side could use a little truth. Right?

I don't mean to infer resentment that the Hungarians were aided. I like people helped, or helped to help themselves, especially when they are fighting or working for freedom or justice.

But in this case it is insincere, a phony sympathy expressed by people of another country when citizens of their own are neglected. It's like blaming people who live in slums for not helping themselves when it's all most of them can do to get shelter and food. It's like organizing White Citizens Councils or the Klux Klan or making civil rights sound filthy. And it's like making politics out of human rights and dignity.

Mrs. T. L. Dallas, Texas

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... What I Saw in the Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

and is openly upheld by the Soviet rulers as a correct system. They are not double tongued about it like our local Stalinists are. The Soviet constitution itself gives to the Communist Party this dictatorial position, and so long as the Stalinists are in power they will not allow any other party to function legally in the Soviet Union.

However, within the framework of the Stalinist dictatorship the Soviet rulers have distinctly relaxed the terror conditions which they themselves now admit prevailed in the long and murderous years of Stalin's rule. There is even a propaganda effort to create the impression that democracy prevails in the Soviet Union. There is great stress laid on the claim that the members of the Soviet are elected. This is of course absurd, when no opposition parties are allowed and when all that a Soviet citizen can do is to vote for or against the candidate put up by the Government Party.

They also stress that criticism of the government is permitted and even encouraged in the USSR. It is true that criti-

cism is now encouraged; but what is allowed is only criticism and not opposition. That is to say, the only criticism is any kind of criticism which does not challenge governmental policy but only helps to improve the efficiency with which the Government's policy is carried out or prepared.

Another aspect of the Trotskyist analysis which I found confirmed is the prevalence of gross inequality in wages and incomes among the Soviet workers and collective farmers. In the first place, probably fully one fifth of the Soviet workers receive only 350 rubles per month as wages. As against this there are higher paid workers who earn as much as 3,000-3,500 rubles a month, that is, ten times as much as the lower paid workers. Secondly, a factory manager receives as much as 12,000-15,000 rubles a month and even more. He therefore receives forty times the amount of the lowest paid worker.

There are scientists, writers and administrators who have even larger incomes than the manager so that the inequality is even greater than one to forty. This kind of inequality which creates a gulf between rich and

poor has nothing to do with socialism. Indeed you do not get such wage and salary inequality even in capitalist England today.

Another aspect of the Trotskyist analysis which flows from the above facts is that the economically privileged strata of the population are pressing upon the government to make concessions to them. I found evidence of this. Today you can buy a car in the Soviet Union and also a house. Further the owner of a house can rent it and sue for rent and ejection in the courts. Soviet lawyers told me that such cases were frequent. A car by the way costs ten thousand rubles, twenty thousand rubles and forty thousand rubles and they are being bought at these prices. There are also other things like refrigerators which are obviously bought only by the rich.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

At the same time the Trotskyist thesis that the nationalized property system which separates the USSR from the capitalist countries has enabled tremendous economic development also stands verified by the facts I found. The central government alone manages 200,000 factories and 100,000 construction sites in the USSR. There are similar sets of enterprises managed by the different republics which constitute the Soviet federation. Further, production is on such a scale that the general mass of people are reasonably fed and reasonably clad. Besides there is a system of free education right up to the University which could be the envy of the richest capitalist countries. The four hundred thousand University students in the USSR are nearly all holders of scholarships.

This points to another conclusion which we Trotskyists have drawn about the Soviet Union, namely that the masses are pressing upon the ruling bureaucracy for concessions. Stalin abolished free education espe-

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 Monday, August 5, 1957

The Democrats and Civil Rights

World Events

A Piece of Demagoguery

If ever there was a demagogic use of the civil liberties issue it is the attack on the civil-rights bill for not providing jury trials. Civil liberties for Negroes do not exist in the Deep South. It is well-known that Mississippi juries, for example, hand out heavier penalties to white men for shooting deer out of season than for killing Negroes. Whereas Negroes are commonly framed up for criminal attacks on white women it is a man-bites-dog story when a Deep South jury assesses the slightest penalty on whites for raping Negro women or children.

Trial by Jim-Crow jury in the South is best exemplified by the brazen acquittal of the lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till two summers ago and the recent acquittal of the bombers of Negro homes and churches in Montgomery, Alabama. These and a thousand other cases answer the question whether Southern juries will act fairly in cases involving white-supremacy issues. To put a jury-trial clause into the civil-rights bill would be the same as tearing it up.

It is no news that juries can be so prejudiced that a fair trial is impossible before them. English-American common law has long recognized this possibility. That is why in many cases the defendant has the privilege of asking that he not be tried by jury but by the judge. It is noteworthy that in some recent witch-hunt trials some defendants have availed themselves of this prerogative.

Another legal provision to protect a defendant from a prejudiced jury is request for a change of venue. That is to

transfer the trial to an unprejudiced locality. But this provision only foresaw local prejudice and not prejudice in a whole section of the country. Thus there can be no change of venue of a case out of the Deep South to, for example, Ohio or Nebraska.

There are some 28 federal statutes providing for juryless contempt-of-court proceedings. Almost every state in the union has similar statutes. The demanders of a jury-trial amendment to the present civil-rights bill have never objected to these as violating civil liberties.

