## Socialist **Electoral Action**

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# THE MILITANT

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# Kremlin Seeks to Restore Stalin-Type Dictatorship

part of a big push by the "ROTTEN ELEMENTS" Khrushchev regime to restore and preserve a tight, mono- "methods" were no sooner de- improvements while defeating lithic dictatorship on the order nounced at the 20th Congress speeded-up work norms. of Stalin's.

swing to repression to prevent threats against "rotten ele- Kaganovich on the one hand the Soviet masses, emboldened ments" in the party ranks who against Khrushchev and Zhuby previous concessions, from were taking advantage of "de- kov on the other came to a shattering the dictatorship. The Stalinization" to attack current head the victors had again to function of the dictatorship is bureaucratic crimes. to defend and promote the inmasses for greater equality and and in Hungary. for socialist democracy.

Follows in Stalin's Footsteps

Khrushchev, left, shaking hands with Anastas Mikoyan,

right, is greeted in Moscow after a visit to Hungary. The

Kremlin boss is responsible, directly or indirectly, for the

secret trial and execution of four Hungarian Communist

The Nat'l Guardian

On Nagy Execution

The stand taken by the Guardian will receive serious at

The Guardian stand on the executions is based on an

The editorial also states that there are bloody hands in

thing surely has gone wrong" within the Soviet countries.

Guardian. Entitled "The 'crimes' for which Imre Nagy was

killed," this piece is a thorough refutation of the Kremlin's

read. Here I would like to discuss the conclusion he poses.

charges against Nagy and deserves to be widely circulated and

"The executions seemed designed to shatter the hopes of

tention by the entire radical movement. This is particularly

true because of the Guardian's sympathy for the Soviet Union

a "shocking and appalling act."

to the U.S. government's anti-Soviet aims.

the right - and the duty - to speak up.'

the start, however, the Kremlin time. The Hungarian events The Soviet and Chinese at combined concessions with sharpened divisions within the tacks on Yugoslavia and the crackdowns so as to keep the bureaucracy. Capitalizing on execution of Imre Nagy are masses from pressing for more, this, Soviet workers in key fac-

of the Soviet Communist Party These moves are part of a than the CP tops had to issue struggle between Molotov and

ordinate economic privileges of 20th Congress, when the most as they enlisted the support of the Soviet bureaucracy. But the far-reaching reforms were the workers for the purge of rule of this oligarchy runs in- promulgated, concessions had so their rivals. creasingly counter to the needs emboldened the anti-bureauof the Soviet society for po- cratic forces throughout the litical freedom and counter to Soviet bloc as to lead to revthe aspirations of the working olutionary explosions in Poland weeks following the Hungarian

Following Stalin's death, his Poland but crushed the Hun- nomic aid to it cut off. Renewsuccessors embarked upon a garian workers uprising in al of ties gave new encouragecourse of reforms designed to bloody fashion. This slowed ment to the tendencies seeking appease the Soviet masses, down the revolutionary process national independence in Eastwhose pressure for an end to throughout the Soviet bloc, but ern Europe and workers' parthe Stalinist tyranny was be- the Kremlin was not able to ticipation in the management

tories conducted a number of Thus Stalin's bureaucratic limited strikes that won wage

denounce Stalinist crimes and Within a few months of the promise new economic reforms.

When last July the power

At the same time, "friendly" ties were renewed once more with the Yugoslavs. In the revolution, the Tito regime had The Kremlin compromised in been reviled and Soviet ecocoming ever stronger. From restore tight discipline at that of industry through such means as the Yugoslav workers' councils. (Shortly before reopening against Chrysler Corporation's negotiations with the Yugo- missile plant near Detroit was slavs, Khrushchev, speaking in broken when the UAW Inter-

> 'LET FLOWERS BLOOM' Hungarian revolution received ing. so much popular sympathy, that | As long ago as May 12, 93% the Mao regime decided to forestall revolutionary develop- 1245 at the plant voted to strike ments with a liberal line of its and asked for International own. This was the famous "Let- authorization to do so. Since a-100-Flowers-Bloom" policy in that time the local has been which freedom of criticism was negotiating with the company promised and in which the over discrimination against workers were promised a lim- union members in hiring proited voice in factory manage- cedures, reclassification of work

sions, too, went far beyond the June 23 New York Times, A limits intended by the Chinese Hughes, assistant chief of the CP leaders. A student move- UAW Chrysler Department ment arose in all the principal charged that Chrysler was universities with demands for freezing out the union in hiring socialist democracy. The leaders at the plant. "rightists" - as it called the student leaders, ditched its "bloom-and-contend" policy and In a June 30 editorial statement, the National Guardian sharply condemned the execution of Imre Nagy, branding it drove all opposition again into

silence. With the purge of Zhukov, last October, Khrushchev rose to unrivaled pre-eminence in and because of its vigorous opposition to the cold war and the bureaucracy and concentrated sufficient power into his hands to settle inner-bureauclementary and sound proposition - one that no genuine so- cratic conflicts - thus playing cialist can argue with. Its editorial states: "The plain fact is a role analogous to the one that injustice anywhere is a universal concern; and any man played by Stalin

or woman who feels that a life has been taken unjustly has HIT 'REVISIONISM' Together with the Chinese, Khrushchev then set about reimposing a working discipline both capitalist and Soviet sectors of the globe, and that "someon all the Communist Parties A similar viewpoint is presented forcefully in an of Eastern Europe and of the article by Elmer Bendiner in the same issue of the rest of the world. The meeting (Continued on Page 2)

requiring Loyalty Oaths of decision were California Churches and non-profit organizations, and veterans who, up to now had to swear a loyalty oath before being exempted from certain State property taxes. While not ruling on the constitutionality of the law itself, the 7 to I decision held that the law was unenforceable because the burden of proving his loyalty was put on the taxpayer himself: thereby violating the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

## ReutherHelps Chrysler to **Break Strike**

By Frances James

JULY 1-A strike by United Auto Workers Local 1245 Czechoslovakia, made it a spec- national threatened to place an ial point to attack the Yugoslav administrator over the local institution of workers' councils.) and the District Court granted the company's request for an Meanwhile, in China, the injunction against mass picket-

of the members of UAW Loca! overtime schedules, etc. Sever-The result of these conces- al weeks ago, according to the

The plant once produced jet plosion in which the student the war. In January 1957 it movement would merge with a was awarded a \$52,000,000 govlaunched a crackdown on eight months over 4,000 new for a halt to nuclear testing. (Continued on Page 4)

#### **Dues Protest Group** Wins Union Votes

The Dues Protest group in the United Steel Workers is currently rejoicing over three L. Burton Jr. was elected president of Local 1256 in the Monongahela Valley. Donald Rarick, leader of the group formed in 1956 to protest a \$2 monthly dues raise. won the presidency of Irvin Works Local 2227, and Frank W. O'Brien, the presidency of Local 1843 in Hazelwood,

# Calif. 'Loyalty' Oath Is Voided Out Is Voide claiming tax exemptions was declared unenforceable by the U.S. Supreme Court yesterday. Most affected by the decision were California

W. Germans Demonstrate Against A-Weapons



A demonstration of 40.000 in Hanover, Germany, meet to protest arming Germany with nuclear weapons. The banner reads, "Away With Rockets - Away With [Josef] Strauss" (West German defense minister). West Germans are opposed to their country being used as a military base for atomic wer preparations,

## Washington Stalls On Nuclear Test Ban

An Editorial

In the early days of the CIO, the NLRB told the Ford company to negoti-Communists. The bureaucracy planes for World War II and ate with the union. Ford's personnel man, was confronted with a grave was virtually closed when Harry Bennett replied the company would threat of a Hungarian-type ex- plane production dropped after negotiate "until hell freezes over," but would never sign a contract. The U.S. workers' rising. To prevent such ernment contract for missiles government appears to be pursuing the a development the Mao regime production. Within the last same tactic in relation to world demand

> Despite clear-cut offers from the Soviet Union to negotiate an inspected testban, and despite a Soviet decision to halt its own tests unilaterally, Washington has sought every possible pretext for avoiding such an agreement.

With extreme reluctance it finally victories. Its candidate, Harry agreed to "preliminary" negotiations-at the current Geneva parley of expertsto be strictly confined to a discussion of what kind of inspection provisions could be established assuming a ban is agreed

> The State Department specified that it would enter these negotiations only on condition that the meeting did not commit the U.S. to an agreement to halt the

tests. This stand is based on an alleged concern for discovering if adequate inspection measures could be established home building, and state and It flies in the face of irrefutable scientific tederal public works. The key evidence that no atomic blast of any size factor - private capital investcan escape undetected even without the claborate inspection provisos that the Sovict Union has indicated it would accept

The current delaying tactics by Dulles only exposes how hypocritical were the howls that went up at the time realized if the summer upturn the Soviet Union announced suspension is not sustained. of its tests. Then the Washington propa- BLOW TO UPTURN ganda machine insisted that because the The financial editor of the Soviet Union had waited until its test Christian Science Monitor series was over before announcing the points out the significance of suspension this only showed bad faith.

But the U.S. government has not writes, "reflects thousands of only stalled until its current Pacific test blasts are at an end, or nearly at an end. but it seems intent on stalling until it millions of jobs." He adds, "It gets through its next series.

can obscure the fact that the onus for those who had hoped that the continuing poisoning of the atmosphere economic tide could be turned rests squarely with Washington.

