

Role of Capitalists In Chinese Crisis

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THE MILITANT

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Soviet Purge Hits Old-Line Stalinists

New York SWP Raises A-Tests In City Election

NEW YORK, June 30 — A proposal that the City Council conduct a referendum vote that would permit the people of New York to express their view on whether or not nuclear tests should be halted will be featured in the city elections campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is entering four candidates in the coming New York City elections.

The campaign plank for a nuclear-test referendum was en-

dorsed by a city-wide conference of the Party held here today. The conference designated Joyce Cowley as candidate for Mayor, Lillian Kiesel for President of the City Council and Harold Robbins for Comptroller. Brooklyn representatives to the conference selected Alvin Berman as candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn.

The candidates will also campaign on the issue of independent labor political action and the need for the building of a Labor Party. Another important issue will be the struggle against segregation in housing, schools and jobs. The SWP candidates will fight for the passage of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs anti-bias housing bill and demand its immediate and effective enforcement if the law is passed.

Joyce Cowley is a writer for the Militant and was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in 1956. Lillian Kiesel is an office worker, Harold Robbins, a house painter, and Alvin Berman, a television mechanic. The nominations of the four candidates are subject to ratification by a nominating convention of the organization scheduled to take place when the circulation of nominating petitions gets under way. Nominating petitions are required to secure a place on the ballot for independent candidates.

Steel Price Hike Blamed on Unions By Billionaire Co.

By Myra Tanner Weiss

On June 27, the United States Steel Corporation, the nation's biggest steel producer, announced a \$6 increase in the price of a ton of steel. This followed by one day an expression of alarm by Eisenhower at his June 26 press conference over the continued growth of inflation. Consumer prices hit their ninth consecutive record high in May.

The steel corporation timed its announcement of a price increase with the second installment of wage increases incorporated in the union contract after the strike of steel workers last summer. The steel company expected a wave of protest against its price increase because of the pressure of already mounting inflation and wanted to throw the blame for this new price boost onto the steel workers.

Their strategy succeeded with the capitalist press. With almost complete unanimity it blamed the wage increases on last year for the new price hike. The New York Times especially singled out the annual increases incorporated in most long-term union contracts for attack in its June 29 editorial columns. It characterized these increases as "an economic time-bomb (or series of bombs)."

There is no question that the increase in the price of steel will be reflected in the price of those commodities that use steel. But the idea that wage increases can be blamed for these price increases is utter nonsense. Wage

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NEWS ITEM: Several hundred scientists and other observers were evacuated from a control point eight miles from where an atom bomb was exploded in Nevada, June 18. The Associated Press reports that evacuation was made because "winds from the north might have carried a dangerous amount of fallout onto these points."

U.S. AGREES TO 10-MONTH A-TEST BAN -- WITH STRINGS

By Herman Chauka

JULY 3 — After weeks of trying to get out from under the Soviet proposal for a ban on nuclear tests, the United States yesterday made a counter proposal for a ten-month suspension of tests. The Soviet delegate to the London disarmament conference, where the U.S. proposal was made, indicated "gratification" with the move. Washington's proposal indicates that its recent "clean-bomb" propaganda campaign has failed to offset the powerful world-wide movement for a halt to the deadly tests.

The original Soviet proposal had been for an immediate two or three-year halt to the tests leading to a permanent ban. It also stipulated that the halt to testing not be tied to any other

disarmament issue under discussion. The U.S. counter-offer appears to contain a maximum of built-in escape clauses. The principal loophole is insistence on the proposition that test-suspension be made contingent on a second-step agreement for a complete halt to the production of nuclear weapons. Throughout, emphasis was placed by the U.S. on the "temporary" nature of the proposed ban. At the same time it is seeking to keep the door open for resumption of tests by refusing to spell out conditions for continuance of the ban after the ten-month period.

The New York Times correspondent at the London conference deduced from the remarks of the U.S. representative, Harold Stassen, that "During the ten-month period, national atti-

tudes... would decide whether the period was to be expanded to two or three years or whether the agreement was to be broken off and the tests resumed." The ten-month proposal was made formally by British representative Selwyn Lloyd on behalf of England, France, Canada and the U.S. But all Soviet questions on the offer were directed to Stassen. The Times correspondent quite candidly explained, "This was natural since the Western plan, in essence, represented a decision taken by the United States Government..." Meanwhile, it was reported today that the U.S. government will celebrate the Fourth of July by exploding in Nevada the largest atomic blast ever recorded in this country.

Kremlin Charges Patterned After 20th-Congress Indictment of Stalin

JULY 4 — As we go to press, the first full reports are being received here on the ouster from the Soviet ruling clique of V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar Kaganovich and Dmitri Shepilov. The dramatic ouster of these leading Stalinist bureaucrats reflects the continuing crisis of the entire Soviet bureaucracy as it erupted at the 20th Congress. There, an admission of Stalin's heinous crimes was made and a pledge to rectify them was offered as major concessions to the steadily increasing pressure of the Soviet people for democratic rights and improved living standards.

The official communique of the Soviet Communist Party on the present development indicates that the four were removed from the all-powerful Presidium of the party's Central Committee on charges which closely follow those made by Khrushchev in his historic 20th-Congress indictment of Stalin.

U. S. Turns Down Arab Plea to End Arms to France

The U.S. State Department on June 28 told eleven Arab nations that U.S. imperialism would not stop its financing and arming of the French army engaged in shooting Algerian freedom-fighters into submission. This constituted a categorical refusal of the formal diplomatic demand made on May 24 by the governments of all the Arab nations of the world. So universal in the Arab world is mass indignation over the reign of terror and torture being carried on by French imperialism in Algeria that even those Arab governments which are in the pay of U.S. or British imperialism had to join the diplomatic demand that the U.S. cease its support of France.

The memorandum of the Arab nations included a 5,000-word documented list of "outrageous acts of terror and atrocities" by the French military and police forces in Algeria. It cited the "bombing and burning" of Algerian villages as well as the "torture and execution of prisoners." It also requested that the U.S. cooperate to bring about "an impartial international investigation" of the situation in Algeria.

