## Right to Strike **Sanctioned in China**

(See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 23

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1957

PRICE 10c

## American Forum Goes Ahead

Below this editorial we publish the advertisement for the first public meeting of the American Forum - For Socialist Education.

Never in American history has the formation of a free-speech forum been greeted with such a barrage of field representative of the United intimidation and abuse from the powers-that-be as that which followed the birth of the American Forum.

The gutter press shouted for Congressional investigation and subversive-listing of the new organization. The more dignified capitalist papers, such as the New York Times, hurled editorial thunderbolts. Reactionary columnists and radio commentators howled like a wolf pack. The unspeakable Senator Eastland, eager to extend the civilliberties standards of Mississippi to the rest of the country, summoned members of the forum before his committee, famous for its production of smears and contemptof-Congress citations.

What is there about the American Forum that provoked this frontal attack from Big Business' spokes- visions of the Act have been apmen (and a stab in the back from the social democrats | plied to any political organizawho are always eager to curry favor with the capitalists)? tion other than the Communist

The answer may be found in the American Forum's declaration of purpose — to afford a democratically-run discussion center for all socialist-minded people without the exclusion of anyone. This flies directly in the face house Workers Union has pledged of the central "achievement" of the ten-year witch hunt assistance to his legal defense - prevention of free discussion with those holding offi- Arthur E. Morrison, UPW recially forbidden political and social views.

Furthermore, a free and untrammeled discussion, con- port to Janosco "not only because sidering the flux of ideas among socialists since the of its desire to protect one of its crisis of Stalinism, may eventually lead to the regroup- officials, but also because it sees ment of radical forces in America in a large and effective in the proceeding a serious party. This constitutes a real threat to the interests which the capitalist press and the Senate witch hunters union contended that if the govrepresent. Hence the attempt to strangle the American ernment is successful, Janosco Forum in its cradle.

But the infant is a born fighter. It has refused to be ger of imprisonment or execustrangled or even intimidated. Its chairman, A. J. Muste, tion, even though he has lived has flung down the defy to Senator Eastland in his in the United States since he was open letter. Now the American Forum has called its first

If you want to answer the capitalist press. Senator Eastland and their unappetizing crew of camp followers. you can do so by turning out to the meeting. Not only will you be performing a positive act in defense of free speech, but you are guaranteed an informative and stimulating evening.

## FIRST PUBLIC MEETING

## **American Forum - For Socialist Education**

- A TIME FOR QUESTIONS
- A SEARCH FOR SOCIALIST ANSWERS
- ALL VIEWPOINTS WILL BE CONSIDERED — DESPITE SENATOR EASTLAND

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE

Chairman, American Forum

DOROTHY DAY Editor, the Catholic Worker

DR. STRINGFELLOW BARR

Educator

CONRAD LYNN Civil Rights Attorney

Panel to Answer Audience Questions:

American Forum National Committee Members: Dr. Albert Blumberg, Bert Cochran, David Dellinger, Farrell Dobbs, Clifford T. McAvoy, John T. McManus, Joseph Starobin, George Stryker, Doxey A. Wilkerson, others.

## Wednesday, June 12, 8 P. M.

## **Community Church**

35th Street at Park Avenue

Contribution \$1

## Hearing On Deportation Of Janosco

LOS ANGELES, May 29-The Immigration Service opened hearings this week in its effort to deport John Janosco, Western Packinghouse Workers, under the McCarran-Walter Act. The union leader is charged with belonging to the Socialist Workers Party in 1937-40.

Examining officer Richard L. Lay stated that the Janosco hearing was regarded as a national test by the government to determine whether membership in the SWP could be treated as a deportable offense under the McCarran-Walter Act. It will attempt to prove that the SWP taught and advocated forceful overthrow of the government. This is the first time the pro-

UPWA PLEDGES AID

Janosco denies membership in the SWP. The United Packinggional director, told the press that the union is giving full supbreach of civil rights affecting members of labor unions." The could be deported to Hungary, where he would be in grave danone year old."

The government introduced five pieces of literature as evidence of its claim that the SWP stands for force and violence. These were the Communist Manifesto, Lenin's State and Revolution, the Founding Program of the Fourth International, the Declaration of Principles of the SWP adopted in 1938, and De-Trial, a pamphlet by James P. Cannon, SWP national chairman. The defense attorney entered Socialism On Trial, containing testimony by Cannon at the first Smith Act trial in Minneapolis in

BARTLETT A WITNESS

The first prosecution witness was James H. Bartlett, former Minneapolis Teamsters official, who had been a star prosecution witness in the 1941 cases. Bartlett admitted having been appointed to his post by Sidney Brennan, Minneapolis Teamsters official recently convicted of bribery, who had been named re-

Bartlett's testimony regarding Janosco's alleged membership in the SWP was meager. He said he had attended from ten to has emphasized anew that one of fourteen SWP meetings from the basic functions of the priv-

(Continued on page 4)

One of Thousands



An Algerian national-independence fighter lies slain by French police. He is one of thousands murdered by French imperialism. To escape French terror 20,000 Algerians have fled into neighboring Tunisia. (See story, this page.)

## Two Victories and a Defeat Scored for Civil Liberties

The past week saw a mixed trio of important civil liberties decisions handed down by the courts. Two of The urgency of the appeal is inthese, the Halperin case, involving the Fifth Amendment, dicated by the fact that the therefore a special responsibility,

and the Taft-Hartley affidavit® against the witch hunt. The third, Griswold, dean of the Harvard a contempt of Congress convic- Law School and author of "The tion of playwright Arthur Miller Fifth Amendment Today," as folfor refusing to be a political in- lows: "Too many, even those who former, is a defeat and will be appealed.

In the Halperin case, which involved tax investigation rather doers. They too readily assume

## High Court Delays Lightfoot Decision

The Supreme Court on June 3 postponed a decision on the vital Lightfoot and Scales convictions under the Smith Act. These are test cases since the alleged crime is mere membership in the Communist Party. The high court ordered further argument before it would render a deci-

Court on May 30 unanimously made an unequivocal declaration that a person's use of the Fifth Amendment could in no way be ceiver of Local 544 by Dan Tobin. the basis for assuming that he was guilty or was concealing some wrongdoing. "Recent re-examination of the history and meaning of the Fifth Amendment lege is to protect innocent

should be better advised, view this privilege [the Fifth Amendment] as a shelter for wrongther guilty of crime or commit perjury in claiming it."

the privilege serves to protect the tests were not stopped. the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

COURT VS. SIDNEY HOOK

The decision is a direct rebuke to the Dept. of Justice, almost all the politicians, Big Business newspapers, university administrations and myriad other forces who have campaigned to propagandize the public into believing that use of the Fifth Amendment was synonimous with guilt. inally had appeared in the New future generations.

(Continued on page 4)

# 2000 Scientists **Demand Nuclear Tests Be Halted**

## Warn That Every New Explosion **Further Endangers Human Race**

By Herman Chauka

JUNE 3. - A blow was dealt today to efforts of Washington politicians and brass hats to belittle the danger in involved in nuclear tests. Exposure of the "it's - no - worse - than - an - X-D

announcement that 2,000 Amer- an agreement for their control is ican scientists have signed a feasible. If testing continues, and petition demanding an immediate end to the tests. In spreads to additional governcalling for the ban, the scientists declared it their obligation to of cataclysmic nuclear war speak out on the issue because, "As scientists, we have knowl- some irresponsible national leader edge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make these dangers

Initiated by a group of worldfamed U.S. scientists, the call for the test ban was sparked by Dr. Linus Pauling, the chemist who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1954 for his discoveries in the field of molecular energy.

The petition warns that "each causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world. 2,000 signatures, representing to make these dangers known. We case of Clinton E. Jencks regismen," the unanimous opinion every major branch of science, deem it imperative that imtered limited victories in the fight held. It then quoted Erwin N. were received by Dr. Pauling in were received by Dr. Pauling in mediate action be taken to a period of four days.

In a nation-wide TV interview yesterday, Dr. Pauling spelled to stop the testing of all nuclear out some of the horrifying results weapons." of the nuclear tests. Radioactive that those who invoke it are ei- to be mentally or physically defective. He further predicted that one million people through. On the contrary the high court out the world would lose five to held, citing a previous opinion, ten years of ife expectancy if

Last April 30, Dr. Pauling declared that 10,000 people thruout the world were dead or dying of leukemia because of the tests.

TEXT OF APPEAL

Following is the text of the appeal of the 2,000 scientists: 'We, the American scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of

"Each nuclear bomb test Mollet and his social-democratic gerian brothers. This campaign was launched by spreads an added burden of radio- gauleiter in Algeria, Robert La-McCarthy with his "Fifth Amendary active elements over every part coste, had told Frenchmen over ment Communist" slogan. The of the world. Each added amount a year ago was just around the 000. They have fled to escape the court's opinion is a doubly de- of radiation causes damage to corner appeared further off than fighting zones in eastern Algeria vastating rebuke to the social the health of human beings all ever. democrats' liberal brand of Mc- over the world and causes damage Carthyism. One of their chief to the pool of human germ plasm theoreticians, Sidney Hook re- such as to lead to an increase in cently published in book form a the number of serious defective series of his articles which orig-children that will be born in

"So long as these weapons are which the right-wing leaders of

ray" propaganda came with the in the hands of only three powers the possession of these weapons ments, the danger of outbreak through the reckless action of will be greatly increased. "An international agreement to

stop the testing of nuclear bombs could now serve as a first step toward a more general disarmament and the ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity. "We have in common with our

fellow men a deep concern for additional amount of radiation the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and effect an international agreement



The dread mushroom cloud of radiation poison from one the atom bombs exploded

## fallout from the tests, he said, would cause 200,000 children in each of the next 20 generations French Pursue Algerian Refugees Into Tunisia

By John Thayer

Savage fighting in Algeria reached new heights as the French capitalist and social-democratic politicians feverishly haggled about the composition and policy of

a new coalition government to re-9-

Moreover, French military operations against fleeing Algerian lages. Since care for the refuvillagers has led to border clashes gees has become a major probwith newly-independent Tunisia, thus calling into question the in-

place the fallen Mollet cabinet. the Neo-Destour Party of Tuni-News from Algeria made one sia accepted from French imperthing plain-Mollet's policy of ialism several years ago. French "pacification," i.e., trying to military incursions into Tunisia crush the Algerian independence in pursuit of fleeing Algerians movement by military force, was and attacks upon Tunisian troops a proven failure. The victory could bring the Tunisian people which social-democratic Premier into war on the side of their Al-Algerian refugees in Tunisia are reported to number about 20:-

> and because in many cases the French have burned their villem, the Tunisian government has decided to ask the International Refugee Organization of the UN for aid.

