

L.A. Drenched By Fallout from Nevada A-Tests

By Theodore Edwards

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 1 — Recent disclosures here made it clear that the U.S. government is guilty of the most callous disregard of possible radiation damage to its own citizens as a result of continuing nuclear tests. In order to beat the Oct. 31 deadline on A-tests set by Eisenhower for the Geneva talks, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission rushed to complete another series of test shots on its Nevada ranges. In its haste, the AEC chose to ignore the unfavorable winds that carried the resulting radiation over the third-largest city in the U.S.

On Thursday, Oct. 30, J. C. Rogers of the Los Angeles City health department informed his superiors that radioactivity had increased 212% of the "maximum allowable concentration" — double the dose the U.S. government permits its atomic workers to be exposed to. Near panic resulted among city officials when the high radiation readings became known. News of the fallout spread quickly and caused widespread alarm. While police, press, radio stations, and schools were deluged with telephone calls, Mayor Poulson and his aides closeted themselves in his office in the attempt to get through to some competent authority in Washington to stop the tests.

Washington responds instantly to reports of any anti-capitalist activity in the farthest reaches of the globe. But when the mayor attempted to inform it that people in one of the largest U.S. cities were being

poisoned by radiation produced by the AEC, he found no one to talk to. After getting no satisfaction from the AEC on his initial call, he attempted to reach the president. But Eisenhower, it seems, was not available. Finally, Lewis Strauss, former head of the AEC and now a White House aide, got Dr. Libby of the AEC on the phone and a three-way conversation took place.

PROMISE BROKEN

The mayor later reported that he had been assured the AEC was calling off the last test. It quickly became apparent that this was not true. The Office of Test Information in Las Vegas re-affirmed that the shot would go off as planned. The AEC in a later statement from Washington tried to make light of the whole affair by suggesting that there had been "an apparent misinterpretation of radioactivity readings in L.A."

It is reported that Mayor Poulson almost blew his lid when he learned that he had not won his point. "If they make a monkey out of me, I'm going to have something to say," he stormed. "We don't like to be talked to like children; if they shoot that last shot, there will be repercussions." The last shot was cancelled at 11:40 p.m. on Friday, October 31, only 20 minutes before the deadline — not being

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Fund Lags; Noted Labor Figure Writes

By George Lavan
Nat'l Fund Drive Director

The Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund climbed \$1,813 nearer its \$18,000 goal during the week ending Nov. 4. This is 2% more than the Fund should receive each week, so it closes the gap by 2%. Or, from having been 15% behind schedule, we are now 13% behind schedule.

As every scientist knows, 13 is an unlucky number. So let's get away from it quick. I shall leave to Militant supporters the deduction as to which direction this desired movement should take. I confine myself to offering one observation from my own sad experience: It's easy to fall behind, but crapes! How hard to catch up!

SCOREBOARD DOINGS

This week the Twin Cities crossed the thousand dollar mark, the third city on our scoreboard to do so. Every time that happens it makes a noise in our office here like crashing through the sound barrier. Fannie Curran, fund director in Minneapolis - St. Paul, also writes: "We are planning an affair for the anniversary but I don't know just when it is coming off. The social committee will have to get busy real soon."

Other noteworthy developments on the scoreboard include the emergence of Milwaukee from the zero category to 35%. The payment was sent by James Boulton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, a few days before the end of the campaign with the terse mes-

sage: "Short-handed and busy."

From Youngstown, Ohio, where Militant supporters are not kept too busy in the recession-hit steel mills but are putting in overtime in the campaign against the Right-to-Scab amendment, came a payment of \$125 and the message: "We should be able to make the rest on time. At least we hope so."

Chicago fund director Follett forwarded \$152 which puts his city at 64% and second on the scoreboard. From Boston, which has been in and out of the ahead-of-schedule group, comes word from Sally Conti: "We're trying our best to keep on time with our payments."

LABOR HISTORY

A recently-arrived letter from Oregon had the effect of bringing to life for me a page of American Labor history. This letter read: "Dear Friends — I am enclosing M. O. in amount of \$3.35 for one year sub to the Militant and pamphlet 'America's Road to Socialism.' I find the Militant quite informative and agree with your position regarding the coming elections. Wish we here in Oregon could do the same as what is taking place in N. Y., San Francisco, Seattle and other places. Perhaps the day will

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Socialist Ticket Makes Good Showing in NY Vote

More Back Cleveland Conference

CLEVELAND, Oct. 27 — The Ohio Sponsoring Committee for a National American Socialist Conference today announced support of the Oct. 28-30 national parley by the Los Angeles United Socialist Political Action Committee.

Invitations to the conference, which will be held at the Tudor Arms Hotel in Cleveland, have been extended to unaffiliated socialists and all socialist groupings across the country. The purpose of the conference is to discuss the experience of the various united socialist activities in the November 1958 elections and to discuss the prospects for extending and deepening such activity.

Initiators of the conference, which has been endorsed by over 50 individuals and groups, are two Ohioans; Eric J. Reinthaler, trade unionist and Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case victim, and Jerry Gordon, a former Ohio Labor Youth leader.

