

# PROLETARIAN

# NEWS



WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!  
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT  
YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD  
TO GAIN! — Karl Marx

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## DIFFERENT ROADS TO SOCIALISM

Commencing about a year ago, with the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Tito of Yugoslavia, followed later by developments in Poland and Hungary, the theory of "different roads to socialism" began taking root in the world labor movement. A number of Communist parties have since been seriously taken in by it.

The impression, at first, seemed to be that such was in harmony with a freer, broader and more liberal interpretation and application of Marxism in the light of new conditions, in contradistinction to the strictly orthodox Stalin approach.

For a while, too, it appeared as tho it was paying off. Relations between Tito and the Soviet Union were becoming friendlier, for the time being, at least. But that was only one aspect of the contradiction. The other aspect, a negative one, was to follow. And it came in Poland and in Hungary with a thud. During the Hungarian revolt, Nagy, a Titoist and "national" communist went so far in his repudiation of the Soviet Union as to virtually handing over all past socialist achievement and political power to the bourgeoisie.

In Poland, the present premier and leader is Gomulka, also a Titoist and "national" communist. He, too, advocates independence for Poland in its building of socialism. By independence, it is assumed, that Poland is not to be included within the Soviet orbit, or the group of Socialist nations, with the Soviet Union at the head. What the future of this policy will be remains to be seen. Practical events have the faculty of overriding the plans of individuals, irrespective of the sincerity of their motives. Once the class lines are loosened and the flames of nationalism are fanned there's no telling how far this loosening process can go, even to the brink of complete socialist negation. That has already been sufficiently proven in Hungary.

The general idea of different paths to socialism is as old as socialism itself. Even the utopian socialists advanced given paths. What essentially characterized the devious paths of the various utopias was that they did not stem from the practical material conditions of society. They all relied

upon the idea and reason. All of society was to be emancipated all at once thru the appeal to reason and not thru class struggle. In fact they had hoped to win over the upper (exploiting) classes and convince them, too, of the greater reasonableness and justice of the new social utopia. Some of the socialist utopians had even organized model communes to demonstrate their workability. But history and practical obstacles went against them. They ran their course, and failed.

But their failures were not without positive results, viz., that they

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## MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Tension has increased over the Middle East crisis. The Suez Canal dispute has not been settled; nor has the animosity between Egypt and Israel abated. This, in spite of the fact that hostilities by means of bombing and gunfire as a result of the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt gave way to a "cease-fire" arranged by the UN last year.

Israel, reluctant to give up her gains-by-conquest, and fearing Egyptian retaliation, still refuses (at this writing, Jan. 21st) to pull back all her troops from Egyptian soil, i.e., from the Gaza strip and the region around the Gulf of

Aqaba. The United Nations itself is divided on this issue for it is faced with the demand from Egypt and her Arabian allies that all foreign troops, including the UN "police force," be removed from Egyptian soil.

The Middle East crisis also had a direct impact on the British government; it caused the resignation of Anthony Eden from his office of Prime Minister. Harold Macmillan, who had served as Foreign Secretary, replaced Eden as Prime Minister. But Britain's foreign policy, even towards where it had received a set-back, the Middle East, will still remain the same—imperialistic—because Macmillan heads the same old gang of die-hard conservatives who supported Eden.

It's against this background of crisis that early in January of this year, the American president, Eisenhower, announced his "doctrine" toward the Middle East. Altho such was its label, yet the real "architect" of this "doctrine" was Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State (and, of course, well advised by his Wall Street associates). It was aimed directly against the Soviet Union with the warning that the "armed forces of the United States" would be used to resist any Soviet "aggression" in the Middle East. It startled the world in a way, because up to this time no one had ever heard of any Soviet "aggression" in that region—but plenty of British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt.

President Eisenhower presented "his doctrine" to the U.S. Congress for approval, for a "free hand" (or a "blank check" as the press put it) to use troops in the Middle East as he sees fit, and also for the sum of 200 million dollars annually for "economic aid" to those countries of the Middle East willing to accept it.