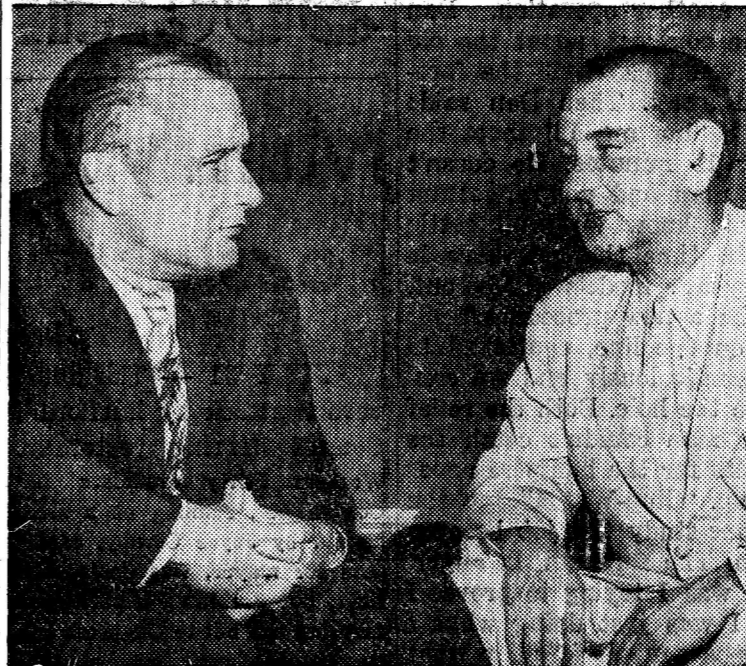
What precisely is the "civil liberty" the jury-trial proponents wish to protect? The right of white supremacists to prevent Negroes from voting? If the racists do not attempt this there will be no contempt-of-court proceeding. Moreover, if they are cited they can quash the proceedings simply by letting Negroes vote.

Labor has had a long and bitter experience with government by injunction. It was and remains an example of the perversion of the law by a pro-capitalist judiciary. But because of this labor should not be taken in by the false arguments of the union-busting Dixiecrats.

Civil liberties aren't a set of phrases dropped from the heavens. They are the result of the centuries-long struggle of the people to protect themselves against selfish ruling classes and governments. To defend what has been won in the past and to extend real freedom into all fields of life should be the aim of the labor movement. This requires all-out support of the present civil-rights bill, inadequate though it is.

By George Lavan

The present civil-rights fight in the Senate is little short of disastrous for the Democratic Party. Not only does it threaten Democratic control of Congress in the 1958 elections, but it raises the specter of a Republican presidential victory in 1960 even without Eisenhower. Worst of all, it endangers the very future existence of the Democratic Party.



SENATORS WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND AND LYNDON B. JOHNSON, above, respectively the minority and majority floor leaders in the current civil rights debate. The Republican Knowland has presidential aspirations and is pushing a much-weakened bill. The Democrat Johnson, with some liberals, is trying to "avoid a filibuster" by concessions to Dixiecrats.

This is why all wings—from Dixiecrats to Northern liberals—were filled with dismay when Republican leader Knowland forced the bill onto the Senate floor. And this is why all of them, even those who sick-at-heart are speaking and voting for the bill, secretly hope it will be defeated.

The Democratic Party basically is an unprincipled coalition of 1) the Dixiecrats, who are primarily interested in defending the Jim Crow, open-shop social system of the South; 2) the big city machines, who are primarily interested in the money to be made from politics—jobs, patronage, contracts, graft; and 3) the labor bureaucracy whose job is to deliver the working-class and Negro vote and in return gets a few crumbs from the capitalist-controlled leaders of the Democratic Party.

This coalition can control Congress and the White House only as long as the labor leaders can deliver the working-class vote. This has been getting more difficult since the workers have been increasingly disillusioned with the Democratic Party which long ago cut back drastically on the amount of social legislation it would even promise. A very important and strategically placed segment of the working-class vote is that of the Negro people.

ANNUAL SHAM BATTLE

For decades the Democratic strategy for protecting the white-supremacist system of the South, and at the same time retaining support of Northern Negro voters, was to stage an annual sham battle in which liberal Democrats pretended to work for civil rights legislation in Congress only to be stymied by the Southern Democrats. This permitted the bureaucracy of union and Negro organizations to urge support of liberal Democrats at election time pointing to their "pro-civil rights" record.

But this sweet racket, which the Democrats thought could go on till eternity, was spoiled by the Negro masses. They have been pushing against all Jim Crow barriers with redoubled energy since the end of the war. They have forced more and more concessions. This has alarmed the white-supremacist leaders so that they demanded a lessening of pro-civil rights demagoguery on the part of the Northern liberals. Since the Southerners hold positions of real power in the Democratic machine while the liberals and union bureaucrats do not, the liberals capitulated.

Thus at the beginning of Congress in 1955 the entire liberal bloc sold out completely on their solemn pledges to fight for a change in Senate Rule 22—the rule permitting filibusters. They did not even introduce a motion to change Rule 22 because that would irritate the Southerners. Then a "gentlemen's agreement" was made to bury the civil-rights issue in the interests of party unity. Last summer's Democratic Convention further consummated this gentlemen's agreement with a sell-out plank on civil rights that did not even support the Supreme Court decision against school desegregation. Adlai Stevenson, darling of the liberals, throughout his campaign continued to weasel on civil-rights and appease Dixiecrats.

THE NEGRO VOTE

The anger of the Negro masses, who in previous elections had voted 80% Democratic, was expressed by millions of defections to the Republican col-

umn. Despite some repentant breast-beating by Northern Democrats, the impotence of the liberal wing was demonstrated by continuance of the gentlemen's agreement. Control of Congress was firmly retained by the Southern Democrats, the unspeakable Eastland was given the Senate Judiciary Committee to which all civil-rights bills would be referred. In return the liberals were allowed to make the record again by briefly going through the motions of opposing Rule 22 and introducing some bills to die in Senator Eastland's purgatory. It was hoped and expected that these tricks and the passage of time would remove the bad taste of the 1956 campaign from the Negro voters' mouths.