The State Department's answer turned the Arab nations down on each demand. Even the last—an international investigation—was rejected. Indeed, it has been U.S. votes and influence which for several years now have blocked the UN investigation of the repression in Algeria urged by the Asian-Arab countries. This casts a withering light on the State Department's hypocrisy about the UN report on Hungary. When the crimes to be investigated are those of the Kremlin and their exposure thus aids the State Department's propaganda, Dulles and Co. are hot for a UN investigation. When an investigation would expose the equally bloody crimes of an imperialist partner of Wall Street, the U.S. delegation in the UN prevents an investigation.

U.S. rejection of the Arab nations' plea was delayed until June 28 when a Moslem mosque was officially opened in Washington D.C. In a propaganda effort to offset the anger in the Arab world over U.S. refusal to stop financial and military aid to the French in Algeria, President and Mrs. Eisenhower attended the opening of the mosque and even insisted on taking off their shoes as a mark of respect in entering it. This will be of small consolation to Algerian freedom-fighters being shot down with American-made bullets.

NAACP Head Hits Gov't Hypocrisy

Roy Wilkins, speaking before the closing session of the NAACP convention in Detroit, June 30, said: "When Hungarians resist oppression they are called heroes; when American Negroes legally and peacefully resist oppression they are called agitators. Our Government sends observers to Hungary, organizes airlifts, sets up refugee camps, and opens immigration doors; but it does not say a mumbleing word to the Deep South states about persecution, nor does it offer to aid a single black refugee."

against measures... to improve relations with Yugoslavia." The four are also charged with resisting pledges made at the 20th Congress to "rectify distortions of the Leninist nationalities policy committed in the past."

Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov are also branded guilty of "stubborn resistance to the measures... to do away with the consequences of the personality cult, to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed."

Following the Hungarian revolution, the Kremlin bureaucracy tried to put the brakes on the reform program of the last four years. The present indictment of the old-line Stalinists for trying "to stubbornly cling to obsolete forms and methods of work" indicate that the unabating pressure of the Soviet workers has impressed upon Khrushchev and his associates the impossibility of canceling the program of concessions to the masses.

British Public Aroused by News of Gov't Wire-tapping

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

The British public and the British Press have just woken up to the fact that systematic and large-scale telephone tapping, which many of them have always regarded as the prerogative of the authorities on the other side of the Atlantic, is being carried out here in Britain, too.

So vociferous has the clamor inside and outside Parliament become that the Government has appointed a committee of three Privy Counsellors, with a former appeal judge as chairman, to investigate phone-tapping.

This decision comes after conversations between Prime Minister Macmillan, Home Secretary Butler, and the leaders of the Labor and Liberal Parties in the House of Commons, Gaitskell and Grimond.

What sparked off public anxiety was the disclosure that transcripts of recorded telephone conversations between a barrister and his clients had been made available by the Government department which does these things to the Bar Council.

The transcripts were read this

week at the inquiry currently being held into this barrister's professional conduct.

This is a most ominous precedent. It means that no working-class organization can feel free to use the telephone in carrying out its activities. It means that if the powers that be ever want to repeat the kind of prosecutions made a few years ago, when rank-and-file dockers' leaders were brought into court on "conspiracy" charges because they led a strike, then real or faked or slightly "doctored" telephone conversations could figure prominently in the evidence.

What is new in this case is not that Labor movement telephones are being tapped. This has been going on in Britain ever since Alexander Graham Bell, though it is next to impossible to prove. What is new is that the tappers and their masters will henceforward—if the Bar Council business is allowed to stand as a precedent—feel free to use the results of their keyhole labors in open court.

A naive observer of this week's flurry of editorials and Parliamentary questions would have

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The Crimes of
French Imperialism

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NAACP Conference Ducks Real Issues

DETROIT, June 30—The 48th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ended today after six days of meetings and pledges to continue the fight against Jim Crow segregation and discrimination.

Such pledges clearly express the sentiments of the Negro people and their allies in the fight for equality. But they don't meet the need for a program of action capable of winning the fight.

These annual meetings of the NAACP are sometimes referred to as "conventions." But that's not accurate. Conventions usually are gatherings where delegates debate and decide policy and select their leaders.

REAL NATURE OF MEET

NAACP conferences are different from that. The real policies are decided by the board of directors, who are chosen not by the delegates but by national referendums in which few members participate. The NAACP conference has become primarily an audience for explaining and popularizing policies, partly in conference "workshop" sessions where genuine differences of opinion are rarely voiced, and mainly through public mass meetings featuring "big name" speakers.

This produces oratory, often

good for newspaper headlines. But neither oratory nor publicity alone can provide the answers to the many difficult problems facing the Negro struggle today, such as:

How to meet the growing drive to outlaw or cripple the NAACP in the South, where it already has been banned by three states? How to combat the campaigns of the Southern Democrats and White Citizens Councils to maintain segregation through laws, racist violence and economic pressure? How to achieve the passage and enforcement of civil rights legislation in Washington?

What answers do the NAACP leaders offer? Board chairman Channing H. Tobias, in the conference keynote speech, noted that the Negro struggle and the NAACP are confronted with a "grave and unprecedented crisis." The answer, he said, must be "calm reasonableness."

This was applauded by the daily papers here, which are not exactly crusaders for Negro rights. They understood what Tobias meant: Let's go slow, let's not let things get out of hand, let's continue relying on the courts and legal appeals to meet the crisis.

MONTGOMERY CITED

This is the well-known policy of gradualism and reliance on

the courts that has guided the NAACP up to now. The alternative to it is not un-calm un-reasonableness, but mass action. And mass action works, as the Montgomery bus boycott proved. The Montgomery boycott was singled out in the NAACP annual report as one of the outstanding gains of the year. But the NAACP still hasn't analyzed the difference between Montgomery and other places where setbacks rather than gains had to be recorded in this last year. Nor was the difference made clear by Rev. Martin L. King, Jr., Montgomery leader, in his speech accepting the Spingarn medal here Friday night.