There were quite a few protests against giving Eisenhower so much authority, of a "Truman-Korean-War type" as expressed by some of them. Still others resented this "Ike's doctrine" being shoved down the throat of Congress, particularly in view of continued high taxation, and the record-breaking high governmental budget of ap-

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## HOME SCENE

### Economic Outlook

According to the economic data coming into the news, the year just closed, 1956, was a prosperous year, establishing new peaks in many fields. Industrial production, employment, personal income, retail sales all rose to new highs. So as we enter 1957 the boom keeps rolling along.

Gross national production (value of goods and services) reached a total of \$412 billion, a new high. Business spending alone for plant and equipment amounted to \$35 billion, also a new high. Modernization of plant and equipment will pay off in greater productivity (output per man-hour) as well as production output.

Already the appliance industry is feeling the pains of overproduction. Some well-known companies have faded from the scene and over a hundred small unknowns have folded. Mr. James M. Skinner Jr., Philco president, thinks the shakedown process will continue this year as well. He said: "There will be further downward trend in the number of appliance and television dealers and manufacturers this year. The reason is continued overcapacity at the manufacturing level. After the war everything was going to be rosy forever. Everybody went out and built plants and production facilities. The industry today has too much capacity and there's trouble."

The N.Y. Times in its special edition on "The Nation's Business and Finance—A Review" (Jan. 2,

1957) listed some of the appliance companies that folded or were absorbed. Among some of the well-known companies were "Arvin Industries—out of business."

"Bendix Aviation—quit television but continued huge military and industrial operation.

"Capehart-Farnsworth — out of business.

"Stromberg-Carlson — absorbed by General Dynamics Corporation —stopped making radio and television.

"C.B.S.-Columbia—out of radio and television business although parent Columbia Broadcasting System—still makes tubes and remains leading radio-television broadcaster.

"Muntz Television—out of business.

"Sentinel Radio—absorbed by Magnavox—brand name continues." A host of others could be listed, if space permitted.

Auto output was 27 per cent off in 1956 from the previous year. Home building was off but construction as a whole increased 2 per cent over a year ago. Agriculture lagged behind the rest of the economy. Steel output hit 115 million tons, off only 2 million tons from last year, despite the 5 weeks strike. Sales of whisky increased 5 per cent over a year ago, totaling 210 million gallons or about 1.26 gallons per individual consumption. It was a spirited year.

Dun & Bradstreet estimates there were 12,750 failures in 1956 for a total of \$565 million—a 16 per cent increase over a year ago

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## MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

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proximately 72 billions of dollars, of which more than half was for the armed forces of the nation. Nor did some of the Congressmen see any immediate urgency of "aiding" the Middle East, in spite of Dulles trying to impress upon them the idea of a Soviet "potential threat." However, some press comments indicate that Congress will in the end approve "Ike's doctrine" toward the Middle East, altho more than likely in a trimmed down or amended form.

From the Soviet Union there came a retaliatory denunciation of the "so-called Eisenhower Doctrine," a Pravda editorial stating that the "American plan is to grab the riches which are slipping out of the hands of the British colonialists." A Russian diplomat in a United Nations debate called it "a clearly formulated program for imperialist expansion." The Soviet Union charged that "the United States program envisages flagrant interference . . . in the affairs of the Arab countries." In a joint declaration, Russia and Peoples China promised the Middle East the "necessary support . . . so as to prevent aggression and interference in the affairs of the countries of this area."

There was an immediate re-

action to these Soviet denunciations within the United States itself: the Stock Market took a tumble! On the lips of many U.S. citizens were these queries: "Will the cold war be heated up again? Are we on the verge of World War Number Three?"

How does the Middle East itself regard the "Eisenhower Doctrine?" It was denounced by Jordan and Syria as "imperialistic." The heads of these two Arab states together with President Nasser of Egypt and King Saud of Saudi Arabia conferred recently in Cairo. They denounced the American "vacuum theory" as an insult construing that the Arabs can't manage their own affairs. In their joint declaration they resolved "never to allow their countries to become a sphere of influence for any foreign power." The announcement also stated, "They unanimously agreed that King Saud should express this opinion during his visit to Washington."