But Negro militancy, instead of diminishing after election day, has increased. The struggle in the Deep South, exemplified in the Montgomery bus boycott, has aroused the whole Negro people and millions of white allies to a fighting mood. Republican politicians faced with the exit from politics of Eisenhower, their prize vote-getter, see an opportunity to retain the presidency, and even to win Congress, by taking the Negro vote away from the Democrats.

The way to do this, they figure, is to do what the Democratic liberals never did despite all their promises: actually deliver some legislation—not much but something—on civil rights. By doing so they not only calculate to discredit the Democrats but to win a credit with the Negro voters off which they hope to live politically for many years without any further delivery.

Knowland and Nixon's forcing of the civil-rights bill to the Senate floor not only split the Democratic Party, it split the Democratic liberals down the middle. While all the Democrats hoped that the bill could be kept from the Senate floor, those Northern liberals from states with very large Negro votes dared not vote against it. Thus Douglas of Illinois and McNamara of Michigan have decided that their only hope is to give the appearance of being even more ardent for the administration's bill than the Republicans.

OPEN TRAITORS

But liberal Democrats from states with smaller Negro populations have openly turned traitor to civil rights. The first example of this was the vote of Morse (D-Ore.), Murray (D-Mont.), Magnuson (D-Wash.), Mansfield (D-Mont.), and Kennedy (D-Mass.), against bringing the civil rights bill directly to the floor of the Senate, thus avoiding Eastland's committee. This was not only a sell-out to the Dixiecrats in return for a like num-

ber of votes in favor of the Hell's Canyon bill which the Westerners want, but as Kennedy's presence indicated, a move to prevent a civil-rights fight which could only split the Democratic Party and give credit to the Republicans.

The spearhead of all the moves to gut the already weak civil rights bill with a host of amendments has subsequently been led by liberal Democrats. Liberal Morse made a second attempt to send the bill to Eastland's graveyard. Liberal Anderson (D-N.M.) introduced the amendment cutting the civil rights section from the bill, thus reducing it solely to a right-to-vote bill. Liberal Mansfield (D-Mont.) exerted great efforts in lining up votes for the amendment. Eleven liberal Democrats voted with the Dixiecrats in this successful emasculating of the bill.

Brazen in his anti-civil rights labor, liberal O'Mahoney (D-Col.), who has been one of the most vociferous opponents of the bill, has introduced an amendment to render ineffective the voting right section—the only meaningful part left in the bill. Co-sponsoring this amendment are liberals Church (D-Idaho) and Kefauver (D-Tenn.), who campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination by talking to the left of Adlai Stevenson on the civil-rights issue.

FILIBUSTER THREAT

If the Dixiecrats are unable to get an emasculating of the right-to-vote section they threaten to filibuster. Then Knowland will press for closure. This would again split the Democrats and the Democratic liberals, Douglas, McNamara and company would be forced once more to oppose their fellow liberals of yesterday, otherwise they would bear the brunt of the bill's defeat before the Negro people. Their position is about as uncomfortable as a capitalist politician can find himself in.

But this is only their present difficulty—the future abounds in more. To win the 1958 Congressional and the 1960 presidential campaigns the liberal Democrats end the trade union bureaucracy will have to counter the Republican bid for Negro support. The powerful Dixiecrat wing of the party will put its foot down on any suggestion of further civil rights legislation.

NEGRO-LABOR UNITY

To prevent a split in the working-class votes the Negroes must have an alternative to voting Republican. This alternative can only be a new party, a Labor Party, based on the unions, working farmers and oppressed minorities. Between the Republicans and such a party the Negro people would not hesitate. They have no illusions about the good faith or permanence of the overnight conversion of reactionary Republicans to civil rights. They would have every confidence in a party based on the unions and in which they had a proportionate share of control, candidates and participation in platform-drafting.

Explosions rocked three U.S. Information Service Centers, including the Voice of America office July 31 in Beirut, Lebanon. Heavy police guards have now been placed at all U.S. offices.

THERE ARE NO CONCENTRATION CAMPS in Algeria, "in the proper sense of the word," according to a report of the International Committee Against Concentration Camps after a 16-day "investigation." The same report concedes, however, that torture and unlimited arbitrary detention without charges were common. It also acknowledges the presence of 5,300 Algerians in tattered in barbed-wire enclosed camps uncharged with any crime.

"REACTIONARY MURDERERS," not hungry people, were blamed by Peking Radio for a raid on a government rice station last week in which seven persons were killed.

PANAMANIAN YOUTH THROWN IN JAIL just a few moments before he was to board the airplane for Moscow. Alvaro Menendez Franco, was planning to participate in the International Youth Festival in Moscow. No charges against him were filed.

THOUSANDS OF DEMONSTRATORS in all principal cities of Colombia, South America, forced the ruling military junta to abolish the puppet constituent assembly and set a date for presidential and congressional elections next May.

EXPOSED TO FALLOUT radiation two years ago, the 82 inhabitants of two of the Marshall Islands remain far from cured. The effects on the islander's blood and blood-forming organs persist; sixteen still suffer from radiation and skin lesions. The islanders are wards of the U.S. government.

FOUR JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS were accused of a plot to overthrow the East German regime, and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to five years. The accused were alleged supporters of Wolfgang Harich, considered a Marxist philosopher and anti-Stalinist, now serving a 10-year sentence.

