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U.S. Sixth Fleet Threatens Lebanese People



U.S. Sixth Fleet, shown above, with atomic-armed marines, is kept waiting in the Medittrranean Sea while the U.S. State Department decides if this country should go to war in Lebanon to help Camille Chamoun keep his job as President. So far the threat of U.S. military intervention has not induced the Lebanese rebels to lay down their arms. (See editorial, page three.)

British, French Leftists Blast Execution of Nagy

By Lillian Kiezel

The executions of Nagy, Maleter and two other former Hungarian Communist Party leaders has earned the Kremlin hangmen revulsion and contempt from many knocked him into the bars of sympathizers of the Soviet Union in the U.S., England and France.

The National Guardian editorial of June 30 expresses the sponsibility toward the more Communist Party have passed opinion of a large section of advanced, that goes in the resolutions to protest the exthe left-wing movement in the other direction too." ecutions.

United States when it declares that the execution of Nagy and with western peoples, as dis- For example, the Golborne his colleagues is "shocking and tinct from imperialists, can not branch of the Communist Party appalling.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Cedric Belfrage, editor-in- by defenders of such political Communist Party the execution declares in the July 7 issue, tury. They will only dig their "whether they are guilty or his contempt for the "crocodile own political grave." tears" of all those from Dulles who is a Communist and lead-

lower animals."



THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U.S. occupation troops in South Korea parade before a grim display of newly installed atomic cannons. North Korean objections to the introduction of the atomic weapons in Korea was curtly rejected by a UN commission who blamed the situation on lack of Communist "sincerity."

Teamsters Urge Unity Of Transport Unions By Frances James

JULY 10 - A call for the establishment of a permanent Conference on Transportation Unity has been issued in Washington, D.C., over the signatures of James

York Post, a spokesman for hood of Teamsters, Joseph Cur- Morris Weisberger, secretary of Belfrage's remarks parallel the present world situation, we the "Justice" Department in ran, National Maritime Union the Sailors' Union of the Sailors' Union of the Sailors' the stated he "wouldn't want to go because it fears that granting could deny travel rights to a to the pseudo-socialists over a growing sentiment in the consider the death sentence to Washington said there would and William Bradley of the stated he "wouldn't want to go the right to travel to China scientist who has demanded a the executions. However, he Communist Party of Great be completely unnecessary. In be no federal investigation of East Coast International Long- along," if the ILWU were inpoints out that Arthur Horner Britain. The Newsletter, British particular, the secrecy of the the killings as no "official re- shoremen's Association. Paul cluded. However, when the socialist weekly, edited by trial, the nature of the charges quest" for either the FBI or Hall, president of the Seafarers Wall Street Journal asked er of the National Union of Peter Fryer, reports in its June — which are very reminiscent the Civil Rights Division "to International Union authorized Hoffa if the invitation to the isolate. Mine Workers in Great Britain 28 and July 5 editions that of the trumped-up charges so enter the case had been re-expressed his "shock and horexpressed his "shock and hor- numerous branches of the familiar in Stalin's day — and ceived." And Mississippi Gov- great favor" on the confedera- the ILWU, "Mr. Hoffa empha-

Miss. Negro Atomic Cannon Displayed in Korea Eisenhower Presses **Congress to Restrict Freedom of Travel**

By Herman Chauka

President Eisenhower's demand of Congress that it egalize unprecedented curbs on the right of U.S. citizens to travel abroad can only be construed as a move to accelerate the cold war by trying to keep the world rigidly divided into two hostile camps. At the same time it is intended to help keep the witch hunt alive at home.

Seeks New Power

In the face of a growing world demand for a relaxation of cold-war tensions, Eisenhower has demanded that Congress give legal sanction to the State Department's arbitrary ban on travel to China and various parts of East Europe. He also wants a legal overriding of the Supreme Court's recent decision which declared the State Department does not have the right to deny passports because of beliefs or associations.

The Eisenhower message demands the right to deny passports "to an applicant who is a member of the Communist party; is under Communist party discipline, domination or control; or that the applicant is travelling abroad to assist knowingly the international Communist movement."

The pressure for legalization of the China travel ban is motivated by the wide criticism leveled against Dulles for the ban and the fact that he has been unable to justify it legal-

ly. The Administration has remight be construed as tacit halt to nuclear tests. And it recognition of a government that it is fiercely determined to anyone who opposes the U.S.-

ALAS, FALSE RUMOR

The Tory press used its usual

tears over the fate of perish-

able goods rotting on the docks.

But every docker could tell

stories from personal experi-

nce of how the employers con-

tantly kept goods off the

market, even at the risk of

spoilage, in order to keep prices

high. More, the dockers in fact

offered to unload perishable

goods, and without pay - if

these foodstuffs were donated

would certainly be used against inspired cold war. Eisenhower

SEC'Y OF STATE DULLES

In asserting that the "right" According to

be built by defenders of the in a working class district Nagy executions. Socialism can passed a resolution strongly not be spread to new countries protesting to the Hungarian

pital where he died. exile of the National Guardian, vindictiveness - not in a cen- of Nagy and his colleagues, FBI WON'T INVESTIGATE not." The resolution states: "In

water.)

coming."

times.'

witnessed.

He concludes: "Friendship HIT SECRET TRIAL

from jail, taken to a doctor and then to a Memphis hos-

According to the July 8 New R. Hoffa, International Brother-

In addition the progressive Fire Brigades Union, he reports, calls the executions "shameful reversion to the methods of the Stalin period.'

Belfrage makes it plain that "These protests come from people who have invested their blood, sweat and tears without stint in the progressive movement at home, and in defense of the world socialist cause. They are comradely protests, motivated by no arrogance or 'bourgeois morality.' '

"If the Socialist-World leaders," continues Belfrage, "fail to recognize in such protests the voice of their true friends, it will be perhaps the greatest tragedy of all. The voice is saving that socialists in the capitalist world have made sacrifices too for the cause, and will not stand silent while that cause is again dragged through a mire of terror where social ism reigns and torn to pieces where the fight remains to be won. It is reminding the socialist world that the movement is universal, and that if its less advanced forces have a re-



avow his parents, Patrick Hallinan, 23, is threatened with being classified 4-F, "security risk," by the Army. The youth said that in a letter he received from Army Headquarters, his father, Vincent, and his mother, Vivian, were listed as having been identified with "Communist-front" groups. Vincent Hallinan was 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. Patrick was informed that to "clear" himself he would have to "refute the existence of a close and continuing association" with his parents. "I'm ready to serve in the Army," he her husband. said. "If they don't want me that's their [®]business. What do they want? That I go up and say I won't go home; that I won't talk with my parents?"



SEATTLE, July 7-Clara Kaye, Richard Fraser and Jack Wright, local Socialist Workers Party leaders, were victims of a gang assault at the annual July 4 picnic of the People's World.

Fraser received a broken cialist forces in the area in nose, cuts and bruises on the common electoral activity. face and scalp, and multiple These efforts have met with contusions of the ribs. Clara favorable response from mem-Kaye suffered facial cuts and bers of the Communist Party. bruises. Wright escaped with In the spring election, Jack Wright, who ran for City Counthe least serious injuries. cil on the SWP platform, was Clara Kave and Fraser were

attacked by 12 men as they aided by CP rank and filers eft their car at the parking despite opposition from CP leaders, who favor Democratic 'ot near the picnic grounds.

The gang had evidently been Party candidates. waiting for their arrival. Those who witnessed the at-The victims had come to the tack and saw the blood trickpicnic on official invitation ling down the faces of the from the People's World. Fra- victims, quickly spread the ser said they attended the story. In angry indignation, fund-raising affair to express picnickers protested with memsolidarity with the People's bers of the gang, whom they recognized as fellow adherents plans to teach the working World as a minority newspaper.

Although the attackers wore of the Communist Party. This People's World badges, the as- lead to heated arguments and

sault had no connection with even fist fights. Some of the attackers sought the busmen from the rest of the paper, according to the

victims.

former CP organizer.

LOCAL CP LEADER tributed" at the picnic, Fraser, Jack Wright, who recognized however, denied that any Sothe assailants, said the gang cialist Workers Party literature was led by Carl Ranta, local had been distributed at all, alsection organizer of the Com- though he saw no reason for munist party, and two other barring picnickers from readprominent members of the ing it if they wanted. Communist Party, Charles Legg

"We came to the affair," he and Harold Johnson. "Wright said, "only because of several was attacked by a part of the personal invitations from CP gang headed by Henry Huff, a leaders and members as well as an official invitation from Mary Wright, wife of Jack the People's World. We came Wright, who had been assigned with the intention only of exby the Sobell Committee to pressing our solidarity with the seek signatures at the picnic People's World as a radical for the release of Morton Sonewspaper and to engage in bell from prison, was forced the kind of friendly discussions off the picnic grounds by Carl which have generally charac-Ranta. This, presumably, was terized all of our associations

because of her association with with readers of the People's World during the past, two ' The motive for the attack, in vears,' the opinion of Clara Kaye, was News of the physical attack

resentment among some of the quickly spread through Seattle start of May the drivers went Seattle Communist Party leadlabor and radical circles. The on strike. ers over efforts of the Socialist (Continued on Page 2) Workers Party to unite the so-

investigate.