The Tunisian government reported that on the night of May 26 about 2,000 men, women and children fled into Tunisia under French mortar fire and air bombardment which followed them even after they had reached Tunisian soil. Smoke from burning houses could be seen for several miles on the Algerian side.

Newspapermen who interviewed a group of some 800 refugees were told the following tale by those from the Algerian village of Oued-el-Hout. Early in the morning French parátroopers surrounded the village with a barrage of mortar fire to prevent anyone from escaping. Then they entered the village and accused the people of giving food to rebel guerrillas. The village grocer was shot publicly as an example. The villagers, including women and children, were "questioned" and manhandled. Prisoners were taken away to an unday paratroopers returned and

On the evening of May 30 the Tunisian troops at Ain Draham

(Continued on page 2)

## British Unionists Get Hit With Sellout by Leaders tices such as "unofficial" strikes, | Already there are disturbing | The minority of Left-wingers, | certainly be pressed home by the

By Peter Fryer

tion of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union sabotaged a nation-wide pay strike at a moment this betrayal to its logical conclusion this week.

Against the will of every militant in every British workshop fishy indeed in the nostrils of were made into the "shadow" they accepted the employers' of- the men who fought so well, and network of shop stewards' coma week for skilled workers, nine shillings for unskilled and ten shillings for intermediate grades, English saying about a bird in enormous influence since it di-"strings" attached.

British workers are now "official- no less acceptable for being su- therefore to the average British ly" committed, is a year's standstill on wage claims. This wage freeze, and still more the circum- within months by the rise in the stances in which it has been put cost of living. over on the rank and file, is not The men in Britain's engineer calculated to bring comfort and ing factories are not fools. Expejoy to the men in the workshops. rience over the past few years

which, according to the agree- signs of an offensive against who in many cases run the small- militants. months after the Right-wing being of the industry." They are years as a result of struggle. leaders of the British Confedera- pledged also to urge their mempermission.

the conditions attached to this needs and feelings without the The most important of these gain to do not spell "victory" but mediation of any bureaucratic conditions, to which 2,750,000 "sell-out"-and it is a sell-out prism whatever-and which is that might well be wiped out parts of his class heritage.

The executives of the unions banded together in the Confederation are pledged to stop prace every advantage.

| Nor are the other strings. | It is of course trazy in those will not be the last. But the flood will not be all the more powerful and the border back into Algeria. The two lessons stand out—and will be sure.

| Continued on page 2) eration are pledged to stop prac- every advantage.

A year's grace for the employ-

terrupting work for union meet- the active and prominent shop of rising morale, they carried ings without their managements' stewards. The Right-wingers in the boss's time. seem totally unmoved by this Now these pledges add up to a prospect. And of course it would package deal which smells very suit them very well if inroads fer of a pay rise of 11 shillings with such high hopes, last month. mittees which duplicates official True, they have got the 11 trade union machinery up and shillings-and there is an old down Britain, which exercises a wage increase with a number the hand. Eleven shillings makes rectly represents the men on the of retrograde and ominous a noise in the frying pan. But shop floor and responds to their gar-coated with a sum of money engineer one of the most precious

> Leaders not on the Right, such as boilermakers' secretary Ted ship.

ment, are "contrary to the well- conditions established over the er craft unions, have dropped pretty broad hints that as far as they are concerned they are not conceded by the bosses without bers to stop and start work at ers means a year in which to going to sweat blood in imple- last month's strike action. The the recognized times without in- weed out or to try to weed out- menting the conditions about workers therefore should keep

> the year. So, leaving out of account any ized during the strike). defensive actions that attacks on

"thaw" comes. Meanwhile a fierce inner-union

out inside a number of unions where Right and Left are more or less balanced in the leader-Hill, have said outright that a The rank and file will get their

One is that this 11 shillings

would certainly not have been "unofficial" strikes and meetings their powder dry, assimilate the experiences of the April strike, Some of them add that their strengthen their workshop organmembers will assuredly expect izations, and, above all, wipe out them to put in a proportionately every remaining pocket of nonhigher wage claim at the end of unionism (a grand start was made in recruiting the unorgan-And the second lesson is that

militants may make necessary in they should turn their present the coming 12 months, British in- suspicion and resentment against dustry may well be faced with a the Carrons into the channel of sizable wages struggle when the consistent voting for the replacement of the "statesmanlike" officials by leaders who are close to struggle can be expected to open the members and their needs and known fate. Five times the next are likely to remain so.

To sum up: the bosses and the burned down houses. Right-wing leaders between them have managed for the time betwelvemonth wage freeze is first fatter wage packets next ing-class militancy in Britain. ment of 80 which had crossed the "crazy" under a Tory Govern- pay-day. To have a little more This is not the first time. It will border in pursuit of the refugees, Nor are the other "strings." has taught them that the bosses ment. (It is of course crazy un- money will no doubt take the not be the last. But the flood will Next morning the French detach-

# SP Record on Socialism and Democracy —

and concluding part of the speech "good-dog" for the right-wing italist politicians while holding low their own conscience." by Murry Weiss in the May 24 debate with Max Shachtman on "What Road to Socialist Regroupment?" The two installments were based on the text of the opening presentation by Weiss in the debate. - Ed.]

Norman Thomas declared recently that anyone who wants to get cleared with him and be ad- on guard against the military this policy and we can't "rule mitted into the SP-SDF must drive of Communist dictators." "repudiate Leninism." In the debate between Shachtman and gently chides the SP-SDF for Memorandum specifically states Arne Swabeck of the SWP in going "far beyond anything even that support of capitalist poli-Los Angeles, the March 25 La- suggested by the statement of ticians will occur only "in the abbor Action reports: "Shachtman principles of the Socialist Intersaid that if Norman Thomas national" in their "approval of thinks Leninism means deceit current United States policy." and treachery, that he also rejects this conception, although he say that the differences they believes Thomas is mistaken." Shachtman thinks he can appease "Socialists" over foreign policy Thomas with some clever wordplay. Thomas knows very well ty." And "the common tasks of what Leninism is! He has fought democratic socialism now tranit long enough. Leninism has scend these differences." nothing in common with deceit or treachery. Leninism means the first and foremost task of telling the workers the revolu- a socialist is to stand opposed to tionary truth; Leninism means the imperialist ruling class and the struggle for the highest form its rapacious foreign policy. of democracy—the democracy of the working masses in a move- tasks" with "socialists" who vioment to free themselves from ex- late this first principle? And, ploitation and tyranny. Leninism above all, how can these "commeans unbounded faith in the mon tasks transcend" the differcreative revolutionary capacity of ences between revolutionists and workers' democracy. And Lenin- social-democratic supporters of ism means the struggle against American imperialism? and "loathsome hypocrites" who THE SP-SDF STAND defend imperialist "democracy" ON POLITICAL ACTION and the labor bureaucracy in the The SP-SDF Memorandum high name of socialism. That's gives the green light to the labor cialist candidates-everything is In the debate between Shachtwhat Shachtman used to teach bureaucrats and their hangers-on really optional and "individuals man and Swabeck, Labor Action

social-democrats.

### REPROACH

The SP-SDF adopted a Memorandum of Understanding to pro-

The March 18 Labor Action

Then the Shachtmanite authors have with the State-Department "are not decisive barriers to uni-

What common tasks? I thought

How can you find "common

membership in the party.

Labor Action's discussion on this, in the March 25 issue, is a priceless specimen of twisted but from experience."

The policy of supporting capvide the political platform for italist parties is not to the liktheir merger. In the point of for- ing of the authors, H. W. Beneign policy the Memorandum son and Albert Gates. However, "The free world and its they tell us, one must bear in democratically established mili- mind that there are thousands of tary agencies must be constantly militant unionists who believe in them out" of the party.

Furthermore, they explain, the sence of socialist candidates."

And besides, the authors are careful to note, "The memorandum does not propose that the party or its official units endorse Democrats or Republicans"; it only permits the party and its units to allow its members to do so, etc., etc.

### IT ALL WORKS OUT

O.K. SAYS LABOR ACTION Weaving and squirming their way through thousands of words, the authors wind up with the triumphant conclusion that the SP-SDF Memorandum on political action is actually very good! After all, they say, "To ensure the harmonious and healthy growth of a united movement, it is essential that no one view be

And since, you see, the polit- ninism. ical action clause only permits members to vote for capitalist THE SP'S candidates in the absence of so- DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

And to this pathetic fraud they append a concluding sentence: loosely defined program based on "Let clarity come not by decree

### GOLDBERG DISSENTS

What is overlooked in this dishonest reasoning is one simple fact which the Chairman of the SP-SDF. Louis P. Goldberg, emphatically explained at the merger convention:

"The expression of fear in some corners that a new socialist party would interfere with labor's political action [he means capitalist politics-M.W.] is unfounded. Carrying out our document on political action, we will not nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement."