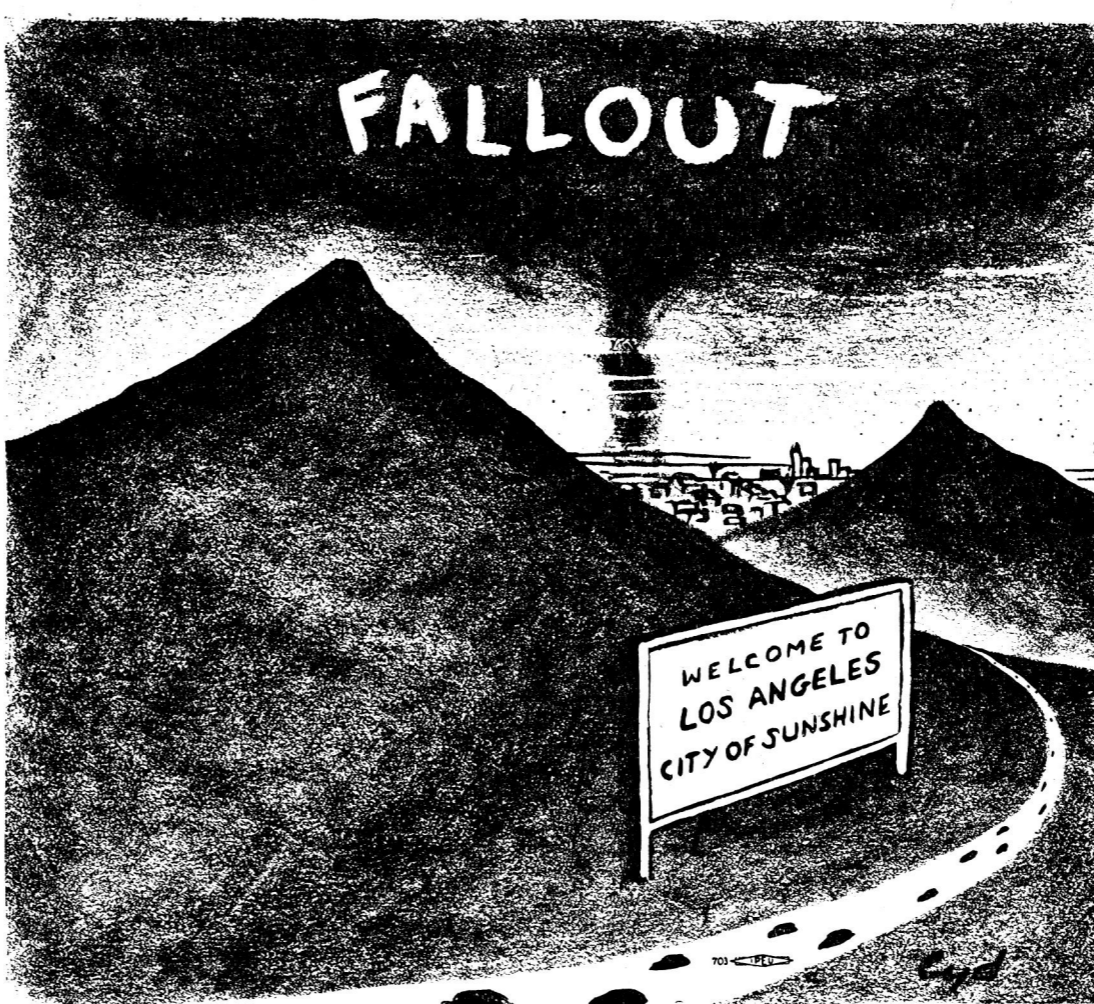
Among the conference sponsors are: Vincent Hallinan, Ross, Calif.; John T. McManus and Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, New York; Rev. Joseph P. King, Chicago; Dr. Holland Roberts, Warren K. Billings and George Hitchcock, San Francisco; Harvey O'Connor, Little Compton, R.I.; William Appleman Williams, Madison, Wis. and Jack Wright, Seattle.

Detailed information on the conference and its agenda may be secured by writing to Eric J. Reinthaler, conference secretary, 177 E. 316th St., Willowick, Ohio.

The committee has announced that contributions to assist with the expenses of the conference are welcome. Checks and money orders should be made payable to "National Conference" at the above address.

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — The national united socialist political action conference to be held in Cleveland was given an important publicity boost with a prominently featured news article in today's New York Times.

The story is headlined, "Leftists to Weigh Unity Race in 1960 — National Parley of Various Groups Set for Cleveland — McManus is a Sponsor." The story reports the purpose of the conference and some of its principal sponsors, including Vincent Hallinan, former Minnesota Governor Elmer A. Benson, Dr. Holland Roberts and Rev. Joseph P. King. The balance of the article is devoted to a discussion of the Independent Socialist campaign in New York and a statement on it by John T. McManus.



Five Out of Six for Labor

An Editorial

One of the most heartening and instructive features of the national elections is that "right-to-scab" bills, outlawing the union shop, were defeated in five of the six states where the measure was on the ballot.

Particularly gratifying were the landslide "no" votes in California and Ohio, the two largest industrial states in which such referendums were held. Incomplete returns from California put the count at 1,011,778 to 616,416. In Ohio, the bill was swamped 1,976,298 to 1,154,385. Big "no" votes were also rolled up in Washington and Colorado. In Idaho, where there is not a large union movement, the measure was defeated by a small margin. It was only in agricultural Kansas that the reactionary proposition became law.

The reports from the states where "right-to-work" was defeated confirm that the union movement sparked strong, well organized campaigns which succeeded in bringing record numbers of voters to the polls. This was particularly the case in Ohio and California.

For a long time the "experts" have insisted that the unions can't get their members to the polls and that even when they do, they can't get them to vote according to union recommendations. Victories in working-class areas by candidates opposed by the unions are cited as

cases in point. But the union-led victories over the "right-to-work" measures demonstrate that the workers are ready to pitch on the political field when they are presented with a clear-cut issue that's worth fighting on.

For example, in Ohio, union-organized register-to-vote campaigns have rarely been more than routine affairs. But the "register-to-vote-no" campaign this year was responsible for a record-breaking registration in the state. In the ensuing union campaign against the scab bill, a real grass-roots movement was generated with an unprecedented degree of direct participation by the ranks.

When the activities of COPE or other union political arms are devoted to hustling votes for one or another "friend of labor" among the capitalist politicians, a large section of the membership will beaf at the prospect of even getting up the customary dollar contribution. Accumulated experience has convinced many of the fact that usually there just isn't a dollar's worth of difference between the contending capitalist candidates. The energetic rank-and-file response to the "vote no" campaign strongly suggests that when the unions put their own independent candidates into the field, there won't be any problem in mobilizing the active support of the membership.