POLISH WORKERS ARE A MINORITY now in the Polish Communist Party. According to Nowe Droge (C. P. theoretical magazine), workers, who constituted 60.5% of the party's membership in 1948, accounted for only 44.6% in 1956, and there has been a "further deterioration of the composition of the party" in 1957. At least half of all new candidates for membership are bureaucrats.

BRITISH BUS STRIKE, involving 100,000 men, has been settled favorably. The strike was marked with violence as the government engaged in strike-breaking attempts at scab-herding. The strikers won a wage increase of 11 shillings (\$1.54) a week.

... Civil Rights Bill

(Continued from page 1)
 Knowland and Nixon's drive to win the Negro vote by actually pushing a civil-rights bill through the Senate, has ruined the Democrat's con game. It has split the Democratic liberal bloc right down the middle. Half of these much advertised "friends of civil rights" are now voting against civil rights. The other half, whose states have large Negro populations or whose ambitions for the next convention can only be realized with Negro backing, are forced unhappily to support the Republican civil-rights bill.

The Dixiecrats and those liberal Democrats who are plugging the jury-trial amendment obviously had reason to believe that they stood a chance of winning AFL-CIO support. There is no doubt but that there is a division on the issue in the AFL-CIO top leadership. Moreover, JUE President Carey's immediate and strong denunciation of the offered bribe to labor, indicates that he aimed to scotch any move to put labor on record for the amendment. It should be recalled that last April Carey resigned as head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee declaring that it was not allowed to do anything.

The AFL-CIO top leadership's rather tardy rejection of the amendment means that the labor movement will continue formal support of the bill. However, this support is far from enthusiastic or dynamic. The union press utters the words of support but there have been no real moves by the unions to mobilize sentiment and bring pressure on the politicians.

Three days later the executive committee of the AFL-CIO issued a statement opposing the amendment. John L. Lewis, on the other hand, took the bait and Democratic majority leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas gloatingly read Lewis' telegram of support into the Congressional record.

The labor bureaucrats have been put on the same spot by the Republican drive to pass a civil-rights bill as the liberal Democrats. Labor leaders for years have been committed in words to support of civil rights. Their political ties, however, are almost exclusively with the Democratic Party. For years the labor leaders have abetted the liberal Democrats in the con game of garnering Negro and labor votes on the civil-rights issue only to sell out by introducing civil-rights bills prearranged to die in committee. This kept the liberal Democrats happy—they "made the record"; it kept the Dixiecrats content—no bills were passed; and it kept the Democratic Party united.

Glimpses into Soviet Life

By L. P. Wheeler

CBS news writer, Marvin S. Kalb, will soon publish the diary he kept while stationed in the Soviet Union for 13 months. Kalb speaks the Russian language and talked to "hundreds of young people" in the course of his travels from Tashkent to Leningrad.

Like most news correspondents writing about the Soviet Union for the capitalist press, Kalb is obviously bent on proving the superiority of the "free enterprise" system over Russian "communism." After all, the editors demand copy to feed the cold-war propaganda factory. But some of the passages of his diary which were published in the New York Times Magazine, July 28, can be judged independently and are of exceptional interest.

Here are excerpts from one entry, dated March 28, 1957:

"This evening, I met Volodya, a 28-year-old graduate student at the History Institute in Moscow. A major in English and American history, Volodya speaks English fluently. ... Many times, during our conversation, I got the impression he was a member of the Communist Party. ...

"We met by rather odd circumstance: I was introduced to Volodya by a cab driver. We walked up and down Gorki Street for hours, talking about Ulanova, whom he adores, and the United Nations, at which he scoffs. ...

'was a very important figure in the Petersburg Soviet; in fact, for a while, he was chairman of the Soviet. Could this hypothetical student read Trotsky's speeches?'

"He seemed for a moment to be engaged in the band's performance of 'Love and Marriage,' which has been popular in Russia. His eyes wandered restlessly over the vodka-drinking crowd. 'Volodya,' I said, breaking into his reverie, 'could an average student study Trotsky's influence on the revolution, and if not, can you still claim that Soviet scholarship is objective scholarship?'

"Volodya still could not look me in the eye, but when he did, his gaze was no longer hard and defiant. It was soft and apologetic. 'I guess you hit the nail on the head. It's that kind of questions my friends and I have also begun to raise.'"

An April 18 entry records a conversation Kalb had with a young Soviet basketball player, who travelled frequently, playing in tournaments. He told Kalb "his rather unique definition of a Communist. 'A Communist is a person,' he explained, 'who has a car, a family, a dacha [summer home], and lots of money every month.' When I asked him who the greatest living Communists are, he answered, 'Khrushchev and Bulganin, because they have cars, families, dachas, and money.'"

TROTSKY'S SPEECHES

"We talked about Russia, and after a while, I asked Volodya what history meant to him. He said, 'History is the examination of the objective facts of a given period in order to understand the vast forces at play.' I agreed. I then asked him another question. I suggested the possibility of a Russian student trying to do objective research on the 1905 revolution. The student would have to have all the documents relating to this period. Volodya agreed. 'Trotsky,' I said,

THE UPPER CRUST

This matter-of-fact type of remark calls to mind the indignant outburst of the veteran Hungarian Communist, Professor Gyula Hajdu of the University of Budapest, who, just before the uprising last year, said: "How can the Communist leaders know what is going on? They never mix with workers or ordinary people, they don't meet them in streets because they all ride automobiles, they don't meet them at stores or in the market place because they have special stores, they don't meet them in hospitals because they have special sanatoriums." Gyula Hajdu is now a political prisoner in Kadar's dungeons.