That's that! And the whole Labor Action "explanation" goes up in smoke.

Of course the SP-SDF won't support capitalist candidates when socialist candidates are on the ballot, for the simple reason that it has decided not to run socialist candidates in the first place against capitalist candidates in any major office.

So what purpose do our Shacht manite authors serve if not to cover up this plain fact? Let Thomas take note of this kind of imposed by rigid rule upon all show the slightest connection be- sion with the Kaiser's generals? tween such doubletalk and Le-

the SP as "the only party which has always presented a broad, democratic socialism which had the respect of American workers. and in no way shares the disgrace

of the Communist Party.' Further: "He [Shachtman] cited the factual democratic record of the SP and its democratic traditions in contrast with the lack of democracy in the SWP.'

The factual record and tradition, indeed! What's either democratic or socialist about the record and tradition of social-demo-

They're democratic all right in their dealings with capitalist power, but they never hesitate starting with the Russian Mensheviks, through Noske and Sheideman in Germany to Mollet in France to call out police and troops to murder workers, antiimperialist colonial peoples and their leaders.

Wasn't it the Russian rightwing social-democrats who were or socialist about that? responsible in 1917 for jailing Trotsky, forcing Lenin into hiding, framing the bolsheviks as German spies, smashing the Bolshevik press, beating and What was democratic or socialist about that, Shachtman,

Weren't the German socialdemocrats responsible for crushdeceit and treachery, and let him ing the 1918 revolution in collu-Weren't they responsible for the murder of Liebnecht and Luxemburg who used to be Shachtman's models? Doesn't the German social-democracy bear joint responsibility with Stalinism for the tragic betraval of the German

## A YSL'er Seeks A Safe Haven

In a recent symposium on how the regroupment of socialist youth should take place, a spokesman for the Young Socialist League, B. Hendrick, upheld the Shachtman stand that it should take place in the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. This was his argument: "It is hard to recruit youth these days. They want respectability." The SP-SDF "is clean and had a good reputation and has never been in trouble with the government." The symposium took place in Cleveland, May 27.

working class in 1932 which resulted in the triumph of Hitlerism? What was democratic May 24:

### A JOINT SP AND CP BETRAYAL

Didn't the Spanish social-democrats, together with the Stalinhounding revolutionary workers? ists, open the road to Franco's victory with their class-collaborationist, people's front policy in the civil war? And when you and I, Shachtman, and all other left wingers in the SP, raised our voices against this betrayal; didn't the American social-demopose a "democratic" gag on the the party in order to prevent it from gaining a majority?

What's democratic or socialist In this way, the right wing cy in America.

cy, Shachtman? Tell us!

### WHILE DEBS SAT IN PRISON

In the First World War, de spite the democratically adopted anti-war resolution of the 1917 RECORD St. Louis Convention, didn't the right wing SP bureaucrats go pulsion of the left wing in 1919, jail for his anti-war speeches?

some socialism! And when the overwhelming

majority of the SP welcomed the Russian Revolution of October 1917, what did the right wing bureaucracy, headed by Morris Hillquit, do? Here's how Theodore Draper,

author of Roots of American Communism, describes these 'democratic socialists" at work in 1919. A National Executive Committee meeting is called for

Socialist Party of Michigan was expelled. . . This action cleared the decks of about 6,000 members. On the fourth day, the seven Left Wing foreign-language federations were cast out. . . This cleared the decks of over 20,000 more members. With this mopping up as a start, the Committee proceeded to hold up the tabulation of the vote for new officers and to agree on a national emergency convention on crats, headed by Thomas, im- August 30. The Left wing had been vainly clamoring for months left wing and then expel it from for an emergency convention. Now one was going to be heldwithout the Left Wing."

about the record and tradition with a maximum support of 40,of the American social democra- 000, expelled the left Wing which was supported by 70,000.

Is this part of the "factual democratic record" you spoke of, Shachtman?

ahead and support the imperial- the gag law and expulsion drive ist war-right while Debs was in against the left wing in 1937. support of American imperialism That's some democracy and in World War II, support of American imperialism in the Korean war, support of the cold-war State Department policy, "critical" support of the witch-hunt security and loyalty programthat's your "democratic" and 'socialist" record of the SP.

The bureaucratically rigged ex-

And what's democratic about the social-democracy's position on regroupment? Take your own experience, Shachtman. You want to join the SP-SDF. Clearly, you make no unreasonable conditions. On the contrary, you promise to fight for the exclusive right of "On the first day, the entire the right wing's program and leadership to prevail.

Do they say, Fine! Come in and enjoy some of our democratic so highly. No! They say: Repent! Renounce! Repudiate! Then crawl! And if that's not enough-

You want to capitulate to this? Very well! But revolutionary socialists will not go along with you. They will stand fast by their principles and join with others to rebuild and reunite the revolutionary socialist vanguard in a party that will be proud to hold aloft the banner of class-struggle socialism and workers democra-

## Seattle Symposium on Smith Act Rallies New Support for Pettus

SEATTLE, May 26 - Seventy persons filled up the meeting room at the First Unitarian Church here tonight for a lively and fruitful panel discussion on the

Smith Act. Sponsored by the Channing Club, a student discussion group associated with the church, the speakers were Jay Opening the discussion, Sykes Sykes, attorney and American pointed out that the Smith Act Civil Liberties Union member, could not be considered as a pure-Clara Kaye, Seattle organizer ly legal issue but one of politfor the Socialist Workers Party ical and philosophical importand Terry Pettus, Northwest edi- ance. This is so, he explained, be-

tor of the People's World and a cause it does not punish for overt

## Socialist Forum in S. F. **Holds Its Largest Meet**

SAN FRANCISCO, May 25 - The future of American socialism was discussed here last night by spokesmen for five different radical tendencies. Vincent Halli-

nan, an independent socialist, P William F. Warde, Socialist islation desired by labor. The Workers Party, Al Richmond, Democrats elected 18 out of 20 Editor of the Peoples World and Senators and 18 out of 30 Respokesman for the Communist presentatives. What happened? Party, Charles Curtis, Socialist Not one single piece of legisla-Party-Social Democratic Federa- tion promised by the supposed tion and Ted Enright, Independ- "friends" of labor had in fact beent Socialist League, spoke under come law. the auspices of the Independent Socialist Forum to the largest THE PAST AND FUTURE audience since the founding of the forum four months ago.

Vincent Hallinan said he was actively seeking out people of and socialism. "Capitalism had various points of view in the its best days in the past; its worst state, talking to them, and ex- days lie ahead," he said, "while ploring the possibilities of start- socialism has its worst days being a new political movement in hind it and the best days are time to get on the California ahead." Warde said that the ballot in 1958. He said that he best way to further unity at this knew that the Democratic Party stage was to act together on spein California was controlled by cific issues. He called for sup-Ed Pauly, the southern Califor- port of the committee to free nia oil magnate and financiers of Morton Sobell who is at present the Bank of America.

a party, he said, will not bring co Bay and support for the Caliany benefits to labor. He cited fornia Labor School in its fight the Hawaiian Islands as a prime example of what labor can ex- The most recent blow against pect from their supposed capture of the Democratic Party. Over locking on May 3 by the Internal in the Islands they have always had a Republican administration. In 1953 the ILWU and the AFL got together on a political program of support of the Democratic Party. Part of that suppor was based on promises by the capitalist politicians that they would pass certain minimum leg-

## In Defense Of Marxism

By Leon Trotsky Invaluable material on Marxist

of the Soviet state 211 pages (cloth bound) \$2.50

Order from: The Militant 116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

William F. Warde, Socialist Workers Party, discussed the world perspective for capitalism serving a life sentence on Alca-Labor support for this kind of traz Island here in San Francisagainst government persecution the Labor School was its pad-Revenue Department for taxes.

Al Richmond, spokesman for the Communist Party, set forth the general program and perspectives of the Communist Party while at the same time admitting certain "errors." He favored work in the Democratic Party and didn't think there was any ground for unity of the left at

this time. Ted Enright, Independent So. cialist League, and Charles Curtis, SP-SDF, were in an unofficial bloc for what they called "democratic socialism." They branded not only the Communist Party philosophy and the class nature Soviet Union in any way as "dicbut all others who supported the tatorial Socialists." Both speakers thought that the SP-SDF was the organization best suited to bring about unity in the leftprovided, in effect, everyone would sign a loyalty oath specifying no sympathy for the "dic tatorial socialists."

acts but rather for advocacy of directly. The discussion revealed a political program.

of development of such "sedition" laws, he demonstrated that they erties. They viewed somewhat have grown steadily more strin- differently, however, the source gent and have been marked by in- of the reactionary trend. creasing political oppression of

Posing for discussion the quesof the act was the result of a conscious conspiracy to suppress political freedom. Sykes said that in his own view this was not the case but that the total effect was the same as if it were. He felt rather that the Smith Act reflected a growing tendency toward conformity by the popula-

## POLICE STATE

Mrs. Kave appraised the Smith Act and other similar repressive ests to do so. The primary relegislation as the product of the sponsibility, they contended inherent drive of U.S. capitalism must be placed on the capitalist toward creation of a police state. class which inspires and benefits Such a goal; she said, is essen- from reaction. tial to the Big Business need for world domination.

fight against the Smith Act, Mrs. Kave emphasized the need for vigorous defense of individual victims of the act, such as Terry Pettus.

Recounting his own persons experience with the Smith Act, Pettus said the act was imple mented by a campaign of intimidation, not only against its immediate targets, but also against those who spoke out in their be-

The worst feature of the Smith has aided in stifling dissent on entire American people. Among drive toward war inherent in the U.S. "defense" program and the tus. danger to human safety springing from present nuclear tests. gle for peace.

