A New Battle For Free Speech

For the last ten years a horde of government agencies have been at work in America seeking to impose a police Vol. XXI - No. 22

By means of "investigations," screenings, deportations, jailings — and even executions as in the Rosenberg case — the agencies of Big Business have sought to totalitarianize America.

For ten years, every setback the political police has suffered has been due to resistance of courageous individuals and groups, determined at all costs to uphold this country's democratic traditions.

Their free-speech struggles will pave the way for the mass intervention of the American working class in the struggle against the police-staters that will end the depredations of the political police.

The battle over the right of the American Forum -For Socialist Education to organize and conduct untrammeled discussions among various currents in the Socialist movement is now in the forefront of the battle for free speech. The American Forum is defending its right to organize discussions against an attempt by Sen. Eastland to suppress these activities by means of an "investigation."

A. J. Muste, National Chairman of the American Forum, challenged the political cops in the best traditions of the socialist and free-speech movements.

He told the racist and witch-hunting senator that he was not intimidated by the attempted smear and would not cooperate one nickel's worth in the senatorial "in-

The right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, however, responded in a different way. They lined up on Eastland's side and joined in the hue and cry against the American Forum. Then they served an ultimatum on all members of the SP-SDF who had joined the National Committee of the Forum to get off or suffer expulsion from the party-federation.

This was a disgraceful betrayal of democratic and socialist principles by people who proclaim themselves to be "democratic socialists."

But neither witch-hunt clamor, nor SP-SDF treachery will keep genuine defenders of civil liberties from rallying behind Muste's resistance to the American political police. Nor will it keep them from upholding the American Forum's democratic right to conduct its socialist discussion program.

IN THIS ISSUE

"The SP Record on Socialism and Democracy" (See page 2)

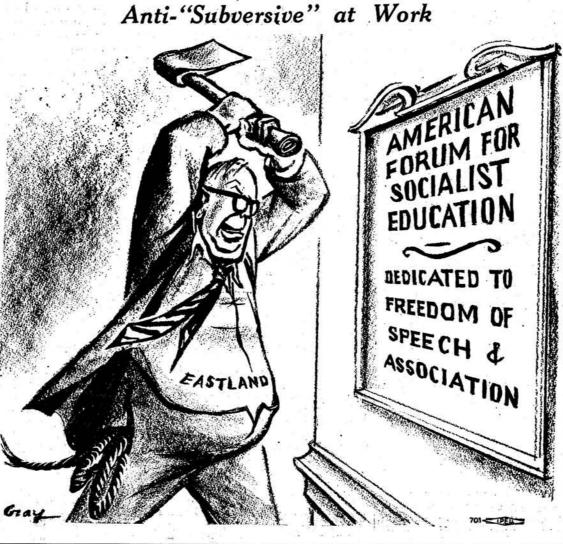
THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1957

PRICE 10c

Eastland Committee Steps Up Assault on Socialist Forum



Morton Sobell to Appeal To U.S. Supreme Court By Myra Tanner Weiss | charges that the FBI arranged | States, but the prosecution would

in Alcatraz prison, will now be U.S. where he was immediately taken to the United States Su- arrested. There was no extradi- such evidence to argue that Sopreme Court. Under appeal will be the May 14 decision of the any kind. Thus, Sobell charges, untarily? The evidence was in U.S. Court of Appeals which refused to grant Sobell either his freedom or a new trial despite conclusive new evidence that an injustice was done to this scien-

The decision of the U.S. Appeals Court, written by Judge Harold Medina and concurred in by Judges Sterry Waterman and Clarence Galston, is a document filled with almost unbelievable legal sophistries that show not the slightest concern for either truth or justice. For example, Medina writes that the proof submitted by Sobell's lawyers that Sobell was kidnapped illegally from Mexico, "merely supplemented the proof of appellant's consciousness of guilt by explaining his presence at the trial, which appellant appears to concede was not voluntary."

TWISTED LOGIC

How could proof that Sobell was not allowed to return to this country voluntarily be proof of a "consciousness of guilt"? And what kind of twisted mind could write the phrase-Sobell "appears to concede" that his requiring that every worker carpresence at the trial "was not voluntary"? How could Sobell "appear to concede" what he was stoutly maintaining?

Sobell's lawyers pointed out that the prosecution knowingly used perjured evidence. At the trial in 1951 the jury was told that Sobell had been "deported" from Mexico. In any jury's mind there can be no question that guise of combatting "saboteurs" "deportation" implied some kind of legal procedure by the Government of Mexico. But Medina wasn't interested in the evidence ernment. This alarming fact is not deported or evicted from of The Reporter. The magazine of the phone company itself, allities of the political police in Mexico in any other legal reveals how the Industrial Per- though the company had no de- America. fashion. Medina is satisfied that sonnel Security Program, set up Sobell was "deported" because "he did not return to the United being used to realize the anti- pany in effect took advantage States voluntarily; and the expression 'kicked out,' while per Bill, haps offensive to a refined ear, KREZNAR CASE described precisely what happeaed to him on Aug. 18, 1950."

May 27—The case of Morton with Mexican cops, to have him just as likely have argued to kidnapped and returned to the the contrary."

a high-handed act on the part agine. means of word jugglery.

its possession demonstrated an then take the place of apathy intention to return to the United and fear.

tion or deportation hearing of bell did not intend to return volhe was neither allowed to return the hands of the FBI and it was voluntarily nor was he legally not used to argue "to the condeported. He was the victim of trary," as anyone can well im-

of the government. And the If the logic of these three high-handed act uphold it by unprejudiced logic," is a sample of the reasoning of U.S. justices Sobell's lawyers charged that in general then this profession the prosecution concealed evil is the most misnamed profesdence that would have been an sion in the country. Now it is up aid to the defense. In particular, to the Supreme Court to show for his return to the United in the past, popular ignorance

Eastland Attack on Forum Hit by McAvoy and Zaslow

MAY 27 — Two of the four members of the National ments. Committee of the American Forum for Socialist Educa- Eastland Committee against the (I Led Three Lies) Philbrick and just a few questions about the tion who were subpoenaed by Senator Eastland's Internal American Forum is but the latest Fulton Lewis, Jr., have been par- organization. It would be most

Security Subcommittee made the 3following statements to the Mili- his militant assertion of the tant. Clifford T. McAvoy said:

"There has never been an organization less like a Communist front than the American Forum for Socialist Education. Made up of people holding highly diverjudges instead of scoring this men, wielders of "impartial and gent views, it is a true crosssection of the American radical movement. More important it has no program whatsoever, but was set up solely for purposes of education.

"These considerations make the prosecution had in its posses- the quality of its judgement. If the attack of the Senate Intersion a vaccination certificate ob- this bench is not to turn its back nal Security Subcommittee all tained by Sobell in preparation on Sobell's just plea as it has the more reprehensible. The at-States. Medina wrote, Sobell of the facts in this case must fle freedom of speech and to "might well have claimed that be overcome. Indignation will prevent freedom of association. "Too much praise cannot be given to the Rev. A.J. Muste for

right of freedom of speech. Certainly all of those who believe in the Constitution can do no Congress has any right to inbelief.

"The all-important facts about the Forum are its two principles: non-exclusion and complete freedom of discussion. There is great hope for a renaissance of the American radical movement if enough Americans are willing to stand up and fight for these elementary principles of genuine Americanism."

(Continued on page 4)

A. J. Muste Tells Witch-Hunter That He Will Defy Inquisition

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, May 28 - "I must on grounds of conscience, and in line with my conception of my duty as a citizen in a democratic society, decline to answer the questions in your letter, written by you as Chairman and on behalf of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. . . Should I be subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee, it would be impossible for me to do more than appear

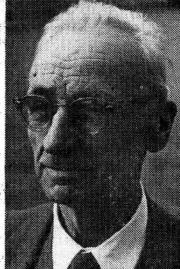
and state my reasons for de-@ clining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter." This was the firm stand taken by Rev. A. J. Muste, chairman of the recently formed American Forum - For Socialist Education against the latest attack of the witch hunters.

The demand that Muste submit to an inquisition about the American Forum was made by the notorious racist, James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate witch-hunt committee. It followed the issuing of subpoenas for four members of the National Committee of the American Forum and the haling of one of the four, Dr. Aibert Blumberg, before Senator John M. Butler, sitting as a one-man board of inquisition on May 21. Blumberg, one of the two Communist Party members on the 40-man National Committee of the American Forum, refused to answer the questions put to him because of their subject matter and because of the nature of the proceedings. He declared that such questions could not conceivably serve any key Big Business newspapers

phase of the campaign that Bigdate a press release sent out by tion as a "Communist front." Chairman A. J. Muste announced less than to join with him in the formation of the Forum, its reactionary pack is, in full cry, refusing to concede that the purpose (to afford a vehicle for the social democrats are running to know from you to what exvestigate in the area of political for all socialist-minded tenden. The May 27 New Leader, the a moving factor in the formaing every shade of the socialist ing the American Forum. spectrum in the U.S.