The difference is crucial, and has to be absorbed if gains are to continue in the future. The Montgomery movement went to court, made legal appeals, etc. But, unlike the NAACP, it didn't rely on them alone. It organized mass action, mass resistance to Jim Crow on the buses. That's why they won. That's the decisive difference, which Rev. King seems unable to explain and popularize adequately because he is so busy expounding a theory that attributes to the Negro some mystical "willingness to suffer" and "refusal to hit back."

What was lacking at this conference was someone to get up and speak the simple truth: "We

must use the courts, but we can't depend on them alone. Montgomery showed the way. If they could make gains by combining mass action with legal action, why can't we do the same in other parts of the South? Above all, why can't we do the same in the North?"

Editors of the capitalist press wouldn't hail such a speech, but millions of opponents of Jim Crow would. If the NAACP took that kind of approach, it wouldn't have so much trouble recruiting 350,000 members in a country with 16 million Negroes.

NEW PARTY NEEDED

MASS action is one part of the answer; POLITICAL action is the other. Both capitalist parties are responsible for the failure to get any civil rights legislation through Congress; the interests of the Negro struggle require that both parties be exposed and driven out of power, which can be done only through the formation of a new party uniting the workers, farmers and Negroes—that is, a labor party.

But none of the speakers at the conference came close to endorsing a break with both capitalist parties in the direction of a labor party. Some of them did what they could to cover up for the liberal Democrats; others went so far as to criticize both

old parties—but mildly, and without suggesting any alternative to the two-party system.

One of the speakers was Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., leader of Americans for Democratic Action, which functions as a left wing of the Democratic Party. He condemned Eisenhower and Nixon for refusing to go South and speak out against anti-Negro violence. He seemed to have forgotten that Democratic candidates Stevenson and Kefauver were similarly silent on the question when they toured the South last year. Anyhow, he didn't mention it.

Another speaker was Walter Reuther, UAW president, who drew cheers with his denunciations of Eastland. But Reuther had nothing to say about the bloc of liberal Democrats, all elected with his support, who voted with the Dixiecrats in the Senate to bury the civil rights bill in Eastland's committee just last week. He also seemed to have forgotten Eastland is head of that powerful committee partly because Reuther and other labor leaders helped to give the Democrats control of the Senate in last year's election. Anyhow, he didn't mention it.

Clarence Mitchell, NAACP Washington bureau director, on the other hand, did name Senators Kefauver and Kennedy

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Rush Law to Counteract Supreme Court Decision

By John Thayer

Both the Republican administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress are united in a frenzied campaign to rush through a bill negating the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision in the Jencks case. This decision upheld the right of a defendant to examine the witnesses and testimony against him. It would result in the courtroom exposure of the testimony of paid informers, grudge-bearers, pathological liars and assorted crackpots depended upon by the FBI in witch-hunt cases.

To prevent such a "national calamity," Mississippi Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee, egged on by Attorney General Brownell, with lightning speed unanimously approved a bill "protecting the FBI files" from defendants. This same committee has postponed action on a civil rights bill for the whole session. Not only does the witch-hunt bill have bipartisan support of both Republicans and Democrats, it also has the support of reactionaries and liberals. One of its loudest sponsors, for example, will

is the well-known liberal Democrat, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming.

In the Jencks case the prosecution depended entirely on the testimony of two paid informers—Harvey Matusow and J. W. Ford. Both testified orally in court about many points on which they had at the respective times reported to the FBI. To prove that contradictions, new inventions, etc., existed in their courtroom testimony as compared with their original reports to the FBI, a chance to see those reports was needed by the defense.

The high court declared: "The demand was for production of specific documents and did not propose any broad or blind fishing expedition among documents possessed by the government on the chance that something impeaching might turn up." Despite this serious limitation, proponents of the new legislation are screaming that the court ruling means that defense attorneys can now go rummaging through the sacred FBI files at will.

Daily Worker Stand A Win for Foster

By Harry Ring

Last November Communist Party leader William Z. Foster vehemently assailed the editors of the Daily Worker for daring to criticize the Kremlin's reactionary assault on the Hungarian people.

The Daily Worker then published a defense of its editorial stand by Max Gordon which accurately pegged Foster's line as a "platform of the old, blind apologetics" for the Kremlin. But since that time Daily Worker editor John Gates has led a steady, shameful retreat before Foster's fire. This retreat has now culminated in an ignominious capitulation, as demonstrated by the June 25 Daily Worker editorial on the UN report on Hungary.

At the Communist Party national convention last February, the Gates group supported a rotten compromise with Foster, according to which the party would "neither condemn or condone" the Russian role in Hungary. The present editorial, however, condones the Russian invasion in straight Fosterite language.

"HORTHYTES"

The editorial declares that the committee which prepared the UN report, "refused to authenticate the mass of evidence, beginning with State Department and Central Intelligence Agency policy, which showed the belligerent exploitation of popular dissatisfaction by organized Horthyite clerical-fascist forces within Hungary and imperialist and emigre circles abroad for the purpose of overthrowing socialism."

This is followed by the equally false claim that "The reasons for popular discontent in Hungary, which proved so fertile for counter-revolutionary activity, are being discussed, examined and rectified throughout the socialist world and the Communist movement."

The Daily Worker then goes on to parrot the Moscow line that the Kremlin and its Hungarian puppet regime are "rectifying mistakes" and "restoring socialist order." This contention was answered in advance by one of the paper's own staff writers. Reviewing Herbert Aptheker's book *The Truth About Hungary*, Robert Friedman wrote in the June 19 Daily Worker:

"Aptheker sees in Hungary after the storm a government which has learned its lesson from the past. I am not so sanguine. Russian has been restored as a compulsory second language. The right to strike is proscribed by death penalty. The Hungarian people have no more opportunity to recall Premier Janos Kadar by popular referendum at stated intervals than they had to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with Rakosi."

The Daily Worker now finds itself in the difficult and incongruous position of peddling a line that a large number, if not a majority, of its own writers and editors can't stomach.