## Grabs Alibi To Stall on **Jobless Aid**

By Gordon Bailey

A slowing down of the rate at which the American economy has been sliding nto depression is being touted by Administration and Conressional leaders as proof that the upturn has started and the economic crisis is over. With glib assurances that "the bottom has been reached," leaders of both parties have urned their backs on pleas for public works programs, a neaningful expansion of unemployment insurance or any other effective measures to aid he jobless.

As evidence of the "recesion's end" government spokesnen point to May and June tatistics on construction, manfacturing, and employment. In hese sectors of the economy here was a slight rise over he April figures.

Construction awards in May egistered a \$5 million gain iver April and equaled May 1957. Industrial production rose ne index point in May, though till 12% below a year ago. steel mills operated at 64% of capacity after running for sevral months at below 50%. Official figures on insured unenployed (only a part of the total jobless) show a drop of 200,000 from the middle of May to the niddle of June

A closer look at these figures hows a far less rosy p.ospect han that he'd out by Eisenhower. The rise in construction ion level last year, capital pending for 1958 is projected at \$30 billion, a 17% drop: And wen this figure may not be

this in an article, June 9. The halt in capital investment, he business decisions, cancelling out millions of dollars of new private spending, and of course, records a large failure of confidence in the business com-No amount of anti-Soviet propaganda munity and comes as a blow to quickly."

> Besides the construction indexes, other indications of an upturn prove to have an equally hollow ring. The fact hat the drop in unemployment accounted almost entirely by seasonal employment in agriculture and outdoor construction shows there is little basic change.

Even with the most favorable nues, with tiny little twisty interpretation put on the Maystreets so narrow that the June statistics, no serious econhouses lining them seem to omist expects any real decline lean out to meet one another in unemployment this year. The in a canopy. Yet behind this staff of the Congressional Joint facade of beauty which the Economic Committee calculates ordinary tourist sees is the cor- that on the basis of "optimistic" ruption and decay which is the assumptions, unemployment will be as high as 5,500,000 All of the housing in the first next winter. Under less optiseven Arrondissments (districts) mistic assumptions, the staff n Paris have been officially-de- said. "unemployment would

Committee staff concluded that

sion measures.

# Report on How French Workers

By Marvel Scholl those for whom socialism means not only material benefits but social justice as well, who saw on the horizon the prospect of a socialist society, equipped with a full parliamentary de-

causes and solution should be thoroughly discussed in the Western world. it is a fact that this class has

> The London Daily Express, s sullen and angry.

the moment, leaderless

ery, repeating anew the be-standards in France today to prices have doubled. It costs in Paris and its suburbs, is a

written about the rise of de working class emerged from al- gle mocracy and a non-political judiciary such as the capitalist Gaulle to power in France, most five years of occupation AVERAGE WAGE world has never known. The verdict seemed to say that, for the Political analysts of all shades by the Nazis. In 1944 the CP present at least, it was enough to make socialism work for the have pontificated about the was the biggest and most pow- French male worker in induspeople, but fatal to insist that it be of or by the people." (Em- hows and the whys of this new erful party in France. The try is approximately 40,000 rise of reaction on the backs of masses were ready and willing francs a month (about \$100.00). \$1.25 per pound. Butter, coffee, Something has gone wrong; there is no democracy in the the French people, right in the to take the power and start For women the scale is much eggs, milk and vegetables run Soviet Union - that is the terrible, but truthful, indictment bestion of the most historically France off on the road to so- lower - from 19,000 france American prices a close race. that the Guardian presses against the Khrushchev regime. The militant working class in the cialism. They had their army. (\$47.50) to 35.000 france (\$87.50). There are only two things the Maquis, which had fought Skilled workers, technicians, which are cheap in France-

> issue of France is decided. But the CP, obeying Kremlin dic- francs (about \$125.00). One ing the past year, A litre of one thing is certain. No matter tates, handed it over to the worker I talked to, a machinist ordinary table wine used to

Their role in the events of six days a week.

that it cannot, will not, rise in in the family.

More millions of words will the Nazis throughout the war. teachers, laboratory workers, wine and flowers. And even roll off the presses before the Instead of taking the power, etc., average about 50,000 wine has doubled in price dur-

May and June, 1958, is entirely In almost every family both NEW TAXES in keeping with their past his- husband and wife work. Small During the short reign of the children are cared for in day Pflimlin government it was an-But what of this class which mirseries until they are four, nonneed that new taxes would invested, said, "he comes to has been so hadly misled by when they go to school. Older be imposed to raise 80 million to visit frequently. An iron before mid-1959 at the earliest; Thorez and the Socialist Party selves after school unless there war. Added to the already stag-Sullen and angry. And, for of Mollet? Is it so apathetic is a grandmother or elder aunt gering burden of income taxes a narrow, dark passage filled Long before 1960 Eisenhower

The role the Communist and militant leadership forged 60% to 70% of their income only mean the further worsen-

trayals of 1944 when an armed, see how conditions are driving as much to feed a family in sin and a shame. Paris is one Millions of words have been experienced and revolutionary the workers toward class strug. Paris as it does in the United of the most beautiful cities in States. And this despite the the world - architectural wonfact that wage levels sverage ders, museums filled with much The average wage of the one third those of American of the world's best art, beauti-

> Meat costs approximately has to work ten hours a day, It is not a luxury. It is a tra-

and direct and indirect taxes its own defense, with a new. French workers spend from the French people pay, this can ing of the standards of living. friends live in the last of four of the jobless workers and the

clared unfit for habitation, and rise to as many as 7,000,000 in most of them have been con- the first quarter of next year."

demned. It is in these areas Checking past rates of rethat the workers and the stu-covery from recessions, the dents live. Let me describe just one of an economic level sufficient to the houses in the Latin Quar- assure reasonable full employter where we were privileged ment "is unlikely to be reached from the street. You pass down late 1960."

ful parks, wide, tree-lined ave-

with garbage cans into a cob- and Congress will have to take ble-stone courtyard. It is like off their rose tinted glasses passing back into history. Our and face the insistent demands

(Continued on Page 3)

#### Socialism and Democracy In this article, I would like to present the point of view how many words are spoken or capitalists, entered a popular- in Repault. France's largest cost 85 francs (20 cents). Today

radical movement, and I am sure they will be.

of the Socialist Workers Party on these questions. Some of written, it is the French work- front government, disarmed the automobile factory, carns 60,000 the cheapest is 150 (38 cents) the ideas will be disputed - and we welcome that. Others ing class which will have the workers, and settled down to france (\$150.00) a month - but To a Frenchman wine on the will be agreed to generally. In any case their presentation last say - and even though beiray and disorient the in order to carn this much he table is as important as meat should aid in the process of clarifying one of the most burning today it might seem that they class. problems confronting the radical movement in this country and have taken a frightful setback, throughout the world-Socialism and democracy are inextricably linked. A not been decisively defeated.

broadening democracy - of, by and for the working people was in the center of the program of the October 1917 revolution on the day that de Gaulle was and of the Bolshevik party. The socialist overturn established a state power based on genumely democratic popular organ- power over a working class that both the Communist Party of children take core of them- francs to carry on the Algerian gate closes off the courtyard and might not be achieved until izations - the Soviets, or workers, soldiers and peasants councils

In the period from 1923 to 1928, on the background of inherited poverty, exhausting civil war and imperialist encircle- WORKERS WERE READY ment, the regime of workers' democracy was crushed by a privilege-seeking bureaucracy, which has ruled the USSR to Party played in the rise of de in the heat of the present bat- for food alone. this day. This degeneration of the workers' state is what went Gaulle is one of outright treach-tle? Let us look at the living During the past year food Housing in France, especially houses which open onto the unions for effective anti-reces-(Continued on Page 2)

# Killed Nagy

-By Myra Tanner Weiss-

The Worker, weekly voice of the Communist Party, the Hungarian revolution of in an editorial, June 29, gave its stamp of approval to the execution of Imre Nagy and three other Hungarian Communists. Said the editors of the+

high treason."

of the Kremlin's execution of try's neutrality." William Z. Foster, reacting to of their holes? all of Khrushchev's revelations on this matter," said Foster.

even ask why not.

The Worker editorial says the Worker should explain. SOME HARD FACTS

was a Communist for forty under the pressure of the rereturned to Hungary as an ap- hanging? pointed minister in 1944. And 'NOBLE AIMS' reforms.

court under the Rakosi regime, mean "a fascist regime was im- teristic of the Horthy years."

planation for the "Stalin cult" neither was the imposition of They speak for themselves: and its crimes. "The workers Kadar's government by Soviet have every right to information tanks. Both practices were in Miskolc demanded a governthe Stalinist tradition. Nagy's ment "in the spirit of Bela Kun Now the Worker is back appeal to the United Nations where it started. Once more it was not a socialist appeal. leaders. takes the word of the Kremlin Socialists recognize the UN as as gospel truth. In 1949 the essentially an instrument of the Communist Party at least had imperialist powers. But it was a "confession" and a public in keeping with Stalinist portrial to go by. This time it trayal of this body as a true doesn't get that and doesn't "arbiter" of international disputes.

Even the Kadar government, and re that "facts are facts even when when it overthrew the Nagy they are hard." Quite true regime, did not dare to call There is the fact that Nagy claimed that Nagy "had come really democratic basis."