HOWL IN THE PRESS

Speaking for the gutter press Milton Zaslow said: "All in-formation concerning the Amer-Times culminated three days of ble enough to discuss with other committee with a copy thereof?" biased reporting about the Amer-



ican Forum with an editorial attacking it. Subsequently the New York Herald Tribune and other legislative point and that they throughout the country have violated his political rights un chimed in with their demands der the First and Fifth Amend-that the American Forum be

As might be expected when the these questions for the record.

plot originating in Moscow and the last eighteen months? Did the 20th Congress attack on Sta- you present a memo to Mr. lin as a hoax to permit Commun- Blumberg outlining an exchange the next day, New York's Daily ist Party members in countries of opinion on the whole subject News demanded that "the Sen- like the U.S. to pretend they are of a union by the Communist ate Internal Security Committee disgusted with Stalinism and and Socialist minded groups? If look into this mob without de- even to pretend to quit the CP you did present such a memoran-

Muste and Eastland Letters

The following are texts of a letter from Senator Eastland (D. Miss.) to A.J. Muste, National Chairman of the American Forum - For Socialist Education, and of a reply by Muste to East-

May 17, 1957

Dear Mr. Muste:

The Internal Security Subcommittee has scheduled a hearing next Tuesday on the nature of the American Forum for Socialist Education. This is in connection with the Subcommittee's inquiry into the nature of Communist activities in the United

You are listed as Chairman killed. The profession I red-bait of the Forum, and therefore I The concerted attack of the ing columnists such as Herbert would appreciate your answering helpful if I had your reply Business interests launched propaganda and crude in their at- Tuesday, in which event it will against it on May 13. On that tempts to portray the organiza- be put into the record on that

The Subcommittee would like free and untrammeled discussion alongside uttering their yelps. tent Mr. Albert E. Blumberg was cies and individuals), its officers most important journal of social- tion of the American Forum for and its National Committee of 40 democratic opinion, features an Socialist Education: Would you prominent individuals, represent- article by Diana Trilling attack- tell us the extent of your dealing with Mr. Blumberg in this She professes to see a gigantic and all related matters during

Will you tell us also of your dealings with other representatives of the Communist Party, U.S.A., with relation to the Forum?

The Subcommittee would like to have a full account of the following matters pertaining to the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education:

(1) When and by whom was the formation of this organiza-(2) Who handled contacts with

prospective members of the AFFSE national committee? To what extent were these contacts personal, and to what extent by mail?

(3) What meetings have been held, when, and where, attended by persons now members of the AFFSE national committee, at which formation of the AFFSE and related matters were discussed?

(4) Has each of the 40 members of the AFFSE national committee personally assented to serving as such? To whom, andin what form, were such assents given? Does each of these 40. members have an equal vote in management of the affairs of the

(5). Is there any group or body other than the AFFSE national committee which is or will be concerned with AFFSE poliev or administration? Who are the members of the administrative and executive staff of the AFFSE?

I ask you also to inform the (Continued on page 3)

Gov't Hits Unions With Police-State Screenings

ler Bill was passed, "We will have taken a long step toward ry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work. And who has taken his case into fighter in collective bargaining." exchanged the freedom of American democracy for the tyranny of a police state."

Although the Butler Bill has not yet been enacted into law, of union militants under the SWP meetings. and "espionage agents"-has been pushed steadily ahead by U.S. Big Business and its gov-

Judges are supposed to pro- ment and the American public" contract some time in the fu- der the purview of the govern- gamization on the list has been Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers tect the legal rights of Amer- of the Industrial Personnel Se- ture. ican citizens from arbitrary ac- curity Program, The Reporter tion of their government. Sobell describes the case of one of those bother saying so, the real issue to do their own security screen membership in or association Organized labor must mobilize

warned that if the pending But- Kreznar was fired by the Wis- America, AFL-CIO, and was consin Telephone Company after president of the local when he 15 years of satisfactory service was fired. According to The Re- points out, "Systematic loyaltyfor failing to win clearance from initiated security check. Kreznar, tious," "issue-oriented," a "hard if that ever happens we have federal court, was screened on grounds of alleged membership in the Socialist Workers Party which is included on the Att'y General's "subversive" list. Kreznar denies such membership but its central aim-the blacklisting freely concedes having attended ing hounded because he was a the National Industrial Confer-

A key fact in the case, The militant." The statement by the Reporter points out, is that CIO News is a sign that sections "Kreznar was investigated by of the labor officialdom are bedocumented in the May 2 issue the government at the request coming alarmed over the activfense contracts in the area where by President Truman in 1949, is Kreznar was employed. The comin order to have Kreznar screen-

The Reporter underscores the witch-hunting pattern which the ed." The company's case, which Kreznar case symbolizes. Three the key weapon in this anti-labor was upheld by the government, million workers in 21,000 plants attack is the Attorney General's To underscore the "serious im- rested largely on the contention with government defense con- list of 303 "subversive" organi- unions of their legal rights, Alplications for the labor move- that it anticipated a government tracts or subcontracts came un- zations. It says: "Only one orment "screening" program. The given a hearing, yet industrial and the United Electrical Work-While company lawyers didn't companies are granted the right or security regulations hold that ers (Independent).

strong union man and the com-

pany used this as a pretext for

ridding the company of a union

gram. He is Stephan L. Kreznar, time militant in Local 5501 of, ers classified as less "sensitive." a Milwaukee telephone worker. the Communications Workers of PRIVATE SCREENING In addition, The Reporter

> security programs have cropped porter, one union official deup in a number of industries not connected with defense work' In most cases, such industries employ detective agencies to do the "screening." The May 3 issue of the Wis The real aim of the "screenconsin CIO News spelled out the ing"-both governmental and

> > ence Board. It said: "Even if you don't have a trained salboteur in hire, Indusin peacetime. It can help you on the Ford and Dodge locals rid your plant of agitators who of the UAW reported elsewhere create labor unrest, who promote in this issue. (See page four)

antipathy to management." 'SUBVERSIVE LIST'

The Reporter makes clear that

considered in measuring a min's security standing." That the "subversive" list was

designed as a weapon not only against radicals but against the labor movement as a whole is becoming more apparent daily. Literally thousands of union militants like Kreznar have been blacklisted out of industry by use of the list. Such reactionary gangs as the House Un-Amermeaning of the Kreznar case private-was stated in a 1952 ican Activities |Committee and when it declared "Kreznar is be- Report on Industrial Security by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, alarmed with the list, are becoming increasingly bold in their moves to smear militant local unions. This is iltrial Security can pay you off lustrated by the current attacks

labor grievances, slowdowns and SCAB ROLE strikes and encourage worker

In addition to the operations of the "screening" program, the Subversive Activities Control Board is currently engaged, under provisions of the Communist Control Act, in trying to strip ready before the board are the

victimized by the screening pro- is that Kreznar had been a long- ing on another two million work- with members of the branded its forces to combat the steadily organizations are factors to be growing anti-union witch hunt. Failure to knock out the "subversive" list and the "screening" process can mean that it will be only a matter of time before every American worker will have tion first suggested to you? to "carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work." And then the capitalist class will have achieved "the tyranny of a police state."

1.500 Turn Out for Sobell Boat Ride

Approximately 1,500 New

Yorkers took the boat ride up the Hudson River under the auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell on May 26. Hundreds of others who were unable to spend the day on the excursion helped to assure the financial success of the event with their contributions. The trip to Bear Mountain was made with a great deal of spirit. Hundreds of young people sang songs. Special games were organized for the children. The struggle to free Sobell from prison won many new friends.

The SP Record on Socialism and Democracy

tation in the debate with Max American radicals" and the be-Shachtman on "What Road to yond-the-pale Communist Party Socialist Regroupment?"]

The most revealing insight into the significance of the current discussion on socialist regroupment, is provided by the events of the last ten days.

On May 13 the launching of the American Forum - For Socialist Education was announced. The 40-member National Committee showed that the Forum project was backed by a widely representative group of radical organizations in the U.S.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were both represented. There were a half-dozen or so individuals of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on the Com-

Prominent figures of the radical and progressive labor move- vant of the American ruling

The launching of a forum to organize the discussion that erupted as a consequence of the

taining a warning: Break it up! days to decide.

will be permitted.

The Daily News the same day was even more blunt: "We suggest that the Senate Internal Security Committee look into this mob without delay; also, that the Attorney General make inquiries as to whether he oughtn't to add it swiftly to his list of subversive organizations."

The voice of the master class was heard and the servants responded-swiftly.

The Eastland Senate Security Sub-Committee subpoenaed five members of the American Forum National Committee, including Albert Blumberg of the Communist Party and Chiff McAvoy of the Committee for Socialist Uni-

At the same time, another serment, like the chairman of this class, the right-wing bureaucrats evening, Clifford T. McAvoy, of the SP-SDF, stirred themselves from their customary lethargy and jumped to attention -Present and accounted for! They moved in to torpedo the crisis of world Stalinism, pro- Forum. They forced one SP-SDF voked the direct intervention of participant to resign from the the journalistic and legislative committee; they issued a bureaurepresentatives of American ca- cratic ukase to the rest of the SP-SDF participants. Resign The New York Times, May 15, from the Forum or be expelled

Singer Rebukes N. Y. Times

retary of the SP-SDF hastened democratic rights for workers on to write a letter to the May 18 both sides of the Iron Curtain" Times. He rebuked the Times for and to base his claim that the failing "to make clear ... that SP-SDF is the only legitimate the American Forum is not rep- spokesman of socialism in Amresentative of socialist thought erica on the sole fact that it is in America." Only the SP-SDF affiliated to the international of represents "socialist thought" by Mollet. virtue of its affiliation to the Second International.