JULY 9 - The face of

Vaughan, said they heard the

prisoner cry, "Mr. Buster, you

have killed me. The blood is

Mrs. Vaughan said, "Buster

hit him behind the head and

the cell. He hit him about eight

"And he started beating him

again the next morning," her

husband added. The Vaughans

said they were willing to tes-

tify in court to what they had

Mr. Daniels was released

Mr. Daniels was well-known and IBT in an organizational Water Valley as well as by the way area.

Negroes. Fifteen white people

brothers said, he will write to participate in a joint meeting and AFL-CIO respectively. the Justice Department him- in August to arrange for a

self. Otherwise "Wilson will be permanent conference. just another 'dead nigger.'" HARRY BRIDGES AN ISSUE

ondon

By Philip Maghri

class a lesson by breaking the

they would keep their hands

free to beat down the busmen.

But a small spark, set to the

explosive tinder of the London

docks, blew up all their fine

Much of the meat consumed

n London goes through the

giant Smithfield meat market.

From Smithfield, meat trucks

take it to the local butchers.

The meat truck drivers, a small

by British capitalism's current

traffic at speeds up to ten miles

In response to this speed-up,

they demanded a 15% wage in-

crease. The employer's refused

to give anything, and at the

alculations.

"I saw [Sheriff Treloar] beat Objections have been raised a boy with his fists right out to participation by the West

brother of Daniels. "There've men and Warehousemen's Union ing in anything more than a been other beatings, but I saw headed by Harry Bridges bethis one . . . I wouldn't beat cause of its alleged "Commumy dog or my cow, and they're nist domination." According to

the July 7 Wall Street Journal,

ernor Coleman has refused to tion. The SIU in Canada has sized that 'all' transport unions elready combined with the ILA would be invited."

reportedly attended his funeral driving force behind the unity they expelled the ILWU along in its denial of passports. and the Daniels' family is move and will finance the con- with other "communist domihoping white residents will ference through its early stages. nated" unions from the CIO in initiate action against the The conference call asks for 1949 and when they subsesheriff. But if they don't keep three representatives from each quently expelled the ILA and their promise to do so in the of 50 transportation unions - more recently the Teamsters next few days, one of Daniels' air, rail, dock and sea - to for "corruption" from the AFL

> No official AFL-CIO statement has been made concerning the transportation unity

move. The AFL-CIO constitu- objectives." tion, however, forbids its memon the street," said another Coast International Longshore- ber organizations from engagminimal working relationship

> with expelled unions. (Continued on Page 4)

of the Secretary such legislation is needed at deny passports is traditional, once because "Each day and E is enhower contemptuously each week that passes without The unity, if achieved as brushes aside the Supreme it exposes us to great danger." and well-liked by the whites of drive in the St. Lawrence sea- planned, will partially reverse Court ruling which found the What danger? That a Paul the criminal splits engineered State Department guilty of Robeson might appear on a The Teamsters Union is the by the top labor officials when gross violations of civil liberties London stage? That a Corliss Lamont might make a study of PROPOSES SWEEPING LAW conditions in Europe? Or that If adopted, the proposed leg- American newsmen might get islation will go far in abrogat- to China and through the lines ing Constitutional liberties. It of their dispatches make known would authorize denial of pass- that the Chinese people want ports "where their possession only to build a decent new life would seriously impair the without interference from Wall conduct of foreign relations . . . | Street?

or where their presence would The Senate Foreign Relations conflict with our foreign policy committee has scheduled hearings July 16-17 on a draft bill

With such a law, an admin- being prepared by the State istration can deny passports to Department embodying the anyone in disagreement with Eisenhower demands. Opponany phase of its foreign policy. ents of the cold war and witch Today it could mean a travel hunt should make their voices Nevertheless, according to the ban for a business man who heard by the committee against favors East-West trade. It this McCarthyite measure.

a

Dockers Teach Tories

chain reaction. Workers at sence of buses was a bearable voice, the dockers answered, The dockers, trying to get by Smithfield refused to handle inconvenience, but the dock LONDON, June 29 - When meat that would normally be strike hit British capitalism in dockers met a union official's only "National Assistance" (rethe Tory government made its carried by the trucks. Because its most sensitive point—world flag-waving appeal by intoning, lief) to feed their families, of their reduced business, the trade. The full effect of the Smithfield employers fired 600 strike, in terms of direct and dog Breed that Made Old Eng- of laughter and asked each London bus strike, they placed land Great." men. In protest against the fir- indirect loss of exports, will

prime importance on isolating ings the entire Smithfield mar- not be known for several to justify the assault on grounds the workers. By maintaining "social peace" with the decisive at the Toolev Street docks. The of millions sections of the working class

longshoremen at Tooley Street | Making matter's still worse declared this meat "black" for the capitalists was the fact (scab), and refused to unload it. that the strike was completely The dock employers there- out of the control of the tradeupon attempted to use clerical union bureaucrats. Years of and supervisory employes to class collaboration had destroyunload the meat. This was a ed the prestige of the Trans-

clear violation of the National port and General Workers Dock Labor Plan, whereby only Union dock leadership among ongshoremen registered with rank-and-file dockers (many of the Dock Labor Board can work whom had broken away a few on the docks. In protest against years ago to join a more militthe use of "unregistered labor" ant union.) Now the British group of workers, had been hit to do struck work, the rest of capitalists had to mourn the the London dockers walked off policy of subservience they attack on wages and working the job. This whole series of had so carefully fostered among

Particularly on Tooley Street. per hour faster than previously London docks were completely the focal point of the strike. lowing vegetables to rot. shut down. 20,000 men were there was prevalent disrespect

For the government and the point, in a speech urging the were printed that the "Trotsky- Smithfield. The job of this employing class as a whole, dockers to return to work, a ite Communist Party" was commission will be to find ways this was a problem of an entire- T&GWU leader asked rhetoric- sending agents armed with a to prevent future "unofficial" ly different order of magnitude ally, "And where do we go hundred pounds each to bribe strikes. Already two of the This strike touched off a from the bus strike. The ab- from here, lads?" As with one the dockers to stay on strike. (Continued on Page 4)

"Home!" At another meeting, without strike pay and with "We Are the Boys of the Bull- greeted this "news" with gales other if anyone had seen "the man with the hundred pounds.'

esson

Faced with a totally unexpected challenge that they dockers. They shed crocodile were not prepared to meet, the all along the line, after a sixweek struggle. "Unregistered labor" was withdrawn from the docks, and the original Smithfield strike was provisonally settled by appointing a Commission of Inquiry to set the amount of wage increase for the truck drivers and by rehiring the fired meat-market workers.

But this retreat by the emfree of charge to hospitals and ployers was immediately acother charitable institutions. companied by preparations for Naturally, the philanthropic profiteers rejected the subvera counter-offensive. Simultaneive proposal. Equally natural- ously with the appointment of ly, the Tory press went right the Commission of Inquiry inon blaming the dockers for al- to the wage dispute, the Ministry of Labor set up a second The Tory press also resorted | Commission of Inquiry to study for the union leaders. At one to Red-Scare tactics. Reports "general labor conditions" at

anditions. At the start of this strikes had been spontaneous the union leaders. vear they were ordered by the and "unofficial," without the mployers to drive in London approval or support of the meta-

union leaders. Nevertheless, the

out on strike.

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THE MILITANT

Strait Jacket for Soviet Writers

(The author of this article is a Seattle artist. He was active for many years in the Communist party in the Pacific Northwest. He resigned last year after finding it impossible to democratically express his views within the organization against the crushing of the Hungarian revolution and the continuing dictatorial practices in the Soviet Union.

His letter of resignation declared in part: "I shall continue to fight for socialism and I shall offer my talents as an artist to all radical and socialist tendencies in the interests of regroupment of revolutionary socialists . . . I feel that the one everriding responsibility of all socialist artists is to join our voices with those of Picasso and Aragon demanding an end to Kadar's murders and imprisonment of Hungarian artists.")

By William Cumming

The capitulation last winter of Vladimir Dudintsev, whose novel Not By Bread Alone, marked the warmest temperature reached by the literary "thaw" in the Soviet

Union, is but another proof+ that the ruling Soviet bureau- | a secondary whirlwind on the cracy is not reforming its des- edge of the , working - class potism out of existence. For a storm that is gathering. Until short period there was official the revolutionary storm breaks tolerance of critical novels, as with full power, it is difficult well as a limited but hot liter- for the Dudintsevs to stand up ary debate. And this was taken to the outraged bureaucrats. by many as a sign of a gen- Grudgingly, Dudintsev retreated. uine "thaw."

Yet there was ample warning from the beginning that in the course of three speeches the Kremlin rulers were not on cultural policy last year in concerned with self-reform which he hurled the whole liteither in the field of the arts erary "thaw" into the frigid and literature or in politics wastes of outer space. generally. Their actual policy was to contain, then stifle, ignoramus flows with all the something which b.oke out in- sluggishness of poorly-heated dependently of and against tar, his meaning is clear. Writtheir will. Indeed, it was the ers and artists, he sneers, are recently-appointed "savior of "ignorant of life, with no ade-Stalingrad" (will it now be re- quate political experience or named Nikitagrad or Khrush- ability to spot the main determchevo?) who a year ago singled ining factor in life . . . cut Dudintsev for attack as have a "one-sided and incorrect understanding of the es-

"misrepresenting [Soviet reality] in a distorting mirror."