Nagy government did every- anti-Party and anti-democratic thing in its power to halt the crimes committed by Rakosi revolutionary struggle of the and his associates." The first workers before acknowledging point in Kadar's program was it as victorious. On Oct. 28 it a promise to secure "our naordered a cease-fire. Almost all tional independence and our its proclamations to the Hun-country's sovereignty" and endgarian people appealed for the ed with a promise to negotiate restoration of "calm and order" for a withdrawal of Soviet with only a promise that all troops "after the restoration of just demands would be met.

The indictment of Nagy, supported by The Worker editors, a Communist in the tradition portrayed the October revolu- of Lenin instead of Stalin, he tion as a "counter-revolution- would have pursued an entirely ary uprising," the result of a different course. He would have conspirator's "plot." But here called on the Workers' Counare the words of the present cils to take state power instead puppet-ruler of Hungary, Janos of looking to non-socialist al-Kadar, spoken on the occasion lies and appealing to the UN. forces."

abolished the hated secret po- the Soviet armed forces. Final- cated that they would not sublice. It recognized the Workers ly, they, too, were crushed by ordinate themselves to the Councils hoping through negoti- bureaucratic armed might. ations to disarm the workers.

1945, composed of Communists, alized property in land and industries.

### APPEAL TO UN

The Nagy government negotial. When new Soviet forces Soviet-bloc working class.

There is the fact that the the noble aims of remedving calm and order."

It is true that had Nagy been

of the reorganization of the But that would not have Hungarian Communist Party, made him more popular with of 64 Communist Parties in Nov. 1, 1956. Kadar said that the Kremlin. Far from it. For Moscow last November marked the old party had "degenerated these democratically elected the first step in that direction. to a medium of despotism and councils, led in several key The "leading position" of the national slavery through the areas by rank-and-file Commu- Soviet Communist Party was blind and criminal policy of the nists, were the enemy the reaffirmed there, and "revision-Hungarian representatives of Kremlin feared most. They ism" - a label applied to those Stalinism - Rakosi and his were the organs of the work- who continued criticism of the His statement con- ers' revolution for socialist de- Soviet and Eastern bureaucratic cluded with the observation, mocracy. In November-Decem- regimes - declared to be the "Our people have proved with ber 1956, when Nagy had been greatest evil within the CP's. their blood their intention removed from the scene and Only the Yugoslavs refused to to support unflinchingly the the pro-capitalist elements had sign the principal declaration Government's efforts for the gone back into hiding or fled of the conference, although complete withdrawal of Soviet the country, these councils or they subscribed to the maniganized a six-week general festo on peace. What was the record of the strike of the entire Hungarian Nagy government in power? It working class in the teeth of in April, the Yugoslavs indi-

Nagy's real crime in the eyes At the same time, Nagy of the Kremlin was that he formed a coalition government, was lifted into power by a like that set up by Stalin in working-class revolution that Social Democrats, Smallholders displayed such heroic tenacity. and Peasant parties. None of Although he served the revoluthese were fascist movements, tion ill, he was murdered be-All promised to defend nation- cause he was associated with it. His frame-up and execution mirror the hatred and fear the Kremlin holds for the authentic ated for Soviet troop withdraw- socialist movement of the

# Why the Kremlin Real Aims of Hungarian Revolution

The Kremlin's indictment of Imre Nagy and three other Hungarian leaders, announcing also their execution, portrayed October 1956 as a "counterrevolution." This could only mean that those who fought supposedly aimed at the restor-Worker, "There is no doubt crossed the border into Hunthat the accused were guilty of gary, the Nagy government regime or a dictatorship sponthe most serious crimes against the Hungarian Peoples' Party

Withdrew from the Warsaw sored by the imperialist powers Pact and declared its neutral
of the West. In December 1956 . . . Nagy, Maleter and their ity. With incredible naivete, it the Moscow weekly, New co-conspirators were guilty of appealed to the United Nations Times, attempting to justify the for the aid "of the four great use of the Red Army against With this approving support powers in defending the counthe Hungarian revolution, nevertheless, declaimed indigtheir former comrades, the One can disagree with these mantly: "It would be an insult Communist Party completed a policies of the Nagy govern- to the intelligence of the Hun-360-degree turn. In 1949 the ment - as we certainly do. garian worker, farmer and in-Communist Party, in the tra- But how do they add up to tellectual to believe . . . they dition of Stalinism, accepted "extreme reaction" as the were eager to reestablish the the verdict against Lazlo Rajk. Worker editors portray the old regime of capitalism and It approved his execution. In Nagy government? Would the landlords with all the brutality 1956, after the Hungarian high withdrawal of Soviet troops and savagery that were characpbsolve Rajk of guilt, reha- pending"? Would the granting Undoubtedly there were fas-

bilitated and re-buried him, the of freedom to oppositional cists and imperialists agents at April 2, 1956 Daily Worker parties spell the end of "social- work during the revolt. But the condemned the "frame-up of ism" in Hungery? Were the mass of revolutionary fighters Rajk and other Hungarian Com- workers too weak or too un- wanted a regime of socialist munist leaders" as a "betrayal willing to defeat fascists that democracy and of national inof the socialist movement." undoubtedly had crawled out dependence based on revolutionary organs of struggle. We Nagy's appointment of a co- publish below excerpts from a about Stalin's regime, demand- alition government was certain- few of the voices of these ed in the same issue, an ex- ly not a socialist move. But workers, soldiers and youth.

Oct. 24: Workers Council at and Laszlo Rajk," Communist

Oct. 25: That same Workers Council demanded a government "composed of communists devoted to the principle of proletarian internationalism, and respect our national tradi-

And here are some facts that Nagy an imperialist agent, con- Hungarian army officers pro- police would be disbanded. explain to our Russian and our betrayed and outraged spirator, or fascist plotter. The gram called for "the creation They demand from the govern- other comrades abroad that Party for the independence or Kadar government merely of a Hungarian socialism on a ment an announcement that there was a time when the lib- the Socialist Hungarian nation.

Oct. 28: The National Counyears. He lived in the Soviet action and become impotent." cil of Trade Unions called for Union for about 15 years and Is "impotence" grounds for the formation of Workers' Councils and defined their cil asks the other national country munist Party. Let us explain and Russian peoples, we accuse tasks as follows: "It [a council] cils to join with it and states with blunt frankness that, as a him [Kadar] and call him to there is the fact that the Hun- Nor did the Kadar govern- decides upon every question that the National Council of result of the behavior of the account, him and his bosses. garian Communist Party, in ment view the revolution as an related to production, manage- Borsod County and National occupying Soviet Army, we obt the responsible leaders of the cluding Kadar, put Nagy in "imperialist plot." In taking ment and care of the plant. In Councils of Bacs-Kiskun Countries only one-sixth of the Soviet government. As evidence power in October 1956 and sup- power, Kadar said, "The mass order to direct production the ty and the Workers' Council of vote in the ensuing free elec- of our strength, we will keep ported his government and its movement which started on workers council will elect five Csepel Island have already tion. Tell them frankly that our up the strike as long as a October 23 in our country had to 15 persons as a managing joined." The Council "has de- Farty today is altogether on the single soldier is on our counboard to assist the permanent cided to begin within 24 hours brink of bankruptcy . . . Tell try's territory. For a neutral, director of the plant . . . It is negotiations with the govern- our comrades that a new oc- independent, democratic and responsible to the whole body ment for the fulfillment of the cupation may assure that Hun- Socialist Hungary!" of workers. The main task of nation's demands . . . The gov- gary will remain a Russian der and discipline at work ret elections with the participa- the lofty tenets of Marxism- District of Budapest: "We wish and bureaucrats!" places and to start production, tion of several parties by the Landausm will have disappears to emphasize that the revoluhelp of all workers - their latest - Freedom of speech, country." common livelihood, the fac- the press and religion must be Nov. 5 Radio Rajk: "Com- the property of the working

Oct. 28: The Gyor-Sopron old regime.

Oct. 29: A delegation repreported their views in Gyor; wishes to continue in the lead- is on the barricades." parliament be formed from rep- nets, nor can Hungarian youth troops . . .

(Continued from Page 1)



fighters had been driven out. It was here that General Pal Maleter, veteran Communist, heroically fought for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis." He has since been secretly tried and executed by the Kremlin.

address yesterday in which he Russians." Oct. 26: Point five of the announced that the security Nov. 3 Radio Rajk: "Let us fight within the framework of the security police has already erating Soviet Army reached Nov. 12 Manifesto of Armed been dissolved."

guaranteed.'

freely voluntary basis."

designed to force the Yugo-

visionists" in his party - often

the men who helped him to

power, moved to cripple the

course of the last several days

lined up completely with the

Soviet-Chinese attacks upon the

It is true that economic re-

forms are being continued

throughout the Soviet orbit.

The regime is seeking to meet

its promises for increased liv-

ing standards and has granted

a series of important conces-

In Eastern Europe, it is re-

ported that the Soviet govern-

ment is sending more goods

into the countries than it is

taking out. This is the reverse

of relations that obtained prior

sions to the peasants.

satellites.

When at their party Congress workers' councils, and in the

Kremlin, but would continue Yugoslavs.