First City Returns: Lamont — 37,992; McManus — 23,538

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 — The newly-formed Independent-Socialist Party won a modest but significant vote in its first bid for office. With state-wide returns for the

ISP not yet available, the unofficial count for New York City credits it with these votes: 37,972 for U.S. Senatorial candidate Corliss Lamont; 23,538 for John T. McManus and Annette T. Rubinstein, candidates for Governor and Lt.-Governor; 27,096 for Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller; 25,322 for Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidate for Attorney General.

Since radical tickets have consistently won the great bulk of their state-wide vote in New York City, there is little prospect that the upstate returns will give the ISP the 50,000 votes for its gubernatorial candidate that it had fought to win. This target had been set because 50,000 votes for Governor in New York automatically assures a place on the ballot for at least four years. Although short of this mark, the ISP vote is the largest polled by any socialist ticket in New York since the 1930's.

AGAINST BIG ODDS

The fight for the 50,000 votes waged by the four-month-old coalition of socialist groupings and independents who constitute the ISP was an impressive performance in the face of big odds. The state Democratic machine, run by Carmine DeSapio, did everything in its power to keep the ISP off the ballot, and, failing in that objective, to delay its certification until the last possible moment. The court reversal of DeSapio's rejection of the ISP petitions was a major victory. But the overhead cost was heavy.

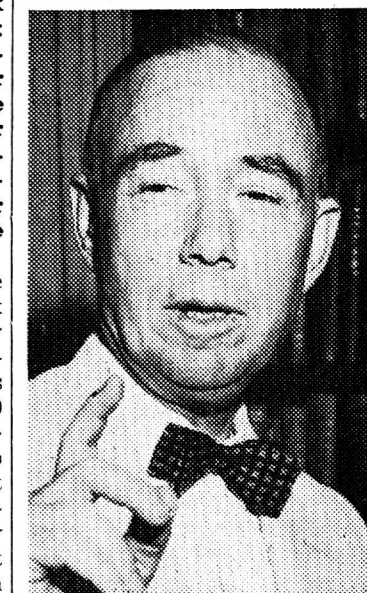
The last of three court decisions putting the ISP on the ballot was not handed down until ten days before the election. Meanwhile the ISP forces — and funds — had been largely diverted from actual campaigning to the necessary legal battle. The number of campaigners and financial supporters recruited were substantial but would have been considerably larger if the question mark over the ticket's ballot status had not dominated the first six weeks of the campaign.

Many of the experienced campaigners, particularly those who had previously been active in the American Labor Party, are also convinced that the ticket would have come closer to the 50,000 mark if the Communist party leaders, instead of violently opposing the campaign, had permitted their supporters to join it. While the CP leaders proved unable to take any significant number of votes away from the ticket, their support would undoubtedly have added to the count.

But the CP tops, despite strong opposition from their ranks, shamefully persisted in supporting cold warrior Harriman, rather than the ISP. The final pre-election editorial in the Nov. 2 Worker declared: "The Independent-Socialist ticket only adds to the Rockefeller threat. . . a vote for McManus despite the party's odd claim to be the 'only union label ticket' . . . would in no way help labor and its allies and in fact would harm the fight to defeat Rockefeller and to promote independent political action."

Despite all obstacles, the Independent-Socialists mounted a hard-hitting and exciting ten-day drive after its ballot victory. In a matter of days, the campaigners put out a mailing of 100,000 pieces of literature and distributed an additional 50,000 in key working-class districts.

One group of ISP supporters raised a special \$1,000 fund for



CORLISS LAMONT (top) and JOHN T. McMANUS

an impressive three-column advertisement in the New York Times. A similar ad was placed in the New York Post by the Independent Citizens Committee for Dr. Lamont.

The campaign made a deep impact on the radical movement and activated additional supporters daily. While the infant movement did not possess the resources to win a decisive section of the protest vote, which ironically appears to have gone to Rockefeller, there is no question but that the campaign had a strong, beneficial effect on the New York radical community.

On election night, the ISP headquarters was jammed with campaign workers. Many were seasoned veterans of the various radical tendencies. A high percentage were youth, many participating in their first campaign. Conversations with them made it apparent that virtually all of them felt they had waged a fight with implications far beyond Nov. 4 and New York — that what they had done would help unite and re-build the socialist movement across the country.

'A REAL BEGINNING'

As midnight approached, ISP chairman Henry Abrams made a brief speech. "Whatever the vote may be," he said, "we accomplished a lot in this campaign. We proved that socialists of various viewpoints can hammer out a common election platform and work together on it. "By our magnificent ballot victory we dealt a solid blow to the DeSapio machine. And most important, we acquainted millions with our program for jobs, peace and rights. We owe thanks to our candidates and to the loyal, hard-working campaigners who put all they had into the fight without any interest in special recognition or glory. Fifty thousand votes or no, we've made a real beginning."

Japanese, W. Germans Fighting To Prevent Police-State Laws

Moves toward reinstating police-state rule are meeting fierce opposition in Japan from over 4,000,000 trade unionists, who staged rallies, marches and work-stoppages throughout the country on Nov. 5. At the opposite side of the "free world," in West Germany, a debate is raging on the parallel between authoritarian curbs being urged on that country by the U.S. and the stages of Hitler's rise to power.

The Japanese people are violently objecting to a government-sponsored bill which would give the police arbitrary authority to search, to disperse gatherings and to exercise other Gestapo-type powers. The Japanese workers bitterly remember how the police exercised these powers in the pre-war dictatorships. To eliminate "dangerous thoughts," police stopped people on the streets, or students on the campus, demanded to see the books and papers

they were carrying, invaded homes, prevented meetings, etc., etc.