Following Kh. ushchev's lead, the Stalin personality cult.' tons of invective were hurled There are not only delinquent at the Soviet writer's head. Dudintsevs, there are also de-Writers in the USSR are them- linquent editors who "gave selves among the economically space to publication of writings privileged. Their revolt is thus akin to Dudintsev's book.'

They

sence of the party's criticism of

gritted teeth while they wait

for the workers' revolt to bring

a new thaw. The bureaucrats at

any rate don't trust them. How

at "advocates of 'freedom of

creation,' [to whom] guidance

of literature and art by the

tering of initiative, etc." So

there are those who venture

opposition to bureaucratic

Zhdanov's Decrees

Under the party's "guidance," | imposed on Soviet culture a the method of "socialist real- regime of national chauvinism, ism" has "insured outstanding obscurantism, sterility and bigsuccesses" and "the flowering otry. He drove into exile the of the socialist culture of all poet Akhmatova and the satirist Zoschenko; introduced antithe peoples of the USSR." (Whether this "flowering" in- Semitism into Soviet criticism cludes the bodies of the murunder guise of "anti-cosmopoldered Jewish writers, Khrush- itanism;" and drove Sergei chev did not say. In fact, he Eisenstein, the great motion has never commented at all on picture producer and director this crime of Stalin's. Writers to death by the obscene flood and artists will find "plenty of of invective poured out on his good models in the life of the film Ivan the Terrible. factory workers, collective These are the decisions

farmers and the intelligentsia Khrushchev refers to - "and " The hitch is that writers, they retain their force at the being "ignorant of life," are present time!" An ominous prone to "poke around in garphrase that is linked with a bage cans." This is a damag-ing admission. Dudintsev found [Hungarian] writers." There is bage cans." This is a damaghis models right where Krusha threat in these assertions, and chev pointed-the factories, the it is no wonder that Dudintsev schoolrooms, the engineering finally caved in and promised departments. He found garbage to write his new novel to bucans of bureaucratic stifling of

reaucratic measure. workers' initiative, frame-up There will be more Voted Top Man



When Stalin died his heirs pledged a return to "collective leadership." Khrushchev (head bowed) since then has worked to re-establish one-man rule. Bulganin (rear, right) who was still a member of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium when this picture was taken last March has since been chopped down by Khrushchev.

taught on this question, because | an opportunity to estimate the | --of art by the party and the we have at hand the recently development of the new art, to state. As a theory, this is aprepublished book, Literature trace all its sources, to help the plesauce, without the slightest and Revolution, by Lenin's most progressive tendencies by resemblance to Leninism. And Europe and America during the closest co-worker from 1917 on a criticial illumination of the in practice, we have only to re- last hundred years as "cosmopol--namely, Leon Trotsky. In road, but it does not do more call the fate of A. Tolstoy, itanism" and "bourgeoes form-this book, written in 1924, than that . . . The domain of Babel, Mayakovsky, Eisenstein, alism." Thus have the paintings Trotsky devotes an entire chap- art is not one in which the Sholokhov and a thousand other ter to Communist Policy Tow- Party is called upon to com- writers and artists to recognize of the School of Paris, the ard Art, in which he develops mand. It can and must protect that Stalinist "guidance" has novels of Proust and Joyce, the a line that was held in com- and help it, but it can only generally "guided" the artist theater of Piscator and Brecht, mon by all the leading cadre lead it indicrectly."

The policy of authentic Bol- Tolstoy), the prison-labor camp of the Bolshevik Party at the time, Lenin included. A similar shevism-of Lenin and Trotsky (Babel), suicide (Mayakovsky), -is the polar opposite of the or silence (Sholokhov). line was embodied in resolupolicy of Stalin, Zhdanov and tions on cultural policy adopted by the Russian Communist Khrushchev. Bolshevism recog-

nizes that it can and should Results of 'Socialist Realism' Party in Lenin's days. In the early chapters of Literature and Revolution, Trotmethods, by observing and essky established the relation of timating the sources and direcvarious literary schools to the tion of the new schools, by October revolution, pointing throwing the light of criticism out that with the death of the on what is being done, by en-Czarist-capitalist regime, many couraging the creation of the of the currents let loose by the ed at face value the bureaunew, and by protecting the October Revolution. At the 20th cracy's identification of its culwriters lost their base and bework of culture from all threats | Congress of the Soviet Com- tural "achievements" with the can to turn toward the revoluion to which each school including that posed by what brought its theories, talents and Lenin called "Communist conliques. Having disposed of the ceit.

What Trotsky means by claims of the contending schools to a monopoly on the affections "critical illumination" can be in the last twenty years!" And phery, because they identified judged by his own appraisals if the Khrushchevs continue to it with Lenin, the October of the revolution, Trotsky rebuffs the arrogance of those in Literature and Revolution on Futurism, Formalism and Marxists who rejected the other literary schools which laim of all these writers to a were either non-Marxist or place in the new society. If the refugees from the litbe read and compared with the failed utterly to create by buerary bohemia of bourgeois sobludgeon and hatchet "critical" iety were to be rejected, nothng would be left "but a few technique of Stalinism (as for unpaid promissory notes of a Soviet painters that impression- any other artistic trend in the uture proletarian literature." What policy, then, should the ism has no place in their art.) world, is scraped together from socialism.

the creative vocation.

SOPHOCLES A 'HIT'

hureaucracy draws a line of equation between politics and culture. The insanity of this line is evident to even the most empirical observers in the coninual outmoding of cultural works by the erratic tangents of Stalinist politics, as attested by the mountains of rubbish which were once proclaimed to be "outstanding successes of socialist realism."

Is there a relation between culture and politics? Of course. But they coincide at one point only: " . . . in the broad sense that the Revolution creates conditions for a new culture." This happy coincidence is the magnet which attracts artists to the revolutionary banners. for it is increasingly clear that only revolutionary changes in society can save humanity and its culture. But aside from the fact that the socialist revolution creates the base for a truly new culture the relations of politics and culture are purely refractive. They do not proceed in a straight line, nor is there a simple correspondence between them.

Making cultural judgment conform to political standards (with itself as final arbiter). Stalinism brands artistic trends that do not kowtow to "socialist realism" as being not only artistically bad but politically reactionary. Bigoted and provincial, the Russian bureaucracy has condemned virtually all new tendencies in Western alism." Thus have the paintings into the bureaucratic fold (A. the jazz of our country, and the poems of Eliot been lightmindedly tossed on the junk

Behind Kremlin Frameup System

(The following excerpt is from Leon Trotsky's summary speech to the International Commission of Inquiry that investigated the Moscow Trials in 1937. The Commission was headed by Prof. John Dewey. The speech was reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in Stalin's Frame-up System and the Moscow Trials, with a foreword by Joseph Hansen. We believe that Trotsky's explanation for the Moscow Trials applies also for the frame-up and execution of Nagy.--Ed.)

"One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its positions, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition.

The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn-which laid bare all social falsehood-to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the . . . lies. It is, consequently, a question not simply of individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity."

...Blast Nagy Execution

(Continued from Page 1) the announcement of the sentences only after they had been BUDAPEST AND ALGIERS carried out, must cause great had begun to hope that such must then expect a shameful methods were a relic of the utilization of the crime of

past.' tricts where the Communist Algiers and for the system that Party has strong influence are Algiers would impose upon us." voicing their concern and op- For this linkage of Stalinist position too. By an overwhelm- and French fascist crimes, ing majority, in three shift meetings, about 200 miners at pressed by the de Gaullist, Min-Glencraig colliery in Fife passed a strongly worded resolution addressed to John Gollan, Gen- Union against the cold-wareral Secretary of the British riors, played an outstanding. In the meantime, fresh cul- And this has done much to re-Communist Party and to the role in publicizing and docutural creation in the Soviet pel artists and writers from the Hungarian Legation in London. menting the working-class and Union is at a virtual standstill, radical movement in this coun-They made plain their utter pro-socialist character of the despite the tremendous pressure try, because they have acceptdisgust at the brutal action of Hungarian revolution of 1956. the present Hungarian govern. Bourdet recalls this in his comment and their solidarity with ments.

the Hungarian workers. In the 1930's, radical artists and writers flocked into the raged: "Not twelve good novels Communist Party or its peri-"guide" literature, there will Revolution, the poems of Mayakovsky and the filmart of Eisenstein. Today the repulsive accompanied by an intensified the left." "It is in this spirit, nature of Stalinism is one of even anti-Marxist. These should the 1920's to the present, has the chief explanations of the inside the Soviet Union. It is mincing words that unity must contrary to the interests of the be realized," says Bourdet. present encampment of rebel

poets, writers and painters in Soviet working class that their the environs of cafe-anarchism friends in the west should conexample, when Izvestia informs "Socialist realism" more than and existentialism rather than and existentialism rather than in the ranks of revolutionary dorsement, however indirect, to **ASSAUIT** the claim of the bureaucracy

of Nagy must not be the alibi for atomic warriors.'