Singer says, "The Socialist parties of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Denmark which are affiliated with the Socialist International have consistently condemned Soviet tyranny and advocated the widest democratic

That's a lie, isn't it, Shachtman? Take but one example: The SP government of Guy Mollet in France has, until its of the dirty war of French imperialism in Algeria, hasn't it?

In this dirty war, French capitalism, under the stewardship of the Second International party of Mollet, has committed atrocities of mass torture and slaughter that rival the record of Hitlerism, hasn't it?

To strangle the voice of oppoattempt to indict the French ganized, the death penalty. Isn't that so? of the

Now the National Secretary abroad! of the SP-SDF dares to say that the parties of the Second Inter- of today has nothing but soft

the Cleveland Open Forum. 5

ist Workers Party, B. Hendrick

of the Young Socialist League

and C. B. Cowan of the Revolu-

tionary Workers League. The So-

cialist Party-Social Democratic

Federation, the Communist Par-

ty and the Socialist Labor Party

declined invitations to partici

ISL, called for a regroupment in-

side the SP-SDF, and said that

such a regroupment should in-

clude all tendencies, but that the

united organization could not

take the "public position that

Russia is a workers' state." He

said the politics of the SP-SDF

"are not perfect, but they're not

Cowan said the RWL feels that

regroupment does not mean the

same thing as organizational uni-

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of the Soviet state

McDermott, speaking for the

Regroupment Discussed

CLEVELAND, May 27 — "Socialist Regroupment

Speakers were Jerry McDermott tv and that there are opportuni-

Herman Singer, National Sec-| national fight for "the widest

Doesn't this call to mind the words of Max Shachtman, not events. the Shachtman here on this plotform, but the Shachtman of 20 years ago, who said in the June 1938 issue of the New International:

"To condemn the Comintern is pretty easy nowadays and sometimes pretty cheap. [It has be more serious if the SP were to sweep clean the thickly bether, just as guilty."

these words as the theme for an ty and reaction. up-to-date article, using Singers' erats should engage in a red let government (went so far as to baiting trusade ogainst an orinclusive discussion Trotskyists before a military among radicals in the U.S. court under a law that carried while whitewashing the crimes "socialist"-imperialists

But hardly! The Shachtman

up their organizational independ-

YSL, agreed that regroupment

these days," he said. "They want

continued, is acceptable to such

people. "It is clean and has a

good reputation and never has

Speaking for the SWP, Him-

mel pointed out that unity is un

the program of the SP-SDF as

"State Department socialism,"

he declared that those who de-

mand regroupment in such an or-

everyone into a unity that is hos-

ialism as the SP-SDF does."

should take place in the SP-

Hendrick, representing

ence and their programs.



MURRY WEISS

words and obsequious flattery for the social-democratic scoundrels who represent the Second International in this country.

The episode of the attack on the American Forum, reveals the class context in which the discussion on socialist regroup ment is taking place.

First, there was the profound initial stimulus of the Soviet published a stern editorial con- from the party. You have ten workers, the second largest working class force in the world, whose renewed revolutionary movement produced the crisis in the Soviet bureaucracy, that came to the attention of the whole world through the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Next, there was the revolutionary uprisings in Eastern Europe, which proved that the June 1958 general strike in East Germany and the mass strike of political prisoners in Vorkuta were not incidental or isolated

The world crisis of Stalinism broke out with full force, affecting every Communist party; the ranks of Communist workers everywhere were shocked brutally to oppose and disrupt a and horrified at the Khrushchev revolutionary socialist regrouprevelations which proved Stalin ment.

we Trotskyists said it was.

ed with scorn and fury on those fairy tales spread by Shachtman revolutionary youth movement who had lied to them and be- regarding our alleged ulti- in the United States. trayed them; step by step they matism? crats to maintain them.

Thus the encouraging prospect opened that tens of thousands sible; united front actions are of Communist workers, betrayed both possible and necessary. It by Stalinism, would forge a bond is possible, for example to take proposing that revolutionary soof understanding with revolu-tionary socialists, and find a unification of revolutionary soparty that would stand for the independence of the working class and irreconcilable opposidemocratic bureaucracies.

of betrayal and ideological de- this process. moralization of the revolutionary vanguard, perpetrated by both Shachtman's proposal? Nothing the Social Democracy and Sta- whatsoever! The first condition linism, the opportunity to shatter of a revolutionary socialist entry the grip of the labor bureaucracres on the consciousness of the workers, has once again offered itself-primarily as a result of the new stage in the Russian Revolution.

How can this process be advanced texcept by patient and dishonest way adopt the princisystematic discussion, supple- ples of the social-democrats. mented and reinforced by united action in the class struggle?

To be sure, such a prospect encounters enormous obstacles, particularly here in the U.S. The power of the American ruling elass is great; and, as we have seen, it will be exerted fully and

rights for workers on both sides become easier and cheaper in the of the Iron Curtain." (Our em- year 1957, I might edd.] It would Bureaucrats Aid Wall Street

On the side of the capitalists | radicalism. The revolutionary international first ... Isn't it United States, which, despite in- ing-up the movement to break fall the other day, been in charge language would call loathsome manifested by the historic strughypocrisy to condemn one gang- gie of the Negro people for full ster and to cover in silence ano- equality, remains fundamentally under the influence of cold-war, Perhaps Shachtman can take witch-hunt, armaments-prosperi-

The whole radical movement in boasts of SP-SDF affiliation to the U. S. is isolated from the the Second International as a mainstream of the powerfully ortake-off. And while he's at it, ganized and bureaucratized labor let him comment on how logical movement. The class-collaborasition from the French working it is that the SP-SDF bureau- tionist labor bureaucracy, includic ideological prostitutes of capitalism, has acted as the min support of Wall Street rule in the

This bureaucracy, the American eaucracies in Europe, has driven the imperialist witch hunt deep into the unions during this last cold-war decade. Thousands of radical and militant workers have been purged from the factories and union locals and blacklisted by the trade-union State At Cleveland Symposium Department cops, in collusion with the would-be secret political police-the FBI.

The radicals for all their mistakes, and for all the criminal Its Advisability and Possibilities," was the subject of a betrayals of Stalinism and resymposium held here last night under the auspices of formism, have not imposed this isolation on themselves. The isolation was imposed on them by ferocious campaign, waged by of the Independent Socialist ties for united activities between the capitalist ruling class and the League, R. Himmel of the Social-different groups without giving

trade-union bureaucrats. about the isolation of radicalism. It cannot be overcome by any- not unless you're a split-happy thing less than the combined ef- sectarian, of course. All you have fect of a new radical wave of to do is join with me in drop-SDF. "It is hard to recruit youth class action by the American ping your principles-after all, workers, plus the revolutionary respectability." The SP-SDF, he socialist regroupment of the rad- now?-and join the SP-SDF. All ical workers themselves.

revolutionary vanguard in the this SP-SDF which is a genuine, been in trouble with the govern- U.S. can play a decisive role in democratic socialist organization assuring the victory of the next and offers us a chance to build

smirched doorstep of its own is the whole atmosphere in the vanguard faces the task of headwhat those accustomed to strong dications of a change such as with political subservience to the capitalist parties and launch an independent Labor Party. This task cannot be accomplished unless the socialist vanguard is completely free of any trace of conciliation with the ideology and power of the labor bureaucracy or any political tendency that wants to subordinate the struggle for socialism to conciliation with the bureaucracy

> The task of the hour, I repeat, radical upsurge that is sure to come as a result of the crisis of of world capitalism and the colranks of the labor movement. lapse of the artificial armaments- ISL can get into the SP-SDF on be suspected of being our people, Part of the value of the SP, for prosperity in the U.S. The task equivalent of the reformist bu- of preparation means above all the welding together of the revolutionary-minded workers Such an assertion is utterly misthrough a discussion that will leading. No one wants to unite bring Leninist clerity in place of with the SP-SDF and then split

> > and says: Why do you call this on any basis whatever; if even a policy of regroupment? You the suggestion that we want to are only out to recruit a few talk about perspectives and promembers to your little sect; gram would end all discussion vou're only interested in some with them, what would their reing organizations - you're dishonest to talk of "socialist

Look at me, Shachtman says, I've got a real, genuine, honestto-God, unity proposal. In my unity proposal, everybody gets united-right away. There are That is the cold-war reality only a few small conditions. Nothing to get aroused aboutwhere did they get you up to you have to do is stop this quib-A regrouped and revitalized bling and squabbling and get into

realistic without regreement on Unify Revolutionary Socialists

have proposed the unity of rev- SWP. olutionary socialists, not the uniganization are "trying to corral ty of revolutionary socialists with The ISL, he observed, rules out groupment discussion, in our sive in the Soviet Union, "but on what basis they can unite.

such a regroupment gives blanket workers and radical youth who tion be attempted "we first exendorsement to American imper- were trapped by Stalinism want plore the different views, clarify to be revolutionary socialists. To this approach Himmel coun- The shattering of the Stalinist to reach agreement on at least terposed a broad discussion on monolith has opened the road for the minimum fundamentals . . socialist fundamentals leading to them and for the revolutionary before durable organizational a new agreement around revolu- socialists to unite. The task is conclusions can be reached." tionary principles. He expressed to assemble these forces in one

We have published our views

We are convinced that out of confidence in the success of a organization. We make no con- such a discussion and through "revolutionary" as counterposed dition that it be our organiza- common struggle on such issues

and Stalinism to be everything a revolutionary socialist unifica- its youth join the Young Social-6 tion will come. What has this ist League and work loyally to

sion with the Trotskyists broke the further influence of the reaucrats of the SP-SDF. down, despite every attempt of events in the class struggle, both the die-hard Stalinist bureau- internationally and in this coun-

Some immediate steps are pos-

way to group together with cialist youth into one organiza- of revolutionary socialist forces chairman. them in a common party - a tion. The SWP has proposed that in that way.