Hungarian

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resentatives of town and village; be won over to the lofty tenwho are above all Hungarians national councils . . . They do ets of Marxism-Leninism by at- rades, let us preserve the not agree with Imre Nagy's tempts to transform them into fighting spirit of Marxism-

> the frontiers of Hungary [1944], Revolutionary Youth: "In the Oct. 31: Resolution of Gyor when at least half of the na- name of the dead, in the name National Councils: The "Coun- tion placed its trust in the Com- of the dead of the Hungarian

redes, blood is again being shed people Nov. 1 Radio Miskolc: "We in our unfortunate country. The put their faith in the workers' County National Defense Com- do not want the capitalists and leaders of the Soviet Union councils to make certain that basic sense they are working for socialism? mittee of the Hungarian Work- large landowners to return. We have reverted to Stalin's and the will of the people continues is not a counter-revolution but gary of the gentry. We want to key. They betrayed us while that the authority of the workthe national movement of the live a life of equal rights. We we conducted what appeared to ers' councils be expanded and Hungarian working people. The want to be able to dispose be friendly negotiations with reaffirmed by the government workers and peasants in Gyor- freely of our production and them, and their tanks and guns in the economic, cultural and Sopron County do not want the we want free democratic elec- have again begun to commit social fields . . . restoration of the power of tions. We support the small mass-murder . . . By this bar- that a date be set for free elecmanufacturers and landlords; peasants, middle peasants and barous act, they have made it tions in which only those parthe national revolution is not all those collectives which were impossible for a Communist ties may participate that recaimed at the restoration of the set up or will be set up on a Farty ever to exist openly and ognize and have always recoghonestly in our country . . . nized the Socialist order, based Nov. 1 Radio Rajk: "Com- Comrades the place of every on the principle that means of senting students of Sopron re- rades, if the Communist Party honest Hungarian Communist production belong to the so-

'Many of the demands of the ing and guiding role . . . it Nov. 7 Radio Rackoczi: Dun-

to uphold their country's na- to the Hungarian Revolution. seeks desperately to prevent

slavs to capitulate or, at the does not dare wipe out those despotism. Hence the need to

Seek Return to Stalin-Type Rule

king's ferocious attack. It was for the uprising.

Nov. 8 Radio Rajk: "Com-Leninism, let us continue to

Nov. 12 Resolution of the

ers the factories and the land The people have

Sopron students agree with the must proclaim and demand im- apentele is the foremost So- the heroic voices of Hungarian demands made by the trade mediately and loudly all that cialist town in Hungary. The revolutionists. Can they be unions and the Petofi Club . . . the Hungarian people right- majority of residents are work- twisted to spell "reaction?" [but] they do not agree with fully demand. . . . The Soviet ers, and power is in their hands They sound like the voices of the present composition of the leaders must see that they . . . The workers will defend the Russian workers in October Parliament and the government cannot change the beliefs . . . the town from Fascist excesses 1917. They are the voices that They demand that a new of our nation by using bayo- . . . but also from Soviet were silenced by the present

## ... National Guardian

(Continued from Page 1)

wrong in the Soviet Union.

Despite its subsequent bureaucratic distortion, the Russian Revolution of 1917 was the greatest single step forward yet taken by humanity in the long march toward a free and rational world order. By replacing the capitalist system with nationalized property and planning, the Soviet Union was able to grow swiftly from the most economically backward country of Europe to the world's second industrial power.

The Soviet Union is demonstrating that the abolition of capitalism eliminates the drive toward war, for no fundamental contradictions impel the Soviet Union to go to war. The source of the war danger in the world today is in the advanced capitalist countries - above all the U.S. - whose ruling class must expand its investments and markets or die.

Again, with the current recession in this country, the coninuing growth of the Soviet production machine is opening the eyes of many workers - as it did in the 1930's - to the fact that boom-bust cycles are peculiar to capitalism and are not operative under a planned economy.

But while the planned economy is proving its superiority over capitalism in such striking fashion, the terrible crimes of the bureaucratic dictatorship against the people stand out glaringly. They tend to repel working people from socialism and to turn them against the Soviet Union.

The monstrous totalitarian rule that came into being under Stalin, and continues to prevail under Khrushchev, is not, as many have argued, a harsh but necessary means of preserving the Soviet Union from the counter-revolutionary aims of imperialism. It is the reactionary means whereby a privilege-swollen bureaucracy protects its material gains and powers against the demand of the people for a more equitable distribution of the national product, for democratic control of planning and for political and cultural freedom.

#### Gendarmes and Bureaucrats'

This caste embraces millions of state and party officials, plant and collective farm directors and the higher echelons of the armed forces and the secret police. They enjoy a standard of living outrageously higher than that of the masses. Their overriding concern is with the protection and preservation of their privileged position. There is thus a material base to the dictatorial course followed by the Kremlin.

The forward march toward socialism demands the removal of this parasitic caste by the workers and the reestablishment of Soviet democracy. For this reason, I believe, the present regime should not be defined as "socialist." Implicit in the definition is the conception that the regime can lead the workers to the achievement of the socialist goal. But events in the Soviet bloc countries are demonstrating that the removal of these regimes by the workers is the indispensable precondition for the realization of socialism,

The Hungarian revolution brought this concept into sharp focus. Two speeches made just before the end of the Rakosi regime in summer of 1956 illustrates how far Hungary was removed from socialism. At a meeting of 2,000 former antifascist partisans in Budapest in June 1956, one of the two speakers was Professor Gyula Hadju, a veteran of 50 years in he socialist and communist movements. He declared: "How can the Communist leaders know what is going on? They never mix with workers and ordinary people, they don't meet them in street cars because they all ride automobiles, they don't meet them at stores or in the market place because they have special stores, they don't meet them in the hospitals because they have special sanatoriums."

And several days later came the turbulent mass meeting of the Petofi Youth League where the celebrated Communist the council is to guarantee or- ernment must call general sec- colony for some time. . . But Workers' Councils of the 11th time that an end be made to this present regime of gendarmes

### It must defend — with the end of January 1957 at the ed without trace from our tionary working class consid- Pressure for Democratization

But, it may be argued, despite the terrible methods employed, those governments have furthered the development of the nationalized economy and doesn't this mean that in this

A similar claim is sometimes made in this country that fctatorial, privilege-devouring union bureaucrats are responsible for the gains registered by the unions they dominate. Rejecting this argument, union militants explain that such gains have been made despite the bureaucrats and only demonstrate that even a union with a corrupt leadership is better than no union. And such militants draw the necessary conclusion that replacement of the bureaucrats by a militant leadership responsible to the rank and file is essential for the advancement of

The historic developments in the Soviet orbit since the death of Stalin show that the workers of these countries are drawing a similar conclusion on a far grander scale. It is their pressure for democratization that explains the frenzied turns by the Kremlin combining concessions to the people with terrible new repressions as signaled by the Nagy execution and the new onslaught on Yugoslavia.

The development of this grass-roots movement for an end to bureaucratic rule is the inevitable product of the steady expansion of the nationalized economy. This economy is so inherently superior to capitalism that it has grown despite the crimes of bureaucratic mismanagement described by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress. But it has now reached a scale where its continued expansion makes the fetters of a narrow-minded, self-seeking bureaucratic caste ever more intolerable.

In the developing conflict between the workers and the bureaucracy, socialists everywhere should take their stand with the workers whose movement for democracy represents historical progress. This means support for every move toward popular freedom and opposition to every effort to shore up bureaucratic rule.

Such a stand - for the Soviet Union, but against the tional independence and their In fact, the heavy tribute that any independent movement of crimes of the bureaucrats - is equally essential from the view criticisms of Stalinism, they the Kremlin exacted from its the mases from intervening as point of combating Wall Street's efforts to exploit the crimes came in for Moscow's and Pe- satellites was one of the causes in Hungary to push the re- of the Kremlin to poison the American workers against the forms further to a complete Soviet Union and against socialism.

Socialists need not shrink from stating frankly to the American workers that the existence of the bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union represents not socialism, but a setback for socialism - just as the control of many of their unions by corrupt bureaucrats represents a setback for unionism. Truth remains the indispensable weapon of the socialist move-

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#### very least, to isolate them once concessions - especially the turn to repression, to threaten, again from the East European economic - already made, it to bully and to purge. Where the Yugoslavs stood firm, Gomulka, fearful of So-Introductory Offer viet military intervention, has been capitulating to the Kremlin. He cracked down on "re-



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and imperialism . .

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atmosphere, a development

which is especially noticeable

on the campuses. Caught in an

unprecedented economic and

ideological crisis, youth are

turning to radical solutions for

their problems. We, of the

Young Socialist Alliance, be-

came convinced of this devel-

opment not only theoretically

but have had occasion to ob-

Because of this unique rela-

ion between youth and social-

ism, then, and because I have

the floor anyway, I am going

to utilize it for a plug. One

task which any united socialist

ticket will surely face is that

of . . . persistent and uninhibit-

ed exercise of the freedoms of

speech, press and assembly. The

preservation and exercise of

these rights is the first order

of business for any socialist

movement. Now we, in the

short year of our existence,

have had some experience in

these matters. We have carried

the message of socialism to

the streets and on the cam-

puses of this city. We have

presented the socialist alterna-

tive to high school and college

students by newspaper and

leaflet, by street meetings and

public lectures, by personal

contacts and by participation in

the broad student movements.

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have evidenced a sincere inter-

est in organizing a socialist

movement independent of any

political party or adult group,

broad enough to include so-cialists of all persuasions. Al-

though still in the process of

formulating their political at-

titudes these youth are militant

in the prosecution of socialist

aims and in identification with

the socialist tradition. In the

course of this activity, we

have fought and won two im-

portant victories for free speech

The first involved the right

in New York City.

and to move along.

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serve it in practice.

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## THE MILITANT

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of Merch 3, 1879."