Claude Bourdet, editor of the concern to socialists and com- independent socialist weekly, munists all over the world who France Observateur, wrote "One Budapest . . . by those who are British workers in those dis- all-indulgent for the crimes of istry of Information. The weekly, which defends the Soviet

In conclusion, he warns that Again, Brian Pearce, an ex- the gravest danger in France ecutive member of the Society comes from the fascists. Unity for Cultural Relations with the of the left against this menace USSR, resigned from the or- is imperative. The crime in ganization and stated: "The Budapest makes unity more difoppression of Hungary and the ficult, but the CP must still be attack on Yugoslavia are being considered an "integral part of drive against cultural freedom with open eyes and without



and imprisonment of those who refused to toady, corruption and mutual protection among the state and party bureaucrats offset by ruthless purges.

Khrushchev's thundering went on: "The party's decision any late don't trushchev's snarl on ideological questions defined the major tasks and basic principles of the party's polliterature, and they retain their party and state is oppressive literature, and they retain their force at the present time." This and desires of theirs by talk is the key passage. Khrushchev about excessive tutelage, fetis referring to the notorious 1948 resolutions based on the "Zhdanov line," the most rabid expression of Stalinism toward stifling of culture by oblique the arts.

references to "tutelage," "fet-Zhdanov, whose speeches on literature and music read like tering," "etc."? Significant adthe ravings of a psychopath, misison!

The Real Leninist Policy

In an effort to gain sanction | The fact is that Lenin did for his Stalinist rubbish about not "time and again" point out guidance by the party and any specific policy toward the state, Khrushchev invokes the arts. His writings on the subshade of Lenin. "Lenin, it will ject include a pamphlet in be remembered, time and again 1905, articles on Tolstoy, repointed out " Pointed out marks on art passed on by what? According to Khrush- Klara Zetkin, plus his general comments on the ideological chev, pointed out exactly what Khrushchev claims is a Marx- superstructure of society. None ist policy toward art. But of these deals in clear-cut fash-Khrushchev doesn't quote Lenion with the problem of Comin; he merely asserts that Lenmunist policy toward the arts in said the same thing as after the seizure of power. Khrushchev. To this he adds, Khrushchev is reduced to "it will be remembered" - a categorical assertion. Unfortunphrase reminiscent of Stalin's ately for him, it will be remembered what authentic Leninism "as is well known."

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.1

the droppings of the least sig-Khrushchev insists on direct Partv adopt? "The Marxian nethod," says Trotsky, "affords guidance-in reality, command nificant schools of the past. (First of two articles) and more capitulations. But the writers will surrender with

N.Y. Times Music Critic Reports On Major Soviet Cultural Gains Leaders felt com-pelled to revert to a tough policy because they were con-

By Myra Tanner Weiss or stood in the back rows in- cies' A very conscientious obser- the stage."

"The spreading of culture in dictation. Taubman reports, "I vide a mass base for cultural ver spent "three weeks of alserver was Howard Taubman. the big of the soviet Union is pursued heard of several painters... who were not conforming to server was Howard Taubman, man observes. He is so im- old Soviet patterns in the music critic of the New York Times. His report on this ex- series with the query: "The tists, I was assured went unperience is presented in a se-

in the June 30 Times. Taubman was deeply imthe artists' insecurity? Is there pressed by what he saw and not enough ingenuity and goodheard. "It would be easy," he will in America to match the said, "in the old habit of dissolid virtues the Soviet Union crediting everything Soviet to has established in the arts of this phase of Soviet life ... and without loss of our zest But it would be wrong. for experiments and adven-"There is a genuine dedicature?"

tion to artistic ideals in the The "disadvantages" Taub-Soviet Union. There is a pervasive love of beauty. There is the bureaucratic regulation, unan exhilaration in the skill and der Khrushchev as under Stalvirtuosity of highly trained in before him, of the artists' performers. There is respect for into

Taubman presents impressive paths. statistics on the growth of cul-"Only a fortnight ago the tural institutions and facilities since the Russian Revolution Communist Party] sought to of 1917. He then translates vindicate the composers who these figures into human terms. "In Tiflis," he reports, "the had been abused for various sins in the years of Stalin," audience at a performance of Taubman reports. "The com-Sophocles' 'Oedipus Rex' was even more impressive than the mittee in effect apologized to men like Dmitri D. Shostakoproduction. It was a crowd in vich, Aram Khatchaturian and shirtsleeves, people of all ages the late Sergei S. Prokofieff who did not 'ook or behave for the attacks that had been like sophisticates. They identimade on them. They had been fied themselves with the story. and reacted as if it were a tale 'modernism' and a failure to of here and now live up to the requirements of "At 'Hamlet' one Sunday 'Socialist realism.' Now, it denoon in Moscow," Taubman velops, they were not guilty at continues, "more than half the

audience was made up of all." youngsters of grammar and high school age. In the bal- out, "The Central Committee's culturally developed forces of for full expression. Both freeconies one could see scrubbed decree did not open the gates lads in their Sunday best and wide to unlimited freedom. It rebellion against the bureau- ative artists in this country relittle girls with long braids. continued to speak of 'short-They leaned over the railing comings' and 'wrong tenden- political and cultural freedom. indispensible beginning.

tent on every word uttered on Yet wherever there is dicta- ruling class or its state feels tion there is also resistance to under any compulsion to pro-

Criticism in the hands of the heap.

years ago, the novelist Sholo-

khov (author of The Quiet Don)

in the last twenty years!" And

be even fewer in the next

Stalinism, from its triumph in

reaucratic edict the slightest

rudiments of a new culture.

twenly years.

munist Party two and a half aims of October.

who were not conforming to new. pressed that he concludes his visual arts . . . And these ar-United States has wonderful molested. They were not getit be purchased at the cost of were allowed to work, and somehow they managed by private sales to earn enough to live on.'

Despite the "disadvantages' underestimate the significance without aping its disadvantages ing" on the part of the United notion of what is "good" and ments." States in order not to lose "the "bad" art. The history of crecompetition with the Soviet ative work under capitalism is Union."

> A study of the relative posiman refers to, of course, are tions of Soviet and U.S. culture poverty. That is, in fact, what creative work and bureaucratic Taubman was made possible by control of culture to force it the Russian Revolution of 1917 politically determined The profit system was replaced with a planned economy. This

social change opened the door Central Committee [of the for a rational approach, not only to the production of the education and culture as well. With a planned economy it s possible to undertake systematically the raising of the edu-

> the entire people. This was ernment blacklist. done in the Soviet Union des-

However, Taubman points any other country. Now the other peoples will be liberated the population are in growing dom and security for the crecratic regime and pressing for quire this social change as the

to represent them."

Konni Zilliacus, Member of Parliament, deals with the relation between the executions

and the cold war. In a letter to the July 3 Manchester Guard-

creation - either classical or when granted a little . . ."

Furthermore, the "disadvantages" cited in Taubman's reculture. Stalin invented nothcracy took over methods of The capitalist class has long plausible by the war prepara-

FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM

full of the struggle of the artist against the pressure of the "artists' insecurity."

or more years, government bureaucrats in the United States have "investigated" his politic-

alty" has been questioned and many an artist has found his

pite the bureaucratic despotism virtues the Soviet Union has that triumphed in 1924-28. Al- established in the arts" only by held guilty of 'formalism,' though original creation has ridding itself of the profit sysbeen stifled, the classics of all tem. When capitalism has been countries have at any rate been abolished and a planned econgiven mass circulation. They omy won in the United States. have acquired popularity on a "our zest for experiment and scale probably unrivaled in adventure," like that of all

WITCH HUNT IN U.S.

means of subsistence, but in tist. Congressional committees al views and affiliations. "Lovcational and cultural level of name on some private or gov-

America "can match the solid



ist camp.' In France, Liberation, a daily whose viewpoint corresponds to that of the National Guardian. protested the Budapest killings



in Seattle (Continued from Page 1)

reaction was so sharp that some of those friendly to the ian Weekly, he points out that CP leadership in the area the Soviet leaders felt com- sought to hush up the scandal. At the Pension Union two policy because they were con- days later, for instance, Dr. vinced that the American and Herbert J. Phillips, after a Under capitalism neither the British governments do not want speech on "Two Views of Civil a summit meeting to end the Liberties," said, "The incident bomb-tests and also out of fear was unfortunate, very unfor-"of the strength of the popular tunate, a mistake, and the Peodemand for more freedom ple's World should issue a public apology . . . However, it

"They are barbaric enough to would be wrong for the SWP believe that they can suppress to publicize it; if they do they port are not peculiar to Soviet dangerous thoughts ('revision- would be rendering a great disism') and make the 'Socialist service to the working class ries of five articles beginning diversity in the arts. But must ting shows or acclaim, but they ing new. The Soviet bureau- camp' monolithic by intimida- and would be giving an indication and coercion," says Zil- tion of what I think is their dictation to the arts, literature liacus. "Their main stock-in- counter-revolutionary character. and science from the capitalists. | trade is fear of the west, made | Of course, I can't prove this. I only feel it is true that the oppressed the artists, starved tions and intransigence of the SWP is counter-revolutionary. Taubman urges a "soul-search- them into conforming to its British and American govern- I can't emphasize strongly enough the great danger that

publicity would create among ignorant workers.