WORKER IN RED SQUARE

An episode from current "everyday life" is reported in Isaac Deutscher's latest book, "Russia in Transition." It casts a revealing light on the mood of workers in the Soviet Union:

"Recently, for instance, Trud (Soviet Trade Union newspaper) related an incident that occurred at the Red Square in Moscow. A worker accosted a member of the Supreme Soviet and rudely chided him for 'wearing such fine clothes' as no worker could afford. I can see at once, the

worker said, 'that never in your life have you done a day's work at the factory bench.' Trud, indignant at this example of 'hoologism,' tells its readers that the member of the Supreme Soviet had in fact been a factory worker most of his life; and the man who accosted him behaved cowardly for he withdrew and disappeared in the crowd before his identity could be established."

Deutscher's comments on this episode are quite apt. He says: "There is hardly a detail in this seemingly irrelevant episode which does not have almost symbolic eloquence. It was unthinkable in Stalin's day that a worker should dare to accost a member of the Supreme Soviet; and that he should do so at the Red Square of all places, just outside the Kremlin wall. This used to be the most heavily guarded spot in the whole of the Soviet Union — it swarmed with police agents and was usually shunned by the ordinary citizen who had no business there."

"But the worker's new daring still has its well-defined limits. Having chided the dignitary, he prefers to keep his anonymity, to withdraw, and to plunge into the crowd. Times have changed, but not enough for a worker to believe that he may vent with impunity his feelings at their fine clothes and their privileges. That many of them had risen from the working class is true, of course; but this does not make the underdog feel less of an underdog.

"The peculiar form of the protest he chose may have flavored of 'hoologism.' But, as a rule, men express their feelings in this way when they cannot easily express them in more legitimate forms. Yet, how much resentment at inequality must have been pent up in the man, and how bitter must it have been, to explode in this way!"

"HE WILL COME BACK"

"Among his workmates the protester certainly feels on much safer ground than at the Red Square; and there, at the factory bench or at the canteen, the privileges of the bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy have become the recurrent theme of daily conversation. It is the oldest of themes; yet how novel it is after the long and sullen silence of the Stalin era. There, among themselves, the workers are pondering anew their position forty years after the revolution and groping for collective action. The day may not be far off when the anonymous man returns to the Red Square but not to accost a bigwig and vent resentment furtively. He will come back, head uplifted, and surrounded by multitudes, to utter anew the old and great cry for equality."

The Immaculate Bomb

[The following was clipped from a St. Louis newspaper and sent to us by a Militant reader. — Ed.]
 To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch:
 Some time after the bomb had fallen the lone survivor managed to crawl on his bleeding stumps to the crest of a nearby hill.
 There below he could see one great expanse of incredible nothingness where once had been the mightiest city in the world.
 Not a brick, not a twig — nothing but miles and miles of pulverized dust.
 Despite great agony he opened his survival kit and turned on the geiger counter.

A split second of tense expectancy and then a feeling of supreme elation smothered his pain.
 Joy of joys! Oh ecstasy! Not one trace of radioactive fallout! This, then, had been a clean bomb!
 Absent-mindedly he turned off the switch and slowly rolled over on his back.
 His breathing became shorter and shorter.
 The end was near.
 Now he opened his eyes and while gazing at what was left of the sun sinking in the north he moved his lips and whispered with his dying breath:
 "Thank you, Adm. Strauss."
 O. BROTHER

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Bosses I Have Known

By An Auto Worker

I was working on an auto assembly line installing the rear bumper, harness clips, generator wires and nuts. Every minute and a quarter another car came by. At union meetings there were angry demands that something be done about the speed-up, since we didn't have time to get a drink from the water fountain ten feet away. The men were filing overwork grievances and getting reprimands for "not showing sufficient effort" in return.

Before the whistle blew, men were making up stock because otherwise they could certainly not keep up. Our theme song was "Mule Train." Fellows would talk about reaching for parts in their sleep. One old-timer had a dream that he couldn't keep up with the line. He was going deeper and deeper into the hole. He yelled frantically for the foreman, when he awoke, he was hoarse from yelling.

It was in this nightmare atmosphere that the foreman gave me a rag with orders that I clean off the spots on my side of the car in spare moments. I asked for the committee man. There were four of us working on rear bumpers; we decided to settle this beef together. I cleaned the cars quite thoroughly. So thoroughly that our operation was going in the hole. In a few minutes we had the relief man helping us.

The committee man came over: "I'm

Dan the Fighting Man, what's the beef?" he asked. I told him that we were all overworked as it was, and now the foreman was giving me another operation. Dan talked about the contract, about the old days and the present days, till the foreman was called away. Then Dan said: "You did right calling me. I'll shoot the bull for another 15 minutes. He doesn't have his relief man and you're getting a break. But you know we can't settle anything. By the time the grievance is processed, next year's models will be out, and there will be a new procedure."

I went back on the line, continued to clean the cars meticulously and we continued to go into the hole. Both the relief man and repair man couldn't catch the line up. The bolts for the bumpers never seemed to line up. "Stop-Watch" Jackson couldn't even time-study the job because of the confusion. The foreman, in anger, asked me what was I trying to prove. I explained that I was just doing what I was told. Even the general foreman went into the pit, getting his white shirt dirty. But the bumpers still wouldn't fall into place.

Finally the foreman came over and took my rag away without a word. We had won. The four of us knew we had settled this grievance by ourselves. Everyone else on the final line knew it too. We never saw this particular boss again — he lacked that golden touch.