This much is certain however: it will take more than visiting of heads of States to resolve the Middle East crisis. In the final analysis it would require the ending of capitalist imperialism, which could only be accomplished thru the revolutionary action of the exploited masses.

Al Wysocki

## HOME SCENE

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with a 25 per cent increase in dollar liability.

Of the 4,250,000 business establishments in the U.S., 98 per cent are considered small as they employ 500 or less. "Sales of small manufacturing companies had dropped from 18.9 per cent of all manufacturing sales in 1947 to 15.5 per cent in 1952 to 12.3 per cent in 1956. Earnings had also slid." (N.Y. Times—Jan. 2, 1957)

Consumer debt in 1956 totaled over \$40 billion of which \$31 billion represented installment debt. In 1939 installment debt totaled \$4.5 billion and in 1947 less than \$7 billion. Americans are in hock for some \$150 billion for their houses, cars, appliances and such. Last year alone they went into debt for cars \$17 billion—71 per cent sold on installment plan. The workers are the most numerous debtors. For example those in the \$2000—\$2999 bracket, 45 per cent are making installment payments—in the \$3000—\$3999 bracket, 49 per cent. If you're not in debt, you are of no account—perhaps un-American.

It is evident that 1956 was a good year for Big Business. Small business, 98 per cent of the business class, slipped. The workers enjoyed some of the better things of life by mortgaging their future earnings. Big business grew at the expense of their little brothers and

a whole lot thru the exploitation of labor. That is the capitalist setup. That is the economic outlook as long as prosperity lasts. When the inevitable downturn commences (older workers remember the depression 30's) the yearlings will learn about the "best of all systems."

### Race Integration Pains

Antiquated prejudices die hard but die they must. The cry for racial equality is heard all over the world. Race haters are trying to still that cry but it is breaking thru. School integration is still experiencing birth pangs. Now the battle for social equality in busses has commenced. Tomorrow, perhaps, restaurants or recreation facilities, such as parks, swimming pools, theaters, may be in line. And the day after tomorrow some other racial barrier may be lowered. The world is in ferment. Social prejudices are doomed.

It is almost three years since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of racial integration in public schools. Some progress towards enforcement of that court ruling has taken place among the border states. The deep South has been dragging its feet. Some states such as Mississippi, Virginia, the Carolinas, are bitterly contesting and, so far, successfully avoiding school integration. Boycotts, violence, threats, economic and political

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## DIFFERENT ROADS TO SOCIALISM

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led to a new approach, of a practical and materialistic character. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the two men who transformed socialism into a science. It became a scientific theory because, with them, it no longer depended upon the will or idea of this or that individual. It was no longer an attempt to establish a perfect, just and completely moral society. Their starting point was the material basis of capitalist society in its historic evolution, with its economic laws and interrelations, the class struggles engendered thru its exploitation. By this process of historical analysis they arrived at the revolutionary conclusion that capitalism in its historical evolution reaches a point of decline or dissolution as all previous social systems have. That capitalism not only necessary develops the economic foundation for the future society but in the process organizes as well the class that is to achieve this revolution. It is the proletariat or working class.

The history of the struggles between capital and labor has also provided the necessary experience as to how this transformation was to be accomplished. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an invention of Marx's thinking. History provided the necessary material or experience out of which Marx was able to make his great generalization. The Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune made possible that formulation. They helped to prove that the "working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes" (Marx). In other words the workers in taking power must do so by establishing a state of its own, a proletarian state.

Following the defeat of the Paris Commune, a few years later, comes the rise and development of reform socialism of the Second International. It was the contention of this group, and others as well, that the revolution and socialism could be achieved thru the EXISTING (capitalist) state machinery; the capitalists to be voted out or bought out.

Than there are anarchists, who have no use, whatever, for the State and political action; and the Syndicalists whose sole weapon towards socialism is an economic one.

From the above we get a general idea about the gropings and disagreements over paths to socialism, itself. A Marxian socialist definition is at variance with that of a liberal or democratic-socialist.