SOURCE OF REACTION

three speakers exchanged views his side of his case.

Introductory Offer!

A Six-Month Subscription

To The Militant Only \$1

The Militant

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

unanimous belief that the Smith Sketching the historical trend Act is part of a witch-hunt atmosphere destructive to civil lib-

Jay Sykes contended that it was necessary to view the entire American people as responsition of whether or not passage ble for the present situation. 'It's not normal." he argued, "to want to listen to people who don't agree with you. We here must somehow be abnormal." Both Clara Kaye and Terry

Pettus disagreed with this, pointing out that the workers could accept conformist views in periods of reaction, but that in other periods they can and have taken the lead for progress be cause it is in their class inter-

"We live in a period of reaction," said Mrs. Kaye, "but we Urging the students present to must not be blinded by this to organize and speak out in the the past and future progressive role of the workers.'

> "The working class is not static," Pettus explained, "but a living growing thing. All classes learn by experience. The American working class, which is backward because it came on the scene late, will learn by its own experience. The question and discussion

period was a very lively one. The audience joined in the discussion of the differing views of the Act, Pettus continued, is that it speakers and at the same time raised questions as to what they issues of grave concern to the could do concretely in the fight for civil liberties. Both Pettus such issues, he pointed out, is the and Mrs. Kaye urged support for Morton Sobell as well as to Pet-

Two noteworthy features of the meeting were the fact that it was The fight for civil liberties, he the first in many years where CP stressed, is essential to the strug- and SWP representatives shared the platform. Very heartening was the fact that it was the first non-partisan forum to afford Following the presentation, the Pettus the opportunity to give

## DP's in the Mideast



This group of Arab refugees from Israel symbolizes the plight of tens of thousands of displaced families throughout the Arab world. In recent months their numbers have been swelled by Algerians fleeing the murderous French troops.

## World Events

WORKERS' DELEGATES to ernment has offered the Mamaemployers and most governments, the tribe move. including that of the United States object to this question being discussed. The Soviet Union to put the work-week issue on

DRIVER, Sandor Kapolnasi, was through absenteeism, lateness sentenced to death, June 4, in and exhaustion. The Chamber of Budapest for illegally hiding Commerce then subsidized the arms and ammunition. Police buses by purchasing bus tickets found 2 pistols, 4 cartridges at the increased price and selling and 131 rounds of ammunition in them to employes at the old his home.

says the tribe of 410 families is ruining the valley with poor boycotters permanent. farm methods. Neighboring white farmers are valuing the rich land at \$300 an acre although the gov-

the Geneva conference of the In- tolas only \$28 apiece for their ternational Labor Organization, holdings. Tribesmen reportedly that begins its sessions on June begged to be allowed to stay, 5, are preparing to raise the offering to kill their livestock and demand for a shorter work week. burn their plows, even if they Although an ILO stand on such should starve to death as a result, an issue has only moral effect, but the government insists that

THE BUS BOYCOTT in Johannesburg, South Africa, is is expected to support the fight approaching a new stage. The boycott began early this year in opposition to fare increases. It cost business and commerce an A HUNGARIAN TRUCK estimated six million dollars price. This arrangement ends on July 1, and the government is THE MAMATOLA TRIBE in now considering a bill that would South Africa has been ordered subsidize the buses to enable the to vacate the fertile valley it has transport company to operate occupied for more than 100 years. them with the old fares. Such a The Minister of Native Affairs government subsidy would make the victory scored by the bus-

> LEADERS OF THE ELEC-TRICAL TRADES UNION in England were criticized by Communist delegates and others from the 232,000-member organization for failing to promptly denounce the Kremlin's brutality in Hungary. Delegates then passed a motion condemning "the brutal attack of the Soviet armed forces on the Hungarian people" and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Copies of the resolution were sent to the Soviet and Hungarian embassies in

> A FLU EPIDEMIC has been sweeping through the countries of the Far East. In Bombay, India, 350,000 have been hit and of the epidemic has not yet been reached. A spokesman for the U.S. Health Department said it was likely the epidemic would spread to the U.S. if it has not done so already.

A 24-HOUR GENERAL STRIKE hit Athens and the Piraeus in Greece with the demand for a 30% wage increase according to Peter Fryer's Newsletter. A nation-wide strike will be called for June 18 unless the demand has been met before that date.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF ALBANIAN WRITERS AND ARTISTS heard the chairman, Mr. Shutriqi, say that it must be inspired by the example set by Soviet writers and artists, because Soviet literature and art is the best in the world.

THE NEW COURSE. By Leon Trotsky. 111 pages. 50 cents. English publication, 1956. Reviewed in the Militant, Jan. 28, 1957. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

# French Pursue Algerians

following day the French commander sent a force of 350 supported armored vehicles back into Tunisia where a Tunisian force eral of the Foreign Ministry, who not reached the Militant. gravely wounded in the head and "In a tract reported circulating

soldier killed by the French became a great anti-imperialist patriots' of the Melouza massademonstration. The crowd cre. The Algerian National Moveshouted for the evacuation of all ment called for a general strike French troops left in Tunisia un- June 5 to protest against the der the compromise independence massacre." agreement. Even right-wing Pre- NEW FRENCH SLAUGHTERS mier Habib Bounguiba was forced to speak in extremely militant

## MELOUZA MASSACRE

Another massacre in Algeria French who attributed it to the of Egyptian Premier Nasser, and which has challenged the traditional Algerian independence movement, the Algerian National Movement (MNA), led by Messali Hadj. All the male inhabitants-about 300-in the vil- fighting began there in Novemlage of Melouza were slaughtered ber 1954. on the evening of May 20. French reports accusing the FLN said the villagers had refused to sup- dependence movement even with port the FLIN, being adherents half a million troops and terror instead of the MNA. FLN repre- methods used by the Nazis sentatives in Tunis on June 2 de- in France, there is no indication

ilar massacres of whole villages of 100 was protecting the refu- by the French as part of their gees at Ain Draham. The French military repressions in Algeria. attacked and the fighting went there have also been reports of on for at least two hours. Seven attempts by the FLN to capture Tunisian soldiers were killed control of the independence tion a high Tunisian official, MNA fredom fighters. So far Khemals Hadjeri, Secretary Gen- the MNA side of the story has had been sent from the capital to should be noted, nonetheless, that survey the refugee situation, was the June 3 New York Times says:

in Paris, the Algerian National The funeral of the Tunisian Movement accused 'an armed band of Liberation Front pseudo-

## Regardless of who perpetrated

the Melouza massacre, it will be denounced by all champions of Algeria's national-independence revolution. But even if it turns is as yet surrounded by some out that the FLN is the guilty mystery. It was announced by the party, that would not clear the French of their continuing record National Liberation Front (FLN), of atrocities. Thus in a 48-hour which operates with the backing period French communiques announced the killing of 169 Algerians. These are admitted killings and are but a 48-hour part of the steady slaughter that French imperialism has been

> Despite the demonstrated failure of crushing the Algerian in-

committing in Algeria since the

ment which Pierre Pflimlin. of the Popular Republican Party (Catholic) is trying to form, will

Tragically enough, the strongest opponent of stopping the war to be found among the elements being bargained with in the formation of the new cabinet is Mollet's Socialist Party. It appears and fourteen wounded. In addi- movement by violence against that the only argument against the Algerian war that the French capitalists and social-democrats are at all sensitive to is the ter- 15 people have died. In Calcutta, rific cost in money (\$1 billion a city of 3,500,000, nearly every yearly) and manpower. Balanced family has been affected by the against this loss are the terrific epidemic. In the Philippine Issuperprofits French imperialism lands, 514 have died, and the peak used to drain out of Algeria plus those they expect to harvest from newly discovered oil fields.

## The History of a **Literary Radical And Other Papers** By Randolph Bourne

(Review in Spring Issue of International Socialist Review)

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

Order from:

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

### nied the charge and claimed the that the new coalition governmassacre had been perpetrated by the French troops. While there are on record simend the war in Algeria.

eription 68 per year 1.50 for 8 months. Foreign: €.50 per year; \$2.20 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year: \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c ach in foreign countries

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

Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. XXI - No. 23

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

Monday, June 10, 1957

## **Eastland and Radiation Poison**

We have pointed out on many occasions that the aim of the government's witch hunt is to stifle every voice that speaks out in the interest of the people. This fact is being reiterated with alarming clarity by the red-baiting attack now launched against Dr. Linus Pauling and the 2,000 scientists who have joined with him in demanding an immediate halt to nuclear tests. Carrying the mud-bucket for the attack is the always reliable witch-hunter and racist Senator James O. Eastland.

The signal for the campaign was sounded in the New York Times story, June 4, on the announcement of the petition by the scientists. Prominent in the Times' story is the allegation that "Dr. Pauling's left-of-center political views have made him a figure of occasional earlier controversy."

On June 6 it was announced that Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee has subpoenaed Dr. Pauling and "indicated that it wants to quiz Pauling about his associates in the anti-bomb campaign which has been denounced in "Congress as Communist-inspired."

The move to grill the world-famed scientist constitutes in its own ugly way an admission of the government's inability to refute his charge that the nuclear tests are a deadly menace. It also serves as a smokescreen for the Administration's utterly indefensible refusal to accept the Soviet proposal for an immediate international agreement to halt the tests.