EXPRESSED OPPOSITION

In addition to Friedman and Gordon, opposition to the Kremlin role in Hungary has been expressed by Joseph Clark and Alan Max. Lester Rodney took a particularly clear-cut stand on the issue last winter. Radio and

Mao and the Chinese Capitalists

(Second of a series) By C. R. Hubbard

As reported last week, Mao Tse-tung's speech on the "Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," devotes a major section to the relationship between the Chinese working class and a remnant of the capitalist class.

The reason this is still a serious problem in China is that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the social revolution — that is, the transformation of private property in the means of production to state property — has not been completed. Because the Mao leadership waged the revolutionary war against Chiang Kai-shek with the Stalinist policy of bringing the "bloc of four classes" to power, the CCP maintained an alliance with a section of the capitalist class. In the post-revolutionary period, the CCP gave state protection to this capitalist class and to its exploitation of the workers. Mao and other CCP leaders rationalize this by expressing the hope that the capitalist elements will gradually "transform" themselves into "workers."

Of course, those capitalists who tied their fortunes to Chiang Kai-shek and his U.S. imperialist

reducing the quality of goods produced, by concealing and hoarding supplies when state industries could not get them and by exorbitant prices demanded from both consumers and the state. It became necessary to intervene with at least some measure of control by the government. The organization of "joint state-private" industry — labeled the "peaceful transformation" of private into state enterprise — was the device used by the CCP.

Obtaining information on the actual state of industry, the size of its capitalist sector and the struggle between the state sector and the private is very difficult. However, on the occasion of the first anniversary of Shanghai's "joint enterprises," some information was given by the Peoples' Daily of Peking and translated by the New China News Agency, Feb. 1. According to this Chinese government source, private enterprises in Shanghai account for half of the nation's total private industry and commerce. The NCNA reported that, "84,000 capitalist plants were involved, 13,700 capitalists had been appointed the managers, vice-managers, directors or vice-directors of the new specialized companies and shops. Many of them were now managing associated groups of factories or shops."

CADRES EXERCISE CONTROL

In order to "peacefully" effect some degree of state control over the capitalists in Shanghai, the NCNA reported, "some 10,000 cadres had been sent by the state last year to the factories and shops." Seventy percent of these were workers. In addition, 2,700 "key factories" and 390 "district shops" were designated in Shanghai to "guide" nearby factories and shops of the same trade.

There can be no question that the "peaceful transformation" was not welcomed by the capitalists. But they were hardly in a position to do much about it, for their very existence was dependent on their alliance with the CCP. At least nominal support to the idea of eventual transformation into "workers" was necessary.

At a conference of the Democratic Construction Association, characterized as a "party" of capitalists, in July, 1956, most of the speakers were full of praise for the "policy of long-term co-operation among all the parties" that had been promised by the CCP. They had special praise for the profits guaranteed by the state in the form of a "rate of interest" on shares held in the means of production.

The July 16 NCNA reported that, "The speech of Hsiang Teh from Changsha won the support of many at the conference. He said that long term co-operation between political parties had the common basis of seeking a richer life. The fact that the Communist Party asked for supervision by other parties showed its sensitivity to opinions from the masses. Mutual supervision would help the Communist Party overcome its defects and improve its leadership."

CONGRESS OF CAPITALISTS

By December of last year a national congress of 1,400 delegates of capitalists and merchants from all areas was held in Peking. The chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, Chen Shu-tung, said that "he was convinced that the state would not cancel the present fixed interest payments to capitalists when conditions were not ripe to do so. This annual interest was to facilitate the peaceful transformation of capitalism and to enable the capitalists to carry on their work, study and have time to change, step by step, into people relying on their own labor."

"The Chairman urged capitalists to think in the interests of the people and of the country and develop the outlook of serving the people. He said that since the free markets had been developed, a few capitalists had begun 'secret' factories to take advantage of this opening."

"He spoke" the NCNA report continues, "of the relationship between the state representatives and private owners of capital in jointly operated enterprises as the major problem in joint operated enterprises, and criticized those who were experienced in production and management for not respecting the state representatives and workers enough." Thus, after a year of transformation into "socialists," it appears "some" capitalists haven't even begun to respect their Communist "comrades."

The NCNA of Dec. 12 reported that "a major controversial topic among capitalists" at this Congress "was the payment of fixed interest and the socialist status of capitalists." Kuo Lin-shung, manager of the Shanghai Wing On Company, said that "many



This Peking Daily cartoon, which appeared last July, had a caption which told of angry, but helpless pedestrians who get splattered with mud by speeding cars. In this cartoon one sees the contempt of the rich bureaucrats who own cars for the many people who don't.

foreign visitors from abroad frequently asked him about the length of time fixed interest would be paid to capitalists in China. 'I myself was also worried about it,' he said. 'Now we know the fixed interest will go on for another 6 years at least. This is more than I expected,' he added."

KEEP LIVING STANDARD

The General Manager of the Shanghai Ta Chung Hua match factory was quoted as saying, "This policy means that we have no need to worry about the standard of living to which we are accustomed. This will help us give full play to our business knowledge and use it for the good of society."

A representative of small traders expressed a different problem: "We hope the federation will do more to assist people like us; though we are glad to hear that we can change our social status now." By change in "social status" the small trader meant a change from capitalist to "worker" as far as official standing is concerned — and without any change in his real, economic status. The small trader would like to be eligible for social benefits such as hospitalization, etc. But it should be noted that this discontented small businessman appeals to the federation of capitalists for help.

At this Congress, the idea was also expressed that "secret factories" that had developed since the free market was opened should be legalized as they fulfilled a necessary function.

The concern expressed by the capitalists over their "interest rate" and the period during which they could expect to receive it, of course, found a sympathetic ear with the Maoist bureaucrats who are far more sensitive to the opinions of capitalists than to those of the mass-

raised by Li Kang-nien, a Shanghai capitalist.

Then the NCNA hastily adds, "But all of the capitalists who spoke after him opposed this." They considered the seven-year period practical and "allowed for flexible treatment in case of need." Still, the CCP should take note of the fact that a year earlier no one would have dared to hope or propose an extension of the guaranteed profit for 20 years.