In conclusion he declares: Shock and indignation among "The lesson is obvious: We members of the Communist must increase and ease up on Party over the return to Stalpressure for a summit conferinist hooliganism is reported to ence, and must add to it the be high. The victims of the demand for a British attitude attack have received many exand policies that hold out some pressions of sympathy from hope of reaching agreement. By these sources and assurances generating a politically effective that such tactics will no longer demand for peace here we be stomached by CP members shall also help to make effective after all the promises from the the demand for democracy and leadership about a break from national and political freedom the past.

> In Defense **Of Marxism** By Leon Trotsky 211 \$2.75 pp. Struggle for a **Proletarian Party** By James P. Cannon 302 pp. \$2.75 Two books dealing with the building of a revolutionary socialist party in the United States. PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

must begin with an under- Taubman refers to when he standing that the progress of asks if diversity in art must be

the Soviet Union reported by purchased at the expense of

Monday, July 14, 1958



Availability Pay

There are two basic approaches to the unemployment question. There is the approach of the capitalist for whom profits are the determining factor. When his goods can no longer sell at a profit, when his investments no longer yield sufficient returns, then he lays off, and that's all there is to it, as far as he is concerned.

Then there is the socialist approach. Socialists maintain that there can be no justification for unemployment as long as there exist unsatisfied human needs that labor can satisfy. The right of all human beings to engage in creative activity, to produce to meet the needs of society, and to partake of the total product to meet their individual needs is a basic socialist concept.

The right of a worker to his job was one of the basic concepts advanced in connection with the great sit-down strikes of the 1930's. It is becoming an active issue again in the current discussion on recession and unemployment compensation.

The MESA Educator, newspaper of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, AFL-CIO, raises the idea of the workers' right to employment in the form of a demand for full trade union wages for every one who is available for work. In motivating its demand the Educator points to the wealth of natural resources and productive capacity in the U.S. and to the fact that, though millions of work-

ers are looking for jobs, their labor eftion. forts are not utilized because production is in surplus of "market requirements."

a candidate in opposition to The right of the worker to the product the Democratic party incumof his labor is recognized by the Educator bent, Governor Harriman. They when it says: "Labor provides the skill, argued that to buck Harriman the knowledge, the manpower, which would mean isolation from the labor movement which is extakes the natural resources, the raw pected to endorse him. As an materials, applies them to the machines, alternative, they suggested limall of which it too created, and turns iting the ticket to a single them into the finished products . . .' candidate for an office other When workers are unemployed "they are than governor. This approach entitled to enjoy the benefits of the goods was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the conference they produced which stock the waredelegates.

houses. . ." It is the capitalist who owns this wealth of products, and the cost of unemployment insurance should certainly be laid at his door. To implement its demand for full pay when unemployed, MESA proposes an employer payroll tax the CP proposition for a single of 5% which it estimates will more than candidate while delegates withsuffice to cover a 100% unemployment compensation.

Socialists will certainly agree with the Educator when it says in conclusion: "We believe that workers who are unemployed though available for work are also entitled to continued income just as though their work was needed. This is our program. There can be no compromise

- nothing less. Full pay for availability is not something to ask for as a concession, it is something that workers are is not something to ask for as a concesentitled to - it is their right. It is about time it became their demand."

Second Thoughts on Lebanon

The danger of war in Lebanon has temporarily receded with the July 3 report of the United Nations' team of observers. This report rejected the contention of the Lebanese government that massive infiltration of forces on the Syrian border was the cause of the civil war still raging in that Mideast country.

The UN report stated that it had been impossible to determine the source of rebel arms or whether rebels had "infiltrated." Most important the UN Commission stated conclusively, "There is little doubt, however, that the vast majority was in any case composed of Lebanese."

The government of Camille Chamoun, of course, was furious with this rejection of their attempt to portray a rebellion as

Workers of the World; he had to the few who survived with- we could inject socialist ideas, and perspective is not only personally known Gene Debs, out capitulating to the capital- fight for socialist goals, and whether it has or seeks to es-Bill Haywood, and T. P. O'Con- ist class. "Among the greatest defend the class struggle from tablish a working-class base. Long before the UN team issued its nor: he had been friends with of these was my close friend inside the Democratic organi- The decisive factor is whether report, the Wall Street Journal editorially Chicago Anarchists just after Matthew Smith of the Me- zation. For a while it seemed such a base is combined with gave the same conclusions. On June 27, the Haymarket executions the Journal said, "the evidence indicates he had been around.

that though the rebels are supported by Tom Mooney, Sacco and Van- timely death, just a few months compensation, and a few other collaboration. zetti, the Haymarket martyrs- ago, was an irreparable loss to reforms. But soon I realized Nasser, the situation is largely one of inall the history-making labor the labor movement." ternal revolt . . . there is little to indicate and the instory-making ratio About Walter Reuther, Paul ist ideas were raised we were that he [Chamoun] represents a majority the turn of the century were could only say, ". . . he has butting our heads against a class base and are deeply confeeling. His army fights only half-heart- fresh in his mind. That's why everyone paid plenty around Detroit, so I ist party and socialists were base. But despite this, their edly. Rebel forces and leaders pass through government lines with what appears to close attention when Paul Den- won't waste any breath on welcome to get out the vote, social and political outlook and nie spoke at the Friday Night him." be semi-official sanction." And again, Socialist Forum in Detroit the As an old-timer, Dennie con- money, but when it came to Marxists as middle class. "American intervention would anger more other night. He brought to life cluded his remarks with an ap- making policy — we didn't people in the Middle East than it would for us the early days of the peal to youth. "After looking exist." socialist and labor movement on as a spectator and frequent "I learned a lesson," he con-officialdom is saturated with a please.'

No easy victory could be seen by the had gathered to help celebrate for 70 years," he said, "I trust around for a socialist group ology. The essence of this ideeditors of the Journal. "Does not the sit-uation promise — at the minimum — in-volvement in the bloody and frustrating of Labor. as an apprentice class struggle is still with us

Is United Socialist Ticket 'Middle Class'? The real issue under debate of the middle-class mentality By Harry Ring

Urges Socialist Campaign

Erik Bert on the United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference held in New York June 13-15. The report lays the basis for a new line of



Dr. Annette Rubinstein, former American Labor Party spokesman, presents draft socialist platform to United Independent-Socialist Electoral conference held in New York June 13-15.

of labor whose concern extends party as evolving from a very understand that an effective so-simply using the vital issue of cialist movement must be based socialists establishing firm According to the Worker ac-

who therefore are willing to debating point. At the confergates active in unions and other withdraw into "militant isola- ence, unionists and non-uniontion" from labor. The need for the socialist debate. But even that is bemovement to establish the side the point because none of out such ties favored a full strongest links with the work- the unionists who spoke -

ing class and eventually to win either pro or con - were This assertion, which has no leadership of it is paramount. speaking for any real segment basis in fact, coincides with The Marxist program is based of the labor movement. The similar allegations by various squarely on the premise that plain fact is that today the CP leaders. The case that they the working class, by virtue of entire radical movement, and are trying to build is that the its decisive role in production, not least of all the Communist initiators and supporters of the is the only social force capable party, is largely isolated from united ticket movement are of leading humanity to social- the labor movement in terms of nority groups. Through such oration - that is, by subordi-'petty bourgeois," or middle- ism. exercising any significant instruggles, waged on both the nating the interests of the

class, socialists who fail to But the CP leaders are fluence as socialists.

Dennie doesn't think much the last few years of my po-

Old-Timer Gets Back Home

By Ed Atwood

LABOR BASE

socialist slate.

count of the conference, dele-

mass organizations supported

UNITED INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST ELECTION CONFERENCE

> bridge to the rank and file of labor was demonstrated not by the number of union books any idea of building the powaved in the air, but by the litical strength of labor in oppolitical content of the plat- position to that of the capitalform they adopted. In addition to spelling out support of the Democratic nimediate and long-range so- party and work within it to ialist aims, the platform de- secure "a greater voice" for lares: "Labor can win recog- labor — that is to establish a nition of its rightful place in more equitable relationship the life of America only if it with the capitalists who own

rejects company unionism in and control the party. Walter the field of politics and begins Reuther who proclaims there is organizing in this field. What no class struggle in America s needed is a powerful party sees his role in the Democratic

to the working farmers, the junior partner to an equal with Negro people and small business Big Businessmen in the party's on the labor movement and working-class roots as a fake men.

ists were on both sides in the

the entrenched political ma- working within the Democratic chines . . . the solutions to party is basically the same as the grave problems facing the the program of the AFL-CIO American people will not come high command. In terms of real as a gift from well-meaning politics, a coalition with a secliberals; such solutions can be tion of the capitalist class withwon only through gigantic in a party irrevocably comstruggles involving labor, the mitted to capitalism can be Negro people and other mi- achieved only by class collab-

economic and political front, workers to those of Big Busithe American people will re- ness. place the profit system with a planned society." party leaders to depict the

PROGRAM DECISIVE It is such concepts as these ment as "petty bourgeois" has

It further declares that it

that gives the united ticket a certain ironic twist in that of our present-day labor lead- litical activity," he began, "be- movement a working-class they espouse what is the hall-He had been a member of ers especially in comparing them cause I was one of those so- stamp. The real test of whether mark of a middle-class outthe Knights of Labor, the So- with the giants of the past. cialists who got trapped in the a movement is working-class look — namely, the politics of cialist Party, and the Industrial However, he gave due credit Democratic Party. They told us or middle-class in its approach class collaboration.