Instead we have Eisenhower (who is apparently as well-informed about nuclear physics as he is of most other matters) regions, into which the country accomplished in the national grumbling that he notices that "scientists that seem to be getting out of their own field of competence are getting into sult in an increased quantity of try. It was bureaucratically imthe argument" about the radiation much-needed consumers' goods posed in the early days of indusdanger. This was directed at the geneticists, biologists and physicists who of heavy industry or of the buly low level of productivity of signed the Pauling petition. It did not, of the economy. As for direct coning presented as what it was course, include that scientific expert on cessions to the workers-there the use of the crudest capitalist hoof - in - mouth, Charles E. Wilson, is nothing specific in the Khrush- method of wage payment—the who recently made the monumental ob- chev decentralization theses that Stalinist bureaucracy tried to servation that radioactive fallout is safer the Soviet workers can put their pass it off as "socialist competition." They even changed the than cigarettes.

That the charges of the scientists cannot be seriously refuted is also being born out by the present Congressional hearing on the issue. Government witnesses have been compelled to restrict themselves to trying to discredit the mass of expert testimony on the menace of the tests without offering a shred of scientific evidence that the tests are really safe.

The growing knowledge of the danger of the tests has been paralleled by a rising popular opposition to them. This fact was hammered home when the Gallup Poll revealed that 63% of the American people now favor a halt to the tests as compared to 24% last November.

The move to try to crucify Dr. Pauling at the hands of the Eastland committee is not only aimed at a band of courageous scientists. It is also a nefarious effort to thwart the will of the people.

## A New Question on Soviet Jews

The Jewish-language daily, Freiheit, has long supported the Soviet political rulers. However, since the recent incontrovertable proofs of past and continuing anti-Jewish practices by the Kremlin, Freiheit has spoken out frequently in support of the demand that the Jews in en the USSR be accorded the national rights which are supposed to be guaranteed ... by the Soviet Constitution. Their readers apparently will not settle for less.

In the May 15 issue of Freiheit, Moishe Katz raises a simple but searching question. He reports the news that a number of national minorities in the Soviet Union have regained some of the national rights they were brutally deprived of during World War II. These groups had been deported in mass from their homelands because Stalin charged that some of their members had collaborated with the Nazis.

The ban on the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars and several national groups in the North Caucasus have now been lifted. Those in exile have been permitted to return to their homelands and they are again allowed to publish newspapers in their own languages.

While welcoming this development, Katz poses this very pertinent question: What about the rights of a people that have done no wrong, never have been

suspected of collaborating with the Nazis, in fact were the worst sufferers of Nazism, a people that demonstrated outstanding heroism in the fight against Nazism. In short, what about the three million Jews who have been deprived of all national rights? How about an 'amnesty' for them?

Noting that such requests have been demands of the workers than its contradictions between the bur- terests that preclude an objective made repeatedly to the Soviet leadership Soviet counterpart. The recogniby foreign delegations both Jewish and China demonstrates the adnon-Jewish and that they have in reality vanced character of the struggle been ignored, Katz declares anew the to eliminate bureaucracy. urgent need for all those concerned with the fate of the Soviet Jews, and of the reported from London that Mao Industry and Commerce, claimed duce, but they don't directly workers' welfare and lives political revolution in China is Soviet Union itself, to speak out in the Soviet Union itself, to speak out in the Speech at the February March strongest possible way.

We believe Katz is entirely correct pressed the view that "strikes, the socialist transformation." about this and associate ourselves with demonstrations and other manithe demand that the Soviet Jews be accorded "rights [which] belong to Socialist objectives within a Com- But this did not arise from con- tem of direct rule of the working control of production and producand the Leninist concept of politics."

We further believe it to be the obligation of all other working class and radical papers to speak out on this issue. In this from Peking, confirms that acregard it is necessary to note again that the Daily Worker, which has no less reason than the Freiheit to speak up, continues to maintain a shameful silence | solute right." on the issue after making a solemn pledge to speak out until justice was accorded to the Soviet Jews.

By Anne Chester Manager, Pioneer Publishers

This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring pamphlets on Stalinism and the labor movement.

These include: STALINISM AND BOLSHE-VISM. By Leon Trotsky. 32

pages, 15 cents.

This great essay lays bare the before the Moscow Trials. fraudulent contention that Stalinism and Bolshevism are the I STAKE MY LIFE. By Leon

A New Park Publication The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.)

## and **World Trotskyism**

Contains Khrushchev's 20th Congress secret-session speech; two speeches by James P. Cannon; texts of previously suppressed articles and letters by Lenin.

> 50 cents Order from:

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

herent in Bolshevism. THE KIROV ASSASSINATION. By Leon Trotsky, 32 pages, 25

same, or that Stalinism was in-

cents. (Pioneer Pocket Library No. 3). This pamphlet, heretofore long out of print, is presented in a new edition. In this work, Trotsky nails down the Stalinist frame-up system several years

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

By Michael Banda Pioneer Pocket Library No. 6

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

Trotsky. 20 pages. 15 cents. (Ceylon Edition.)

In this pamphlet, Trotsky answered Stalin's charges and offered to appear before an imfessor John Dewey. "If this comexecutioners of the GPU."

AMERICAN STALINISM AND ANTI-STALINISM. By James P. Cannon, 42 pages, 15 cents. How to wage the struggle against Stalinism without aiding American imperialism and how to wage the struggle against Wall Street without conciliating

THE ROAD TO PEACE. By James P. Cannon. 48 pages. 25

Stalinism.

This pamphlet examines the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" and outlines the revolutionary socialist program for putting an end to war.

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

## The Wage Issue in the USSR By George Lavan

ises for the Soviet workers. Un- garchy never visualized. der this new plan, workers, like that efficiency and greater utili- both in Moscow and locally, can zation of the resources of the 92 be seen in what they have just has been economically divided, re- wage and work quota revision. sulted in a greater national prod- The piece-work wage system uct. This presumably would re- prevails throughout Soviet industoo-though not at the expense trialization to raise the abysmal-

The strongest indication that extent that waste and duplica- the industrial setup to the dis- fledged "socialism." tion of labor were eliminated and advantage of the bureaucracy

tion." They even changed the

## The "Decentralizers"



Soviet party boss Khrushchev (left) is shown with ex-Premier Malenkov. They are now trying to revamp the management of Soviet industry, but with a sharp eye toward keeping full control of production in the hands of the bureaucrats' despite 'pressure for workers' control,

indications that the Soviet work- economy where everyone will be ending of the cost-of-living bonus. Khrushchev's great decentrali- ing class will intervene and make paid "according to his need" to A committee on wages, headed by zation plan for Soviet industry of the new setup something that one based on payment "according Kaganovitch, was set up to make contains only the vaguest prom- Khrushchev and the Kremlin oli- to his ability," because in the a lengthy study. official mythology the USSR the rest of the Soviet population, the factory workers of the So- state, halfway between socialism would presumably benefit to the viet Union are going to shape and capitalism, but was full-

### STAKHANOVISM

Piece work naturally divides the workers and always to the detriment of the unskilled and lower categories. The great differences that automatically ensued in the wage structure were artificially increased by the Kremlin's program of Stakhanovism which set tremendous premiums for unusual surpassing of production norms or quotas by individual or groups of workers. Stakhanovites earned 20 to 30 times as much as workers in the lower categories.

Stakhanovism was designed not only to encourage piece workers to exceed themselves but to create a privileged group in each factory loyal to the regime. The payment of some specialists in the factories 80 to 100 times the wage of unskilled workers was a similar part of the old divideand-rule game. For the most part Stakhanovism was hallyhoo and costly. To permit the Stakhanovite to make his record, factory procedure had to be completely disrupted.

During the war a cost-of-liv ing bonus had to be given to So viet workers. This was pretty much an across-the-board increase and thus benefited lowpaid workers most. The cost-ofliving bonus has continued as part of the wage system. For the last two years the bu.

reaucracy has wanted to straighten out the wage system as well as the system of norms which is a patchwork based sometimes on the productivity of 20 years ago. To this end it inspired a campaign in the press for a general

### STRIKE WAVE

Then apparently a switch took place. The lowest wages were increased by Kremlin decree, and the heads of factories were asked to raise their workers' production quotas and set new wage scales. What resulted was a numstrikes, news of which went beyond the borders of USSR last winter, apparently were among these. The Soviet press spoke of "interruptions of work" that reheads, who were unable to persuade their workers to work harder for lower pay. Then the Soviet press suddenly clammed up on the subject though the revision was supposed to go on for a year throughout the country. Apparently the stories had given workers in other plants ideas and encouragement in their resistance to the new norms and wages scales. It would seem that in each factory, workers and management fought it out and reached results based on their relative strength or weakness.

Now Trud, the newspaper of the Soviet trade unions, has announced a government decree forbidding factory heads from making any sudden revisions "at the same time" of both wages and production norms. Instead it proposes "replacing the old norms, in cooperation with local union bodies . . . and with the active participation of the workers." Moreover, the by-passed committee on wages has been brought back to life by Trud's announcement that wage revision should proceed slowly and on the basis of directives from the forgotten

### GAIN FOR WORKERS

Jacques Michel, expert on Sorevision of production norms on vateur, independent socialist tories about 'workers' control."

Nevertheless, there are many classic definition of socialist an up-to-date basis and for the weekly published in Paris, from which most of the information in this article comes, summarizes the directives so far indicated by the committee on wages as follows:

Workers at the low end of the scale will benefit more from the revision than those at the top. For "certain groups" the new norms should not entail lowering the remuneration. To achieve this. factory managers, before introducing the new norms, should reber of work stoppages. The two organize the conditions in the factories to assure a sharp increase in productivity thanks to full use of new machinery. Stakhanovism-dead in fact for many years—is officially buried sulted from "errors" of factory with the order: "liquidation of premium payments that are economically unprofitable."

Trud ends its article with, "All this shows . . . the access of the workers to true participation in the running of the state." This is making a propaganda virtue of bitter necessity. Soviet workers rejected the wage and norm revision the bureaucracy tried to force on them. Through self-organization, aggressive factory committees and, apparently in a large number of instances, by strike action they forced the bureaucracy to retreat.