Two Banana Ports

By Henry Gitano

In Puerto Bolivar, Ecuador, barges pulled up alongside the anchored banana boat, with 80-pound green stems of 150 bananas each. Planks went up and down over the barges, across a ramp and into the hatch. The longshoremen, barefooted, with legs no thicker than my arms ran continuously in an unending line. Some had rags on their backs to cushion the weight; here a man stumbled, there a man used his stalk to prop up another's. The sun beat against them while their lives were ground up in an infernal rat race with bananas.

I went ashore. They were loading the barges from railroad cars and again every man sprinted back and forth. Their dwellings were on a swamp; no streets, just boards and mud. It is hardly possible to imagine how people could be worse off. Seeing their faces, brought to mind the Southern sharecropper who said: "It ain't hardly worth the trouble to go on living." But the rulers quake, for they fear the hungry men and women. The largest, most modern buildings house the militia. Everywhere there are khaki jeeps and armed soldiers.

It was much the same in La Ceiba, Honduras. As I walked along the main mud path, past the Florida, Buenos Aires and Los Angeles bars I saw a huge metal fence with gates but with no visible beginning or end. At the first gate there was the Standard Fruit Railroad.

I went to the plantations Finca Lomitas I and II. A banana worker in patched dungarees resembling a quilt told me that their wages allow them only "arroz y frijoles," rice and beans. He pointed to his dungarees and said that the commissary sells shoddy, expensive goods. Standard Fruit operates a virtual company-town, yes, a n d company-nation setup. The banana worker explained that the Fruit Company owns the land, the docks,

the railroad (there is no road) and runs the commissaries.

I had been told that the La Ceiba fence delineates Standard Fruit property. In an elegant dining-room within the iron-curtained compound I inquired as to the reason for the big fence. I was told that "sometimes there are riots, strikes and demonstrations, so Standard Fruit officials reside and offices are maintained within this enclosure." At 9 P.M. all but one gate is locked for the night, and watchmen patrol.

Walking on well-paved roads, past country homes, lawns, terraces, a swimming pool, while new cars passed me by, I saw a big structure all lit up. The entrance had the US seal, over which was inscribed: "Consular Agency USA."

The "oro verde," Standard Fruit's green gold, provides a high standard of living for the American bosses sitting behind the iron fence—in fear of their lives. The official representative of the Yankee "Good Neighbor" also must seek protection behind the Fruit Company's iron fence—that is the real, naked relationship between US imperialism and Latin-American workers.

I walked out the one gate that remained open. Opposite it, a bronze Honduranian was sleeping on the ground, one of them had a guitar with an attached harmonica, by his side. They had to fear hunger and sickness, but they did not need a fence to protect them from the hungry ones.

Calendar Of Events

Chicago

Chicago Militant Labor Forum, Fri., Aug. 9, 8:15 P.M. Shake-up in the Kremlin. Speaker: John Travis. 777 W. Adams.

Los Angeles

Socialist Workers Party, Fri., Aug. 9, 8:15 P.M., "How to Stop the H-Bomb Tests." Speaker: Theodore Edwards. 1702 E. 4th St. Discussion and refreshments.

Buffalo

Militant Forum, Sun., Aug. 18. First Buffalo showing: Salt of the Earth. Washington Hall, 831 Washington St. Admission: \$1.00.

New York Youth

Young Socialist Forum, Tues., Aug. 6, 8:15 P.M., "Workers Struggles in the Soviet Union." Speaker: Martha Wells of the Young Socialist League (Left-Wing). Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Contribution: 50 cents. 25 cents for students.

West Coast

The West Coast Vacation School (30 miles from Los Angeles) will be held from Aug. 31 through Sept. 3. For information and reservations write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles, 33, Calif., or phone: AN 9-4953 or NO 3-0387.

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Large Attendance At First Socialist Youth Forum

JULY 31—One of the best attended socialist youth meetings New York City has seen in recent years took place last night when 73 students and young workers participated in the first discussion of the Young Socialist Forum. Mike Brooks from the Antioch College Discussion Club opened the first in a series of talks with "Negroes on the March."

The discussion revealed the diversified experiences of the Forum's participants. A Detroit-er from Wayne University gave an eyewitness report about Mrs. Ethel Watkins, the "Rosa Parks of Detroit," who defied the racists by moving into a lily white neighborhood. He vividly related how hundreds of people came to the aid of this heroic seamstress by organizing defense guards. Another college student described how interracial teams of packinghouse organizers worked in the South.

Differences developed around the role of the NAACP, the Negro clergy as mass leaders, labor officialdom's desire or capacity to organize the South. While one student maintained that the AFL-CIO is doing its best to organize the South, another held that unions conducted paper campaigns because they were afraid to risk social struggles that might get out of bounds.

The discussion continued long after the forum. Students who had never before attended socialist meetings asked what was the Negro-Labor alliance, what was CIO's Operation Dixie; they had tasted a new world of serious and stimulating discussion and they were hungry for more. Well, there's more coming: On Aug. 6, Martha Wells of the Young Socialist League (Left Wing) will lead a discussion on "Workers' Struggles in the Soviet Union." On Aug. 13 the topic will be "Algeria: The Fight For National Independence." Forums are held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue (near 14 St.) at 8:15 P.M. each Tuesday.

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THE MILITANT

Socialists Campaign in Detroit

Murray Zuckoff Hits Foes of Housing Bill

By Dave Miller

JULY 31 — The anti-bias housing bill came under severe attack by landlord groups at a New York City Council hearing yesterday. Murray Zuckoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller, running on a slate headed by Joyce Cowley, candidate for mayor, was denied the floor, but presented a statement favoring the bill to the press and council members.