The Japanese unionists have been joined in fighting the bill by other defenders of civil liberties, particularly students, intellectuals and religious organizations. Premier Kishi's reactionary regime, nonetheless, persists in efforts to bulldoze the measure into law. It wants these powers to impose on the nation the hated rearmament program, now spotlighted by the new military negotiations with the U.S.

Socialists tried to keep the Japanese Diet from convening by physically barring the Speaker of the House from the legislative chamber. The speaker's deputy, however, eluded the Socialist picketline, declared the session in order, announced a 30-day extension for the express purpose of passing the police-state bill, and then adjourned it — all within a few

minutes.

All Diet proceedings controlled by Kishi's misnamed Liberal-Democratic majority are being boycotted by the Socialist deputies. New York Times correspondent Robert Trumbull, in a Nov. 6 dispatch, observed that while passage of the measure in the absence of the Socialist opposition would be legal, it nonetheless "would be so unpopular as possibly to threaten the governing party's whole political position." The entire Japanese press vigorously opposes the police bill and some of Kishi's own party members have doubts, as to its advisability.

In W. Germany, Minister of the Interior Gerhard Schroeder has demanded stronger police powers and a Constitutional amendment to deal with "internal disorder." Under the 1949 Bonn Constitution, the government cannot suspend civil rights by declaring a state of emer-

gency or imposing martial law. Schroeder wants such dictatorial power allegedly for combating "communist subversion," even though the Communist Party is weak and virtually outlawed in W. Germany.

ARTICLE 48

The Social Democrats lashed into Schroeder's proposal, comparing it to the Weimar Constitution's notorious Article 48 which Hitler utilized to set up the Nazi dictatorship "legally." Schroeder also demanded increased powers for W. Germany's "FBI," including powers of arrest in addition to its present "investigative" authority.

In a Nov. 6 New York Times dispatch from Bonn, Arthur J. Olsen points the finger at the culprits: "That Herr Schroeder's proposal was in response to repeated urging from the United States, British and French governments has been overlooked so far by his critics."

Full steam ahead

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

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

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

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

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

USSR WANTS PEACE
Demanding an end to the cold war, Corliss Lamont, ISP Senatorial candidate, said, "I've been critical of civil liberties in the Soviet Union — critical of its treatment of Boris Pasternak, but the Soviet Union wants peace and we can't let its mistakes in domestic or foreign policy interfere with achieving international peace." "I'm in good health," Dr. Lamont told the applauding audience, "and I'll fight for the rest of my life for the aims of this socialist party!"

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

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

Russia 1917 and America 1958

Architects of the Russian Revolution

By Joseph Hansen
Socialists in the United States are able to celebrate the 41st anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution with the brightest hopes in decades for the immediate future.

The changeover from capitalism to the superior system of socialist planned economy was begun in politically advanced, but industrially backward, Russia. The leaders of the Russian Revolution believed that this mighty changeover, which will make possible a united world brotherhood, will finally be completed in industrially advanced, but politically backward, America.

While the Russian workers have accomplished miracles since 1917 in catching up industrially with the latest scientific advances, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the American workers have not done so well in catching up politically.

Odd as it may seem to one unacquainted with the facts, a major obstacle to this has been the leadership of the Communist Party, which even in the current election insisted on tailing the Democratic machine.

REGROUPMENT
But in 1958 a decisive change — a regrouping of forces — took place among those elements who seek to lay the groundwork for a mass socialist movement in America. Important forces, including the National Guardian and unaffiliated socialists, rejected the Communist Party's arguments against engaging in socialist electoral activity. Basing themselves on the principle of non-exclusion, they also disregarded the Communist Party's fulminations against establishing a coalition which included members of the Socialist Workers Party.

The response to this important development was evident throughout the political vanguard. Members of the Communist Party saw that it was possible to oppose the policies of bureaucrats of the Foster type without becoming anti-Soviet. In fact many of them came to realize that united socialist electoral activity offers an important means for defending the socialist conquests in the Soviet Union as well as bringing dramatic attention to such issues as the struggle for



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

peace, civil liberties and anti-depression measures.

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

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

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

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

ELSEWHERE TOO

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

Two facts were most significant: (1) The demonstration of the capacity of socialists and independents to get together despite important differences. (2) The demonstration of the incapacity of the Communist Party leadership to break up the coalition despite some rather strenuous efforts to do so.

From these facts we can con-

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

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

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

... L.A. Drenched by A-Test Fallout

(Continued from Page 1)
cause of Poulson, but because of "unfavorable weather conditions" for the balloon-carried atomic device. Poulson and the citizens of Los Angeles had merely been getting the run-around in Washington.

If Mayor Poulson objected to being treated like an infant by Washington, this did not stop him from dealing with his own electorate in a similar manner. The word went out to play down the harmful effects of the radiation. There is no cause for alarm, the mayor announced. He was concerned that the Kriemlin could use reports of the heavy fallout over L.A. The Russians at Geneva would turn to McCone, AEC Commissioner, and say "Look, you don't even care about your own people."

All the public information media therefore immediately reassured everyone that the radiation was not dangerous. The mayor drew an analogy: "If I go into a deep-freeze unit and bring out a package of meat, I won't suffer any ailment. But if I stay there for two weeks it could be serious."

Scientists were lined up to bolster the official pooh-poohing

of the radiation levels. The AEC's "maximum allowable concentrations" of radioactivity were declared as quite low, with a big safety factor. Even a 212% reading was declared safe. Everyone was assured that it would take months of such high exposure before any physical harm resulted. Carried along by their own momentum, city officials poured forth a torrent of such balderdash. Even the Los Angeles Mirror-News observed editorially that if maximum limits were meaningless, and overexposure harmless, why then had such limits been set?

— A good question!
"I CAN'T SAY IT"
Some scientists put truth above the needs of the cold war, however. Professor Saltman of the University of Southern California said: "I'd like to say something to relieve the public mind about the dangers of this high radioactivity level. But I can't say it. I don't think the public mind should be relieved. Radiation exposure, we know, is a cumulative thing. What happens today we have always with us. . . . I never — I repeat — never erased, from the standpoint of genetic dam-

age." The biochemist then pointed to the great need for ending forever "the dangerous and deadly testing and firing" of nuclear devices.