Monday, July 7, 1958

## Wall St. Journal and Little Rock

The June 26 Wall Street Journal welcomes the decision of Federal Judge Lemley in Arkansas that would stop eight Negro children from going to school again with white students. The Journal is happy for a "breathing spell." It is glad that Little Rock will have "an opportunity for tempers to cool and for men to think."

Of course the editors of the Journal recognize that change will come in the South, but they would like it to "come gradually enough, quietly enough, so that change itself is not a shock and disruption to the social order."

This concern for moderation - slow change - is rather unusual for the Journal editors. As a rule they are not out in front proposing "slow" change on the world scene. They seem to be for moderation only when it comes to the struggle for freedom in America.

The Wall Street Journal has always claimed it wants "freedom" for the people in the Soviet orbit. But no one will catch this Big Business paper calling for an end to nuclear tests, disarmament, and withdrawal of all U.S. troops from foreign

bases to give time for "tempers to cool and for men to think." It's ready to spend A report of the conference, the the last dollar of the American people for text of the draft platform and war budgets (dropping big, juicy profits excerpts from other speeches into the pockets of businessmen in the were printed in the June 23 process) and send U.S. marines to the far -Ed.) corners of the earth for not only quick and immoderate, but also highly dangerous "change."

Yet if one looks a little deeper it is possible to see that the Wall Street Journal is not so inconsistent after all. Bil- nan, the main speaker of this hundreds of thousands of worklionaires think basically in tune with the evening, was in the mayoralty cash register. Jim Crow is an extra source the Socialist Workers Party of profit to the capitalists. It cheapens candidate. At that time I exlabor and divides the workers. They have pressed the hope that all somore solid reasons than a philosophy of cialist tendencies would be able moderation to hope for a slow-passing, or none at all, of the outrage and injustice

And the "freedom" they're preparing to go to war for, not so calmly, moderately in their determination to ador patiently, is really their own freedom to make profits in Africa, Asia, Latin-America - and in the Soviet orbit. The editors of the Journal are not stupid, looks like the beginning of a They're too smart to tell the truth even successful campaign that will because both parties represent if they could see it.

## 'Blind Apologetics"

At the height of the factional struggle in the Communist Party in 1957, Daily Worker staff member Max Gordon branded the stand of the Fosterite wing of the party leadership on the Hungarian revolution as "a platform of the old, blind apologetics" for the Kremlin. The shameful editorial in the June 22 Worker which tries to whitewash the star chamber murder of Imre Nagy and his associates demonstrates how accurately Gordon had pegged the basic program of Foster and company.

The Worker's blind defense of the Hungarian executions and closely linked frame-up attack on the Yugoslavs sheds much light on the real reason why the Fosterite leaders were determined to drive all dissident voices out of the party, regardless of cost. This drive could not be logically explained on the basis of any unbridgeable differences in program.

While Foster and Davis pointed to the "revisionism" of Gates, the fact is they saw eye to eye with him on such basic questions as the "peoples antimonopoly coalition" which is the fancy name they use for supporting the Democratic party. The real issue of the struggle was the determination of the Fosterites to stamp out any tendency, no matter how slight, toward ideological independence from the Kremlin.

By using demagogic "left" phrase-

ology about fighting for a class-struggle program, the Fosterites won the support and Republican parties. They of many militants in the party who were can examine the record and repulsed by the unabashed reformism of show that both are pro-war Gates and who wanted to make the CP parties, and that both have parties have failed. The Re- linquency, which profits from reality. Not only do they share into a party capable of organizing the American workers for socialism.

But the present stand of the party leadership, so crassly expressed in the editorial supporting the murder of Nagy, should be convincing proof that it is not capable of winning the support of American workers either for the Soviet Union or for the building of a socialist movement at home. It can only further isolate and discredit the party.

Class-conscious workers correctly react against injustice no matter where it is committed, and their minds will not be diverted from the injustice committed in Hungary by hoarse shouts about the crimes of imperialism.

The legal concept of coming into court "with clean hands" applies with full force in the court of working-class public opinion. Those in the Communist Party who are concerned with proving asked to "use his good offices to the American workers that socialism to restrain lawless elements" Follow: and justice are inseparable will demand who might take advantage of President Dwight D. Eisena complete repudiation of the Worker's cision in Little Rock postpondisgraceful editorial effort to whitewash ing integration to engage in an indefensible injustice. The editorial represents not the "return to Leninism" that was promised the party ranks, but a to instruct the Attorney Gen- be encouraged by recent Little return to the worst features of Stalinism.

## Worker's Bookshelf

### For Summer Reading

For those who plan to use New York. An absorbing story cisms. But unless it answers empowered June 15 by a three part of their vacations for of the struggle to build a rev- Mr. Wexley's, we must conreading or study Pioneer Pub- clutionary socialist party in the clude that the Rosenberg case 500 independents and socialists Justice Department intervene cited Machrowicz's own admis- the need for an independent lishers recommends the fol- U.S. from the founding of the is our Dreyfus case, outdoing to organize a campaign to put as a friend of the court to pre-

TION. By Leon Trotsky, 256 Party in 1938. \* pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 plus 15 cents postage.

hensive Marxist work on art PARTE. By Karl Marx. Cloth 15 cents postage. yet written. Trotsky not only \$1.50. Paper 75 cents. extends and enriches earlier In 1852, an adventurer made account of the author's per-Marxist studies of literature; he himself dictator of France un- sonal experiences with Stalindeals with questions history der circumstances and in a ism. had not placed before them: manner that foreshadowed the the attitude of the working rise of "strong-man" rule in AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL ands of feet which have trod about \$7.50 for a quarter. class and its party to art and modern times. Highly pertinent PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 224 artists after the conquest of as an aid in understanding de pp. Regular price, \$3.75. Spec- years. On each landing there is state power.

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# Two Speeches for United Socialist Ticket

(The following are excerpts from brief addresses by Joyce Cowley and Richard DeHaan to the New York United Independent - Socialist Conference held June 13-15. The addresses were made in the opening session, Friday night, June 13. Joyce Cowley was Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor last year. Richard DeHaan is chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

## **Joyce Cowley**

a platform with Vincent Hallito unite in election campaigns to challenge both capitalist parties. In this Conference tonight in the various individuals vance the cause of independent socialist action in the election campaign-I see the realization of that hope. And I am sure it give voice to all those who seek to build a socialist society. free from H-bombs, racism, witch hunts and economic exploitation.

A socialist campaign can tell the truth about the Democratic

ent-Socialist Electoral Confer-+

Abrams, co-chairmen of the

anti-integration violence.

telegram to the Attorney Gen-

eral carried the same message.



JOYCE COWLEY

tens of thousands, and possibly ers in New York State . . . . ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

Above all, we want to bring the idea of independent, working-class politics to the workers of this state. Because this alone will make it possible to transform our present society and the working people in Albany make the socialist future a reality. This Conference marks and tendencies represented and a break with class collaboration call for legislation to improve in politics, which has paralyzed the labor movement and blocked the formation of a labor party. We really don't have a to end all forms of discriminwe have a one-party system, the same class interests. And I say it's not practical

to expect capitalist parties to tals. adopt policies contrary to the interests of the class they represent.

Now, in looking at the his-

ence adopted a platform which

"Further procrastination in in-

Washington, D.C.

postponing integration.

Washington, D.C.

The Text of the Telegrams

We strongly urge you to use

your good offices to restrain

NEW YORK, June 25-President Eisenhower and

Attorney General William P. Rogers were urged today

by the Continuations Committee of the United Independ-

ence to intervene in the Little two major parties. The confer-

In a telegram signed by John parties "condone and foster

T. McManus and Henry race hatred" and stated that

The president was also urged lawless elements who might

eral to intercede in any appeal Rock court decision and that

from the Little Rock court or- you instruct U.S. Attorney Gen-

der as a friend of the court in eral to intervene as a friend of

order to secure justice in the the court in behalf of those

integration fight. A separate who will appeal the decision

The Continuations Committee Attorney General

that pressed for the action is a William P. Rogers 13 member group which was Department of Justice

Committee, Eisenhower was tegration is intolerable.

national crisis, and answered the needs of that period. Today we are faced with a world crisis, in which only the socialists offer an alternative to the anarchy of our present society And this demands that they make a new political start. Now I don't have any illu-

ence doesn't represent any mass movement and I don't think that the United Socialist Ticket is a substitute for a labor party based on the organized labor movement. But it can help create one. We can campaign in every city and every town in New York State and explain why a labor party is needed to defeat both the Republicans and Democrats. One task of socialists in an election The last time that I shared also bring socialist ideas to campaign is to advance a practical program on all immediate issues facing the working people, and at the same time to point out that they cannot expect to achieve this program by influencing so-called liberals in capitalist parties. Only by independent political action by putting representatives of

> -can the program be realized. Our program, I am sure, will wages and working conditions; for slum clearance and lowcost public housing; for laws two-party system in America, ation with teeth in them; for schools, recreation facilities and the child-care centers that our children need instead of reformatories and mental hospi-

#### SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

But we must go further and consistently present an alternatory of third parties, some peo- live to the capitalist system, from a just and humane society ple may feel discouraged, but which creates problems of slum and the most to lose through remember that not all third housing, segregation and de-compromise with the irrational conducted witch hunts. Both publican Party was organized misery and exploitation, which in the general dehumanization have failed to enact a pro- six years before it elected a is responsible for the depression of capitalist society, but as gram for civil rights for Ne- President. And that was be- that now grips our economy youth they are particularly afgroes, or to enforce it. We can cause it arose in a period of and which at the same time fected by the evils of capitalism

sions. I know that this Confer-

RICHARD DeHAAN

for a socialist future.