The most bitter object of attack was that section of the bill which would make discrimination by landlords a misdemeanor punishable by a \$500 fine. In defense of this clause, Zuckoff told the press, "the elimination in the amended bill of this section would emasculate and nullify this legislation. We demand full penalties for landlords who engage in discrimination. Make violation a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment."

Zuckoff also pointed out that "Additional provisions for a commission with policing and educational functions, are absolutely necessary. . . . The present bill merely states that such commission shall exercise its powers with a view to conciliating the matter and eliminating any discriminatory practice it finds to exist." We demand that the Commission be explicitly granted subpoena powers, that sufficient funds be allocated to provide an adequate full-time staff and physical facilities to successfully carry out its work. Furthermore, working class tenants and minority people must be guaranteed adequate representation on the Commission."

Addressing his remarks to a



SARAH LOVELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Detroit. She stated: "Labor and its allies, representing the majority of the population, have the power, the right and the duty to govern Detroit."



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York. She is an active participant in the struggle to eliminate segregation in New York City schools, and housing.

EQUALITY IS SOCIALISM

Spearheading the attack on the bill was a representative of the Real Estate Boards, who condemned it as socialist interference with the right of man to dispose of his property as he saw fit.

Unfortunately the liberal supporters of the bill who managed to get the floor were not as vigorous in defense of the bill as the prejudiced opponents. There were no official spokesmen for labor or the Negro people. The principle of democracy in housing was left to be defended by Algernon D. Black, Chairman of the New York Committee on Discrimination in Housing. Under pressure of the intense hostility to the bill, Mr. Black retreated and conceded the removal of the \$500 fine provision for offenders.

The extent to which the initiative is passing to the bill's opponents appeared in the racist and red-baiting taunts of the supporters of the United Taxpayers Party. Unlike labor, these people were out in force!

Pickets Protest Jailing Of A-Test Opponents

JULY 30—Twelve New York pacifists are in jail in New York serving 30-day sentences for openly refusing to take shelter during the July 12 air raid alert on the ground that it was "psychological preparation for war."

Ten of the prisoners are associated with the Catholic Worker Movement, an anarchist-pacifist organization which declared in advance: "We refuse to play this war game." It was a mock emergency, but the police powers exercised under the New York Defense Emergency Act, and the jail sentences meted out, are only too real.

This was the third consecutive yearly raid exercise. It was launched by Eisenhower issuing a theoretical proclamation declaring an "unlimited state of national emergency and threat of invasion." Civil defense officials proclaimed the drill a "success" and hypothetical casualties in New York City alone of 2,339,012 killed by an H-bomb explosion in the harbor and 2,261,

238 theoretically wounded. Later, the figures were revised upward. However the real victims were twelve pacifists who protested the government's attempt to prepare the nation for mass slaughter.

DOROTHY DAY'S PROTEST

Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy, editors of the Catholic Worker, now in prison, declared: "We disobey the air-raid drill because we can do nothing else in this atomic crisis but stand up and say 'No' to those who would annihilate the human race to preserve their exploitative economic system."

Magistrate Walter J. Bayer, denounced them as "a heartless bunch of individuals who breathe contempt of the law" and sentenced them to 30 days in jail for sitting on park benches while the sirens blared.

Daily since July 16 for two hours a group of Catholic Worker supporters and friends have been picketing the Womens

House of Detention where some of the pacifist prisoners are incarcerated. They will continue to march till the victims of the suspension of constitutional rights during war games are set free. Placards tell their story: "Mock Air Raid, Real Jail Sentences"; "Jail Won't Suppress the Truth"; "Freedom of Speech and Assembly Violated"; "Free the 12 Pacifists."

Police limit the picket line to ten; others distribute literature, including a letter to the New York Times which says, "Few activities or responses imposed upon our citizens during the drill would, in a hydrogen-bomb attack, contribute to survival. The best they could do is facilitate mass burial." A reprint from Commonweal asks, "If, as in this case, our most basic freedoms may be abrogated by executive proclamation of a simulated emergency, what meaning has the Constitution in America today?"

... Who Planned Armas Assassination

(Continued from page 1) for another in Latin American dictatorships.

Armas himself came to power in June 1954 by leading a Wall Street-backed, armed assault on the elected government headed by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Some political freedom existed

under the liberal capitalist regime of Arbenz. Unionization proceeded apace. Large sections of the uncultivated land held by United Fruit Company — for future exploitation — were nationalized and opened to cultivation by the nation's hungry peasants. United Fruit set up a howl.

The U.S. government backed Castillo Armas—who was otherwise supported only by a tiny class of rich—in a military attack on the government. Armas was then set up as the great "anti-communist" democrat and offered to the world as an example of "free-world" rule as opposed to "Communist."

Under Armas "freedom" was dished up in big servings. Opposition parties were outlawed. Worker and peasant leaders were exiled, arrested or killed. Even the bureaucratic labor leaders of the U.S., who slavishly supported the State Department's action in Guatemala, were forced to protest Castillo Armas' repressions against the unions.

Reaction was in the saddle. But even with millions of dollars in U.S.-aid, mass resistance continued. Armas was compelled to move with caution against the people. Most recently opposition to Armas has been reported from among the rich.

Six days before the assassination, the July 21 New York Times, reported that Castillo Armas "is caught in the middle." That his inability to wipe out the reforms and labor organizations "has made him suspect in the eyes of the powerful landed class. . . ."