This is the prospect the So- process of building a revolutioncialist Workers Party is working ary party can lead through many for in the regroupment crisis. We organization forms, and any secsay that the task of the hour is to tarian dogmatism which makes organize and advance the discus- a fetish of a particular organision of principle. After decades zation can prove very harmful to

Let everybody "freeze" their positions on the Russian question, which has been the main cause of the splits in the socialist move-

Everybody? Well, not exactly! Shachtman doesn't ask the social-democrats to freeze their position. Their position, according to his proposal, will only be the official position of the party. That's perfectly all right with Shachtman, and in accordance with the very nature of things.

But here's the giveaway—the

This particular step depends,

found their way to comradely All the concrete organization of course, on whether Shachtman discussions with revolutionary al steps towards a unity can- fails in his attempt to convince socialists. The ranks of the Com- not be foreseen at this time. It the YSL to abandon its independmunist parties began to search depends primarily on the fate of ence and subordinate itself political for the road back to the program the discussion in and around the ically and organizationally to the of Leninism. Barriers to discus- Communist Party. It depends on State Department "socialist" bu-

But what of Shachtman's unity proposal? Let's get one thing clear. In talking to certain audiences, Shachtman tries to give Murry Weiss of the Socialist the impression that he is merely

principles of class-struggle socialism, the complete political Shachtman's "Entry" Tactic

Such an entry move is, of socialist paradise of the SP-SDF. tion to the Stalinist and social- course, permissible and, under revolutionary socialists will be

But what has this to do with move into an organization dominated by reformists is that the revolutionists remain firm in their principles. The first condition of Shachtman's proposal however, is that revolutionists give up their principles and in a

Shachtman says, for example: ment since 1917.

has invented. In his democratic the SP-SDF.

certain conditions, necessary. The permitted to hold private views on such strange notions that the working class should defend the nationalized and planned economy of the Soviet countries be associated with Stalinism in tion by Weiss that Shachtman's against any attempt of imperial- any way." That gives it the op- role in the SP would be to police ism to restore private capitalist hold privately and occasionally even discuss them.

But, according to Shachtman's proposition, you can never get your views officially adopted. Because, Shachtman says, the American workers, whose views he knows intimately, will never tolerate any commitment to the idea that there is anything progressive, whatsoever, about the Soviet Union.

And, just coincidentally, the sacred cows of the SP-SDF bureaucracy won't tolerate such views either - so forget about fighting for them - in the SP-

And in case these considerations don't give you an idea of what "democratic" life will be like in the SP-SDF, Shachtman has made it clear that he and his colleagues will be right there to keep the left wing in lineand restrain it from any such rash acts as fighting for its position. In a word, Shachtman procute little gimmick Shachtman poses to police the left wing for

Didn't Invent Charge

Do you think I exaggerate? | less and despite their suspicions Don't accuse me of inventing this and misgivings had been cajoled -it's the charge of an associate into looking the other way while editor of Labor Action, Gordon we crawled in the back door-Haskell, one of Shachtman's coworkers, who is opposed to his after five minutes but after five proposal because it is not for a months, we began to press for 'healthy socialist unity." Here's programmatic changes? Obviouswhat Haskell has to say about ly this could only lead to dis- great error to change the right- tion of repudiating his views. But Shachtman's proposal in the aster. The real meaning of such wing politics of the SP. For who will be so 'sectarian' as to March issue of Forum, a discussion bulletin of the ISL which can be purchased at their office: the purpose of policing any of ment, or a simulacrum of a move-

'any basis,' five minutes after who might raise their voices to Shachtman, is precisely its rightwe are in, we can change the program of the party as we will. But along comes Shachtman not willing to negotiate with us

what, if after such a 'unity,' not a unity would be a prolonged si-"It has been argued that if the our people, or others who might ment, which appeals to the right.

emphasis.) Does this description, by one of Shachtman's own comrades-inarms, correspond to a revolutionconfusion and demoralization. it. If the SP-SDF leadership is ary entry tactic? Or is it a formula for capitulation to Social Democracy?

You think capitulation might be too strong a word? Let's see what another co-worker of Shachtman has to say in this 'commando raids" to split exist- action be if, after they had been same issue of Forum. Hal Draconvinced we were utterly harm- per, the editor of Labor Action,

The Communist workers turnapproach in common with the build it as the nucleus of a broad who had lied to them and herearding our alleged ulti-**Issue of Socialist Unity**

serve as the pole of attraction for regroupment of socialists in America is the Socialist Party - Social Democratic

Federation, said Max Shachtman. National Chairman of the Inde-| SP-SDF or document his own pendent Socialist League in a de- claim that the organization pospate, May 24. His opponent was Weiss presentation on this page.) Clifford T. (McAvoy of the Committee for Socialist Unity was The SP-SDF is the only one of

the various socialist propaganda groups, Shachtman claimed, that has the opportunity to become a broad socialist movement. The principal argument advanced by Shachtman for his contention was that the Socialist Party "is associated with the democratic socialist tradition" and "was not held by the American workers to portunity-alone among all cur- the left-wing for the sake of the property. These views you can rent socialist propaganda groups right-wing party bureaucrats. -to become a broad socialist movement.

The break-up of the Communist Party, Shachtman continued. is creating a vacuum which can be filled by a radical party willing to be a "loyal, respectable part of the American labor movement." The only one of the existing "sects" which can serve as of Stalinism, and to the radical the rallying point for this development is the SP-SDF.

Weiss attacked Shachtman's proposal for joining the Socialist Party as interfering with, rather than aiding the patient and systematic discussion among radicals which is necessary for the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. He Shachtman, should now "freeze" pointed to the anti-democratic, their different positions on the anti-socialist record of the social USSR and unite in a single ordemocracy, in general, and its participation in the lynch attack matic condition he placed on the on the American Forum for So- unity was that the united party cialist Education, in particular. | must hold that there is "nothing

sessed a record of upholding democracy and socialism. Nor did Workers Party. (See text of he give a clear answer to Weiss' question whether he would repudiate Leninism as the price for being allowed to join the SP-SDF. "If Thomas wants me to repudiate Leninism," Shachtman said, "he must first tell me what it is he wants me to repudiate. I don't think Thomas knows what Leninism is."

Shachtman further stated that if he were inside the SP-SDF he would favor "policing the left wing in such a way that it remains loyal and not cause splits." This was in answer to an accusa-

Shachtman prefaced his support for the SP-SDF by declaring that the present isolation of radicals in the U.S. cannot be explained by prosperity. (He did not refer in any way to the witch hunt.) First, he said, there is a revulsion of the U.S. workers to the Soviet Union and the crimes movement, which they associate with defense of the Soviet Union and apology for Stalin's crimes. Second, he continued, the radicals themselves are split into "ineffective sects" differentiated mainly by their distinct positions on the "Russian Question."

The various tendencies, said ganization. The only program-Shachtman did not seek to re- progressive whatsoever" about fute Weiss' charges against the the Soviet Union.

quite plainly and clearly: He explains that Shachtman's

posal for unity or entry. He calls it euphemistically

entry? Draper says:

"From the point of view which Shachtman thinks of his 'unity lence on our part, broken only for perspective as setting up a movedemand such changes." (Haskell's wing appeal, Insofar as the SP becomes ISL-ish, it loses part of arrive at it hastily. He spent a the very reason why Shachtman is so enthusiastic about dissolv- Committee trying to avoid an ing into it now. This is another and even more basic reason why conclude that the differences (per Shachtman) the ISLers were "irrepressible." must guard against changing the

> the SP." (Draper's emphasis.) Draper says: "Comrade Shachtman becomes understandably veposal does not mean 'capitula- issue. - Ed.1

who also opposes the kind of tion' to social-democracy. He beunity Shachtman wants, speaks comes highly scientific and precise in his definition of 'capitulation," So Draner cuts through unity proposal is neither a pro- the terminological argument and

"Let us instead use a very prea proposal for "dissolution and cise term. What the consequences entry." And what is the political of the Shachtman line entails is content of this dissolution and a systematic political adaptation to social-democracy." Draper continues: "No, Shacht-

Shachtman holds, it would be a man has not the slightest intenobject if they were bent, fitted filed, rubbed down, carved, trimmed or cold-storaged so as to ingratiate us as good-dogs with the SP right wing?"