Thus Soviet workers have not only won a victory that can be measured by their pay and mitigation of speedup, but have achieved at the same time a political victory of great significance. This bodes ill for the bureaucratic oligarchy's idea that it will decide how decentralized Soviet industry is to be managed. The Soviet workers will have their say here too: According to Jacques Michel (France-Observateur, April 4, 1957), "Some of the workers who victoriously resisted the increase viet economy for France-Obser- of norms, are talking in the fac-

## THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN CHINA

By C. R. Hubbard

concessions to the democratic tion of the right to strike in

festations of popular will, might

CONFIRMATION

The May 30 Daily Worker, in an article by Alan Winnington count. Mao-Tse-tung is reported as saying that "the right of the people to strike, demonstrate and take political action is an ab-

Of course behind the strike movement and the CCPs concessions to it is the problem of the FACT AND FANTASY bureaucratic abuse of the growing Chinese working class and of coming inequities. For substantial forces. gains, struggle is necessary to convert bureaucratic promises into improved working condi-

gress of the CCP last September not be removed by "persuasion." partial investigation commission Chou En-lai said, "Taken as a The Chinese Communist Party is such as was subsequently set up whole, the rate of increase of the facing a show-down struggle ployes in the past few years was the Communist Parties of East mission decides that I am guilty in the main compatible with that Europe it will be confronted with in the slightest degree," Trotsky of labor productivity. However, a split in its own ranks as the stated. "I pledge in advance to in a certain period of time, the contradictions accumulate. place myself in the hands of the rate of increase in wages lagged far behind that of labor productivity."

## SOMETHING MISSING

China have come primarily from munist Party is bureaucratically increases in the duration and deformed. This is progress, for intensity of labor rather than past criticism of the Chinese from increases in productivity. regime from a socialist point of Party had bourgeois-democratic When Chou relates wage in- view, which included from the rather than socialist objectives. creases only to productivity in- beginning the defense of China creases, he reveals in effect how against the imperialist powers, greatly the Mao bureaucracy has was regarded by many Comsubjected the Chinese working munist workers as Trotskyist class to methods taken from slander, even after the Khrushcapitalist exploitation. As against chev admissions of bureaucracy this abuse of their labor, the in the Soviet Union. workers have the right to consider total production increases, and not merely productivity in-

not able to crush the mounting of this deformation comes only creasingly intolerable. And state- political thinking of such im-

compelled the bureaucratic caste privileges and power by "per- bureaucracy is limited to the to go even further in making suading" the workers of the evaluation made by the bureau-"nonantagonistic" nature of the eaucracy and the masses. The May 7 New China News

contradictions in the ranks of

and incorrect thinking." The "industrialists and businessmen to realize the essence of this class contradiction. To solve this contradiction, as one within the ranks of the people, the industrialists and businessmen should make greater efforts in their re-education."

Political struggle is here presented as a disembodied its revolutionary aspirations for process floating above social freedom. Wage concessions have forces and unrelated to the been made since the CCP's ad- material interests involved. In mission of "errors" on wage this way it is hoped that a strugstructures in the spring of 1956. gle over material interests can But these concessions have been be dissolved into an argument primarily in the field of over- between "nonantagonistic" social

But the real struggle goes on no matter how it is depicted. Class contradictions and contradictions within the working At the Eighth National Con- class are antagonistic and will under the chairmanship of Pro- wages of the workers and em- with the working class. And like

> Incidentally contained in the Daily Worker's report by Winnington is an admission that the

However, an admission of burcreases, as a just basis for wage this bureaucracy and thereby to The workers were called upon to sions in the British forum move-The CCP grants recognition to ing it. In the first place, as in ers met the need, but the bur- sive compactness. These reports Pioneer Publishers, 116 Univerthe right to strike, because it is the Soviet Union, the recognition eaucratic repressions became in- give insight into the present

opposition of the Chinese work-| after the bureaucrats themselves | protected profits to those hated | production. They won't make the ing class. While conceding to have been compelled to admit capitalists that still remained costly "mistake" of attempting The development of working- some demands, the bureaucrats their "errors." And then the made a mockery of proletarian to achieve accumulation primarity class opposition in China has hope to maintain their special evaluation of the problem of sacrifice. crats - who have material inanalysis.

This is clearly seen in Win-Agency quoted Chen Shu-tung on nington's explanation of why from a short-term, sectional, per- or capitalist "allies," will benefit, the people. Chen, the Chairman peared in China. "Under Social- for a repressed working class The May 29 New York Times, of the All-China Federation of ism," he says, "the people prospeech at the February-March tween workers and industrialists matters from a short-term, sec. sive bureaucracy. As for the revolution that began with the Supreme State Conference ex- "had been basically solved since tional, personal viewpoint." This allegedly "long-term" view of the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek. is the classical Stalinist ratio-Now, according to Chen, "the nalization for bureaucratic rule. the long-term concern for keepcontradictions in ideology had Marxists have always regarded sometimes be needed in attaining come to the fore at this time. . . the socialist society as the sysflicts of class interests but from class. The separation of a bureaucontradictions between correct cracy out of the working class that rules against the workers solution, Chen explained, is for is not socialism but the bureaucratic deformation or degeneration of the workers' state.

The concrete experience of the workers' revolution in Russia coning class did rule directly. The Soviets, the organs of struggle for power, became also the organs of rule. The Communist Party - then a revolutionary party - was the vanguard of the workers in their Soviets, but it was not a substitute for the workers' rule.

## CCP RECORD

In the Soviet Union, a burcaptured the Communist Party and destroyed the Soviets as democratic mass organs of rule. The process in China was different but the result was essentially the same. The CCP was thoroughly Stalinized long suppressed the Soviets of China coverage on the thriving British before it took power. It never because it never brought any into being' in the first place - or allowed any to come into by scientific and medical experts

Kai-shek, the Chinese Stalinists fought with a mass peasant base. Their policy was to exclude the city workers in the interests of But production increases in Chinese state under the Com- a bloc with a section of the small capitalist class and as a demonstration to the capitalist world that the Chinese Communist

aborting the Chinese workers' participation in the civil war. Utilization of the revolutionary capacities of the Chinese workers became an immediate and urgent need with the beginning of industrial planning and the defense eaucratic deformation does not of the revolution against the new series. amount to a Marxist analysis of imperialist thrust through Korea. a correct program for destroy- make great sacrifices. The work-

### ROLE OF WORKERS' SELF-INTEREST

workers are "liable to see matters a growing caste of bureaucrats bureaucratic deformations ap- sonal viewpoint," holds true only economic progress ing posts and privileges.

latedly admitted will be overcome. The workers can far more accumulation for expanded re- directly.

ly at the expense of the health and welfare of the people. They will understand far better than the bureaucrats the need for in-The bureaucratic notion ex- dustrialization. Once the workers pressed by Winnington that the are confident that they, and not assured.

Thus the primary task of the mass organs of power and take Once the working class gains control of production and plantive planning the bureaucratic produce," says Winnington. But "errors" so copiously and be- they do that under capitalism, too. Under socialism, we say, realistically estimate the rate of the people must also govern

## firmed this Marxist view of so-cialism. Under Lenin the work-ing class did rule directly. The **Important Socialist Need**

Four issues of The Newletter, published weekly in London by Peter Fryer have now appeared. The first issue explains that the purpose of The Newsletter is "to provide

socialists with news and docu-@ impressive fashion.

The Newsletter is jam-packed with world-wide reporting, with texts of important documents, with information on developments in the British and world Communist parties, with an excellent socialist forum movement and with a wealth of material written on the results of the nuclear weapons tests. In short, The In the civil war against Chiang Newsletter is invaluable for socialists in every country.

Among the documents made available thus far by The Newsletter is the complete text of "How to Build a Mass Communist Party," an important post-convention statement by the leadership of the British CP. Another issue of the Newsletter China paid a terrible price for carries the text of the resolution on the Jewish question in the USSR adopted by the state convention of the Communist Party in New York.

Particularly informative is a report by The Newsletter's Polish correspondent, the first of a

The main points of the discusment are presented with impres-

ments which they will not find portant figures as Professor adequately treated elsewhere." Hyman Levy who for many years eaucratic clique headed by Stalin This aim is being realized in an had been a major intellectual

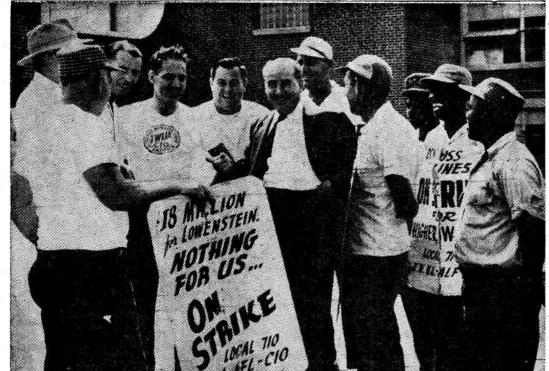
spokesman for the British CP. Reports on the "regroupment" discussions are not confined to British developments. Issues number three and four of The Newsletter contain accurate upto-date reports on the formation in this country of the American Forum for Socialist Education and of the witchunting attack on it. A report from a correspondent in France gives a synopsis of the views of Claude Bourdet, editor of France Observateur, as presented at a discussion meet-

ing in Paris. An important current feature of The Newsletter is the serialized publication of the complete text of J. B. Salsberg's "Talks With Soviet Leaders on the Jewish Question."

Subscription to The Newsletter can obtained by writing to Peter Fryer, 1, Seymour Terrace, London, S.E. 20, England. The cost is ten shillings - or \$2.00 in the U.S. (including mailing costs) - for 12 issues. It's a real bargain.