The capitalists obviously feel more and more aggressive. Conciliation whets their appetite. Step by step they press their demands and strengthen their bargaining power. Already, according to the NCNA, June 12, "Tung Shao-chen, Standing Committee member of the Tientsin Federation, argued that the running of the joint enterprises could now be safely left to the private people and that this would encourage their initiative." The NCNA also reported opposition to this idea. Heng Pei-hua "argued against the state representatives being pulled out of joint enterprises."

But it is clear that the capitalists are now pushing for a reversal of the "peaceful transformation." They want to end the control exercised by party

and state bureaucrats over their factories.

DANGEROUS TRENDS

Whatever the numerical size of this capitalist segment of industry, it is buttressed in China by a predominantly peasant population that tends inexorably toward capitalist agrarian forms of production as long as the state cannot yet support collectivized cultivation with mechanization supplied by an advanced industry. Under such circumstances a layer of rich peasants tends to rise out of the masses of the poor. And to this must be added a large class of small traders who have already moved in to fill the pores of industry and commerce with the opening of the free market. These forces constitute a serious danger of capitalist restoration.

The CCP leadership is permitting class contradictions to accumulate and intensify. This policy will prove tragically costly to the working class, if not disastrous. The struggle against conciliation to these pro-capitalist trends is therefore linked inseparably with the workers' struggle to end the bureaucratic dictatorship. The political revolution now brewing in China has thus also the task of completing the social revolution.

Religion Utilized to Split Workers in W. Germany

By John Black (Third of a series)

Although 45% of the 60 million West Germans are Catholic, two-thirds of the industrial workers voted for the Social Democratic Party as far back as 1953. All evidence points to a steady increase in that party's vote in the intervening years. The capitalist coalition around Adenauer wants to stem the tide by driving a religious wedge into the working class. The outcome of the election may depend on this. But beyond that, the German capitalist class looks to the future.

The clerical wing of the regime has been busy attempting to blow the spark of life into a "Christian Union" designed to break the unity of the labor movement. This year's shop committee elections gave the black-frocked errand boys of the industrial magnates of West Germany an opportunity to unfold their divisive activity. In several key industries the CGD (Christian Trade Union) ran slates. These shop-committee elections are the most accurate barometer of tendencies in the West German labor movement.

In the overwhelming number of these elections the CGD splitters received a decisive setback. But the overconfident and self-satisfied attitude of the victorious Union leaders is perhaps premature. For at least in one important case the splitters drew blood.

DECISIVE VOTES

In the Ruhr mining industries with 271 concerns and 466,645 eligible voters, 383,453 workers cast their ballots. Of this number an overwhelming 364,550 votes (96.76%) voted for committeemen running on the official union slates. The Yellow (Catholic) CGD slate received only 5,581 votes (1.48%). Similar unity sentiment was registered in the committee elections at the Deutsche Wert, Hamburg's large ship building concern. The CGD captured only one of the 25 committee posts. In the Hanover Volkswagen works the militant program of the IG Metal (the bona fide metal workers union) yielded only 190 votes to the CGD out of 5,900.

But it was quite a different story at the very important Krupp works in Essen. This city harbors the headquarters of the CGD and is a former stronghold of the pre-Hitler Catholic trade unions. The Catholic capitalist paper, Ruhr Nachrichten, crowed: "For the first time leading Christian social functionaries and their colleagues in the DGB [the West German trade-union federation] have succeeded in taking a joint action with CGD committeemen against the Socialist group in the DGB." In other words the Catholic dual union succeeded in forming a united slate with the right-wing elements in the DGB.

The May 12 election at Krupp was for 35 committee posts. Four out of 24 posts on the plant committee were taken by the "Christian action committee" slate and seven out of eleven on the office workers' committee went to the same group. This gave them a total of 11 out of the total 35. The plant-wide Social Democratic representation went up from 11 to 16. These gains were made at the expense of the Progressive (former Communist Party) slate which declined from ten to five. The So-

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Calendar Of Events

New York
American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion on Tuesday, July 9, will be led by Rose Jackson on the topic "Is Dialectical Logic Valid Today?"

In Detroit
Friday Night Socialist Forum. Fri., July 12, 8 P.M.: "The New Supreme Court Decisions and the Liberal Sellout of the Civil Rights Bill." 3737 Woodward.

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How Brennan Got There

Elsewhere in this issue we reprint a timely article from the Industrial Worker pointing out the mutually exclusive nature of radicals and racketeers in the labor movement. To take the point further: the bosses, their press, Republican and Democratic politicians and the right-wing labor leaders — however much they cry out against labor racketeering — do not hesitate to use racketeers and hoodlums as mercenaries against rank-and-file control and against radical leadership in the unions. The case of the Minneapolis Teamsters is classic in this regard. It is an undisputed matter of record that the organizing drives which transformed the Teamsters from a small, ineffectual craft union into a national power were initiated by General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis in the 1930's under the leadership of revolutionary socialists (Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs and other prominent Trotskyists.) Minneapolis was transformed from an open-shop haven into a solid union town — with wages and conditions surpassed by none, and better than most — under the leadership of Local 574 (later changed to 544). All of this was accomplished over the bitter and violent opposition of the employers and the bureaucracy of Daniel J. Tobin, then international president of the Teamsters union. It was done by the workers themselves under a radical leadership. The paid officers of the local got truck-drivers' wages and were laughed at by other Teamster officials for their

meager expense accounts. But they had the respect of the workers as measured by the votes they received in democratically-conducted elections. The Trotskyist leaders were finally forced out in 1941 over the opposition of the membership. This was achieved through a gang-up of the federal government (under Roosevelt's personal direction), the Minnesota state government (then headed by Harold Stassen, the employers, and a small army of gangsters, racketeers and job-seeking bureaucrats sent in by Tobin.) Eighteen Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party leaders were jailed under the Smith Act as part of this attack. Local 544, formerly one of the most respected union locals in America, today reeks with bureaucratic corruption. Its secretary-treasurer, Sidney Brennan, the Tobin appointee who took over after the radicals were ousted, is today third international vice-president of the Teamsters union and has been convicted in the federal courts of taking bribery from employers. He is expected to figure in the McClellan committee hearings. So it must be remembered that when the capitalist politicians and the boss press — backed up by right-wing labor leaders — scream for legislation regulating the unions, it is really the rank and file they are aiming at and not the racketeers, no matter what they say. For they helped to put the racketeers there in the first place.