This is Draper's evaluation of Shachtman's line. And he didn't whole year on the ISL Political open conflict, but finally had to

"Capitulation" or "systematic right-wing political character of political adaptation to socialdemocracy"? You can take your

[The concluding part of the hement in arguing that his pro- text will be carried in our next

Just Out - Spring Issue of the Marxist Quarterly

International **Socialist Review**

CONTENTS

The Future of Socialism in America - Two Views -Socialism - At Rock Bottom by Harvey O'Connor We Must Start From Where We Are

The Soviet Challenge to Capitalist Economy by Arne Swabeck

by the Editors

The Workers Councils in Poland by Edgar Morin Anthropology Today

by Evelyn Reed Early Years of the American Communist Movement 1928 - At the Sixth World Congress

by James P. Cannon Book Reviews The Evolution of Randolph Bourne

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Regroupment:

Programmatic Basis For Discussion of **Socialist Unity**

By the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party



Order from:

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

massive wave of working-class a significant socialist movement.

it is perfectly okay with them if We think that thousands of

First of all, Shachtman, we be on the full program of the

on what we propose as points for social-democrats on the discred- discussion between the various tile to the traditions of social- ited and treacherous program of tendencies. Here it is in pamreformism. The task of the re- phlet form: Regroupment: A Programmatic Basis for Discusregroupment with any group that opinion, is to determine who are sion of Socialist Unity, a stateholds there is anything progres- the revolutionary socialists and ment by the SWP National Committee. In this statement we say that before a general unificathe different positions, and try

to a "reformist" regroupment. tion, nor do we say that it must as civil liberties and civil rights

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. XXI - No. 22

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York. N.Y., under the act of March 5, 1879."

Monday, June 3, 1957

The State of the Witch Hunt

We have always held the highest regard for I. F. Stone's vigorous and consistently principled participation in every major civil liberties fight. And we certainly wish he were correct when he said in the May 13 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly that "While the Senate last week was burying McCarthy, the U.S. Supreme Court buried McCarthyism." Unfortunately, he is wrong.

Stone arrives at his optimistic view on the basis of two recent, encouraging high court decisions. In both the case of Rudolph Schware of New Mexico and that of Raphael Konigsberg of California, a majority of the court voted that past membership in the Communist Party, or even present expression of dissident views, does not by itself constitute sufficient reason for barring a man from law practice.

There have been other recent Supreme Court decisions which might seem to bolster Stone's contention that "It looks like the witch hunt is drawing to its close." These include the reversal of the conviction of three California people charged with "harboring" Communist Party leader Robert Thompson in 1953. Their conviction was voided because they were victims of illegal search and seizure by the FBI. There is also the government decision to drop plans for a new trial of unionist Ben Gold. His previous conviction for alleged violation of the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit was voided because the FBI had intimidated members of the jury.

These and several other victories indicate the fact that the easing of the coldwar against the Soviet Union has slowed down the witch hunt in some directions. But a full estimate of the present trend makes clear that a good deal of hard Indeed, it was her categorical Congressional committees and U.S. to testify, mention her defighting lies ahead to guarantee the fu- refusal to appear before any other government bodies. A na- nial. Nor did columnist Robert ture of the Bill of Rights. Even in its most favorable decisions, the Supreme being required to leave U.S. ter- April 18 that she had spent the Court has avoided tampering with the ritory. basic witch-hunt structure. The "subversive" list, the "loyalty" purges, the Smith U.S. early in April. She came to ternal Security Committee. Act trials and all other pieces of the witch-hunters' heavy artillery yet remain 1917 with her husband and two paper which carries Allen's colto be knocked out.

And most decisive of all, is the fact that the political police are turning their guns on the entire labor movement.

The anti-union smear campaign being carried on through the vehicle of the McClellan committee is clearly designed to pave the way for laws to help housebreak the unions and bring them under ever-greater government control. This housebreaking process is not isolated from the simultaneous broadening of the practice of screening union militants out of industry. (See story page 1.) Along with the screening of individuals there has been the continuing activity of the Subversive Activities Control Board aimed at smashing entire unions.

Until all of this comes under the attack of an aroused labor movement, obituaries for police-statism in America are not in order.

No Occupiers Wanted

In commenting on the May 24 demonstrations against the U.S. in Taiwan (Formosa) precipitated by the release of a U.S. soldier who had killed a Chinese, Senate Democratic leader Johnson (D-Texas) said he considered it "very regrettable that people for whom we've done so much would destroy our buildings, and tear down our flags because of one incident." It is true that the U.S. Government under the Democrats and the Republicans has "done so much" for its puppet regime on Taiwan, but for the people of that island it is a different story.

A Chinese tailor in Taipei explained this in part to a writer for the N.Y. Times (May 28). He told of a hostess in a bar near his shop who had her front teeth knocked out by GI's. The Nationalist Chinese officials refused to aid her quest to make the GI's pay for false teeth, telling her "not to start trouble with an American." The U.S. Army officials likewise turned her down. She lost her job because of her marred appearance.

It is clear that the Taiwan demonstrations did not result from "one incident." but from innumerable incidents such as this and from the nature of the job the GI's are forced to do. They are sent overseas, in the interests of U.S. capitalist profits, to defend puppet dictators against the wrath of their own people, to occupy conquered countries, and to maintain bases from which attacks on colonial revolutions or the Soviet orbit can be launched. These are thankless, confusing, degrading tasks, which in themselves tend to brutalize the men who are forced to carry them out.

On the other hand, the people who suffer the backwardness and corruption of the regimes which U.S. imperialism supports, and who fear the destruction of their homelands in H-Bomb war, tend-toidentify their unhappy plight with the presence of U.S. troops.

Mass opposition to the presence of troops has reached widespread and even violent proportions in Britain, Germany, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, the Philippine Islands, other smaller countries, and most recently in Taiwan. This is irrefutable proof that U.S. military bases are not helping the people there.

Moreover, the withdrawal of all U. S. troops from abroad would be the greatest aid the American people could provide to the workers in the Soviet bloc regimes and establish workers' democracy. For it would lessen the threat of capitalist military intervention in their countries.

The solution to all these problems is not to be found in devising new restrictions or punishments against individual GI's but in the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from foreign lands and waters. That is the only answer that is fair to both the GI's and the foreign populations, and which would be welcomed by each.

Letter from Farrell Dobbs Corrects Daily Worker

by Farrell Dobbs, National Sec- planned economy. He held that retary of the Socialist Workers the working class should defend Party, to the Daily Worker on May 22.—Ed.)

Editor, Daily Worker

In reporting a debate over the class nature of the Soviet Union between Joseph Clark of the Daily Worker staff and Michael Harrington of the Young Socialist League, your May 17 issue makes important errors of fact.

The report designates as Trotskyist Harrington's 'view that the Soviet Union is "neither capitalist or socialist but bureaucratic collectivist." Again, Max Shachtman, with whom Harrington is associated, is described as a Trotskyist leader in a passage of the report that cites how Shachtman's anti-Soviet views have been utilized by the State Department.

The fact of the matter is that neither Harrington's nor Shachtman's views coincide at all with main divided on the Russianthose that Leon Trotsky consistently championed. Trotsky held tions to this day. that the Soviet Union had suffered bureaucratic degeneration. but that it remained a workers continued existence of the na- accordingly.

(The following letter was sent | tionalized property and of the the workers' state against all attempts at capitalist restoration. At the same time he held to the necessity of a political revolution to restore workers'

> demogracy. In 1940, Shachtman led a faction in the Socialist Workers Party which broke with Trotskyism up and down the line including Trotsky's program of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Shachtman and his supporters denied the validity Union was a workers' state at all. Trotsky vigorously combatted their views. The dispute led to Shachtman's definitive split from the SWP. The SWP and ber. the Shachtman organization re-

I call these facts to your at tention and make a request that state, nevertheless, by virtue of you correct your May 17 report has increased 14-fold in the New President for annesty for Com- to be drawn by many people and ters.

as well as many other-ques-

Opposition in U.S. To Nuclear Tests **Keeps Mounting**

Mounting dread over the peril clear weapons is reflected in the

up a petition to that effect. rejected the view that the Soviet current survey shows that 63% ing out this project. of the American people now

York area.

Natalia Trotsky Visit Ended For Refusal to Aid Witch Hunt

of the great Bolshevik leader, ernment's ulterior motives.

Mrs. Trotsky arrived in the secret session of the Senate Invisit New York City, where she

left the U.S. by plane for Mex- No sooner had the elderly wo- ments in that regard. After sevico on May 24. She thus put an man arrived in the U.S., how- eral days delay the New York end to the campaign of officially- ever, than it became apparent Post printed a shortened version inspired newspaper stories that that she was being made the vic- of her letter in the "Dear Editor" she had come to this country to tim of duplicity. Lurid newspaper column. No article or comment testify before the House Un- accounts, one of them based on was made elsewhere in the paper. American Activities Committee, an interview with General Swing, the Central Intelligence Agency head of the Immigration Deand various other witch-hunt and partment, announced that she featured the officially-inspired cold-war governmental bodies had come to testify before stories about her coming to the committee that led to her be- tionally syndicated columnist, Allen retract his fiction of April coming persona non grata and Robert Allen, even wrote on previous week testifying in a

Mrs. Trotsky wrote a letter to had lived for some months in the Post, the New York news- was, however, adamant in her resons, and for medical attention. umn, stating that there was no When she was granted permis- truth whatsoever in his story, sion to enter the U.S., she was that she had not testified before

Morton and Helen Sobell



The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell announces that the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals written by Judge Harold Medina which denied the Alcatraz prisoner a new trial will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. (See story, page one.)

that Allen correct his misstate-Nor did any of the Big Business dailies which had prominently

must leave at once.

The New York Post (May 27) reported her departure for her home in Mexico, which alone observed the democratic tradition of the right of asylum and gave her and her husband residence said: "Government hopes for Leon Trotsky apparently have been disappointed. . . . Unofficially, however, it was believed that since her visit here was proving unprofitable from the government's point of view, Mrs. that her continued residence here was unnecessary."