Other scientists noted that fallout is breathed in through nose and mouth and remains in the body. Thus, even if the radiation levels in the air decrease this does not necessarily mean a corresponding decline of radiation inside the body for those who inhaled poisoned air. How many cases of leukemia, bone-cancer, and deformed babies the recklessness of the AEC in its recent series of tests will produce, will never be known.

On Thursday night, October 30, a public meeting under the auspices of the Los Angeles United Socialist Committee sent telegrams to Eisenhower and the AEC protesting the fallout and calling for a halt to the tests. An aroused citizenry here in L.A. and all over the U.S. must protest this latest outrage. The labor movement should lead the struggle. Atmospheric-polluting tests of nuclear weapons must be ended permanently!

Calendar of Events

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

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

MONDAYS, 8-10 P.M.
Shakespeare's Political Themes Nov. 10; Shakespeare & Bourgeois Revolution. Nov. 17; Authority & Responsibility. Nov. 24; Tudor "absolutism by consent."

Dec. 1: Free Trade & Human Equality.
Dec. 8: Dictatorship & Treason.
TUESDAYS, 8-10 P.M.
Five Generations of Youth in Revolt

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

Nov. 18: Bohemian Rebellion in Chicago & Greenwich Village before 1914.

Nov. 25: The "lost generation" after World War I.

Dec. 2: Art for criticism's sake — our academic "new critics and writers."

Dec. 9: The Beat Generation, The Angry Young Men & Existentialism.
\$1.50 single lecture.
\$4.00 series of five.

Socialist Workers Party

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WHAT IT STANDS FOR

By Joseph Hansen
54 pages 25 cents

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Contribution \$1.75

- Reservations -
AN 9-4953 or NO 3-0387

Boris Pasternak's Controversial Prize Novel

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

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

THE CONFLICT

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

But in those bitter early years, when the revolution could not fulfill all of its heroic promise, the conflict between his Christian humanitarian expectations and the ugly restricted reality proved too much for Zhivago. The excesses, the deprivations, the brutal necessities of revolution in a backward land master his hopes. Despite the general humanity of even the most primitively barbarous among the Bolsheviks (Pamphil), the conviction grows within him that the revolution in practice is simply replacing one barbarism with another. Upon which he breaks with the revolution, in a moment when such a break is tantamount to a break with society itself, and returns to his primary concerns in personal and intellectual life. At a moment in history when political disengagement was impossible, Zhivago's course (so alien to his best self, his Christian commitment to others) can have only tragic consequences. The abandonment of his hopes and his place, the rejection of politics, at this juncture, by one who is in the deepest sense political, destroys him.

But the tragedy is not Zhivago's alone. For we have long understood that the occurrence of that first workers' revolution in backward Russia had its tragic dimensions as well as its heroic ones. A society, whose historical premise is the potential abundance created by capitalist evolution, was initiated in an industrially backward,

peasant land — and only after three years of devastating civil war. Under such circumstances, the patience, the tolerance, the humanism organic to socialism could not assert itself. Too hard pressed to win Zhivago by the development of its real goals, the revolution succeeded only in outraging his sensibilities. In doing so it lost him.

IMPLICATIONS

No reader of "Dr. Zhivago" can be surprised that they have not seen fit to publish this work in Moscow, for the revolutionary impact of the tragedy is too evident. The essence of the tragic figure lies in his attempt to subordinate the compromising needs of daily life to the higher demands of human existence, demands often impossible of attainment. Man sees in this effort the struggle for the realization of his highest aspirations. As a result, the hero's death is never depressing. Quite the contrary, it is often ennobling. For the complete reaction to a tragedy will include a triumphant affirmation of the victory for man which so often resides in the defeat of particular men. In this manner, the tragedy encourages man to renewed struggle for full consciousness, and the mastery of his fate.

The impact of Pasternak's epic-tragedy is plain: If we mourn the defeat of Zhivago and the revolution, it can only be to take heart from contact with these, to refresh the revolution's early libertarian goals. Indeed, in the epilogue, Pasternak is very explicit in this expectation. He tells us how, decades later, Zhivago's work is beginning to come into its own. Holding a recent edition of one of Zhivago's early, once-unread books, two friends breathe the new air. "Although victory had not brought the relief and freedom that were expected at the end of the war, nevertheless the portents of freedom filled the air throughout the postwar world, and they alone defined its historical significance."

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

A MISREADING
This determination to see in the book a defense of middle-class individualism received its clearest expression in the recent award of the Nobel prize for literature. In doing so, the committee violated its own traditions, as well as that of good judgment, which dictate a decent interval before so definitive an evaluation of a book, as the award implies. For example, Andre Gide received the Nobel award in 1947 for a book written in 1924. It is obnoxious for publishing this book. The present Liberty Book club edition includes the British Communist Party reply to Levy by R. Palme Dutt. Send 1.50 with your order to

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—David Miller

Advertisement

Jews and the National Question

by Hyman Levy

A study of the roots of anti-Jewish practices in the USSR. The author, long a leading figure in the British Communist Party, was expelled for publishing this book. The present Liberty Book club edition includes the British Communist Party reply to Levy by R. Palme Dutt. Send 1.50 with your order to

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Gift Sub Plan Sends Militant to New Areas

By Carolyn Kerry
Subscription Campaign Director

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

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

OPTIMISTIC

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

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

this campaign. Where else has it been discussed? In what other party? The Democrats? — Not a chance! The Republicans? — They look the other way."

Pointing to the ISP record on civil rights, McManus said, "Take the case of Morton Sobell, who else is ready to stand up for him? . . . No matter what arguments are made about the feasibility of working in the two parties, these issues are being swept under the rug by both parties. They must be brought out if the American people are to be free."