Thieves Fall Out



Soviet party boss Nikita Khrushchev (left) in last available photograph with Georgi Malenkov. Onetime secretary to Stalin, Malenkov became Premier after the death of the late dictator. He was later ousted and made a Deputy Premier and Minister of Power Stations. He is now charged with functioning along with Molotov and Kaganovich as a group within the government and party apparatus that "went so far as to continue its struggle against the reorganization of industrial management, even after the approval of the above measure in the course of a countrywide discussion and the subsequent adoption of the law at a session of the Supreme Soviet." This refers to Khrushchev's recent plan for industrial reorganization.

Nuclear Test Ban Is Advocated At Twin Cities Meet

"The problem of ending the nuclear tests is both a political and moral issue. The moral issue is whether we have the right to endanger other people. I think that if America would say 'we will stop this testing'—whether Russia, Britain and France test or not, that such an action would carry sufficient weight in the world that a moral force would come up which would stop other countries from testing." This opinion was expressed by Mrs. Nanette Roberts speaking before the Twin Cities Labor Forum, June 28. Mrs. Roberts is the originator of a petition circulated at the University of Minnesota and signed by 1,200 persons requesting a ban to nuclear testing. Tom Leonard, Militant correspondent, also spoke. He said the question of nuclear bomb testing should be put to a national referendum. "If the American people were given an opportunity to register their protest," said Leonard, "they would vote an overwhelming 'yes' to a halt of testing."

Victims of French Tyranny



As part of its bloody drive to "pacify" the Algerian people, French police have conducted systematic illegal search and seizures in Algerian cities. Pictured above are six of a group of 20 partisans of Algerian freedom who were seized and imprisoned by the French in Algiers last February.

French Trotskyists on Trial Call for Algeria's Freedom

(We print below excerpts from statements made on June 4, by Pierre Lambert and Daniel Renard, French militants of the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyist) to a French court. Lambert, Renard and two other Trotskyists, Stephane Just and Gerard Bloch, were on trial for articles they wrote in La Verite, party organ, in support of the Algerian national independence struggle and against the "dirty war" waged by French imperialism in North Africa.—Ed.)

Excerpts from final speech by Pierre Lambert: In order to show the criminal character of our articles the attorney general has read a whole series of passages from them. In particular from La Verite of Sept. 2, 1956 (number 370), which I have here, the statement of the political bureau of the PCI: "In France, as in the colonies, at Saint Nazaire and Nantes [both in France] as in Philippeville and Khenifra, [both in Algeria], the oppressed are fighting the same battle against the same enemy." This number of La Verite is devoted largely to the strike of the workers of Nantes, in the course of which 20,000 strikers peacefully demonstrated for their just demand—40 francs an hour wage increase for all. They were the object of an aggression on the part of the CRS [a special strikebreaking force of the French government—Ed.] A 19-year-old demonstrator, Jean Rigollet, lost his life because of that aggression. I was in Nantes at that time, and friends of mine, leaders of that strike, told me that to a union delegation which went to Paris, the then President of the Council, Mr. Edgar-Faure had said: "Do you realize what you are doing? You are obliging me to concentrate in Nantes 10,000 CRS whom I urgently need in Algeria." Doesn't this statement illumi-

nate the whole problem? French workers, struggling for a legitimate demand—40 francs an hour, see drawn up against them the same CRS that are most urgently needed in Algeria for repression. **DOUBLE STANDARD** Similarly it is true that we have called upon the workers to demonstrate their desire for peace. But on Feb. 6, 1956 others made a call for a demonstration against government's authority. [This was a call for pro-war demonstrations by reactionary French colonials.] I know that some of the demonstrators—even those on whom firearms were found—were sentenced in Algiers to only six days and reprieved and released on appeal. It is true that the demonstrations of Feb. 6 aimed at influencing government policy towards war, while we have called for demonstrations to influence government policy towards peace. But there cannot be two sets of scales and two measures. What is legal in Algiers cannot be illegal in Paris. Otherwise all the principles of democracy are called into question. Your honor, gentlemen, I shall close by thanking all the witnesses who appeared to express their solidarity with us even though they might not share our political positions, their caliber demonstrates that we stand in good stead. I know that today we still represent a small organization, but in going through struggles and in studying great historical movements, I have learned that if a policy corresponds to the needs of humanity, it always finds its way to the masses, who in taking possession of theory in their own fashion, cause history to advance. The truth of our policy, the truth of Trotskyism is so incontestable, it corresponds so compellingly to the peaceful and

democratic aspirations, which motivate the people, that it will become the truth of our epoch. Excerpts from speech of Daniel Renard: The attorney general quoted from a number of articles to justify the prosecution. . . . In the resolution of the political bureau of my party, appearing in La Verite dated Sept. 2, 1956, a resolution to which the attorney general accorded a great deal of attention, we may read: "Ten years after the losses of the dirty war in Indo-China which cost hundreds of billions, the gaping chasm of war again opens to swallow men and money in quantities unseen since the end of the great world massacre of 1939-45." . . . We can . . . take up the whole batch of allegedly incriminating articles. In each of them we shall find the same concern, the same preoccupation—denunciation of war and the obtaining of peace. Now in his prosecution speech the attorney general spoke of 'bad patriots.' If to desire peace in Algeria and to want to stop the war is to be a 'bad patriot,' then I declare before the court: I am a bad patriot. **TWO ALGERIAN GROUPS BANNED IN FRANCE** The French cabinet decreed the outlawing on June 26 of the two principal Algerian national-independence organizations operating in France. These are the Algerian National Movement, headed by Messali Hadj, and the National Liberation Front. The decree empowers the government to arrest any of the 400,000 Algerians residing in France on the charge of trying to 're-establish either of the dissolved organizations.