- Harry Ring

THE CLASS NATURE OF THE SOVIET STATE. By Leon Trotsky. 22 pages. 25 cents. (Ceylon publication.) Order from sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.



President William Pollock of the Textile Workers Union (wearing jacket, center) is shown with a group of pickets in the hard-fought strike at the Lowenstein plant in South Carolina. The textile workers have been among the hardest hit by savage employer use of the

## **Textile Union President Describes T-H at Work**

ary tide which this law symbol- sent slightly less than one third months. izes is frankly described by Wil- of the million textile workers now liam Pollock, General President in the mills. . . of the Textile Workers Union of Now let us see what it means Spring issue of the Digest of the have no rights at all. Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. He writes:

". . . Every union and every

## Matles Brings Suit must turn to farming, if he can, and collectively, not only by the For New Trial in Citizenship Case

trical Workers (independent), who was stripped of his citizenship last March on grounds that he allegedly was a Communist Party member when naturalized, filed suit, June 5, for a new trial.

Matles based his motion for re-trial on the recent Supreme Court decisions in the case of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers when it happens, depends upon even then it is unbelievable. . " Union, convicted of falsely the employer's choice of tech-swearing to a Taft-Hartley "nongranted Jencks a new trial because the Justice Department refused to make available secret documents of its paid informers and thus denied him the opportunity to examine or refute

MISTAKEN IDENTITY?

Matles' conviction was based largely on use of the same stable of government stool pigeons government witnesses perjured tion. themselves in the Matles hearing, as one of them did, for instance, when claiming to have seen Matles at CP meetings

Meanwhile, the Justice Department has filed suit against minimum of 30 percent—the em-Matles for over \$2,000 to pay ployer can consent to the elecfor the very government "wit- tion and thus have a vote before nesses" who testified against the union is ready. But if the him at his trial.

# Calendar

AND PAMPHLETS by JAMES P. CANNON

**BOOKS** 

On Problems of Socialism in America America's Roard to 80pp \$.35 Socialism The Coming American 32pp \$.10 Revolution

Socialism on Trial 111pp \$.50 American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism The History of American Trotskyism Cloth

Paper The IWW. - The Great Anticipation 44pp \$.25 Eugene V. Debs 40pp \$.25 The Struggle for a Proletarian

302pp Cloth \$2.50 Paper \$2.00 Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y. Catalogue on Request

IN A TEXTILE TOWN

workers have lost nearly every- organized. A typical textile town act. away. But even in isolated com-clergy, and merchants. munities, workers grow restive Workers are told that the mill

> have heard about the union. tions seem less tolerable than pervisors. . ever, a worker or a group of workers write to our Southern of- ord that no appeal to racial, na- Fellowship of Reconciliation, the

Communist" affidavit. The court is stopped by company stooges or town and told that it would be "healthier" for him to go away. But more often than not the first

few weeks are quiet. "Let us assume, however, that leaflet distribution goes along peacefully; that interest among the workers continues to grow; that committees are formed and membership cards distributed. Let us even assume that no speand by use of similar secret cial resistance is encountered un-FBI files. Opening of these files til the union asks for recogniwould establish more firmly that tion and petitions for an elec-

COMING AND GOING

"It should be understood that the timing of the election is enhere when really Matles was tirely up to the employer. If the only 15 years old and still in union petition is filed when fewer than a majority have been signed -few more say than the legal union waits until a substantial

# Of Events

Detroit

Friday Night Socialist Forum June 21, 8 P.M. "Government Controlled Unions or Workers' Democracy?" 3737 Woodward.

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 discussion. June 11: a report on Socialist Youth in Michigan by guest speaker Bob Himmel.

The Santana Case

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth By Joyce Cowley 10 cents 17 pages

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

Ten years ago the Taft-Hart- Hartley era with slightly more majority have been signed, the ley Act was passed by a coali- than one-third of the country's employer refuses to consent, intion of Republicans and Demo- 1.3 million textile workers under sists upon a hearing, inserts all crats. Some of the results of la- contract. Today, ten years and sorts of nonsensical objections bor's failure to turn the reaction- some \$10 million later, we repre- and delays the vote for many

"How does the employer use these intervening months? First, he fires selected leaders of the America, in an article in the to be a textile worker and to union group. Did someone say this is illegal? Maybe so, but try to prove it. The present National Labor Relations Board "Our scene is almost any tex- doesn't think so. If there is any

thing ... "We came into the Taft- is just that textile and nothing "But firings are only a beginelse. Often there is only a single ning. Broadsides are flung at mill; a worker who loses his job the other workers individually or pull up roots and move far employer, but by the local press,

organization for the United Elec-stallment payments), go to the from union meetings. As the elecmovies. And almost all of them tion nears they are called in, one by one, to be subjected to prom-"So one dark day, when condi- ises or threats—or both—by su- ists, students and supporters of the bus-protest movement in

"It should be noted for the recfice. An organizer is assigned to investigate. He meets with the too shocking and no lie is too others. Many of the participatworkers in deepest secrecy, . . . great for inclusion. The material ing groups really did a job in the support she did. She pointed

Pollock points out that even if the union is finally recognized in spite of these obstacles, the employer will refuse to "bargain in good faith." Then the workers UNION AID are forced to strike. Pollock continues: "State injunctions will immediately prevent effective picketing. Strikers will be arrested on flimsy pretexts. Creditors will descend in droves, demanding immediate payment in full of all outstanding amounts, even though installments had been arranged. And because under-employment is still the curse of the South, droves of strikebreakers will be recruited from the marginal farms in the area surrounding the mill. The outcome may be that the strikers will lose their jobs for good -

hardly a trade union objective.' "This deplorable social situation has an economic equivalent. Average hourly earnings in the textile industry as a whole are \$1.51, more than fifty cents an hour below the average for all what to do and do it now. This industry. Even this figure is de- was soon taken in hand by the ceptively high, since it includes leaders, A. Philip Randolph and relatively well-organized and relatively well paid workers in synthetic yarn plants, carpet mills, etc. The largest division of the industry, cotton rayon, with more than half the industry's workers, shows a wage average of only \$1.40 in the "better plants."

## Youth Outing

Mountain Spring Camp Washington, N. J. June 14-16

The American Youth for Socialism has reserved all the facilities of the camp for the

Swimming, sports and lots

Lectures and discussion. Speakers: Tim Wohlforth, Bert Deck, Harry Ring and Max

Special rates: \$10 for the whole First Things First weekend. For Reservations: Write to AYS, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. or

# THE MILITANT

# **Acquits Racist Bombers**

Two white men, Raymond C. Britt Jr. and Sonny Kyle Livingston Jr., charged with bombing a Negro church in Montgomery Ala, have been acquited, A 12-man, all-white

jury declared the men innocent 9of the charge even after the down on the basis of the defense prosecution introduced, through evidence of signed confessions violence. to the tossing of dynamite into the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church. An admitted Ku Klux evidence the state has presented, attack on the taxistand. you say to the Ku Klux Klan, 'If Further criminal trials arising you bomb a Negro church or out of these terroristic acts are home, it's all right."

appeal to racial animosity and testimony of a police officer, implied justification of lawless

OTHER VIOLENT ACTS

The bombings of the Hutchin-Klan member and witness in the son Street Church occured on Jan. trial told of the plotting to throw | 10 during the wave of terroristic bombs at Negro churches and acts by white supremacists fol-Negro ministers' homes. Both lowing the Supreme-Court victory Livingston and Britt, he said, of the bus desegregation movewere involved in the plot. Thus, ment in Montgomery. This wave as the prosecution attorney of violence included six shootings pointed out to the jury, the issue of buses, attacks on the homes of of the trial was not whether the two ministers, an attack on a accused were innocent or guilty Negro taxistand and on the home as charged, but "whether you the next to the stand. Raymond Britt, jury . . . will find them guilty." now acquitted in the case of the He went on to say, "If you turn Hutchinson Street Baptist these men loose under the Church, is also charged with the

now pending, but the possibility The defense attorney spoke ap- of convictions seems remote at pealing to the racial hatred of the present time. The "tradition" the all-white jury. He called of Southern so-called "justice" is upon them to render a verdict that whites shall never be con-"that will preserve our sacred victed in cases of violence against traditions" and that "will deter- Negroes. Only the solidarity, mine our way of life in the mass action and determination of South" and "go down in history the Negro people to defend their as saying to the Negroes that civil rights will change this 'you shall not pass.'" The verdict situation and introduce real of innocent was thus handed justice into Southern life.

# Montgomery White Jury Stellato, Hill Aid In McPhaul Case

DETROIT, May 27 - Carl Stellato, president of Ford UAW Local 600 and Reverend Charles A. Hill, pastor of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church. have assumed co-chairmanship of the McPhaul Defense Committee.

Helped Kayo School Jim Crow publicize the legal and moral



Mrs. Bertha Felder smiles at her three sons as they heard news last month of Supreme Court ruling which banned "white students only" practice of Girard College, a privately endowed Philadelphia school. Mrs. Felder filed the suit that resulted in this victory.

## of all the major industrial groups in the country, only the textile is located—less than 15% of it low flimsy, the NLRB refuses to ... Janosco Won Good Turnout for Pilgrimage

By Pearl Spangler and Darrell Liss

PHILADELPHIA - An effective organizing job by the Train. under hardship and abuse. They will close if the union wins. Those Prayer Pilgrimage Committee know there's a better life to be who have joined the union find here turned out a contingent of had; they listen to the radio, look that they no longer have credit between three and four thouat television (though buying a in the neighborhood stores. Often sand for the great May 17 set may mean long months of in- as not they are trailed to and Washington protest demonstration against Jim Crow. The organizing committee in-

cluded NAACP leaders, unionsuch organizations as Amer-that city. icans for Democratic Action, ization of transportation and did it in first-rate fashion.