SEEKS CLIENT

Scott K. Gray, candidate for Attorney General, told the rally he was "seeking a client." "I'm asking you to elect me as your attorney. The Attorney General's office has traditionally been the defender of vested interests. But when the Independent-Socialist Party takes over, it will be filled with people who look beyond property rights to the defense of the rights of the people."

Messages were read to the rally from Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller, who was prevented from attending by illness, and from I. F. Stone, who had endorsed the ticket in his Newsletter.

In a vigorous and eloquently delivered attack on the capitalist two-party system and those who advocate support of it, Rockwell Kent declared, "When you vote for the Republicans and Democrats, you vote for the cold war, the testing of nuclear bombs, the spending of half a hundred billion dollars for war, for a system that breeds unemployment. Let us — each of us — not make that mistake."

KEEP IT UP

"I agree so wholeheartedly with the Independent-Socialist program," he said, "Keep it on the ballot. Increase its strength until it engulfs all America!"

Describing his tour of the Soviet Union, he said he was utterly convinced that the Soviet people wanted peace and would never let any government lead them into a war of aggression.

In a rousing conclusion around the theme of the Soviet-U.S. satellite competition, he said the U.S. was a "cheap sport" about the Soviet satellite as was the Soviet Union about its Nobel prize-winning author, Pasternak. But, he continued, "We aren't going to take their spunk victory lying down. We're going to build a bigger and better one and not with a sweet little dog in it. We're going to put John Foster Dulles in our next one, shoot him into outer space and keep him there!"

one from Puerto Rico and one from Canada.

What this signifies is that Militant supporters have been buying our 6-for-5 Club Subscription Books and sending in subs for friends and relatives living in various parts of the country.

5 WILL GET YOU 6

We trust that all our friends and supporters will seek to emulate this example. Buy a book of six Militant subscription blanks for five dollars. Use one to renew your own sub and send five complimentary subs to your friends. Introduce the paper in areas not now covered by the Militant. Spread the word that here is a paper that has become the foremost champion of the movement for United Socialist Political Action. Order your Club Subscription Books today.

Join in commemorating the 30th Anniversary of The Militant by expanding the circulation of the only revolutionary socialist weekly in the United States today. Write: Business Office, The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

STOCK OWNERSHIP

The myth that prosperity has spread stock ownership among workers has been disproved by figures appearing in the American Economic Review. In 1930 there were between nine and 11 million shareholders. In 1956, with a larger population, there were only 8.6 million.

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Report from France on de Gaulle Regime

Thinks He's An Eagle



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

The Storm over "Dr. Zhivago"

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

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

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

Purely Political Award?

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

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

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

terests came when the novel was banned, not when it won a distinguished prize. "Dr. Zhivago" was one of the products of the famous "thaw" which Stalin's heirs initiated following the dictator's death and which culminated in Khrushchev's admission at the Twentieth Congress of some of the monstrous crimes that were committed under Stalin. In the new atmosphere, Pasternak felt free enough to venture criticism in his novel of "rigid" regimes.

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

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

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

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

For Intellectual Freedom

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

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

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

PARIS, Oct. 21 — French political life is still very much under the effect of de Gaulle's stunning victory in the Sept. 26 referendum. The most optimistic official government forecast had claimed only a 65% majority. Yet when the votes were counted, de Gaulle had won 80% in Metropolitan France where, unlike Algeria and most of the other colonies, the election was technically honest.

Thus, in the most dramatic fashion was brought home the scope of the defeat suffered by the French working class last May, when the conspiracy of Algerian "ultras" and reactionaries in France succeeded in imposing the present dictatorial regime.

Even the Communist Party leaders — usually so skilled, in turning defeat into victory, on paper anyway, had to admit something of the magnitude of the disaster. In 1956, the CP total was over a million votes larger than the entire negative vote on Sept. 28 — almost two million Communist voters had supported de Gaulle! Even working class areas like the Paris suburbs of Ivry and Montreuil, where the CP polled big majorities for the last 25 years, this time gave substantial majorities to de Gaulle. But while admitting to a defeat, the CP chiefs remained true to form. Thus in his report to the recent CP Central Committee meeting, Marcel Servin listed all sorts of reasons for de Gaulle's victory. Only one thing played no part in his account — the policy of the CP which, according to Servin, has been consistently and completely correct, not subject even to the mildest criticism!

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

REAL ARGUMENT

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

And why could the Gaullists

present the choice in such a loaded fashion?

(1) Because the opposition had proved its complete impotence. The Communists and liberals had already had their chance to stop Massu last May, and they could do nothing more than hand power to de Gaulle by way of voting for Pflimlin.

(2) Because the opposition had discredited itself by its policies over many years. Mendes-France headed the government which began the Algerian war, the CP supported the Mollet government in its intensification of the war.

(3) Because the opposition was divided. The CP and the liberals agreed on only one point but a decisive one: opposition to any genuine workers' united front of struggle.

(4) Because the opposition had no perspective. The CP leaders talked of a "renovated republic," which obviously meant a return to parliamentary institutions such as under the Fourth Republic. CP propaganda was devoid of an iota of socialism.

The French workers were not afraid of civil war as such — they were afraid of the fascism that seemed certain to triumph in a civil war. Because of the bankruptcy of the opposition, the French masses reluctantly chose what seemed to them to be a lesser evil. But in doing so they enormously strengthened de Gaulle's power and thus the power of the French capitalists.

For the moment, de Gaulle has chosen a "go slow" policy. On the basis of the totally unexpected referendum results he can expect to establish a stable, authoritarian, right-wing government without immediately resorting to violent fascist-type repressions.