During her brief stay in the

Stalin's assassins, Mrs. Trotsky law. has undergone the unpleasant experience of being ousted from many countries. Now U.S. imperialism can add this to its list of achievements. In doing so it equals the old imperialisms and the USSR under Stalin.

ADAMANT IN REFUSAL

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on Mrs. Trotsky to testify in Washington. She fusal. Thereupon she was informed that the time allowed for her visit had ellansed and that she

rights in 1936. The Post story heart-to-heart talk with Mrs. Trotsky was given to understand

U.S., Mrs. Trotsky held no conversations with any government officials. The only officials she had any contact with were those immigration department employes who process papers of foreigners entering the country. At Idle. wild International Airport in New York, three immigration employes were assigned to watch the 75-year-old woman and make communications center. At least \$775 million in economic aid sure that she got on the plane for Mexico and stayed on. In her long life devoted to

In a statement, May 28, Con-

n-American Activities Com-"investigate" those responsible. bassy and was refused, the build- it doesn't reach "the masses."

Unwelcome Departure

U.S. Marines boarding a transport last month for the Mideast where they joined the U.S. Sixth Fleet under orders to defend feudal despots against the rising Arab masses. Such dirty duty has made "Yankee Go Home" the overwhelmingly popular sentiment in Europe and Asia as well as in the Mideast.

Anti-U.S. Demonstrations Rock Chiang Dictatorship

The burning resentment of the people of Taiwan (Formosa) against U.S. imperialism and its brutal puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek erupted, May 24, into mass

demonstrations in the island's capital city of Taipei. About 30,- ing was stormed by an angry 000 persons besieged the Nationalist police headquarters in Taipei for six hours before being dispersed by the arrival of troops and the declaration of martial law in the city.

The angry crowd was demanding release of prisoners taken earlier the same day in demonstrations which wrecked the U.S. Embassy and the offices of the U.S. Information Service and which besieged the U.S. military three islanders were killed and 13 Americans injured in the into Taiwan has failed to secure

fighting. Four other cities where a stable base there for U.S. imthe struggle for socialism, in the some of the 9,000 U.S. personnel course of which her husband and on the island are stationed have children were struck down by since been put under martial The mass outburst was pre-

sergeant who had killed a Chinese clerk allegedly found "peeping" at the sergeant's wife claimed "self-defense." When the ressman Walter of the House dead man's wife, Mme. Liu Chui-Jen, daughter of a formerly promittee claimed Mrs. Trotsky had minent Nationalist Chinese, made peen "intimidated" into not talk- an impassioned appeal for ining. He said he was planning to demnity in front of the U.S. Em- (D-La.) on May 25, but he said

crowd including many uniformed students from a nearby junior high school.

FIRST REVOLT SINCE '49

This is the first major mass action on Taiwan since 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek shot his way on to the island and drowned a revolution there in blood with U.S. military aid. This was right after he had been thrown out of mainland China. It proves that the \$31/2 billion in military and which the U.S. has so far pumped perialism.

All reports agree that even the 15% of the Island's 10 million people who followed Chiang from the mainland are incensed cipitated by a U.S. court-mar- at the presence of U.S. military tial's acquittal of a U.S. Army personnel and at Chiang's dependence on them to maintain his police state. Half the crowd that stormed the U.S. embassy, acwhile she showered. The sergeant cording to the May 28 New York Times, were believed to be "mainland" Chinese.

U.S. "aid" to Taiwan has helped "the rich man improve his business," said Senator Ellender

The Muste-Eastland Correspondence

the source or sources of funds used by or available to the American Forum for Socialist Edu-

Yours very truly, James O. Eastland, Chairman Internal Security Subcommittee

A. J. Muste Replies

Dear Mr. Eastland:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 17, 1957, address- official quarters. ing to me a long series of questions relating to American Forum - For Socialist Education. May I call your attention sent to an old address and had to be forwarded from there? Consequently, it did not actually come into my hands until later resulting from the testing of nu- yesterday, Wednesday afternoon,

May 22, 1957. public hearings by a Joint Con- It is relevant in this connecgressional Committee on Atomic tion to point out also that many identifiable. Energy. Opening the hearings, weeks ago I sent you and the May 27, Rep. Holifield (D-Calif.) Subcommittee a copy of a letter dreds of letters expressing grave ed to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief the number of Americans op- munist totalitarianism. Mr. Nor-

Mr. Hoover in his communica-90, the bone-killing poison pro- I had taken some part a year duced only by nuclear explosion, or so ago in a petition to the about American Forum is bound are also unpopular in many quar- squared with democratic conmunists convicted under the because of this many who would Your letter makes a reference ings of the Christian faith. I

struggling to throw off their totalitarian subcommittee as fully as your over forty well known citizens will be forced to shun it or be had anything to do with in effect on hundreds of millions knowledge permits respecting such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, subjected to persecution. Norman Thomas and Dr. John

> high quarters a pattern of to investigate first without ad- ize our country in this period, thinking which can regard the vance publicity and not to ex- I surmise your Subcommittee exercise of the right of petition pose loyal citizens to public in- already has these materials. by such citizens as evidence of quisition and persecution before Communist "fronting" is truly there was some slight ground the request to answer the quesalarming and exposes the exist- for supposing that questionable tions presented by you in your quisition, one of the marks of this case not even this minimum firm conviction that inquisition totalitarianism, in the highest of care to observe the old Amer- into the political - the same

its context as evidence of the same dangerous tendencies. The have been observed. to the fact that this letter was American Forum has just come into existence. Its development above board. Its launching was

Now, before American Forum can engage in any activity other

ican tradition of not branding would be true of religious -Turning now to your letter citizens as somehow guilty be- views and activities of citizens of May 17 to me, I regard it in fore they have ever been charged is evil, a resort to methods charwith any crime seems not to acteristic of totalitarian regimes,

I must on grounds of conscience and in line with my con- ciety, we have to draw a line has been completely onen and ception of my duty as a citizen between advocacy, discussion, in a democratic society, decline and all such matters on the one announced to the press together to answer the questions in your hand, and acts which are illegal, with the list of members of a letter, written by you as Chair- subversive or treasonable on the May 23, 1957. provisional National Committee man and on behalf of the Sen- other hand. The line between whose connections were easily ate Internal Security Subcom- the two may not always be easy mittee.

As I have already stated, basis on which totalitarian re American Forum was organized gimes seek to justify all their said that he has received hun- dated May 2, 1957, and address- than announcing formation of in a completely open and above anti-democratic measures. We a Committee, your Subcommit- board fashion. Since you make must not go up that road to concern as to the poisonous ef- of the Federal Bureau of Inves- tee announces that it is investi- reference to such matters as perdition. fect of nuclear tests. He re-vealed that a group of prominent Mr. Hoover to your Subcommit-with "Communism." It issues subject of a union between Com-pear before the Internal Securscientists are seeking an end to tee dealt with the presence at subpoenas to five persons, one munist and Socialist-minded ity Subcommittee, it would be the tests and are now drawing the Communist Party Convention of whom is not on the National groups" let me observe that impossible for me to do more in September of a number of Committee. Mr. Victor Perlo is there has never been any ques- than appear and state my rea-The move of the scientists co- observers, all non-Communists some one who has never had the tion of American Forum having sons for declining to answer incides with a dramatic leap in and outspoken critics of Com- remotest connection with discus- anything to do with such mat- questions of the nature set forth sions leading to formation of ters or anything except discus- in your letter of May 17, 1957. posed to the tests. The Gallup man Thomas, among others, had American Forum. I have never sion between people who differ I can assure you that if this of such defense since they now Poll reported, May 19, that a been associated with me in work- known him or had the slightest on many fundamental issues, not should come to pass, I shall not connection with him. It is im- people who have an agreed upon appeal to the Fifth Amendment. possible to avoid the inference basis for common action. In mak- This is not meant, however, as favor the U.S. agreeing to stop tion to your Subcommittee spoke that the purpose of bringing his ing this statement I do not mean a reflection on any individual the tests. This figure is a of me as having "long fronted name into this ricture at all is to imply that if there had been who may have done so. marked increase over the 24% for Communists" which, as any to suggest some devious con- talks relating to legal activities It happens, Mr. Eastland, that who took this stand last Novem- one who has any acquaintance nection of American Forum, or- of a political nature, your Com- I differ profoundly from you with these matters knows, was ganized purely for purposes of mittee or any such government on such very fundamental mat-Despite efforts of Atomic En- the exact opposite of the truth open discussion, with espionage agency would, in my opinion, ters as the position citizens ergy to belittle the risks, more since I have for over twenty or other such treasonable activi- have a right to conduct an in- should take toward the unaniinformation comes to light daily years been an intransigent op- ties. In any case, you and your quisition into them, any more mous Supreme Court decision on indicating the opposite. The U.S. ponent of united fronts with staff workers are well aware than I think any such agency integration in the public schools Weather Bureau announced May Communists. A major basis for of the fact that in the atmos- has a right to conduct an in- and on the whole question of re-28 that the fearful Strontium Mr. Hoover's charge was that phere which has been created quisition into your political ac- lations between races. I do not in our country such an inference tivities which, as you must know, see how your attitude can be

cepts or with the central teach-

to draw. This is precisely the

| Smith Act, a petition in which | like to take part in its work | to memoranda. Any that I have | also believe that because of its American Forum as a body have of people in all parts of the There seemed for a time to been freely sent around to any world, your stand and activities C. Bennett, the dean of Union be a tendency among Congres, who might be interested and are relative to these matters consti-Theological Seminary, New York, sional investigating committees in no way secret. In view of tute an immense threat to the such as yours to exercise some the pervasive espionage activities security and good name of the That there should be in such care in a matter of this kind, which unfortunately character- United States and certainly give a major assist to Communist propaganda.