They Are Two Different Tribes

(The following excerpts are from an article in the April 8 issue of the Industrial Worker, official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, which appeared under the title: Radicals and Racketeers, They're Two Different Tribes.—Ed.) The trade unions are busy once again fighting rackets and radicals. They get this way every once in a while. It requires considerable agility because the brothers suspected of racketeering invariably have reputations unspotted by radicalism, and the radicals somehow never seem to be accused of racketeering. Instead the demand that racketeering should be stopped is left, at least between cycles, to the radicals; and the champion denouncers of radicalism are those smeared with the racket charge. To fight both at the same time, is quite an order. Perhaps that may explain the proportions reached by the rackets, for in recent years the emphasis has been on suppressing all those suspected of believing we would be better off getting all we produce instead of just part of it.

Under these circumstances it may be necessary, if the unions seriously want to rid themselves of rackets, to make radicals feel once more at home in union meetings. (In years when they did feel at home there, pennies were usually strictly accounted for.) There is a wide variety of workers with widely varying aims, who are commonly lumped together as "radicals." Looking them over, they are not particularly saintly. Yet somehow they don't seem to go in for lining their pockets. Even the Communies, who mistakenly are usually included with the radicals, and who have been reported to have milked various funds they raised, are understood to have done this pilfering for the "party" and not for their individual enrichment.

Some reminiscences of Ed Lahey of Chicago Daily News, brought on by the recent performance of Dave Beck in a major Washington attraction, about the organization in the mid-thirties of Chicago taxicab drivers, are to the point here. On March 25 he wrote: "Certain leaders of the city council, together with Les Goudie, president of the Chicago joint council of the teamsters' union, thought it would be bad for the city if a left wing union organized the cab drivers. "Together, they persuaded the bosses of the Chicago taxicab monopoly at that time to sign a contract, with check-off provisions, with a brand new local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, into which the restless drivers were herded. . . The cab drivers didn't like the set-up." Lahey was on the labor beat of the News at that time, and recounts how some of the drivers came to him "to ask advice on how to go about getting a union of their own choice." One of these was beaten, another was shot and wounded. Lahey himself was threatened. He explains further: "Despite the terror, the rebels

in the captive union organized a protest meeting. Teamsters came to the hall with full lengths of salami, and slapping every cab driver across the face with these as he pulled up, prevented the meeting. . . and that's how the still existing local of Chicago taxicab drivers and its hierarchy, got launched." As a fairly representative case, that instance explains better than a chunk of theory, why the racketeers aren't the radicals, and why the radicals aren't the racketeers. If a union is to be set up with the connivance of the management, it could not very readily use as spokesmen those known to advocate the emancipation of industry from the clutches of the business class. The outspoken radical arouses enough opposition, so that should he stoop to pilferage or deals, he would pronto be on the outside looking in, ostracized by his companions, with no future except some such disgraceful job as the AFL hierarchy gave Jay Lovestone. The character of a union is substantially shaped by the manner in which it recruits its members. Unionists with an idea (radicals, that is, full fledged or on the way) try to organize by implanting that idea in the minds of their fellow workers. The unions built in this way consist of members who demand that the union must be something like the advance description. But if a union is organized with full length salamis and baseball bats, there is no insistence that it be something the members run. So, all things considered, it is no mere coincidence that the radicals aren't the racketeers, and that the racketeers aren't the radicals. It looks as though unionists may have to choose between the two—and it shouldn't be a difficult choice. A radical after all, is just a fellow who takes his union principles seriously.

French Socialists Again Back Mollet
The French Socialist Party, a section of the social-democratic Second International, further covered itself with ignominy at its recent convention. By a two-thirds majority, the convention voted to continue supporting former Premier Guy Mollet's policy of military suppression in Algeria. A resolution urging negotiations with the Algerian nationalist movement—not on the basis of recognizing the Arab country's independence, but merely of promising internal autonomy—was voted down 2,547 to 779. A resolution for negotiations on the basis of recognizing Algeria's right to eventual independence mustered only 498 votes. The chauvinistic, militaristic attitude of the French SP convention is a measure not only of the corruption of this party and the bureaucratic grip that Mollet and other labor fakery have on it, but also of the degree to which members with a spark of socialist conscience have been quitting it.

Imperialism's Bloody Record in Madagascar

In this period when the imperialist governments and their kept press are shedding crocodile tears for the Hungarian workers crushed by the Kremlin overlords, it is timely to review the post-war record of Washington's "democratic" allies towards people struggling for their national independence. The pillars of what the hypocritical capitalist press calls "the free world," are just as stained with the blood of freedom-fighters as the Kremlin. The following article by Rolande de Paep, translated from L'Ecole Emancipee, a publication of unionized school teachers in France, describes French imperialism's "preventive war" against an independence movement in Madagascar in 1947-49 and the continuing repression. Madagascar is an island, almost the size of Texas, off the east coast of Africa. It has a population of over four million.—Ed.) On April 29 of this year the Madagascar students of Paris with their famous poet, Jacques Rabemananjara, met to observe a day of meditation and mourning. They were commemorating the tenth anniversary of the gruesome massacre of 80,000 Madagascans by the mercenaries of French imperialism. At the same time they were commemorating the rigged and unjust trials at which Raseta, Rabema-

nanjara, and Ravoa, the representatives of Madagascar in the French parliament, as well as Martin Rakotova, secretary of the Democratic Movement for Madagascar Revival (MDRM), the priest Tata Max and Joel Sylvain, along with hundreds of others, were sentenced to death, to prison and to forced labor, while rank-and-file militants of the MDRM were beaten, hounded, and deprived of their means of existence. **FIRST OF WARS** The martyrdom of the Madagascan people and the frightful genocide perpetrated on them by French imperialism was but the first link in a long chain of war, repression, and useless violence against other peoples struggling for their liberty. What about the Madagascan prisoners today vegetating in forced residence in the French Alps, and those separated from their families and their people in the internment camps of Calvi [Corsica] and Nosy Lava? Can the great victories of the African people of Africa and Asia over world imperialism, and the fight for liberation of the Indo-Chinese, Moroccans, Tunisians and now the heroic struggle of the Algerian people break the conspiracy of silence which has surrounded these Madagascan prisoners for the last ten years?

Madagascar was annexed by France in 1896 after a fierce and bloody conquest against the resistance of the Madagascan state and the Madagascan people. "This big island offers a classic example of a colored people exploited by European capitalism and by its representatives, the people of the superior race who live off the labor of the native peasant and worker, despising or knowing nothing about him." (Claude Bourdet, "Justice for the Madagascans.") The island is cut up and run by three large commercial companies who put all their weight behind the colonial administration. The period from 1940-1945 was a golden age for the colonialists who were able to build huge fortunes by speculations. The Madagascan people, who had to submit to exorbitant requisitions and to forced labor, were bowed under the yoke of misery. The biggest Madagascan party, the Democratic Movement for Madagascar Revival (MDRM) had the objective, in 1947, of transforming Madagascar into a state associated with the French Union, and doing this by peaceful means. It had won considerable success in the elections and was undergoing a rapid growth. On March 29, 1947, some incidents broke out in Madagascar: armed bands seized the local administrations of certain villages,

and there were 150 French victims. The trouble was probably started by members of secret organizations who felt that the patient, legalistic activity of the MDRM would not lead to anything and who therefore wanted to pass to direct action. They were most likely provoked, in an underhanded fashion, by the French police. The parliamentary deputies of the MDRM, who were present in Madagascar, immediately appealed for calm and explicitly disapproved of the events of March 29. Here is how the machinery was put into motion for terrorizing the Madagascan people and completely decapitating their political movement. In the space of five days, all the members of the MDRM were imprisoned, regardless of their position in the organization, and including those in regions very distant from the scene of the incidents. The Minister for Security, Baron, under orders of the French government, began a phony trial to link the MDRM and the parliamentary deputies to preparation of rebellion. This accusation was based on a perfectly proper meeting of the MDRM, in preparation for the provincial elections, and on a telegram signed by three Madagascan deputies (including Raseta who was then in Paris). This telegram which called for calm-

ness and steadfastness on the part of the Madagascan people in the face of obvious provocations meant to sabotage the peaceful policies of the MDRM, was made out by the French authorities to be a code ordering an insurrection to seize power. **TORTURE USED** To corroborate this ridiculous story, the French authorities extorted confessions from militants of the MDRM. Beatings, hangings, starvings, immersions in dirty water, these were the rehearsals for still greater excesses, which would multiply during the war in Algeria. . . . These atrocities were accompanied by a horrible combination of blackmail, corruption, and paternalistic racism. It was all the worse due to the fact that at that time the militant Madagascans had all kinds of illusions about France, its generosity, and its "Christian" spirit. The accused were without lawyers for many weeks, since the bar association of Tananarive had ordered local lawyers to refuse to defend them. The frenzied French colonialists tried to kill the Parisian lawyers, Douzon and Stibbe, with a bomb. They left them for dead on the floor. These two lawyers had come, together with Dechezelles and Lamine Gueye to defend the Madag-

ascan militants. On the basis of "confessions" made under torture and then repudiated, the deputies Raseta, Rabemananjara, and Ravoa were arrested on April 12, 1947, despite their parliamentary immunity. . . . With the approval of French President Vincent Auriol, the two principal witnesses, with whose charges the accused had asked to be confronted, were executed. They were executed two days before the opening of the trial. . . . The three Madagascan deputies who had been the accused, began to accuse. They turned the witch-hunt trial into a magnificent exposure of French colonialism in Madagascar. . . . Ravoaahangy and Raseta reminded those present of the many insults and humiliations which they had to face in the course of their long struggles, humiliations which never beat them down. Raseta, who had been interned in Madagascar as a "deGaullette" had seen "government of Free France" use colonial officials of the collaborationist government to better coerce the Madagascan people. Rabemananjara, the great poet of Franco-Madagascan culture, pointed out the damage of colonialism. While categorically denying any participation in the rebellion, the deputies placed responsibility for it on the shoul-

ders of the colonial administration. Other accused Madagascans described the shocking tortures which they had suffered. **DEFENDANTS PROTEST** The Public Ministry, using the grossest kind of trickery, called in some "last-minute witnesses," who had already been condemned to death in previous trials, and by promising to spare their lives induced them to give false testimony. It was revealed by a French witness, that one of the prosecution witnesses had been an informer in the pay of the police for many years. Because of these dishonest methods, the defendants refused to answer any more questions, and remained in complete silence till the end of the trial. The following were condemned to death: Ravoaahangy, Raseta, Rakotova, Tata Max, Joel Sylvain, and Rakotoarisonina. The following were condemned to life sentences at hard labor: Rabemananjara, Rabentandro, Razafin Dralambo, Renaisson. The remainder were given sentences of different lengths at hard labor. The Supreme Court, the faithful agent of the imperialist state, denied the appeals, despite "the informalities" of the trial. The National Assembly, in the course of an extremely confused

debate, from which the Socialists shamefully abstained, and in which the Communists did not protest except through the mouth of some obscure deputies, gave its approval to this "legal crime." The scandal was so great, however, that Vincent Auriol commuted the death sentences to life imprisonment. All the while a deluge of fire, steel, and blood was falling on the Madagascan people. Soldiers of the Foreign Legion and Senegalese troops burned, killed, and pillaged. According to the French authorities themselves, 80,000 innocent people perished. A repression without precedent fell on the Madagascan people, and on its national movement, which had been decapitated for years to come. Militant Madagascans remain imprisoned at Calvi, Nosy Lava, and other prisons. They can proudly contend with the militants of the Algerian liberation movements for the laurels of martyrdom! . . . For all of them—the liberals, the trade-unionists, and the militants—French workers must demand the following: (1) Freedom and Amnesty (2) A Review of the Madagascan Trials (3) The Return to Their Homeland (4) The Repeal of the Decree Dissolving the MDRM.