Instead, de Gaulle is moving ahead to rig the legislative elections, set for Nov. 23 and Nov. 30, while preserving the appearance of perfect "democratic legality." The method chosen is to abandon the former system of proportional representation in favor of electing each deputy from a separate district, as in England or the U.S. But in-

stead of one election there are two. In the first (Nov. 23) only candidates getting an absolute majority (50% plus one) are elected. In the second election a relative majority (the highest number of votes) is enough to elect. Between the two votes, the Right and Center parties will be able to make deals among themselves to freeze out the Left. In this way the organizers of the election already talk of depriving the CP of over 100 seats (it now has 150) even if the CP continues to get one quarter of the total vote!

GERRYMANDERING
To make things even surer for de Gaulle, the election districts have been very expertly gerrymandered, so that, for instance, a rightist like Paul Reynaud will represent some 60,000 voters while in the adjacent district there are almost 120,000. Working class areas have been torn apart to dissolve the left-wing vote in rural, conservative areas.

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

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

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

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 80	\$ 52	65
Chicago	1,000	644	64
Buffalo	1,500	950	63
Newark	265	155	58
Twin Cities	1,742	1,006	58
Allentown	112	60	54
Boston	450	235	52
Youngstown	300	150	50
Detroit	600	284	47
San Diego	300	140	47
New York	4,500	1,793	40
Connecticut	300	105	35
Milwaukee	250	89	35
Philadelphia	528	162	31
Los Angeles	4,600	1,193	26
Seattle	550	136	25
Cleveland	750	175	23
Oakland	300	65	22
San Francisco	440	90	20
Denver	50	—	—
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	199	—
Total through Nov. 4	\$18,827	\$7,683	43

...Militant Fund Lags 13%

(Continued from Page 1)

come yet. Comradely Yours, Dirk De Jonge." The signature brought memories of my youth flooding back. For I first heard that name back in the 1930's when I was learning about socialism and avidly following (in the eastern newspapers) the class-struggle battles on the West Coast. Those were the days of the unionization of the maritime workers in the face of brutal boss counter offensive — the San Francisco General Strike, etc.

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

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

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

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

HEARTENING

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

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

IN RETROSPECT

When we look back on some of the experiences through which the Militant has come, when we recall how intransigently it has fought reaction and defended labor, we can say that no other paper has better earned the right to be heard. Other papers which professed to speak for socialism cut corners on principle, kept silent when it was dangerous to speak up or swam with the stream when it was unpopular to take a truthful position. They have disappeared or declined. The Militant has always dared to swim against the stream when necessary and to tell the truth. That is why, as in the past, its readers will want to make the financial sacrifices required to keep The Militant coming out every week, in full and on time.

The Militant Across 30 Years

Recollections of a Veteran Staff Writer

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

By Art Preis

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

EARLY DAYS

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

My association with The Militant in the capacity of a staff

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

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

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

THE SLP PAPER

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

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

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

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

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

As for Shachtman and his group, we learned several weeks ago that they had disbanded. Labor Action published a farewell issue urging the Independent Socialist League members and supporters to enter as individuals into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Its final utterance was a public confession that, contrary to the pretence long maintained, the Shachtmanites did "not subscribe to any creed known as Leninism" or "known as Trotskyism."

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

It wasn't easy after the Shachtmanites took about forty per cent of our forces and a big slice of our regular sources of

income. In October 1940, six months after the Shachtmanite split, The Militant was financially able to sustain a staff of only two regular members, an editor and a staff writer. I was the latter.

NOT OPULENT

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

REPRESSION

This fact was emphasized when in November 1942 the Post Office began a series of harassments involving the paper's second-class mailing privileges. The postal authorities began to withhold the bundles of the Militant as they were deposited in the New York Post Office. Copies of each is-

strengthened the paper. Then, in the summer of 1941, he was called upon to take over the editorship when the Roosevelt administration initiated the Minneapolis Labor Trial, in which 28 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis truckdrivers Local 544 were indicted and tried for their socialist views under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940.

As a result of the trial and conviction of 18 in 1941 and then their imprisonment in 1944, three experienced Militant editors, Cannon, Felix Morrow and Farrell Dobbs, who was editor when the final appeals were denied, and a number of important contributors were lost for a period to our paper. Others jumped into the breach and the paper did not miss a single issue. It must be remembered that the threat of Smith Act frame-ups hung over everyone then associated with The Militant.

When we look back on some of the experiences through which the Militant has come, when we recall how intransigently it has fought reaction and defended labor, we can say that no other paper has better earned the right to be heard. Other papers which professed to speak for socialism cut corners on principle, kept silent when it was dangerous to speak up or swam with the stream when it was unpopular to take a truthful position. They have disappeared or declined. The Militant has always dared to swim against the stream when necessary and to tell the truth. That is why, as in the past, its readers will want to make the financial sacrifices required to keep The Militant coming out every week, in full and on time.

Death in the Mines

By Harold Wilson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The C. of C. Liked It

By Ethel Bloch

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

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

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

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

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

By Gordon Bailey

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

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

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

1901 CODE Landlords have been forced to make some modification in them, but they still remain unfit for decent living. Even many of the newer buildings that have replaced old tenements are almost as unhealthy and dangerous as the old structures, the report of the Department of City Planning survey admits.

New York real estate interests today are not building

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

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

have been unable to find suitable building sites, or cannot keep construction costs below the \$17,000-per-apartment ceiling set by the FHA.

RENTS HIKED

Two contracts, actually signed, for building a total of 2,190 apartments have been cancelled by New York officials. The Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Mary K. Simkovich Houses had been scheduled to be built with federal aid and were to rent for \$10-12 a room to low-income families. Under a substitute plan the projects will be built under the city's no-cash-subsidy plan and apartments will rent for as much as \$27 a room.

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

THE MILITANT

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Mack Truck Walkout Was 100% Solid

By Zoltan Kovalsky

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

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

SOLID

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

The union locals involved resisted the attempts of the UAW national leadership to end the walkout. Reuther refused to authorize the strike despite the termination of the contract and enormous pro-strike majorities in the secret-ballot strike vote. Reuther's refusal to authorize the strike was not revealed to the members by the local leaders. Carrying on a top-level argument with Reuther and his staff, without involving the ranks, inevitably led to a capitulation by the local leadership. These local Reutherite leaders put loyalty to the union bureaucracy above the interests of the workers in the plants.