Out of the 1917 revolution in Russia came the Soviet Union, the first workers state, resembling the Paris Commune, tho an evolved form of it, under more advanced conditions of capitalism. Here was the first true test of the Dictator-

ship of the Proletariat. The revolution has survived against all odds and has successfully been building socialism for 4 decades. This entailed much effort and sacrifice. It also meant vigilance and repression against elements who sought to thwart it, the enemies of the working class and socialism. Another test of its growing strength, economically and politically, came with World War Two when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union.

Emerging from the war victorious, a leading world power matched only by the United States, the Soviet Union was instrumental in helping directly and indirectly several East European nations to ditch their ruling classes and establish peoples governments.

Now the question is being raised: "Should individual socialist nations (people's governments) seek separate paths to socialism?" Or, should they follow the pattern as set by the Soviet Union, first, because it has been tested; secondly, because of the strength and power of the Soviet Union, vis-a-vis, world capitalism?

Are there separate and independent paths to socialism? Yes and no, is the answer. Separate, independent, as regards form, detail. No, as regards substance, essence. It was Lenin who pointed out that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat will not endure equally in all countries. It can readily be understood that in industrially more advanced nations the period of transition might well be shorter than in backward agricultural nations.

Certainly there are differences as to stages of development, culture, language, nationality. But these modifications are secondary as compared to what is common and essentially characterizes all socialist nations when their differences are abstracted.

What is the basic determinate of the transition period? It is the class struggle, of course. Class differences and opposition is what characterizes the path to socialism, regardless whether it is the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary or China. Wherever a ruling class has and is being expropriated, no matter what the language or tradition is, there you have opposition in every form. This has to be dealt with firmly and in no uncertain terms. In Marxian language it is called the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is this common denominator, the opposition between capital and labor that leads us to the belief that no matter how different nations might seek to find other circuitous paths, that if they are not to get lost in the social wilderness and defeat, they will have to more or less stick to the same general direction and methods.

Those who resent one socialist

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### The Source and Substance of America's Strength

The United States of America is now the strongest nation of the capitalist world. Its armed forces reach into many lands. It also dominates the oceans and most of the air space. It is the world's leading creditor nation, and it effectively wields its economic power at home and abroad. Its finance imperialism is more advanced than the older forms of imperialism ever were. At a time when older established empires are disintegrating, American imperialism is expanding, but mainly at the expense of those that are breaking down.

What is the source of America's great strength? It arises from the productivity of its industrial workers—the producers of all values. The form of its wealth is "an immense accumulation of commodities." Those commodities are the property of the capitalist class. The workers own but one commodity, namely, their labor power. That is to say, their physical and mental strength and skill, their "know-how" and their ability to apply it. This labor power—their only commodity—they are obliged to sell to the employing class, in order to live. It is their only means of obtaining the necessary subsistence for themselves and their dependents.

In the process of production, the workers create value in excess of the value of their labor power (their wages.) During the first part of a working-day—during the necessary labor time, probably the first hour—the modern worker creates a value equivalent to his day's wage. During the rest of the working-day—during the surplus labor time—he creates a value for which he receives no equivalent. This, Karl Marx discovered and named SURPLUS VALUE.

This is the real source of the enormous profits of modern capitalism. It is this that gives American capitalism its strength. All efficiency, all new inventions and processes, such as automation, revolve around that all important division of the working-day. There is a constant effort to reduce the time in which the worker produces the necessary value (wages) and thus lengthen the time during which he produces surplus value (appropriated by the capitalists).

Altho it is from surplus value that the capitalists are enriched, not all of it is clear profit. The industrial capitalist is confronted with unavoidable expenses. He may not like it, but he must part with a substantial portion of the surplus value in the form of taxes. His government must be maintained. The continuation of the profit system requires it. The total of tax payments may amount to a third, more or less, of the surplus value. Nevertheless, what is called "profit after taxes" is quite substantial. There is enough of it so that the capitalists have increased wealth, mainly in the form of industrial expansion. They live sumptuously, and are able to give to their pet charities.

Most industrial wage-workers are quite unaware of how extensively they are exploited. Others admit it but deny its extent. Many believe that it is unavoidable and that nothing can be done about it. This attitude of the workers is chiefly due to the amount of head-fixing

they have undergone in the name of "education." They are the victims of an extensive variety of deceptions—a necessary characteristic of all systems of exploitation. Capitalism, especially its American phase, is the highest and most efficient way of plundering the social labors of the producers. It makes much use of deception.