**Pilgrimage** 

Efforts of the committee to the hands of the cops. win union support met their best A particularly gratifying felt and acted like brothers.

At the recent Washington Pil-

grimage, everyone was respon-

sive for proposals for action.

They grabbed at the Militants

being sold to have something of

first response to the platform

was to clap or shout approval.

They felt now was the time for

the people to tell the leadership

the rest. All the clapping and

shouting was reduced to hand

waving and amens as requested

by the platform. The masses were

But the enthusiasm of the

crowd was such that by the time

Adam C. Powell spoke, clapping

and cheering had started again.

He told the people that both

that a third force was needed to

third force led by the clergy.

He received a big hand. He talked

organize these?

about sit-downs, walk-outs and

parties had betrayed them and The Submit-or-

fight Jim Crow, but he wanted a Starve Formula

boycotts. But will he help ist witch-hunt system is using

Martin Luther King followed simply starving people into sub-

and demanded that the vote be mission. Heretofore, the method

given to the Negro people. was to imprison people for think-

Everyone present recognized the ing and talking, and of course,

significance of a third force and provide them with food, shelter,

In my opinion, it will not be they were in jail. Numerous peo

third force, so-called, but a ple here in Baltimore have felt

Labor Party that can and will the force of the starve-out

organize the Negro people for tactics, and some have been

victories in the struggle for forced to leave Baltimore if they

After reading Albert Schweitz- munist activity here in Bal-

er's appeal in your April 29th timore. It is my understanding

issue, I cannot see how all your that he was given the ultimatum

silenced.

meaning to read. Likewise their reproductive process, etc. To

The Washington

190 of the ILGWU, which sub- was the fine job done by sidized enough workers to fill students at Temple University. at least one car on the Freedom The drive there was led mainly

organizing campaign, which was launched May 1, came to its climax with an impressive rally, May 15. The rally featured an address by Rosa Parks, whose arrest for refusing to accept Jim Crow humiliation Freedom Train. In addition, a on a Montgomery bus sparked campaign was conducted for

Mrs. Parks told the rally that Cecile Smith, a staff worker for Americans for Democratic Action, devoted full time to the organization of transportation and did fact that her case helped arouse the Pilgrimage.

The Pilgrimage.

When the Pilgrimage.

When the Freedom Train rolled, May 17, it was filled with fact that her case helped arouse an inspiring contingent of free-

problems first things first.

ur Readers Take the Floor

as I can see, is to help maintain port!

tomorrow be attributed to the living.

human existence. With each day,

lack of decision, displayed by the

masses whose faith in govern-

ments has hitherto been so

to stop H-bomb tests, and sum-

mon a world congress of scien-

tists to look into the necessity to

find an anti-radioactive process

(dietary) can give any meaning

to whatever concepts you have

as to the universe of tomorrow.

At the present time the capital-

the very effective method of

clothing, and medical care while

wanted to go on living. Some

have chosen to "repient" and

and associates in order to keep

their jobs. One such man was a

"friendly witness" at the

recent hearings about Com-

New York squeal on their former friends

realized, unless you approach be unable to get any job what-

what extent will the dangers of Socialist and to be able to go on

Only an international decision Enjoys Fryer

Winnipeg, Canada

response from Knitgoods Local aspect of the organizing work by David Pivar of the campus Three Arrows club which sponsored two rallies in support of the Pilgrimage, ran a cake sale to raise funds to subsidize a

> signatures on an "Enroll for Freedom" petition calling on the President to act in support of civil rights and civil liberties.

"Just what happens next, and must be seen to be believed and helping to make the Pilgrimage out that countless others had by local musicians to further a success. For example, Miss previously taken the same kind publicize and rally support for this about the SWP when he first the Pilgrimage.

When the Freedom Train the SWP likewise advocated forcethe Negro community, she said, dom fighters completely bound ples followed that of Trotsky's Fourth International. "Trotsky and humiliation she suffered at together in a spirit of solidarity. dominated the Fourth Interna-

On that train everyone really tional while Stalin dominated the Third International," he said.

### (Continued from page 1) 1936 to 1938 and saw Janosco there several times. He was then president and business agent of the Warehouse Employees Union while Janosco was business agent

for Minneapolis Local 1859 of the Furniture Workers Union. It student delegation, and set up a table to sell tickets for the cialist Party members had continued to attend meetings of the group which was expelled from that organization and founded the SWP in 1938. Bartlett, at one time an admit-

sponsored a benefit performance that the CP advocated force and violence but that he did not know

enable a man to be an active

There was a blackout on all

news sources here about the

March on Washington held by

Negro community. There was nothing on the local TV or radio

or in the press. We did hear one

American station mention a huge

march in Washington of the Na-

Peter Fryer makes good read-

ing — a fine addition to your

staff. Notes from France, Italy,

Germany would strengthen news

The boss loggers want to take

on the IWA (International Wood-

workers of America) here. The

small operators are all preparing

Canada

British Columbia

a long siege. Canadian famers

Introductory Offer

A Six Month Subscription

to THE MILITANT

Only \$1

116 University Pl. N.Y. 3, N.Y.

tional Guard on May 18.

interest still more.

are hard hit.

### STORIES DON'T JIBE Under cross-examination by

defense attorney Marshall Ross, soever in this city. And he has he said they were held weekly, sense and the Fifth Amendment." And the first problem, as far a wife and five children to sup- In this hearing he said that he had sold SWP literature and union official Clinton E. Jencks, The Communist Party through gave lectures, whereas in the the Supreme Court by 7-1 orthe human body is absorbing the "Smith Act Victims Commit- 1941 Minneapolis trial he testi- dered a retrial of his conviction more and more radioactive fallout tee" did much to aid a few, fied that he had neither sold or on charges of filing a false T-H to the detriment of further but nothing at all has been done distributed party literature but non-Communist affidavit. Jencks growth of blood cells, the on a sufficiently large scale to functioned solely as a trade had been convicted on the testiunionist.

ted Communist Party member,

joined. He learned only later that

come to learn of the SWP's ad- the right to examine the written vocacy of force from its pub. or oral reports of these informlished literature; in 1941 he ex- ers. Subsequently one of the inplained that the SWP hid its real formers, Harvey Matusow, spilled views on this matter from the the beans about his false testipublic and revealed them only to mony in the case. The decision

had never lied about his relations with the SWP, the defense submitted a letter he wrote to the Minneapolis Star in 1942 denying that he had ever had any political connection with the Dunne brothers. He had testified that they were his political mentors and Vincent Dunne had recruited of contempt of Congress in a him to the SWP.

Albert del Guercio, district director of the Immigration Serv- took place before the House Unices, said that the government is American Activities Committee seeking to prove that the SWP is where he had testified freely the Trotskyite section of the CP. about himself but refused to in-This will be equally surprising to form on fellow writers' political the members of both organiza- beliefs or associations. The court tions. However, the examiner re- ruled out argument that would fused to permit inquiry into have shown that Miller had been Bartlett's former membership in called before the witch-hunting the CP, ruling it irrelevant to committee only because it wished

Following Bartlett's crossexamination, the hearing was actress Marilyn Monroe. suspended until June 10, 11, and 12, when more witnesses will be called by the government.

REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY AND THE CRISIS OF STALIN-ISM. 34 pages. 25 cents. Statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The committee describes itself as "a non-partisan committee to issues in the case of Arthur McPhaul and to aid him in appealing his conviction to the higher courts.'

McPhaul was sentenced to nine months imprisonment in January for contempt of Congress resulting from his failure to turn over records of the Civil Rights Congress to a Congressional investigating committee in 1952. He is appealing to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

In a recent issue of Ford Facts, Local 600 paper, Stellato. discussing the McPhaul case, wrote: "As far as I have been able to observe, these investigating committees have demanded membership lists, not to establish that crimes were committed, but for the purpose of publishing names so that the members will suffer public disgrace, humiliation and loss of their jobs. This practice is now being extended to the South where some states have passed laws to compel the NAACP to publish lists of its members so as to cripple that organization by subjecting its members to economic and physical reprisal. . .

### MATTER OF CONSCIENCE

"McPhaul's refusal to turn over the [Civil Right Congress] lists was a matter of conscience, which, I believe, is entitled to respect in a truly democratic society. And I believe we must continue to oppose the idea that our government should tighten the screws on such persons by increasing the penalties in order to beat down a man's conscience." Reverend Hill said: "Mr. McPhaul did the right and honor-

was brought out that many So- able thing in refusing to cooperate in the smearing and victimization of innocent people. I think that all people of good will should support his appeal for a reversal by a higher court."

Literature about the case may Also, the Jazz Club at Temple said that he knew from the first McPhaul Defense Committee, 143 Hazelwood, Detroit 2, Mich.

Leader, the principal journal of social-democratic opinion, constituting a vicious attack upon those invoking the Fifth Amendment and upon Griswold's book. Bartlett became entangled in nu- Considered as book reviewers, the merous contradictions. After nine high-court justices unaniplans for socialism will be to either "cooperate" or he would stating that the SWP meetings mously turned thumbs down on he attended were held monthly, Hook's reactionary "Common-

In the case of New Mexico mony of paid FIBI informers. The In this hearing he said he had prosecution refused the defense should set a precedent for ending After Bartlett stated that he the Department of Justice practice of refusing the defense vital information on the grounds that such information are FBI "state secrets," and hence above the

Arthur Miller, author of "Death of a Salesman," and the "The Crucible." was found guilty Washington, D.C., district court on May 31. The alleged contempt to horn in on the publicity that attended his marriage to movie

**BOOKS - PAMPHLETS** On Socialism

Order Free Catalog from: PIONEER PUBLISHER 116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

and the Labor Movement