Yet I am aware of the complicated character of these prob-Primarily, my declination of lems and of relations between human beings. And I trust you ence of the virus of political in- activities had taken place. In official capacity is due to my can and will believe me when I say that I have no personal animosity toward you. Both of us, in the final analysis, do not stand before any human tribunal but before the judgment seat of God. May we both humbly seek divine guidance at all times and unconstitutional, and profoundespecially with regard to the ly un-American. In a free sosituation in which we happen now to be involved.

Sincerely yours, A. J. Muste

Philadelphia Public Meeting

"JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL"

. Hear: HELEN SOBELL Wife of Morton Sobell MYRA TANNER WEISS Staff Writer, the Militant JEAN FRANTJIS

Phila. Chair., Comm. to Secure Justice for Sobell See:

"WAS JUSTICE DONE?" A Film Strip

Fri., June 7 — 8:15 P.M. Roberts Hall 205 S. 13th Street

Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party, Phila. Local Proceeds to Committee to

Secure Justice for Morton Sobell Donation 50 cents

Liberals Took a Powder

Conspicuous by their absence from the prayer-pilgrimage to Washington were the liberals. Usually in the limelight at civil rights conferences, etc., are Northern Democratic politicians posing as "friends of the Negro people," and spokesmen for the many organizations which claim to speak in the name of that amorphous section of the population described as liberal. But they failed to show up at the Lincoln Memorial on May 17.

It is an open secret that the big-wheel liberals, like their buddies, the trade-union bureaucrats, opposed the march on Washington and tried to prevent its being called. When, despite their efforts, it was called they passed word down to give it

For example, the New York Post, the liberal paper which ordinarily gives more coverage to news of the anti-Jim Crow struggle than any other capitalist daily in the country (and has thereby considerably boosted its circulation and political influence), played down the story so that only the sharpest-eyed reader would know that the Pilgrimage was being planned. Even stories reporting the meeting itself were shamefully played down.

The speakers' list for the Pilgrimage included but two professional liberals a great change from the usually disproportionate prominence given to them. These two were Democratic Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois and Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York. But neith-

er of these "friends of the Negro people" even bothered to show up.

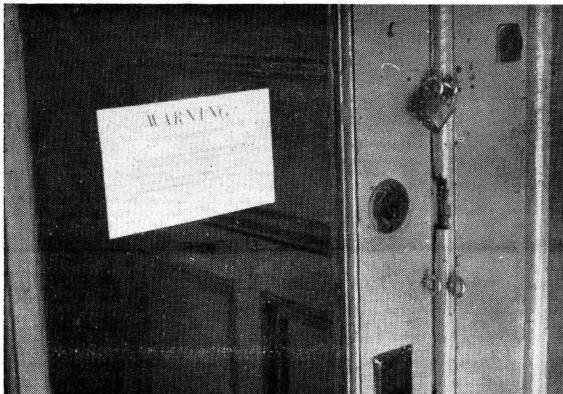
Why did the liberals boycott the Prayer Pilgrimage? The answer is that they are interested in the Negro struggle only as far as they can use it. Those few who are connected with the Republican Party couldn't use the Pilgrimage because the very holding of it was a sharp rebuke to Eisenhower for his refusal to utter even one mumbling platitude against the white-supremacist violence in the South. That's why liberal Senator Ives (R-N.Y.)

Publicly opposed the march on Washington and why Sen. Javits didn't show up.

But most of the liberals are in the Democratic Party and they equally opposed the demonstration. If it had been very few people from this steel directed only against the Republican ad- city. Not that the workers were ministration they would have jumped on not interested and would not the bandwagon and tried to grab the have participated in the March drivers' reins. But the whole march was on Washington, but there was a as damaging to the Democratic Party as cloak of silence thrown over the to the Republicans and so they turned event by the capitalist press, by thumbs down. Their attitude is: the the labor leadership and by the struggle against Jim Crow is all right NAACP leaders. but it must be kept in its place.

in holding the first national anti-segregation demonstration in the nation's capi- to get people to go to Washingtal despite the refusal of their fair-weather liberal friends to go along with it. that their organizations do not The demonstration was a success to the consider the project worth suptune of 27,000 and an inspiration for porting, they feel that they canfurther principled struggle. Furthermore, the Negro people have the satisfaction of knowing that they did it all them-

A Padlock on the Right to Learn



The California Labor School in San Francisco is shown above with its front door padlocked. The School which is well known on the West Coast as a working-class educational institution was first attacked as a "communist front" and then closed by tax agents of the Treasury Department in a fraudulent and retroactive tax decision. Holland Roberts, Director of the School, May 24, wrote the following letter of protest to Ernest Gomez of the Internal Revenue Service in California:

A New Park Publication

The 20th Congress

(C.P.S.U.)

World Trotskyism

Contains Khrushchev's 20th

Congress secret-session speech

two speeches by James P. Can-

non; texts of previously sup-

pressed articles and letters by

Order from:

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

"Dear Sir:

"On behalf of the students, Board of Directors and supporters of the California Lahor School, I protest against the seizure and sale of the books, school supplies and equipment of our school. You are destroying a school. You are depriving us of our American right to teach and our citizens of their democratic right to learn in a school of their own choosing.

"This is an unjust act. It is a flagrant violation of the first amendment, of our Bill of Rights and of the Constitution of the United States. It is a denial of the fundamental right and duty of all men to

think. "As an American citizen I protest against justice by padlock. To padlock a school and to seize and sell its teaching equipment is an act of tyranny and is destructive of the very basis of our democratic system of government.

"As a representative of the awakening conscience of Americans I ask you to halt this sale and return the assets of the California Labor School to their rightful own-

Calendar

Of Events

New York

American Youth for Socialism

holds open meetings every

Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at

116 University Place. A short

business meeting is followed by

an interesting educational dis-

cussion. Tues., June 4: Earl

Owens will review Rosa Luxem-

bourg's Reform or Revolution?

The History of a **Literary Radical And Other Papers**

By Randolph Bourne

(Review in Spring Issue of International Socialist Review)

regularly \$3.75 Special price \$1.65 (plus 15 cents postage)

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Marxist Labor School. A series of classes from 8 to 10 P.M. every Monday night until June 10 on The History of American Socialism" led by Joyce Cowley, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York. To register phone ALgonquin 5-7852. 116 Univer-

The Chinese **Communist Party** and the Hungarian Revolution

By Michael Banda Pocket Library No. 6

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

The Washington Pilgrimage

The Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington on May 17 drew

The NAACP locally did not The Negro people did absolutely right solicit any aid from the labor movement and made no effort ton. And when the workers feel not spend money to help in a movement that seems to be the action of some far-off group of individuals.

In truth, the workers were presented with very little news about the projected march. Even the ministers who, one would think had some feeling of kinship for the ministers of the South - the original organizers of the Pilgrimage - did not publicize the project. This was the story in all the industrial communities of Eastern Ohio. have been followed throughout. CARLOADS

But in spite of the inaction by the official organizations with their great resources and prestige, several carloads did make to Washington was marked by the trip from Youngstown to Washington. These carloads were participating, on the significance the result of a lot of work by and the prospects of the demonthose who really understood the

The reaction of those who participated in the Pilgrimage was unanimous that the demonstration was a success. And these mass protest rally as a whole of Powell's proposal. sm for the future, but on the portant speakers.



A group of "Pilgrims" standing in the Park near the Lincoln Memorial on May 17 in Washington, D. C. An estimated 25,000 persons from all over the United States attended the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" at the Memorial to protest

Brooklynites Welcomed

Attack on Both Parties

By Nat West

enthusiastic Negro and white lyn Branch of the NAACP at The same pattern seemed to 6:20 A.M., Friday morning. More have been followed throughout people showed up the last minpeople showed up the last min-These people departed later in proposals, the Negro people had car pools arranged for this pur- to his guns; and (3) that Rev.

a running discussion, with many stration at the Lincoln Memorial. importance of the demonstration. Of particular interest was the report that Adam Clayton Pow-

evaluating the results and per- action.

Four buses, loaded with 200 There was general agreement that (1) the effect of the Pilgrimage was dampened by the little confidence in his sticking In the bus we rode, the trip most trustworthy and authoritative spokesman of the Negro

In further discussion with a smaller group, the general conell planned to propose a "third be kept within limits, had stifled offensive. expressed themselves on this many of the positive results On the return trip the dis- ward in the movement for in-

IT'S FOR SURE

sure this time. It's too late to since 6:00 this morning." ferring to the 1941 projected! at the last minute.)