It is from this prolific source—the social productivity of the industrial proletariat—that the cost of building vast navies, air armadas, atom-bombs and such, is obtained. This big tax-bill is not paid for by the workers. From their wages, they have difficulty in paying for the food, shelter and clothing, plus little luxuries, which they and their families must consume. It is drawn directly from their social labors, out of the surplus value they produce, all of which, in the first place, goes to the capitalist owners of the industries.

An increasing number of workers are non-productive. They create no values, but they are necessary to the capitalist class. We have in mind soldiers, naval-sailors, military fliers, politicians, tax-collectors, preachers, head-fixers of the press, and many other servants of the system. Most of these are supported from taxes, altho some are paid out of the private incomes of the capitalists. Such, for instance, are house servants, butlers, chauffeurs, and the like. There are other non-productive employees of capitalism's social-apparatus, intellectual flunkies, a sort of second-grade parasites, scavengers who do the dirty work for the real parasites. All these are supported indirectly from the surplus value wrung from the exploitation of the productive workers.

What we are here stressing is that the vast amount of armaments, and the like, is only possible because of the big quantity of surplus value exploited from the American proletariat. But, the capitalist class, having enriched themselves from this exploitation, are now in a position to invest vast sums of surplus capital in other parts of the world. This is the basis of finance imperialism. It gives American investors a share of the exploitation of the working people of many lands. It is said that there is now over \$45 billions invested outside of the U.S., apart from government loans.

In some instances, this economic penetration into smaller nations gives American capitalists control of those nations. The wielding of invested capital for political purposes, a form of bribery, is typical of finance imperialism. In substance, it is a new form of colonialism and it works more smoothly than the old "gunboat imperialism," altho the gunboats are there should they be needed.

The majority of the American people are wage-workers. They have no economic investments abroad to defend, and very little at home. In fact, if credit reports are reliable, many have only succeeded in accumulating debts, upon the rather slim security of the future sale of their labor-power. Big business dominates the nation and the drift towards war goes unchecked and almost unopposed. The masses of the people are silent and confused. They hope for the best and fear the worst. The national budget grows from year to year. Seventy-one billion dollars have just been called to cover the next fiscal year, \$45 billions of which is to go for "defense."

In this period of finance imperialism, America is well out in front. The big banking houses chart the course. Just at present, the Middle East, with its vast reserves of oil, is an attractive port for Wall Street's political navigators. John Foster Dulles, finance capital's main voice in America's foreign policy, has proclaimed, because of the danger of the Middle East nations turning toward the Soviet Union, that there is no time to be lost. He advises haste.

Britain and France, because of their blunder-

ing aggression in Egypt, have brought about what is being referred to as a "vacuum," and, of course, America's empire builders are anxious to fill it. President Eisenhower, too, has declaimed against the Soviet menace. He has just made a plea to Congress for the passing of what might be described as a post-dated declaration of war, to be accompanied with the power to wield vast sums of money as leverage in that fomented region. Greed of gain on the part of the already too rich parasites is the pressure behind America's finance imperialism.

It may be said that the workers now pay a lot of taxes, especially since the income-tax field has been so extended, but in practice that simply amounts to a reduction in real wages. The "take-home pay"—the nominal wage—is certainly higher, but, as there is considerable inflation, the real wage—what the money will buy—has advanced but little, and, in many cases, not at all. It is now well known that there are many instances where it is necessary for both husband and wife to work, in order to "keep the home-fires burning."

The relative wage is less than ever, because the surplus value has increased so much. The number of hours worked, per annum, plus efficiency in industry, makes the American wage worker, the world's most exploited industrial slave.

While this is the real basis of capitalism's strength, its substance goes beyond that. In the competitive world struggle with its great rivals it has been able to take over the markets which they could not supply. That not only applies to its defeated rivals, like Germany and Japan, but to its friendly rivals as well. It has outstepped its competitors in the field of foreign investment, and it is gradually getting a strangle-hold on the sources of the world's raw materials. In that relation, the oil of the Middle East is a ripe plum to be picked.