HIT JOBLESS PAY

The efforts of Communist

united socialist ticket move-

A group of Washington, D.C. employers have filed suit in Federal Court to stop payment chanics Educational Society of like it might work. We got a program of class-struggle inof unemployment benefits be-America," he said. "His un- social security, unemployment stead of a program of classyond a 26-week period. In seeking an injunction to stop For example, the official extended payments to the jobthat whenever any truly social- leaders of the labor movement less, the employers charge they certainly have a mass working

are being subject to higher taxes without "due process of been cussed and discussed stone wall. This was a capital- cerned with maintaining that law.'



Page Three

The top union leaders reject

ists. They remain committed to

Stripped of class - struggle

was this: Should socialists try of labor officials is the July

to end their isolation from the statement by Guy Brown, head

masses by concealing their of the Brotherhood of Locomo-

identity as socialists and there- tive Engineers, in opposition to

by becoming "acceptable"? Or the Teamsters Union proposal

should they find the way to for unity of all transport

break through their isolation unions. Brown asserted: "I

as socialists by winning work- firmly believe that if this plan er support for their cause? The ... is adopted, the organization

conference majority favored the might become so powerful that

latter course. The fact that the it could result in the destruc-

councils.

welcomes every development phrases, the Communist party

which brings labor into the po- program of building a "people's

litical arena in collision with anti-monopoly coalition" by

majority delegates were ser- tion of the nation." iously determined to find a REUTHER'S OUTLOOK

The June 22 issue of the

Worker carried a report by

an invasion. In a statement circulated July 8 to members of the UN Security Council, the UN report was declared to be "either inconclusive or misleading or unwarranted."

The imperialist powers were also unhappy about the UN report, but more restrained in their criticism. They had hoped that it would be enough to threaten the Lebanese rebels with U.S. Marines anchored close by, ready for action. But the Arab revolution is too deep-going to be bluffed into acquiescence.

This is not to say that the UN observer team acted in opposition to decisions made in the chancelleries of the dominant imperialist powers. There was obvious uncertainty and fear of unleashing a war in the Middle East at this time.

business of combatting guerrillas? . . . If candy maker in Chicago. He and is definitely growing more and realized that I belonged Proceeding from the illusion of Should Be Stopped Now." A we became bogged down in Lebanon, in was 13 years old. Later, caught severe. Socialism is still the here. They want to build a an identity of class interests, panel discussion. Wed., July 23, a kind of a permanent Korea beachhead, up in the early imperial de- only answer, but it won't come revolutionary working class the union bureaucrats confine 8 P.M. Andrews Hotel, Rm. would we be able to move in answer to signs of U. S. capitalism, Paul easy." some more real threat to U.S. interests?"

The Arab revolution has proved He came back a confirmed so- says, in his ability to "recog- which produced a slight tremor class-struggle policies. cialist. strong enough to successfully defy the threats of the U.S. State Department. gia - "Just as bad then as it During the question and dis-... and ... they took me Chamoun has already backed down on is now," he said. He ran for cussion period following his back." his stated intention to change the consti- governor of Georgia on the So- talk Dennie, who recently joinimperialist puppet in the Arab world appears to be falling from his seat of power. The danger of war has not been eliminatof oppressed people.

served in the armed forces dur- The secret of Paul's youthful and the energy to do it." With by means of class collabora- Hendrickson, Jean Bradford, ing the Spanish-American War. outlook and energy lies, he obvious signs of the emotion tion. They vigorously oppose James Doran and Al Eiden.

nize mistakes and correct er- in his voice, Dennie added, "It For a while he lived in Geor- rors whenever they occur." was like coming back home,

candidates against "labor en-

This policy was carried a

dorsed" capitalist politicians.

vention of the SP-SDF in De-

It's a grand thing when an tution to clear the road for another six-year term in office for himself. Another imperialist puppet in the Arab world an-

"I haven't said much about movement.



A Bill for \$210,000

Members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters should be very interested in how their union is to be "democratized" through government intervention.

A three-man panel of monitors appointed to "watch over" the union affairs last February hasn't brought the membership a nickel's worth of democracy. But it will cost union members some \$232,000. Most of this sum is to go to the lawyers.

Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts arranged the settlement of the dispute between 13 New York truck drivers and James R. Hoffa. The drivers were suing for democratic procedures in the union. The settlement gave Hoffa the presidency of the Teamsters, with the three-man, panel to watch him.

On July 7, Letts awarded three lawyers for the rank-and-file truck drivers \$210,000 from the union treasury. In addition, he awarded \$5,622 to Godfrey P. Schmidt, one of the three, for out-ofpocket expenses; \$9,997 in expenses for another, Thomas J. Dodd; and \$1,981 for the third, M. J. Blumenfeld.

Schmidt had already received \$7,205 from funds directly raised by the rank-

and-file committee. The group of 13 truck drivers who initiated the suit were awarded \$4,700 to cover their expenses.

Of the \$210,000 in fees, Schmidt is to get half. It might be added that he is one of the three monitors appointed by the political denominator is admir- vigorously supports. ation for the Soviet regime." court.

He states his organization The Teamsters Union is one of the "cannot and will not" support a most dictatorially run labor organizations united ticket which sees the people of the Soviet bloc counin the country. Three successive presidents-Tobin, Beck and Hoffa-have ruled tries as "engaged in building a socialist order." He explains by goons, expulsions, receivership, blackthat his organization views the listing and collusion with employers and Soviet sphere as "not 'socialist' corrupt political machines. They have a but rather a new and brutal vast retinue of piecards to do their bid- form of totalitarian class soding. It is extremely difficult to dislodge ciety. Suall's claimed concern about this bureaucracy and return the union to the lack of socialist morality

rank-and-file democratic control.

of the united ticket is not en-However, in the long run, through hanced by his assertion that patient organization of the membership its common bond is "admiration around a program of union democracy for the Soviet regime." He and militant struggle against the employ- ought to be perfectly aware ers, the battle against the bureaucratic that the supporters of the movement includes the Socialmachine can be won. ist Workers Party and many

The 13 Teamsters who filed suit others who condemn Khrushagainst Hoffa sought a short cut in the chev's crimes (such as Nagy's fight in the form of a federal court order. execution) although they are to the capitalist politicians, it some of the same vigorous op-They got the court order. But democracy partisans of planned economy. is still far away. The only ones who gain- the refusal of the united ticket cratic' if it is to be socialist." tional who helped the totalied are the lawyers.

The projected united inde-, SDF concept that "a new and tion that the SP-SDF is not in pendent-socialist ticket in New brutal form of totalitarian class favor of presenting a socialist York has been denounced as society" exists in the Soviet alternative to the capitalist pol-"phony" by the Socialist Party- sphere. His concern on this iticians, whether it be "demo-Social Democratic Federation. question is not simply of a cratic" or otherwise. The only

ing Suall, the united ticket opposes Wall Street's cold war the Democratic party. At the movement is "a coalition of against the Soviet orbit — a time of the fusion the SP surcold war that the SP-SDF rendered its past tradition of persons whose only common running candidates against the

SP-SDF 'ON GUARD'

on the part of the supporters

The unification of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation last year was based on a joint political memorandum which declared in part: . . . peace cannot be achieved by appeasement of the Commu-troit. A resolution was adopted

Second International, and as

charged that while the united ticket movement recognizes the ment would be more impress-

of Labor, as an apprentice class struggle is still with us, small group of young people tween worker and capitalist. party, and they have the spirit themselves to seeking reforms M-3, Mpls. Speakers: Viena

"Whv the H-bomb Tests Ausp.; Twin Cities Labor For-A recent, striking illustration um.

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nist imperialism that threatens which now permits "individual . . . the free world and its who have been endorsed by who have been endorsed by democratically established mili-tary agencies must be constant-Suall's statement prous." Suall's statement proudly ly on guard against the military notes that the SP-SDF is "the drive of the Communist diconly American affiliate" of the tators.'

The united socialist ticket such cannot be part of any movement was also attacked in movement which includes those a public statement by the na- who "condone" crimes against tional vice chairman of the the workers. Apart from the SP-SDF, Darlington Hoopes. He slander against the united so-

need for a socialist alternative ive if the SP-SDF would show "fails to recognize that such position to its French "com-Suall's real concern is with an alternative must be 'demo- rades" of the Second Internamovement to accept the SP- Hoopes here forgot to men- iarian, de Gaulle, to power.

According to a statement by theoretical nature. He is against "democratic" alternative that SP-SDF national secretary Irv- the united ticket because it now interests the SP-SDF is

The Negro Struggle

By Mary Conway

'The Wall Between'

THE WALL BETWEEN. By Anne Braden. New York. Monthly Reiew Press. 306 pages. \$5.00.

The white South is not a solid front of racial supremacy. There are militant fighters for Negro rights and courageous supporters of racial integration to be found in all sections of Southern white society. Carl and Anne Braden are among these fighters. Anne Braden was born and raised, in a well-to-do Alabama family and was schooled in traditional Southern racial prejudices. By late teen age, however, she opposed all racial inequality and soon became active in the desegregation movement.