By Sylvia West

Washington," "Washington Here

Freedom." As the bus moved

out from the curb, everyone

started to talk. "I wouldn't have

missed this for a million," said

one woman. "I've always wanted

to go a few rounds with Ike so

I brought my golf clubs," a man

joked. "Do you think Mamie will

have tea ready for us?" An old

man said, "Thank the Lord, I

After we hit the Turnpike we

looked out the back window and

saw a long ribbon of busses in

back of us. My friend nudged

my arm, "Look back there, look

at that." As another bus would

pass us we would all wave and

have lived to see this day,"

Riding for Freedom' people on the streets would smile and wave at us. We waved expressed our mood. "On to back. From one school building the children were all waving out We Come," "We're Riding For through this crowded, run-down the window. As we passed section, the feelings of the people on the bus came to the fore. "You can sure tell this is the colored section"; or "Why do Negro people have to live like dogs." There was a feeling of bitterness and solidarity. Bitterness because most of the bus riders had come from sections of New York that looked like this and solidarity because they, more than anyone else, knew

The Mood Was 'We're

NUMBER 22

About eleven o'clock the bus pulled into the station for food and rest. Here were forty or fifty buses from all parts of the East, from churches, labor unions, NAACP, and colleges. The feeling of impatience was powerful. "If I missed Rev. other, asking where they had King's speech I'd die," a woman come from, how long they had said. Everyone was estimating been traveling. There was no the exact time we would arrive pushing to get food or use the in D. C. "I've been waiting since rest rooms. Politeness and fel-1941 for this trip so I guess we lowship was the order of the can wait a little longer," said day. The pay clerk smiled wearan old woman. "Well it's for ily and said, "It's been like this

how it felt to live under these

turn back now." (She was re- Moving into Washington everyone was getting things to-March on Washington, which A. gether. Coats were put on, lunch Philip Randolph and Walter baskets and thermos bottles col-White, its organizers, called off lected, and one man made us all laugh when his big voice boomed As we drove through the Ne- out, "Let's don't stop here. Let's gro section of Baltimore the go straight to Georgia."

Eastland Smears Dodge And Ford UAW Locals

DETROIT — Several officers and committeemen of Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers, along with others from Dodge Local 3 and DeSoto Local 227 havê

been subpeoneed by Senator 9 clusion was that the leadership, Eastland's Senate Subcommittee movement itself. It is precisely in their efforts to guarantee on Internal Security in the latest in the UAW - and above all, that the demonstration would phase of the current antilabor in locals like 600, 3, and 227

exhibited a determination to go We arrived at the Lincoln ing for discussion by Powell of recording secretary of the Tool their fire. ahead with the struggle for Memorial at 1:00 P. M., and the proposal for a third force in and Die Unit, and Paul Boatin, equality. They held no pessimwere able to hear all the impelitics was a giant step forFraging Plant have already scheduled to appear before the committee. These appearances appear to be preliminary to full- hard look at the situation. scale hearings rumored for the

> The reaction of many workers for the apparently purposeless is clear. The head of the Internal Security Committee is also the country. staunch states-rights supporter of segregation and the author of a demand for federal action Stellato pointed out, "is the to enforce union-busting "rightto-work" laws. More and more on Internal Security of the Senworkers are asking the obvious ate Judiciary Committee ... Yes, question: with whose internal the concentration is on militant

The purpose of these hearings is made even clearer by the nareportedly been asked of the subpoenaed workers. They deal not with membership in and activities of the Communist Party, ities in the Progressive Caucus in Local 600, which is a grouping of unionists with widely dif-

agreement on a more or less he declared. limited trade union program. The record of officers, members, program and activities of the face of the attacks by the ing procedure initiated by intimidate and destroy any mil itant rank and file movement present and potential - as a

where the democratic tradition John Orr, Vice-President of of caucus rivalry is strongest "pilgrims" believed that the matter indicated their approval that the leadership itself wanted Local 600, James Watts, editor and most vital — that the matter indicated their approval that the leadership itself wanted Local 600, James Watts, editor to achieve. But that the rais- of Ford Facts, Walter Dorosh, labor forces are concentrating

Carl Stellato, president of Ford local 600, pointed out the signi-Engine Plant have already made ficance of the anti-labor maneuinitial appearances In Washing- vers in Washington in the May ing that the battle has just be- cussion was continued, this time dependent Labor-Negro political ton. Edith Van Horn, steward in 18 Ford Facts. He said, "If the the Dodge plant, Max Trachten- membership does not fully reaberg, steward at DeSoto, and lize the daily increase in the Mac Cinzori, committeeman at activities of the anti-union forces Ford, are among those currently in the country, then it is my thinking that we had better get hold of ourselves and take a good

COMMITTEE AIMS

"In my way of thinking," Stellato said, the McClellan commitin searching for an explanation tee "is concerned more with the passage of legislation comparable re-call of the unionists was to to the present 'right to work' couple Eastland's efforts with laws now enacted in 18 states the attempts of McClellam to than to help the unions in winsmear the labor movement as ning the new goals set in the racketeer and gangster-domina- 16th UAW Constitutional Conted. In addition Eastland's bias vention necessary for a better life for all the people of the

"The counterpart of the Mc-Clellan Committee active today" Eastland Senate Subcommittee security is a man like this con- trade unions and unionists. Shouldn't the Eastland Commit-QUESTIONED ABOUT UNION tee on Internal Security spend some time investigating and curbing the activities of organizations that pose an equal seture of the questions which have curity risk to the U.S.A., such as the KKK, White Citizens. Councils, etc.?'

Stellato also upheld the right of Walter Dorosh to use the but with membership and activ- Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer the Eastland Committee's questions. "To frown upon one who exercises his right under our Constitution is, in my opinwho got together on the basis of ion, to frown upon democracy," Finally, Stellato called for the

unity of the labor movement in employers and the Washington committees and for the achievement of labor's goals in the 1958 negotiations.

The Santana Case

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth By Joyce Cowley 17 pages Order from:

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Assault on Socialist Forum

(Continued from page 1)

socialists. That such a discussion vehicle as the American Forum could be launched in the U.S., she attributes to the blind opposition of American liberals and socialists to Senator McCarthy's anti-Communist campaign,

The leadership of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has played an equally scabby role in the witch-hunt outburst against the American Forum. Herman Singer, National Secretary of SP-SDF, in a letter to the New York Times (May 18), declared that the American Forum for Socialist Education had no right to use the name socialist because among its members were Communists and Trot-

ECLC in Support Of Forum Rights

Dr. Clark Foreman, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, issued the following statement today:

"The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee supports wholeheartedly the defiance by Dr. A. J. Muste of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's attempt to interfere with the formation of the American Forum-For Socialist Education. Free discussion is elemental in our society, guaranteed by the Constitution and no one should surrender that right.

"If court action should result from the defiance to submit to Congressional inquisition, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee will be glad to help in the defence of Dr. Muste or any of the other five subpeonaed in this con-

pushing through the SP-SDF's be noted that as a discussion fall. National Action Committee a res- group the newly-founded organolution ordering six SP-SDF ization adopted no political members on the American Fo- planks whatsoever, but confined rum National Committee to re- itself to one purpose-the orsign from it or be expelled from ganization of free and open disthe SP-SDF.

This action was upheld by the and individuals believing in so-National Executive Committee. cialism. (The NEC also voted to forbid joint activity with the Inde- American Forum members alpendent Socialist League,) It is reported that a majority land Committee should serve as

of the six SP-SDF members on an example to all opponents of the American Forum are stand- the witch hunt. If the American ing firm for their democratic Forum perseveres in example alright to belong to the forum ready set by its chairman then despite the ruling of SP-SDF it can well withstand the atbureaucrats. lice. It will rally the support not

Earlier, Mulford Q. Sibley, professor at the University of Minnesota and an alternate member ple but of all defenders of civil of the SP-SDF National Executive Committee, in a letter to the Minneapolis Morning Tribune (May 25), defended the American Forum against press misrepre sentations in that city. Sibley is one of the six who have been ordered to resign from the Forum.

SHACHTMAN, TOO

As goes the right-wing leadership of the SP-SDF, so goes Max Shachtman, head of the Independent Socialist League. Shacht man has been for some time frantically trying to liquidate the ISL into the SP-SDF. The only hitch is the reluctance of the SP-SDF leadership who mistakenly fear there may be some vestige of Leninism or militancy left in Shachtman's politics.

To overcome the SP-SDF doubts the ISL leader seizes every opportunity to demonstrate his "good behavior." His latest demonstration was a letter to the American Forum (printed in Lajoin the discussion organization's National Committee.

Shachtman gives as his main reason the absence of a denunciation of totalitarianism in the Soviet bloc in the declaration of sional committees of inquiry." of the independent trade union

liberties. ...McAvoy,

tack upon it by the political po-

only of all genuine socialist peo-

cussions among all tendencies

The staunchness of those

ready threatened by the East-

ican Forum has been made available to the public as the Forum has nothing to conceal. However, as Senator Eastland does not read the newspapers, I would not enlighten him by answering his questions since I do not recognize the authority of any comintimidation, harassment and Forum to exist and will strengthen the growing sentiment for

Zaslow

(Continued from page 1)

fering political points of view, mittee to interfere with the right | the Progressive Caucus is a matof people to assemble for the ter of public record in countless purpose of exchanging ideas, be thousands of leaflets issued over they socialist or any other. I the years. All the information predict that the attempt of the that could possibly be wanted Eastland committee to strangle by anyone is there for the askthe American Forum at birth by ing. Why then such a threatensneers will fail. I am confident security? The answer is not hard that this attack will arouse in- to find. While wailing for the bor Action, May 27) refusing to terest, sympathy and support rights of the rank and file, the for the right of the American government is attempting to the abolition of both Congres- step in the ultimate destruction

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