Britain and France, as capitalist imperial powers, are now frustrated by the turn of events. The fall of Anthony Eden is but one manifestation of that. They have to submit still more to American overlordship, and to further penetration of their "spheres of influence." Britain's Tory government also fears that the nations of the Middle East may move closer to the Soviet Union and People's China. It is a bitter pill for John Bull to swallow, but it is the lesser evil.

All in all, America has gone forward so rapidly, and so extensively in world affairs, that its very gains may prove its undoing. It runs the danger of collapse from taking on too large a load, and especially if it tries to prop up other empires. If the expansion of the worker's world can be reversed, or even halted, capitalist imperialism may experience a renewal of strength. If that cannot be done, then for America's ship of state, and its finance-imperialist navigators, there lie "rocks ahead."

John Keracher.

#### SAME OLD STORY

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO took a forward stand on international problems in an address before a charity dinner of 1800 persons in Chicago last month. He urged the U.S. to take a leading part in denouncing colonialism in such places as Cyprus and Algeria. He also suggested this country lead in setting up a date for giving independence to colonial areas.

Without taking away from the intent of Mr. Meany's suggestions we see it as another fine job of paying lip service to American big business. To suggest that the U.S. lead in a struggle to eliminate colonialism from the face of the earth while she is up to her ears in the biggest colonial adventure of her history (Eisenhower's Middle East program) is to confuse and mislead the American worker he is supposed to represent.

However, this is nothing new for George Meany, who along with other labor leaders before him, has embraced capitalism as a whole while pretending to criticize its various parts. L.D.

## HOME SCENE

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roadblocks have been employed to circumvent the integration ruling. But the battle goes on and the fight is expected to last for years. School construction and the administration of schools runs high and that too is a favorable factor towards school integration.

The attempt towards desegregated busses has brought forth a rash of violence. Negro churches, homes of anti-segregation ministers and the busses themselves have been bombed. The public authorities have had to halt bus services indefinitely in some cities. The bus companies, many of them owned by Northern capitalists, were ready to accept integration, as money is all the same to them, no matter who deposits it in the coin box; but the race minded politicians are delaying and putting roadblocks in the way. Meanwhile disorder reigns in the South over this issue. Like school integration, the final battle over desegregated public transportation seems a long way off under capitalism.

The capitalist system produces and reproduces the worst in mankind. Individual success and advantage, private gain, even at the expense of the many, is sanctified as a basic and eternal principle of this way of life. Private profit, of necessity, means the exploitation of the many. How one accumulates a fortune doesn't matter, as long as the individual has it is what counts. This divides the population into haves, the capitalists, and the have-nots, the propertyless workers. This division lends itself and encourages other divisions, such as over the skin color. Inequality in the economy engenders racial inequality.

But the capitalist system today finds itself in a world struggle with the growing giant of the communist system. The vast majority of the world's population is made

up of colored peoples. These seek to throw off the yoke of oppression. The capitalists in the U.S. fear its own discriminating policy against the Negroes here will alienate the colored peoples of the world in its fight against communism. Hence, its new-found "liberalism," its advocacy of racial equality. But the capitalist system doesn't lend itself towards genuine racial equality. The federal government is trying hard to set up some showcases indicating a semblance of racial integration. Race hatred is imbedded in the system and next to impossible to uproot.

Let us assume that integration succeeds in the U.S. The vast majority of the Negroes are workers and these will be in the same boat with the white workers. They will be just as dependent upon a job as the white worker; just as much exploited and sweated; just as hungry when jobless; just as much the subject class—wage slaves. While battling to break down racial barriers, the Negro workers must realize that it is not enough. They must go beyond that. Together with all workers they must do away with the class barriers by abolishing its cause: capitalism, in order to achieve economic, political and genuine social equality.