Carl Braden came from a working class family in Louisville, Kentucky. His father was a trade unionist and a strong supporter of the great socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. Carl himself became a confirmed socialist at an early age. He earned his living as a newspaper reporter, editor, copy reader; became active in the trade union movement when he was 21 and has participated throughout his adult life in various movements against racial inequality.

The Bradens came to know Andrew Wade and his family intimately when, in March 1954, Wade wanted to buy a home in Louisville, Ky., for his wife and two children. There being no suitable property available in the Negro district, Andrew Wade asked the Bradens to buy a house in a previously all-white area and then deed the property over to the Wade family. This was done. A short time after Mr. Wade had moved his family into their new home the house was bombed and nearly destroyed. In the struggle that followed the Bradens were confronted with the vilest of personal slander, threatened with physical violence and legally charged under a state "sedition" law with stirring up racial hatred in order to overthrow the government. Carl Braden was

convicted of this charge and sentenced to 15 years in the penitentiary. A Supreme Court decision against all sedition laws knocked out Braden's conviction. He did serve many months in prison, however, for lack of bail.

VOLUME XXII

The Wall Between is the story of the battle fought to defend Wade's house and of the persecution of the Bradens for active participation in this struggle. The book is written autobiographically by Anne Braden. It is much more than a factual account of the case itself. Mrs. Braden describes how Andrew Wade, a prosperous, respected, young business man trying to purchase a new house, in the course of the events became a determined crusader ready to risk his life in the fight against segregation.

Mrs. Braden's book is full of compassion and understanding. She describes with the intimacy of personal experience the social pressures bearing down upon both Negro and white sympathizers of the Wades - pressures which held too many of them back from giving active support to the fight.

The Wall Between does not pretend to offer a final solution to the problem of racial inequality. It is a fascinating and beautifully written account of one struggle and an analysis of the social forces underlying that struggle. The author is firmly opposed to the theory of "gradualism," and her book is a recommendation for direct and militant action. She understands the Negro struggle as being more than a fight by a persecuted minority for justice. She sees the cancer of white supremacy infecting all of society, morally destroying its members, and she holds that none can be free while inequality and segregation exist.

The book should be read not only for Union, Amalgamated Meat Cut- past cannibal practices. its account of the struggle for integrated ters, Machinists, Carpenters, housing in Louisville but for an insight Laundry Workers, Bakers, and Hoffa in the June issue of Ininto the thinking and emotions on the race question in the South.

THE MILITANT MONDAY, JULY 14, 1958 NAACP Mass Meeting Protests Racist Attack MU

A mass meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, June 26, protested the racist assault at a Memorial Day outing in Forrest Park, Pa. and demanded prosecution of police who greeted returning picnickers — the victims of assault - with swinging night-+

sticks. Mr. Robert Dillard, adult sponsor of the 28-member Delta Phi same time Dillard was told that Tau sorority that ran the pic-

nic, reported the attack. The leave. sorority decided to do something "different" at this year's annual outing, he explained. With the intention of raising money for a scholarship pro- to dance. He was attacked. gram, they met the requirenents of buying at least 300 bottles, tree branches and picailroad tickets and \$50 worth nic utensils were employed by of tickets for amusements at the white attackers. Back-stabs, Forrest Park. Everyone looked head injuries, bruises, a nineforward to the big event and year-old thrown in a creek, when Memorial Day finally ar- forced the pionickers to retreat to board the train at 10:15 AM. They arrived at the park at But the train proved poor 11 AM, 372 strong. Some also refuge. All 40 windows were went by car.

TENSION MOUNTS When the party arrived at tection by squeezing into the the policeman's badge number; baggage racks. the picnic section to which they were assigned, they found the

area bared to the sun and some received a call' (which the Park of the grass two feet high. Mr. guards claim they made at 2:30 July 8 New York Times, the other unions. But as a defense Dillard protested to the Park PM). They joined the neighborauthorities who told him to hood Chalfont police at the and resisting arrest. Prosser's for corruption and against ex- pick whatever space was unoccupied. After settling down rioting was over.

in new areas, the picnickers TREATED AS RIOTERS ery Workers, Office Employes is in effect a reversal of their found themselves subjected to During the ride back, the the stares of the white inhabi- sorority excursioners were giv-

The new policy as stated by tants. From that point on a en strange treatment. Reinforcesteady tension began to mount. ments of railroad police "guard-The first incident occurred at ed" them. At Lansdale, Pa., riot thing, Dillard said. 2:30 PM. A white boy was guns were trained on them shooting off blanks. From 15 while more railroad police

Warehousemen, who belong to ganized . . . and improvement to 25 of his companions jumped boarded the cars. This treaton a Negro boy "for making ment was climaxed when, tired, battered and bloody, they arremarks" about it. Mr. Dillard then demanded rived in North Philadelphia protection from the Park. Two station. Some 75 cops greeted



On June 6 the News released (Continued from Page 1) thin edge of its trade balance-leading militants at Smithfield and the effects of the U.S. dea second story relieving the sorority of guilt. pression have not even begun have been denounced as "agi-Leaders of the Forrest Park to be felt. A long dock strike tators" before the commission committee said, "Our Negro

would be disastrous, and just and in the Tory press. children must not go to Forrest Two important lessons should at this moment the dockers Park on the Fourth of July. be drawn from the experience have submitted a claim for a Their lives will be in danger seeing the kids go hungry any longer. . " if the AFL-CIO prohibits at actionary head of the Brother- of this dock strike. First, the very substantial wage increase. "We've decided to leave them and try to find a job so we can take care of The IBT is now the largest participate in the units of the spring of if they do!" Action is apparently to be confined to legal procedures. The IBT is now the largest participate in the unity con- ship, for a basic trade union ership to force the issue.

Mr. James Baker, counsel for union in the country with 1.5 ference with the statement that principle — the right not to But the fighting spirit of the the NAACP, said his organizascab. In the U.S., this strike dockers and the weakness of

'Mike Isn't His Child' By Della Rossa

them.

Los Angeles, July 9 — The face of capitalism appeared twice in similar stories in local papers here last week.

Two girls, 13-year-old Gigi Hill and her 16-year-old sister, Sandra, threw their protective love around their 20-month-old brother, Mike, and ran off with him when their parents threatened to give him away for adoption.

They had trudged 30 miles through the Verdugo mountains before being found by police.

There is a struggle for existence in

The second story last week was about [SIU] and Mr. Curran [NMU]

a young couple who abandoned their six are believed to be ready to small children, because "We can't stand stick by the new alliance" even

them right. . .

of wages and conditions of life for workers." WILL STICK The AFL-CIO Executive

... Teamsters

Teamsters have mutual assis-

tance pacts in force with major

the Retail Clerks, United Brew-

tion, the IBT has a mutual aid

pact with the West Coast

By Dorothy Mack

the ILWU.

Whatever Hoffa's personal Council is expected to take ac- motives are in launching the tion on the transport unity pro- unity move, it holds out great posal at a meeting next month. possibilities for the American The existence of the many working class. An agreement

"I always dress like this

during contract negotiations."

(Continued from Page 1) | through jurisdictional raids on

AFL-CIO affiliates including pulsion from the AFL-CIO, the

Operating Engineers. In addi- ternational Teamster is: ". .

against government prosecution

Teamsters have promised what

cooperation with other unions

. . . organization of the unor-

The Hills are denied county assistance Teamster pacts will make it which seeks to pool the strength because they haven't been in the state difficult for the AFL-CIO to of the organized workers in long enough. Meanwhile, they eat in take any effective action against the transportation industry, set-

shifts in their tiny house, so cramped the unity conference. Reporting the outstanding jurisdictional there are only three beds for all ten of CIO the July 7 Well Struct organized could could and the unity of the line to the structure of the st CIO, the July 7 Wall Street organized could create a form-Journal says, ". . . Mr. Hall idable weapon for the entire labor movement.

This is attested to by the remarks of Guy L. Brown, re-

"I would fear for a combina million members. Much of its

guards were on duty. Protec- the Forrest Park victims as

tion was promised; but at the being the rioters.

Mr. Dillard said that the prehe and his group had better cautions on the train were unnecessary. There was no dis-

At the dance pavillion, a pute among the sorority guests white boy asked a Negro girl themselves. He also said that to dance. She accepted. A he felt the riot was an organ-Negro boy asked a white girl ized anti-Negro attack by a group of white people at the park, and that most of the Baseball bats, knives, beer rioters were over 21 years of age. None of the rioters has been identified.

NUMBER 28

Armed with nightsticks the police proceeded to shove. threaten and beat members of ived, the sorority girls, their It took them three hours to the group. A young man apfamilies and friends were ready get back to the train. They proached patrolman John Proswere under attack all the way. ser and asked to be taken to the hospital. He was pushed off the train onto the platform by smashed with rocks and botthat officer. Mr. Dillard wittles. Some tried to gain pro- nessed this and made a note of

this was the signal for Prosser At 7:25 PM the State Police to assault him, inflicting facial bruises and cuts.

Dillard was arrested on charges of assaulting an officer scene of the riot - after the story was that the defendant injured himself when he de-

> liberately fell onto the officer. He was held under \$400 bail for grand jury action. The next morning he was given a hearing at magistrate's court. The officers didn't remember a

MASS MEETING

On June 5 the sorority held a mass meeting at which the Forrest Park Citizens' Committee was formed. One of the first acts of the new committee

was to send a statement to the

the Hill home where the parents live with eight of their ten children in a two-room house.