DETROIT, July 28 — Yesterday was the last day for filing in Detroit's municipal elections, and this is how the picture stacks up today:

The Big Business candidate for Mayor is Louis C. Miriani, president of the Common Council, and a carbon copy of retiring Mayor Cobo, a consistent reactionary.

The powerful labor movement here refused to nominate anybody to run against Miriani, even though his record is so poor that the CIO had to deny him endorsement in some of his previous campaigns for office.

Altogether, twelve candidates are seeking the two nominations for Mayor in the Sept. 10 primary, but most of them represent only themselves and are either Democrats or Republicans, although the "non-partisan" regulations in this campaign bar any political designations on the ballot.

The only one of them who is opposing Miriani from the left is Sarah Lovell, campaigning with the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party.

Seventy-seven people also have filed for the nine-member Common Council, from whom 18 will be nominated in the primary. Included are all eight of the incumbents who together with Miriani make up the present Council.

NOT ONE FOR LABOR

Their role was accurately summed up by three members of UAW Local 600 in the March 23 issue of Ford Facts: "Four years ago, we supported nine candidates for the Detroit Common Council, and not one was a real Labor representative."

Proceeding from that fact, Sarah Lovell began campaigning last winter to get the labor movement and its allies to nominate a full slate of independent candidates for Mayor and Council.

But both the CIO and AFL leaders refused to take such a step. They don't want to offend the Democratic Party machine, with which they have so many ties. They deliberately postponed all action until their county conventions in August, when it will be too late to file any candidates of their own.

They probably will confine themselves to endorsing some of the less obnoxious Council incumbents; Ed Carey, Democratic leader in the state legislature and member of the UAW staff, who got the Democratic Party's permission to leave the legislature and run for the Detroit Council as a "non-partisan"; and perhaps a Negro candidate. Some union leaders will also want to endorse Miriani, while others will find that just a little too much to stomach.

DETROIT RADICALS

The union leaders aren't the only ones defaulting on their responsibility to challenge the rule of Big Business at City Hall. The same thing can be said about most of the radical movement in Detroit.

Six weeks ago, Sarah Lovell, acting on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, invited the local branches of the radical movement to a conference to discuss united action in the current campaign. Invited were the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Social Democratic Federation, "American Socialist" group, Independent Socialist League, Proletarian Party and World Socialist Party.

Noting that there is no labor party or labor slate in this campaign, she urged these groups (1) to consider running candidates of their own, on the basis of their own programs, and (2) to consider the possibility of forming a socialist electoral bloc in this election.

None of the organizations responded to the invitation. Worse yet, not one of them filed any candidates in this election — although all of them had the resources to meet the relatively

Hot Potato Burns Detroit Candidate

DETROIT — The following article is reprinted from the July 18 East Side Shopper, where it appeared under the title, "Miriani Served Up Hot Potato":

Sarah Lovell, only woman in the mayoralty race, pitched a hot potato to her chief opponent Tuesday. She petitioned the City Council to adopt a resolution urging Senate passage of the civil rights bill.

Council President Louis C. Miriani, front runner in the race, sidestepped fast. With a note of irritation he ordered:

"Send it to the Community Relations Commission to find out what the proposals are."

Mrs. Lovell, a newspaper proof-reader, evidently had kept up with the Senate debate and filibuster over a bill aimed at guaranteeing the vote and other civil rights to Negroes in the South.

She asked the Council to support the bill without changes that would weaken it. None of Miriani's colleagues who may have been reading the newspapers volunteered to explain the civil rights bill to him.

easy requirements for getting on the ballot this year.

COMMUNIST PARTY SILENT

Even the Communist Party, which had run a candidate for Council during the worst years of the cold-war witch hunt, refused to enter one this time.

Events will soon show whether these radical organizations intend to abstain from the election; support capitalist party politicians on the pretext that they have union endorsement; or give support to Sarah Lovell's campaign as the only means of popularizing the socialist answers to the problems facing Detroit.

Meanwhile, here is how the situation was summed up by one rank and file member of the Communist Party:

"The choice that's presented to me as a believer in socialism is Miriani or Lovell. I don't agree with everything Mrs. Lovell says, but Miriani is just a stooge for the corporations and bankers, while she is advocating formation of a labor party and presenting a program that meets the issues along socialist lines. I like her campaign theme: 'Labor and its allies, representing the majority of the population, have the power, the right and the duty to govern Detroit.' I think it will be a good thing if a candidate with that program gets a big vote.

"So I am going to support Sarah Lovell and will try to get my friends to do the same."

All those who share this sentiment, and want to help the socialist campaign, should get in touch with the Sarah Lovell for Mayor Committee, 3737 Woodward, TEmple 1-6135.

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Negro Representation in Detroit

DETROIT, July 28 — One of the encouraging aspects of the election campaign this year is the growing movement to elect one or more Negroes to the Common Council — long overdue in a city where more than one out of every five people is colored, but where the Council remains lily-white.

Sarah Lovell, the only candidate for Mayor who supports the fight for Negro representation in government, had urged the Negro organizations to confer, adopt a platform, and pick one or two candidates for Council who would be truly representative of the Negro community and independent of the capitalist parties.

This didn't happen. Instead, 15 Negroes filed for Council on their own, some with considerable community support, others representing nobody but themselves. Sentiment is growing for a united campaign behind one or two with the best chance of being elected.

The picture will not be clarified until later this week, when the period for withdrawals will expire. Mrs. Lovell is expected to have a statement then presenting the socialist attitude on this important question.

The Socialist Workers Party has supported independent Negro candidates for Common Council in many previous elections.

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