L.B

## THUMBNAILS

### LET'S SKIP THE RED TAPE:

If you were the owner of Standard Oil of New Jersey and had all those oil interests in the Middle East, don't you think it would be a good thing to have your representative in the White House vested with the power to throw 170 million Americans into a war to save and protect those treasures at the snap of a finger? It probably wouldn't even matter to you if the threat came from Red, White, Blues, Blacks or Browns, just so they could be crushed without the bother and delay of going through

## DIFFERENT ROADS TO SOCIALISM

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power playing a dominating guiding (or whatever you want to call it) influence as compared to the new and smaller members might even learn a lesson in practical relations from the capitalist world. Here, too, it is not morality but survival that determines procedure. Following the war several European capitalist nations were on the brink of bankruptcy and civil war. Who came to their aid and bailed them out? The U. S., the strongest capitalist nation. Was it their specific differences that prompted such assistance? Rather, we should say, it was their COMMON bond, their unity as an exploiting class that dictated such action. And from their class viewpoint it was absolutely correct. It saved a good part of their system. Even today some of those nations are existing by the grace of the powerful U.S.A. This is even more true in relation to socialist nations.

All socialist nations have much to thank the Soviet Union for, its greater experience, knowledge and strength. It is because of these, if for no other reason, that she merits a given amount of seniority and respect in affairs that concern the well being of all. Recognition of a leading role doesn't necessarily spell domination.

It will be claimed by some that socialist nations should enjoy national autonomy and free expression. Yes, provided this autonomy doesn't encourage a rebirth of bourgeois nationalism and capitalism; provided this national inde-

pendence doesn't violate the basic class interest and bond of socialist internationalism. The relation between socialist nationalism and internationalism is such that the FORM is national but its SUBSTANCE is international.

The world struggle today, as is obvious to everyone, is taking on an international character, between two social systems. Inadvertently it expresses itself as a contest between the two leading powers of the respective camps: the U. S. for capitalism, the Soviet Union for socialism. This choice is not arbitrary. It follows automatically from their respective economic, political and military strength, which at the moment is apparently in balance. Neutrality and independence is more apparent than real, more temporary than enduring. Smaller nations sooner or later must lend support to either one or the other camp. Similarly also, their existence and survival is dependent or hinges upon one or the other power.

Such is the present interdependent relation of forces, from which there is no escaping. Thus, theoretically it cannot be assumed in an absolute manner that there is but one path to socialism, the Soviet path; in a practical sense, as history has thus far proved and as present conditions dictate this is the only road so far proven successful and enduring.

In the last analysis experience is the only test of the correctness of any theory.

R. Daniels

that cumbersome body called "Congress."

### THE PEOPLES CHOICE:

The City of Naha, largest on America's island base of Okinawa will be headed by a new mayor as of Dec. 25th last. He is Kamejiro Senaga, head of the Okinawan Peoples Party. Senaga's victory (by a 2,000 plus majority) was the result of his most active fight against American control of Okinawa and its wholesale requisition of land for air bases.

Just how long the new mayor can keep his office is problematical because the Peoples Party has been branded communist-controlled by U.S. officials on the island. However, since Senaga has just completed a two year prison term for "leftist activities" (that means un-American activities even on Okinawa) he should be in good practice for a return engagement to the suppression chambers.

### STROKE OF LUCK?

Hungarian run-aways are really getting a break these days, what with Uncle Sam being so warm hearted and all. But, if you think they are lucky, just imagine how fortunate the State Dept. and its intelligence agency must feel getting so many "red-haters" all in one crack! Say, they'll have so

many placard carriers and anti-Russian demonstrators at their disposal they won't know what to do with them all. To say nothing of the tremendous boost they will give to the various nationality groups throughout the country. You know, there is no better way to keep the working class divided against itself than to foster national differences and race hatred. To judge by historical events, both past and present, a good number of Hungarian people are up to their ears in it.

P.S.: Associated Press wire service reports exiled Hungarians ranging in age from 20 to 30 years of age have organized a "Revolutionary Hungarian Council" to figure out ways and means of disrupting Soviet plans in Hungary. These meetings, held in Strasbourg, France, indicate the value of such people to Western intelligence services. It's nothing less than a field day for them.

### A MATTER OF TIMING:

President Eisenhower's "New Republicanism" contains most of the features of "Old Democratism." This proves the two party system works because neither party has the same idea at the same time.

L.D.

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