. Young people have by ight and tradition an affinity for such hare-brained and crackpot schemes as that represented by the proposal for a united socialist ticket.

threatens us with annihilation in another war. We will tell the workers in

New York State through this campaign that it is not practical or realistic to assume that insane contradictions of capitalism are here to stay. We can tell them that we can reorganize society on the basis of human brotherhood and economic cooperation. And such a campaign will advance the cause of a united socialist movement which will win the working class to our struggle

## Richard DeHaan

Youth have the most to gain

## Socialists Protest | UAW Meetings Hear Little Rock Ruling Mich. SWP Candidates

DETROIT, June 29-Several UAW local union meetings heard campaign talks over the weekend by Frank week. During a series of street Lovell, Socialist Workers candidate for governor and meetings outside the Bronx

for lieutenant-governor. Speaking at UAW Local 212, said, "is justly criticized by the political needs. UAW, and we must recognize STELLATO CAMPAIGN that the same measure is of no He described Stellato's opgreater help to the unemployed ponent in the primary, Conwhen it is proposed in Michi- gressman Lesinski, as "one of gan by Governor Williams."

Frank Lovell spoke at unit

#### to distribute socialist literature on the streets. Two of our comrades were arrested for pressing their right to do so. And we went on to win the case. The

second fight occurred only last Larry Dolinski, party candidate High School of Science, two of extension period. our comrades were arrested for disobeying police orders to de-

Dolinski, a former member of meetings of Ford Local 600, sist from holding a meeting Rock school integration dispute. charged that both the major the local and one of the pio- where local President Carl neers of the early UAW organ- Stellato also spoke in behalf Two days later, we returned izing drives, rapped the inade- of his own candidacy for Con- to Bronx Science in strength. quate measures being taken by gress from the 16th District. We informed one Captain Kelly the state and federal govern- Lovell pointed to Stellato's that if he interfered with any ments to aid the jobless. "The campaign to win the Demostingy extension of unemploy- cratic nomination as one of the rest all of us. We carried that ment relief for 13 weeks by the many signs of a new awaken- point, and held a successful Eisenhower administration" he ing of working people to their meeting at which the principles

those Democrats who are al-At Dodge UAW Local 3, Dol- ways careful to make the recinski spoke along with several ord on labor-endorsed bills. other candidates including Con- But such people are now being gressman Machrowicz. The judged not simply by their Congressman said he had fa- liberal front. They are also bevored a 16-week extension of ing judged by what they failed socialist speakers. And, what is jobless benefits but was de- to do. And in the case of even more important, reopenfeated in this by the Republi- Lesinski, this has resulted in ing the minds of New Yorkers cans. Dolinski replied, "The 16- his repudiation by the Ford to socialist ideas . . . week proposal by Machrowicz workers and others in his disis a mere crumb, certainly not trict." Lovell pointed to this out the relationship between We strongly urge that the a solution to the problem." He development as underscoring this independent socialist elecsion that only a few would party of labor and said he of New York State. I often Communist Party to the launch- the first in sordidness, cruelty a third slate of candidates on vent serious setback to justice benefit from the 13-week ex- viewed his own candidacy as think that the lesser evil theory the New York State ballot in as result of recent ruling in tension and those would only spade work for the organiza-November in opposition to the Little Rock integration dispute. draw half checks during the tion of a labor party in 1960.

of socialism were presented to an audience of several hundred high school students. The case of the two is still pending in the courts and we have every confidence that we shall win there as well.

speaker, he would have to ar-

Now, in all modesty, we think that these activities have been instrumental in re-opening the streets of New York to

I would like, finally, to point toral conference and the youth of politics must have been invented by a very old man. The fervid - sometimes embarrassingly so-rationalism of young people is such that when confronted with this theory, they instinctively say, "Lesser evil? But we don't favor any evil at

cause they do not want these attractive to any but those on conveniences, but for the simple the defensive for a lost cause. reason that they must make Socialism, as the wave of the with "practical" politics . . . . One French worker told me, In New York State, especially,

the man who assiduously fostered and intensified the witch hunt and thought control in the schools of this state, Averell Harriman.

the spirit of 1871, the way to cialist action against the capit-

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This is, I submit, a proper

When you strike at a French- it would take a man of infinite fathers do not fare so well. It man's table, you make him courage to ask of young people to help return to Albany

We, of the Young Socialist

Alliance, therefore welcome this manifestation of united soalist parties. If the Conference succeeds in fielding a strong socialist ticket in the fall elections, we can assure you not only of the support of our organization but of sentiment for the socialist alternative throughout the youth of this state. Young people have the time and spirit to work for a remote ideal. They have neither the time nor the spirit to temporize with less than an honest political choice.

### French Workers Report on There is one saving grace in to 60,000 francs (about \$125 to visions, radios, comfortable fur- all in any form!"

(Continued from Page 1) them for over three hundred RENT CONTROL RELAXED Barron B. Beshoar 372 pp. sis made of its impact on the building is on the first landing. many years. As a result, land-

CONDEMNED SINCE '38

Our friends' apartment is on houses and to evict their tenthe top floor. It consists of ants. struggle and reads like an ex- This new biography in English chenette in which our friends by selling individual apartwill fill a deplorable gap in the have installed their own sink ments to the resident tenants,

some respects, superior.

courtyard. The stairwell is the situation. Rents are very \$150) per month for one room. niture. But the French workers "PRACTICAL" POLITICS stone, the steps worn by thous- cheap. Our friends pay only

But-the Paris landlords now Perhaps the less said about lords refuse to repair their ex-French plumbing the better isting property. Furthermore, Suffice it to say that these san- all construction of low-cost back to the construction of the standstill for a long time. Now, house in the seventeenth cen- under a relaxing of rent control, the owners of rental property are allowed to sell their

with running water (the only or to evacuate whole houses so cribed above was an average with relatives or take their to be equipped with all the con-The book comprises a series viously the Department of Jus- Publishers, 116 University Place, working class home—in fact, in families to hotels. In this latter veniences and comforts—refrig-

Gaulle's rise to power in all price, \$3.00 plus 15 cents a water tap from which the have a way of getting out from to \$25). I saw a woman's cotton among the workers, not betenants get their drinking, under this very unprofitable ar- skirt on sale for 8,000 francs. cooking and washing water. rangement. Rent control has Clothing is carefully tended, ART AND SOCIAL LIFE. By OUT OF THE DEPTHS. By amined in detail, and an analy- The only toilet for the whole been in effect in France for patched and darned, passed

much money on clothing. MEDICAL INSURANCE one in the building) and a com- that they can sell the valuable ance-but when illness strikes and political. mon living, eating and sleeping land upon which they stand, all bills must be paid in cash laws of dialectical thought, John Wexley. 672 pp. Original FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTI- room. The house is clean, but Therefore, they offer the apart- One half to two thirds of the only hours of work can keep it ments to the residents-at from medical expenses are then rethat way. It is heated with one one to three million francs funded through the insurancesmall coal stove. This house has (about \$2,500 to \$7,500) a room! which, incidentally the workers been condemned since 1938. Since very few French workers pay for in a form of social-se-We visited other French can raise this kind of money, curity tax. workers in their homes. We many are now being evicted Modern technology makes it found that the apartment des- and forced either to move in possible for the workers' homes

comparatively well dressed, tables. generally with the help of grandparents. But mothers and is only because of style-sense mad. and clever needle work that most French working class Gaulle forces the living standwomen still manage to look smart and chic. Certainly it is not because they dare spend

French workers are covered by government medical insur-

case they must pay from 50,000 erators, washing machines, tele-

Clothing presents an equally have none of these. Very few bad problem. A pair of ordin- have bathrooms: Even fewer attitude for both the young and ary men's shoes cost from five have private toilets. Installment the young in heart. So-called to ten thousand francs (\$12.50 buying has not taken hold practical politics have never in down from one member of the the choice between having future, does not require and family to another. Children are them and having food on their cannot afford contamination

And they are mad. As de ards down still further, the workers will get even more

Then watch out. The French workers will show the world, in solve all problems - economic

**BOOKS - PAMPHLETS** New York 3, N. Y.

## The Negro Struggle

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TREASON TRIAL. By Lionel Forman and E. S. Sachs. New York. Monthly Review Press. 216 pages. \$5.00

At dawn on Dec. 5, 1956, 156 men and women from all parts of South Africa were arrested on the charge of "high treason."

Those arrested comprised a complete cross section of South Africa: non-European (African, Colored, and Indian) and European; young and old; university graduate and illiterate; parson and farm laborer; college professor, house servant and factory worker. All had one thing in common: they were leaders in the fight against apartheid (white supremacy) in South Africa. This was their crime.

The book by Forman and Sachs is their story and their appeal to the world. It should be read by all fighters for civil rights and civil liberties.

Mr. Lionel Forman, co-author of the book, is a prisoner himself. He is the editor of New Age, a progressive weekly whose readers are mostly non-Europeans.

His description of the arrests, the prison life in South Africa, and the preparatory trial which lasted a year, brings out vividly the real character of the victims who are standing trial. It also depicts the ultra-reactionary character of the government whose aim is to prove them guilty of "high treason" because they have the audacity to fight against racial segregation in their own land.

"The sliding scale (of bail) alone," writes Mr. Forman, "gives a sardonic picture of the Alice-in-Wonderland character of South African racial economics." Bail went as follows: £250 for Europeans, £100 for Indians and £50 for Africans and coloreds.