The father had been released recently from San Quentin, then worked as a carpenter and painter but had been out of work for three weeks. Food and money were almost gone.

Looking for work, Lyle Hill faced prejudices as an "ex-con." He himself was guilty of the prejudice fostered by capitalism that children belong only to their natural, "legitimate" parents.

"For some time now," Sandra told the police, "Dad has been yelling that he doesn't want Mike. You see, Mike isn't his child."

Upon their being returned home, Hill told his children, "Mike is here to stay."

Working

Editor:

In a Hospital

"Please call police to pick them up, and tell the kids we love them and we'll present strength was built be back as soon as we can get a place to Chicago Forum live and work."

This was the note left by Ollen and Joy Lovell in the kitchen of their little Discusses City slept, they left.

The next morning, the oldest, eight, Housing Needs went next door to the landlady, carrying the youngest, five months old.

The family had lived in the cottage since January, the landlady said, and the father had been out of work.

"They were broke all the time," she incomes was scored here to course both in contract negosaid, "She seemed to be doing her best to night by participants in the fiations and in organizing the take care of the children but it must have newly-formed Hyde Park For- unorganized. And they will been hard. They seemed to think a lot of um. the kids"

would have been illegal from tion of that kind . . . the organization might become so first to last under the "second-

powerful that it could result in ary boycott" provision of Taft-|Hartley. the destruction of the nation."

The possibilities for new TORY WEAKNESS

union advances do not reside so much with the bureaucratic officials of the various unions participating in the projected conference as in the enthusiasm precariously perched on the months. the unity undoubtedly will

create in the ranks. Once in-CHICAGO, June 26 - Fail- spired by the prospects that ure of the government and pri- united action opens up, the vate groups to provide adequate membership will pressure the housing for people with lower tops for a sustained militant pressure for a greater voice -

for more democracy - in In a round-table discussion entitled "Class Issues in Urban shaping the policy of the united part of their vacations for Party in 1938. Renewal," it was pointed out transport conference.

that redevelopment plans being cooperation rather than juris- lowing list. proposed for this southside Chicago community would displace low income groups, innew housing in the area, slated Safeway strike which saw the plus 15 cents postage. Teamsters endorsing the fight to rent at \$45 to \$50 a room. a day — when the employers for a couple of hours before would be beyond their reach. of the Meat Cutters and Retail hensive Marxist work on art

Clerks. The group approved publicahelp. They disrupt family plans to even give her emergency tion of a brochure which HAWAII SOLIDARITY at the last minute. It may be treatment — that is, they were would demonstrate that the The recession is getting hard for a mother to find a too busy collecting fees from housing crisis is rooted in the waiian sugar-worker strike con- deals with questions history \$1.50. Paper 75 cents. worse, and many people are baby-sitter or she may have to patients who would pay for capitalist system and that the ducted by the ILWU was un- had not placed before them: fundamental solution of the doubtedly speeded to victory by the attitude of the working have jobs are lucky and the taking them to the zoo as she Conditions like this make it problem demands a basic so- the solidarity shown by IBT class and its party to art and der circumstances and in a postage.

The Hyde Park Forum was gave financial as well as moral state power.

I would like to write an ar- cussion of socialist ideas on lo- (Warehouse) and the Teamsters G. Plekhanov. 243 pp \$1.00. ticle on treatment of patients cal, national and international have long battled over jurisother subject. This sure is one opened by Rev. William Baird, IBT and Louis Goldblatt of the the role and meaning of art Barron B. Beshoar 372 pp. plus 15 cents postage. that should be covered in a so- of Essex Community Church, Warehousemen have issued a from primitive times to the Regular price \$3.50. Special for In the generation since the

> Again, a recent national Engels. 546 pp. \$1.35. by large institutions such as the University of Chicago and Montgomery Ward settlement that little concern has been was obtained through joint ef- this work developed into a the Colorado Rockefeller inter- This new biography in English shown for those who need new forts of the Teamsters and Re- positive exposition of the dia- est. It has become the prime will fill a deplorable gap in the housing the most — the Negro tail Clerk unions.

Finally, an "Agreement on world outlook.

NAACP. They have called for ganizing 750,000 garage, auto The book comprises a series THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS A profound historical study

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Communist Party to the launch mented examination of the trial New York 3, N.Y.

tion would appeal to the state the capitalists only scares these "leaders" more and heightens and federal Attorney Generals and institute civil suit against their sense of "responsibility" as labor statesmen. Fortunately, the Park owners for failing to the dockers have shown that provide protection to patrons. Several in the audience pro-

they can carry on their own Secondly, this strike exposed fights, and create their own posed that a return to the the basic weakness of the Tory leadership. British capitalism Park be organized with adegovernment in its attacks on will get more rough treatment quate preparations made to delabor. The British economy is from them in the coming fend the Negroes from racist attack.

Worker's Bookshelf

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postage.

For those who plan to use ing of the Socialist Workers of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. Of this book, Prof. Francis D. Wormuth the West-

The new Teamsters policy of lishers recommends the fol- DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By ern Political Review said: "Ob-Frederick Engels 496 pp. \$1.50. viously the Department of Jusdictional warfare and raids has LITERATURE AND REVOLU- Engels explains the basic tice cannot answer all critialready born fruit in the settles TION. By Leon Trotsky, 256 laws of dialectical thought, cisms. But unless it answers cluding many Negroes, and that ment of a 22-day West Coast pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 and illustrates their workings Mr. Wexley's, we must conby examples from natural sci- clude that the Rosenberg case ence and mathematics. is our Dreyfus case, outdoing the first in sordidness, cruelty

yet written. Trotsky not only THE EIGHTEENTH BRU- and terror."

extends and enriches earlier MAIRE OF LOUIS BONA-

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other sources of income would in hospitals, but that is an- issues. The first discussion was diction, Joseph Dillon of the for its materialist analysis of OUT OF THE DEPTHS. By price \$3.25. Special price, \$2.75

hours - maybe 10 to 11 hours they paged interns and doctors

find themselves desperate for anyone of them had the "time"

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itan New York area fell 10,400 lies.

Council, has been sharply cri- national Association of Ma- P. Cannon. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75 citing novel. ticized by the AFL-CIO and the chinists holds promise of or- Paper \$2.00. One brutal aspect of hospital out of work offsetting a pickup inclusion of at least 500 units repair shop and filling station of twelve lectures delivered in AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. By of the origins of Christianity.

segregated neighborhoods.

difficult for hospital employes cial change. bosses let them know it all the had promised. time. When jobs were easier At the least she is so tired to do their job right, and I for the workers to get, they and worn out when she finally suppose that anyone who works established by socialists of var- aid. were treated with some kind does make it home that she at all now has conditions like ious viewpoints to provide a In the San Francisco Bay UNADDRESSED LETTERS and as an aid in understanding de social structure. of decency, but now the bosses is too irritated and crabby to this. can get away with anything. be a good mother. A very cour-This is especially true in hos- ageous employe or one with pitals where services are con-

Letters from Our Readers

sidered essential and where protest against these condiwalking off the job is considtions. ered "cruel" to the patients.

unemployed. Those who still disappoint her children by not treatment.

The hospital problem is complicated by the fact it has to run on a 24-hour, seven days a week basis which is not true of Most employes are very willother businesses - and a hospital is a business.

If one member of the fam- out and asks, "What are you ily works in a hospital and doing now?" and an employe

therefore works some Sundays, answers in a courteous way, it adds to family income but "Heating some milk for a padisrupts family life. Unhappy tient," even then the supervisor 5,412,000. Seasonal cutbacks in Plan, now before the City ed by the IBT and the Inter- CAN TROTSKYISM. By James struggle and reads like an ex- ANITY. By Karl Kautsky. 400 families are common.

is apt to say, "That's no ex- apparel production and further There is usually help on cuse, don't just stand there! lay-offs in machinery and metal weekends that just works part- Let's get on the ball now." time. They are willing to put in extra hours, but the em- work is that if someone gets in employment in construction, of public housing. The NAACP employes. ployers refuse because it isn't burned or hurt on the job, it finances, and services. Factory has also demanded that none of These examples argue well of the struggle to build a rev- price \$6.00. Now \$3.00 plus 20 accounted for in the budget. is hard to get medical treat- employment was running 169,- the residents of the area be for what the projected trans- olutionary socialist party in the cents postage. The same money goes to pay ment. A few weeks ago, a cook 000 below the level of corres- relocated in other overcrowded, portation conference can U.S. from the founding of the An intensive, carefully docu- Publishers, 116 University Place, regular help for working extra in our hospital got burned and ponding period last year.



Employment in the metropoland white working class fami-

in May from the April figure of industries put 18,600 persons

achieve.

said has been dominated mainly eye" on union demands.

Jurisdiction and Cooperation in

Local 996 in Honolulu which artists after the conquest of manner that foreshadowed the

reading or study Pioneer Pub-

The finest and most compre-

platform in the area for dis- Area, where ILWU Local 6 ART AND SOCIAL LIFE. By Gaulle's rise to power in This little book is valuable

ANTI-DUHRING. By Frederick

Starting out as a polemic,