In spite of the fact that Mack produces a custom-made truck and a variety of units, it is more and more introducing automated machinery and methods. So far this has eliminated 20% of the jobs.

MACK TRADITION

Mack Truck workers have traditionally had a higher wage level and much better conditions than those in General Motors, Chrysler or Ford. This small unit of the UAW has fought for a union policy that would raise the Big Three level to the Mack level. Unfortunately, pressure from the top leadership of the UAW is in the opposite direction.

If the Mack workers are to escape the fate of the Studebaker sell-out of several years ago, they must unite with the militants in the Big Three plants in a progressive struggle for a new UAW leadership with a policy for fighting the auto barons. Prominent on the banner of such a progressive movement must be the demands: a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and workers' control of line-speed.

Southern Freedom-Fighters



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

Committee for Foreign Born to Meet in N.Y.

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

Commenting on the importance of the conference, committee secretary Abner Green said that despite recent Supreme Court rulings bolstering the status of naturalized citizens, and the right of non-citizens to remain in the U.S., the anti-foreign-born Walter-McCarran Law still remains the law of the land.

"If the human and civil rights of the more than 15 million

foreign-born Americans are to be truly safeguarded," Green declared, "the Walter-McCarran Act must go and the immigration and naturalization policy of these United States rewritten from beginning to end."

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

Letters from Militant Readers

Help and Advice

Editor

Please find enclosed \$5.00 money order. Please extend my sub for another year and use the balance for the good of the cause. As it looks from here the Militant and the Worker ought to expose the enemies of the people and quit name calling. Your job is to give the people the facts and then let the people be the judge, jury and executioner. I am a heretic, religiously and politically, or an independent free-thinker. Give me the facts. No one is perfect. That goes for creeds, political or religious. Name calling is childish.

C. S.

Fond du Lac, Wis.

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

The Vote in Algeria

Editor:

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

A similar juvenile psychology was pulled on me by cops when I was a kid of 16, by one cop acting tough to try to make me talk and another taking sides with me against the other cop using violence. . . . I have no doubt but that the Algerians in their recent election were

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

E. G.

Sanita Rosa, Cal.

'Thou Shalt Not Kill'

Editor:

A Father Shiffler was quoted by the newspapers as stating at Fordham U. that he would be in favor of using the Atom bomb against the Russians. Such a statement is shocking to anyone who takes the teachings of Jesus seriously, as any employment of nuclear weapons can only result in the wanton and indiscriminate slaughter of both good and evil alike. . . . I have no doubt that in spite of all the fury and racial hatred engendered by the Nazis there were still a lot of Germans who retained this belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. But just like a lot of other people all over the world who are intimidated by the idol-worship of Patriotism, they were afraid to speak up for that which they knew in their hearts to be right. . . .

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

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

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

Negroes Protest Bus Arrests In Birmingham

By Henry Gitano

NOV. 4 — Birmingham's freedom-fighters are picking up steam in their struggle against a police reign of terror. Last night, 2,000 people overflowed a mass meet-

ing, protesting bus segregation and the wholesale jailing of Negro leaders. Mass meetings are scheduled every night in different parts of the city, to afford Birmingham's 100,000 Negroes an opportunity to demonstrate their feelings. Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, militant integration leader, said: "A lot of people haven't heard about the boycott yet. We've got to get the word to more people. We expect the protest to grow greatly during the week. The tempo of the people is bus boycott. The people are enthusiastic; there are quite a few people not riding the buses."

The boycott began on Oct. 31 when several hundred Negroes at a rally decided to stop riding the buses in a "spontaneous protest." One minister commenting on the arrogant treatment of Negro passengers by white bus-drivers, said: "These drivers still continue to slam bus doors in the faces of Negro passengers and a Negro woman recently was jarrred off a bus, splitting a knee, when the driver deliberately drove off without warning."

80% OF RIDERS
The decision to boycott the buses followed the dismissal of a suit in Federal Court on Oct. 30 to force the buses to integrate and the refusal of Birmingham Transit Co. officials to negotiate with Negro leaders. About 80% of the bus company's business comes from Negro passengers.

Reinforcing the indignation of Birmingham's Negro people was the arrest and imprisonment, in flagrant violation of elemental constitutional rights, of ten Negro men and four women, for defying a new law which permits drivers to "assign" Negro passengers seats in the rear of buses.

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

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

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

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

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Calypso Rhythm?

Meddle East

Onkle Sam, the meddling man, He meddle in the East, He meddle in the West, He meddle where the INTEREST'S best. He meddle in Greece, He meddle in Oil, He irks the people who toil, And crops their pay checks To send a fifth To the Chiang Kai-shek's.

—Anon

Vote No on No. 2

Editor:

When we crossed the line into Ohio last week we noticed a barrage of signs on the road. For the most part they read — "Vote No on Issue Number 2." We wondered what this might be. It wasn't long after arriving in Akron that relatives solved the riddle. One young man asked us if we had a "right-to-work" law in Illinois.

From that point on we were amazed at the eagerness of the family to discuss. Most of them are rubber workers and they initiated discussion on the issue facing Ohio voters and were ready to discuss many other political and trade-union questions. This was remarkable in comparison with previous visits when it was like pulling eye teeth to get a discussion going and almost impossible to get a response to radical solutions.

A rundown of their comments sounded like this: The labor leaders helped pave the way for this move. I tell you I won't work in the plant without a contract. While we're fighting RTW we ought to get rid of the Taft-Hartley Law too. Yeah, a group of ministers are against the law but the 'big three churches' have been paid off and are for it. A lot of

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

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

Ditto (in Verse)

On No. 202

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

—Anon

From a Teen-Ager

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