But if the government thought it could crush mass struggles by police-state measures, it badly miscalculated. For, as the authors show, the arrests gave rise to a series of magnificent actions.

Negroes living in the slums of Alexandra, nine miles from Johannesburg, waged a victorious bus-boycott against the penny raise in fare. (The preparatory trial of the 156 was meanwhile being held

nearby.) The Negroes walked and won. They were supported by the African National Congress whose leaders were among those arrested for "treason." The African trade unions, supported by the Trade Union Congress, initiated a struggle for a minimum wage. The teachers and students opened a struggle against segregation in the schools. All the organizations of the people gave support to the "treason"-case victims and their families in a great show of solidarity.

The 156 were charged with having subscribed to a "freedom charter" adopted by a multiracial congress in 1955. The state contends that the document proposed the establishment of a "Communist state" and that violent means to put into effect were implied.

Here are some of the demands in that charter: The people shall govern; all national groups shall have equal rights; the land shall be shared among those who work it; all shall enjoy equal human rights; there shall be work and security; men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.

In the words of prisoner, N. Sogoni: "It is long that we have been demanding freedom from Europeans and they have been refusing and we are going to fetch it now." What Forman and Sachs prove above all is that the racist government's resort to frame-up will not stop the struggle for fundamental rights in South

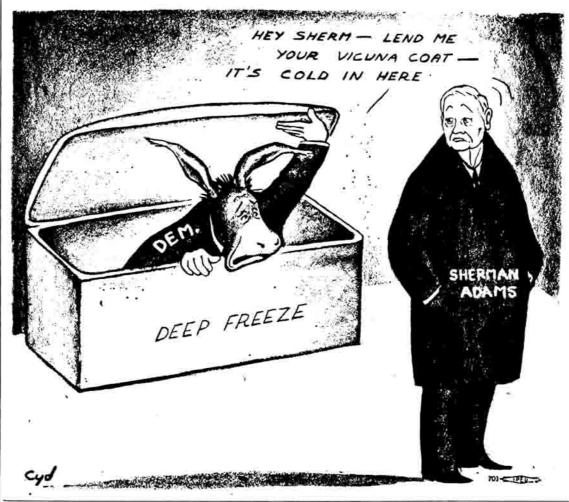
After the preparatory examination, 61 of the prisoners were released. Ninetythree hand-picked judges in a special court designated by the attorney general And Lecture in even though the prisoners asked for a trial by jury.

The book contains an appeal by John Los Angeles Gunther for aid in the fight against the South African frame-up. The American whose lithographs of over a Committee on Africa, Rev. Donald Harrington, chairman, has set up a special South African defense fund. Those who ities, will be exhibited in Los wish to contribute should send to the Angeles Saturday, July 19, at committee, 4 W. 40th St., New York 18. Forum Hall. 1702 East 4th St.,

-Lillian Kiezel

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1958 NUMBER 27 VOLUME XXII



JUNE 27 - Honore Daumier, century ago are still treasured for their deep understanding of French social forces and polstarting at 5:00 P.M. This exhibit celebrates the 150th anniversary of the artist's birth.

plates of the 19th Century ing - a declaration that it is French newspaper Charivari unlawful for builders and suband are the private collection dividers to obtain financing of George Lavan of New York through the FHA or VA and

Mr. Lavan, a staff writer for the Militant and authority on French history and politics, will

The documentary film "1848." which uses contemporary art to portray the 1848 revolution,

students, 25 cents.

(Laura Grey, who died reist for the Militant. Her work cert of action only in that each first break in the solid front of countries.)

# five must stand trial soon before two or three hand-nicked judges in a special Daumier Exhibit Jim Crow Real Estate Men Hit by Calif. Court

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCICSO, June 28 - Home builders can no result in a total of 320,000 longer refuse to sell to Negroes and other minority peoples if they use Veteran or FHA financing ruled Superior Judge James H. Oak-+

ley in a long-pending case filed in Sacramento four years ago by NAACP attorneys on behalf home builders here announced of Oliver A. Ming.

Nathaniel S. Colley, NAACP Attorney, hailed Oakley's de-The 200 lithographs to be cision as one which "grants us shown are mainly from the the essential relief we are seek-

> Oakley held that the Federal must abide by the policy.

The Daumier event is spon- NAACP charged that there was for Association action.

Immediately after the announcement of the decision, the that they would try to maintain their most precious fiction that "minority races depreciate property values.'

Richard E. Doyle, executive vice-president of the Associated Home Builders, Inc. of Sar Francisco, said that "there may be no statistics to prove that, but as a representative of the then exclude Negroes from home builders it is the theory under which I operate." "Not all was serene in the

Housing Administration and the home builders back yard, howspeak on "Daumier, the Artist and the Man," at 8:00 P.M.

Veterans Administration cannot discriminate on the basis of ers in the area. Joseph I. Fichdiscriminate on the basis of ers in the area, Joseph L. Eichcolor, race or religion when ler, threatened to resign unless granting loans and that build- the Association issued a "forthers seeking government money right and unequivocal statement . . denouncing discrimination But, whereas Ming and the . . . " He set a July 1 deadline

an organized conspiracy among "I also wish to state," wrote agents to deny housing on an well as the key members of equal basis, Oakley called it my organization, am utterly op-"unconsciously uniform action," posed to any kind of discrimicently, was a political cartoon- and held that "there was con- nation whatsoever." This is the he had always been taught." ators here.

## Dr. Pauling Cites Peril to Mankind From A-Testing

PITTSBURGH, June 23 - Dr. Linus Pauling spoke in Oakland, Pa. last night to an audience of 650 people who enthusiastically greeted his appeal for cessation of nuclear bomb tests.

Friends Service Committee. His have already increased the Cara panel composed of Rev. Irv. phere by 10%. Thus the "clean" Dr. Charles B. Nutting, director of the Buhl Foundation; Ray Harsaugh, peace education secetary of the Friends Commit-Engineering Corp.

to the 20,000 TNT-equivalent the innumerable treaties the A-bomb. From 1952 to 1954 we United States has broken, inbomb to the 20-million ton Indians. super-bomb [the H-bomb]. Altogether it was a change of 20-million tons," he explained. He further declared that bombs made "to kill cities" emphasize the fact that "war no longer has sense."

Dr. Pauling contended that a 20-year period of tests would children born with physical and mental defects, 1,200,000 dead shortly after childbirth and 2,800,000 em bryonic deaths."

(When he spoke in Chicago last month, Dr. Pauling exposed the fact that the "clean"

### "Modern Times" And the WitchHunt

In Washington, D. C. capital of the "free world"

— a theater is showing Charles Chaplin's classic film, "Modern Times." As the New York Times reports it. the theater management is not without "due respect for the fact that it is operating right under the noses of the world's fiercest investigators." Advertisements for the film included the following statement: ". . . we present 'Modern Times' solely for its exceptional artistic and enartainment value There fore we respectfully request the understanding of those who would not appreciate the exhibition of a film in which the controversial Mr. Chaplin stars."

The noted scientist and lec- fusion bomb produces 13 times urer spoke on the topic: "Can as much dangerous Carbon-14 We Avoid Nuclear War?" under as the "dirty" fission bomb. he auspices of the American He explained that nuclear tests statements were discussed by bon-14 content of our atmosing Murray, Unitarian minister; bomb is "dirtier" than the "dirty" bomb.)

#### TREATY-BUSTERS

In the discussion that foltee; and R. A. Brightsen, presi- lowed, Dr. Nutting, who favordent of the Nuclear Science and ed continued tests, expressed the view that it would be im-Dr. Pauling has been fight- possible to reach an agreement ing against the conducting of with the Russians, much less to bomb tests since 1945. He said, expect it to be honored. The 'In 1945 we moved from the audience was delighted when one-ton block buster [bomb] Dr. Pauling replied by citing moved from the 20,000 ton A- cluding treaties with American

> The Pittsburgh Post Gazette, June 23, reported the first interview with Dr. Pauling since he was named a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Dr. Pauling told the Post, "It is a great honor . . . They have been strongly critical of my work in the past . . . Probably they have learned that you can't mix politics up with ser-

> Asked about his reaction to the execution of the former Premier of Hungary, Imre Nagy, Dr. Pauling declared that he is "terribly opposed on moral grounds" to the executions. But he added that these executions would probably not stand in the way of some agreement to avoid nuclear war. This is necessary for reasons of "self interest" on both sides, he said.

## New Bills **Would Deny Travel Right**

By Ruth Norton

In a determined assault against the recent lifting of restrictions on passports by the Supreme Court, all of seven bills have been thrown into the hopper in Congress. A measure of the viciousness of these bills is the one by Sen. Hennings (D-Mo.) purported to be the mildest, which would give legal cover to the Secretary of State's arbitrary denials of passports, "subversive." Hearings on it are scheduled for June 10 in

Point 1 of this bill would deny the right to travel to "Persons who are members of crowd in the gateway so that effect a final order of the Subthere was no passage for "out- versive Activities Control Board requiring registration with the Attorney General of the United thorities immediately, and the States as a Communist-action, Communist-front or Commuof "New York's finest" on foot nist-infiltrated organization, or or mounted. The whole area who have terminated such was cordoned off and the work- membership under such circumers were pushed away from the stances as to warrant the conclusion that they continue to fle many workers (mostly wo- act in furtherance of the inmen) were arrested and taken terests of the Communist movement or who, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation The scene in the center of with the Communist Party, enlown created quite a sensation, gage in activities which sup-There were many onlookers port the Communist movement in such activities as a result I was waiting impatiently the of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the

> The wording of the above quoted clause, deliberately ob-

### ANTI-SEMITISM

A survey by the Anti-De-An interesting illustration of famation League revealed that our public life and our "free" in suburban Detroit one third of the real estate agents "clearly indicated they do not wish New York to sell or rent to Jews.'

## Why Blame the Housewife?

By Melba Baker

In a news conference quoted on TV, April 22, President Eisenhower was asked why there was an increasing cost of food in the face of rising unemployment. He stated: "Women are responsible for this condition, they are demanding too many of the fancy packaged and premium quality foods, therefore food prices are up and increasing."

Not one whisper from Eisenhower on the effect speculation and high profits are having on the increasing price of food. Instead, he puts the blame on women and in this instance primarily on the working woman. It is the woman worker who finds it necessary to take advantage of prepared or partially prepared foods in order to speed up meal preparation. These foods are no feast to the tired and overworked housewife, nor are they "premium quality foods" for the family. With unemployment and inflated

prices decreasing the family income, clothing and food budgets must be cut. First the quality of food goes down and then the quantity. With a limited budget, - pared to the bone where the family must subsist on unemployment insurance, the housewife struggles with the problem of trying to feed, clothe and house the family, as well as provide transportation and school expenses for the children. In such a situation the women shop and try

to find the best value they can for every City. penny. This may mean trudging through countless stores to take advantage of each little penny bargain. Then, when she apportions the food within the family, the best and most wholesome goes to the growing children and to her husband.

It is the housewife who must cope with and solve to the best of her ability will also be shown. the problem of preparing and serving attractive and wholesome meals with the sored by the Laura Grey Memfoods the family can afford. This problem orial Committee. Admission for the builders and real estate Eichler, "that I personally, as she must contend with day after day, seven days a week, three times a day, and it is harassing. No eating in fancy restaurants nor even in plain, ordinary ones for her. Thus, in addition to being has been published in 20 defendant had the same ideas builders and real estate opera physical victim of decreasing food supply due to inflated prices she becomes also its emotional and mental victim.

To add insult to injury, the workingclass housewife, the most oppressed member of American society, is held responsible for the misdeeds of the ruling class and for the evils of capitalism. She is blamed for immorality, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, war and now for high prices.

That's not the way it will be under a socialist society. Under socialism women will gain their freedom from the harassing cares that stifle them under capital-

### Canadian Politics

Editor:

The Canadian working-class pass this resolution? movement has much to learn and vice-versa. As your edi-Winnipeg, April 21-25.

alternative political force based field of independent labor poli-

Without any background knowledge of Canadian experience in the arena of independent labor political action, this impression could be justifiably held. But an important labor, that section encompassing the CIO, had endorsed the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation as labor's political arms from 1943 until the unification of the CIO and AFL. Immediately following the unification the two largest and most important provincial bodies in

Your editorial does not men-

they [the union leadership] do it" - that is, why did they Editor:

from the American workers forces at the convention supported the resolution for varitorial of May 26 titled "Labor ous and quite different reasons. Party Move in Canada" sug- The Canadian Gomperites supgests, in the field of indepen- ported it not at all because they dent labor political action Ca- have suddenly become sensitive nadian workers are pioneering to the pressure of the unemfor their U.S. brothers. As evi-dence of this your editorial ployed or worried about a Tory anti-labor offensive, but bepresents information on the na- cause it is difficult to approach tional convention of the united the Tories who appear to be Canadian Labor Congress in very solidly entrenched for Profits and Prices On the basis of material opposition party around one's from Union News (voice of the neck. Others supported the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and resolution because they hoped Atomic Workers Union), you that a new impetus in a more Food Processors and Food Disgive the impression that the militant direction would be convention's instruction to the given to the forces that have executive that it report to the been compelled to go along principle of never give the cus-

The immediate impact of this move even more to the right distributors. in the direction of coalescence with so-called progressive II, a period of just twelve even a mention of this event proof of charges, would give forces in the capitalist Liberal years, National Dairy has made in all our various and varie- to one man, the Secretary of section of Canadian organized Party. Its long-range character, such stupendous profits as to gated papers. After a second State, control over who can given the deepening economic cause it to boost its dividend thought I understood. The story and cannot travel abroad. The crisis, will probably be of a rate NINE separate times. Here was "killed" by the conspiracy worst of the bills are said to salutary nature.

With the CCF, the Canadian workers have had an experience with a labor party. Some of them have had even more than that. They have had an experi-Ontario and British Columbia ence as to what kind of labor party they really need - one

Toronto Here is an item from the

Militant. The preamble to the United Socialist Draft Platform nue. . . reads great and the United Conference proceedings are do not see that the preamble trance of the place formed a ed or as to which there is in can be improved on as a state-

Wall Street brokerage concerns are advising their clients tributors. Many of these giant corporations operate on the fantastic profits.

As an example take the Naresolution would appear to be tional Dairy Products Corpor- and soon there were photo- under such circumstances as to of a minus character. It has ation. This is the largest dairy graphers who snapped pictures show that they have engaged had the effect of sinking many outfit in the country and has of the "hot" moments. CCF clubs. The CCF leader- around 300 subsidiaries includship, which, incidentally, sup- ing the Kraft Cheese Co. In ported the resolution, has in- Detroit, it owns the Detroit pictures on the pages of big Communist movement. terpreted it to free them to Creamery Co. and many other

high prices, but rather blind not to create a bad feeling in Miss.) greed for shameful and out- the forthcoming elections when rageous profits. . . .

> Charles C. Lockwood . Detroit

"Garment Jungle," Working in as well as extend his powers the garment district of New to rule on what constitutes a York City, I have been witnes-I wish to say how much I sing for the last few weeks a liked this week's (June 23) protracted strike at Budget Washington. Dress Corp., 462 Seventh Ave-One day at the beginning of the strike, the picketing work- the Communist Party or any very interesting all through. I ers assembled before the en- organization which is register-

siders" with racks of garments. New Jersey The management called the auplace was invaded by a detail entrance. In the ensuing scufaway in a police van.

next day to see the story with papers specializing in covering the smallest scandals. To my Since the end of World War astonishment there was not scure and with no provision for is just more proof that it isn't of our labor leaders and "ben- be one by Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) the wage scale that's causing evolent" city fathers in order and one by Sen. Eastland (Dthey are going to enter into

#### The local union now represents approximately 470 of the to bolster the line and aid the Now it's our turn." plant's 8,500 workers. strikers. The national UAW contract On Tuesday, June 24, the of the UAW, and now director with Chrysler expired June 1 UAW international officers de- of its Chrysler division, called and work has proceeded withclared the strike unauthorized a meeting of top UAW aides out contract for the last four and ordered the local officers (including Emil Mazey, Richard next convention on a plan for with the rightward moving tomer a break and are showing weeks. Negotiations have conto try to get the workers back T. Gosser, Leonard Woodcock, the formation of "an effective CCF. tinued between Local 1245 and on the job. Official UAW policy Norman Matthews and Pat the company during this time. during the four weeks of work Greathouse, all vice presidents) on the needs of workers" marks On June 9 a "memorandum of

in August.

understanding" was issued which averted strike action at that time and provided for continued negotiations. On Friday, June 20, the company announced that "all outstanding issues PENTAGON PLEA have been resolved" and ended discussions with the Local.

voted for immediate more than 50% of the employes remained away from work, Lt. Col. A. S. Greenberg, army contract administrator, Times.)

Pickets covered all 16 plant

A Pentagon plea to end the Reuther lasted two-and-threestrike was made directly to quarter hours and resulted in The following Sunday the UAW heads meeting in Solidar- a promise that the Internationity House in Detroit. The June al Executive Board would nestrike action. Monday morning 24 Detroit Times reports that gotiate Local 1245's grievances the "Pentagon was told the international was doing its best to end the strike and at that meeting County Circuit Judge very moment UAW president James E. Spier granted a comreported "Operations are at a Walter Reuther was meeting pany request for an injunction standstill." (June 24 Detroit with heads of the UAW Chry- barring mass-picketing demonsler department."

By Wednesday morning sevparking lot gates. Traffic was eral hundred additional pickets down from the International sammed for miles around the had joined the line. 150 police and the Courts, Milan Matich, plant. The picket line was led were called to the scene, and President of Local 1245 called by Local 1245's Flying Squad- scuffles between police and a local meeting, and the mem-

Strike **Broken** from sympathetic members of ets responded to demands of employees have been hired. UAW mechanics Local 412 and the international officers by Chrysler office workers Local shouting: "The International 889. Wives of strikers appeared hasn't paid any attention to us. Walter P. Reuther, President

> without a contract has been to and Local 1245 officers. The a great new stride forward by "turn the other cheek" and local officers were ordered to the Canadian workers into the hold up any action until the get their men back to work by new model production begins 7 A.M. Thursday or face im- tical action. mediate removal and appoint ment of an international administrator. The meeting with

> > with the Chrysler Corporation. A few minutes after the strations. With this two point crack-

endorsed the CCF. ron. On the second day of the strikers were reported. Several bership voted, though not tion the CCF without which it strike, reinforcements came men were arrested. Angry pick- unanimously to return to work is extremely difficult to intel-

## ligently talk about "Why did Praises Platform

Letters from Our Readers

The various tendencies and

hand-outs with the label of an Editor:

with a class-struggle program. Unfit to Print?

P. Kent Editor: