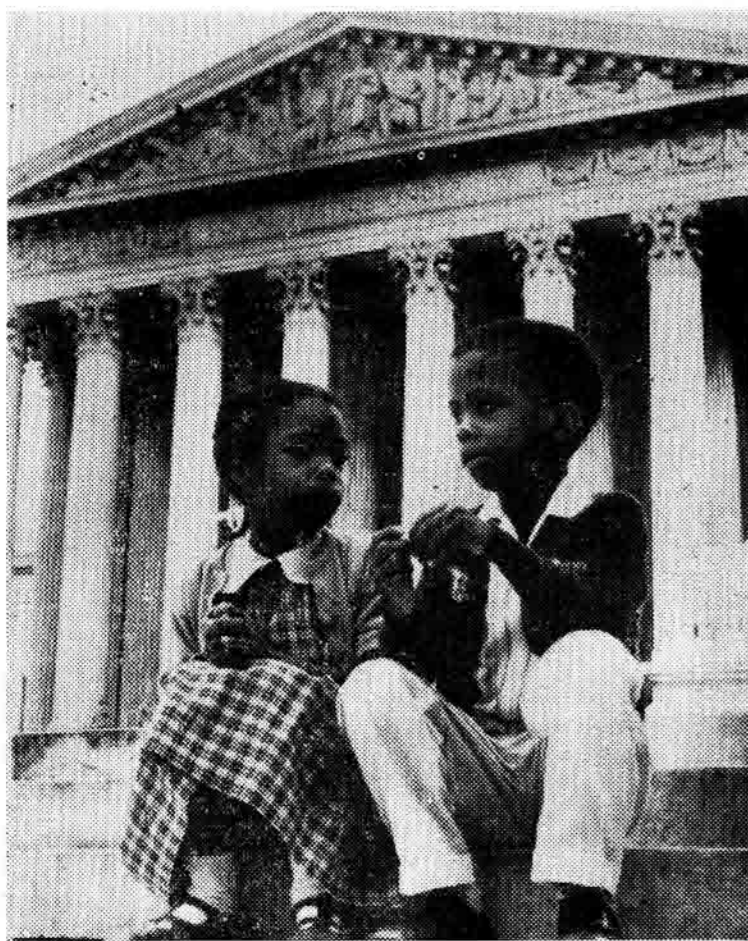


Carolina Negro Community Fights Racist Persecution



"Equal Justice Under Law" says inscription at top of Supreme Court Building in Washington. But does it really mean justice for Allan and Patricia Bradford (above) and all other Negro children?

By John Thayer
The almost incredible story of how two Negro boys, Hanover Thompson, aged nine, and Fuzzy Simpson, aged eight, were arrested in Monroe, North Carolina, because one of them had been kissed by a white girl playmate, was reported in this paper two weeks ago. The Militant's story was based on articles which had appeared in the N.Y. Post, which first told Northern readers of this heartless racist vengeance against children.

Since then the Militant has uncovered additional details of the case.

HALF-HOUR NOTICE

After the two youngsters had been held in the jail for six days, the mothers were visited at 4:30 in the afternoon by policemen who informed them that their children would be brought to trial in half an hour and for them to go to the courthouse. Mrs. Simpson and Mrs. Evelyn Thompson immediately sent word to Robert F. Williams, local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The mothers succeeded in getting to the courtroom on time but Mr. Williams, arriving a few minutes after 5 P.M., found the doors locked and could not gain access. Meanwhile the trial proceeded before Judge J. Hampton Price. A social worker and court personnel were present. The child "defendants" and their mothers had no counsel—Mr. Williams, who is a lawyer, not being allowed in the courtroom.

'MIGHT GET OUT AT 21'

Three warrants were produced against the two eight and nine-year-old boys, accusing them of "molesting and assault upon a white female." They were found guilty and given indeterminate sentences in the reformatory for Negro boys at Hoffman, N.C. They were told that if they proved themselves worthy there they might be released before they reached the age of 21.

The lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till for an alleged "wolf whistle" at a white woman three years ago brought home to millions of Americans the fact that the practitioners of Jim Crow are capable of the most brutal acts against Negro children. But Monroe is in "enlightened" North Carolina, not in the Mississippi delta. And though it is reported that some unidentified people threatened violence against the parents of the children, it was a judge, with the approval of a social worker, who declared these children guilty. And this was done not in a heated lynch mob, but after a week's deliberation and in the calm of a courtroom.

While to minds twisted by racist hatred this may seem logical, it can be understood by unprejudiced people only by understanding what has been

(Continued on Page 4)

Victims of British Imperialism



Cyprus hospitals were described last October as filled to overflowing with Cypriotes rounded up and "questioned" by British troops. Injured shown above suffer from head wounds from rifle bullets. British are keeping Cyprus in colonial status against will of majority of Cypriotes who want to be free to unite with Greece. (See story, page 3.)

British Union Militants Adopt List of Demands

In the face of a witch hunt by the capitalist press and intimidation by the right-wing labor bureaucrats, well over 500 British trade-union militants, half of them sent by union locals or shop units, held a highly successful rank-and-file conference in London on Nov. 16.

After lengthy debate, the conference, which had been called by the Newsletter, a Marxist weekly, overwhelmingly adopted a Charter of Workers' Demands. It calls for (1) a militant fight against unemployment; (2) nationalization of major industries and their operation under workers' control; (3) transformation of local branches of the Labor Party into campaign centers to aid the unions in strike struggles; (4) restoration of trade-union democracy.

For the month preceding the conference the British press engaged in a red-baiting campaign against it, against the Newsletter and its support of strikers, particularly of the Shell-Mex

construction strike where, with top union acquiescence, the bosses had fired 1,250 workers to get rid of the shop stewards. Headlines and stories pretended to discover "plots," "conspiracies" and "Red Clubs" about to take over the union movement and engage in "outlaw" strikes.

'NEW SPECTER'

The climate in Fleet Street (London's newspaper row) was well described by Tribune (Nov. 7), organ of the Labor Party left wing. An article by John Marullus, entitled "The New Specter," begins: "A new specter is haunting Britain or, at least, Fleet Street — the specter of Trotskyism. Open the newspapers almost any day of the week and you can read of the machinations of little groups of alleged Trotskyites, anti-Stalinists, call them what they will, who are supposed to exercise a massive influence in the trade union and Labor Movement."

The press campaign built up to a crescendo in the hope of preventing or spoiling the rank-and-file conference of unionists called by the Newsletter for Nov. 16.

The British Communist Party joined in the campaign. It forbade its members to attend the conference. It turned out its full strength at union meetings to vote against sending delegates. Its press whitewashed the reprisals of the right-wing labor bureaucrats against militants associated with strike struggles supported by the Newsletter. The Daily Worker, for example, (Continued on Page 2)

Socialist Polls 11,669 in N.J.

Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, polled 11,669 votes in the Nov. 4 election. His vote led all other minority-party candidates this year in the state. Four reactionary candidates — Harry Krajewski, John J. Winberry, Winifred O. Perry and John D'Addetta — polled 8013, 5481, 3062, and 3024 votes respectively for U.S. Senate. Albert A. Ronis, Socialist Labor Party candidate for the office, polled 2936 votes.

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Basic Socialist Issues Debated In Cleveland

Representative Gathering Reviews 1958 Socialist Election Policy

By Harry Ring

CLEVELAND, Nov. 30 — The Conference of American Socialists which was held here yesterday and today was the most broadly representative gathering of socialists to sit together in one hall in many decades. It convened to discuss the experiences of socialists in the 1958 elections and to exchange views on the prospects for the further development of united socialist political action with an eye to the 1960 elections.

Called on the initiative of a group of Ohio socialists of varying views, the impetus for the gathering came in large measure from the united socialist campaigns in New York, California, Washington and Chicago. As proposed in advance by the Ohio sponsoring committee and by virtually all national sponsors, the conference limited itself to a discussion of political and practical issues. By unanimous vote it was agreed to reconvene no later than one year from today to decide whether or not to enter a united socialist Presidential ticket in the 1960 elections.

COMMITTEE ELECTED

The steering committee of the Ohio sponsoring group was established as a Committee of Correspondence to function in cooperation with the national sponsors. It has the responsibility for promoting a continuing exchange of views and experiences and, in consultation with the national sponsors, to establish the date of the next national gathering.

Secretary of the Ohio committee is Eric Reinthaler, a defendant in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case. The national sponsors are a broadly representative body of independents and spokesmen



Vincent Hallinan, strong champion of united socialist electoral action in California, was guest speaker at public meeting in connection with Cleveland Socialist Conference.

for various socialist tendencies. The steering committee will seek further expansion of this group.

In terms of numbers, the assemblage was modest. One hundred and thirty people registered to participate as delegates or observers and 110 actually signed in. A severe storm prevented a good number from attending. The political significance of the gathering was underscored by the unusual interest paid to

it by all segments of the radical movement, whether friendly or hostile. All of the organized groups had been invited to attend, along with unaffiliated socialists. The Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation had both publicly rejected the invitation and denounced the party in advance. The Communist Party gave no public indication of its attitude. Yet all three parties were represented at the conference along with the Socialist Workers Party which had urged maximum participation by all socialists.

Irving Suall, national secretary of the SP-SDF, was present throughout as an observer, along with Max Shachtman and Herman Benson, former leaders of the Independent Socialist League whose members recently joined the SP-SDF. The Socialist Labor Party registered an observer. It also presented a lengthy statement explaining why it was not participating, with copies for each delegate, and distributed its paper and various leaflets and pamphlets.

The Communist Party was represented by Arnold Johnson of New York and Sam Kushner, Chicago editor of the Worker. Explaining that his participation did not mean endorsement of the conference, Johnson was a speaker at the

(Continued on Page 2)

French Vote Reinforces De Gaulle Dictatorship

By Lillian Kiezal

Overwhelming victory of the Gaullist forces in the recent elections for the French National Assembly means further consolidation of de Gaulle's "strong-man" state.

The Union of the New Republic, organized by Jacques Soustelle and other semi-fascist figures, has become the largest party in France with 32.1% of the total vote and 188 seats in the Assembly. Soustelle and other UNR organizers led the Algerian coup last May that brought de Gaulle to power. The Independents (Conservatives) swept along by the rightist wave won 132 seats against 95 in 1956. These two parties between them have swept up all the extreme rightists including the Poujade followers, who were reduced to one seat in the Assembly.

DOWN TO 10 SEATS

Although it is the second largest party with 20% of the popular vote, the Communist Party dropped from 144 seats in the old Assembly to 10 in the new one. The party lost 20% of its voting strength and 90% of its assembly seats since the 1956 elections. Party leader Jacques Duclos was defeated, although Maurice Thorez just barely squeezed into the Assembly. The Socialist Party lost many of its leading deputies and dropped to 40 seats in the Assembly from 91 held in 1956.

The Gaullist sweep plus restrictions on the Assembly incorporated in the constitution adopted by referendum last September, bolsters de Gaulle's power. When he is elected President on Dec. 21, reports the N.Y. Herald Tribune, "He will have power to appoint and remove Premiers, to dissolve the Assembly if he deems this necessary, and in a national emergency, to assume dictatorial powers by proclamation. The Assembly can pass laws only in circumscribed fields and



DE GAULLE

may meet for only five and one half months of the year."

Two factors combined to give the Gaullists their electoral victory. First, the carefully rigged majority electoral law which was employed this year for the first time since 1936. De Gaulle's constitution did away with proportional representation. The first round called for an absolute majority vote for a candidate in his district. Only a plurality was needed to elect in the second round (Nov. 30). Maneuvering and coalitions developed among the right-wing groups between the two rounds which resulted in defeat for the disunited working class forces.

MIDDLE CLASS SHIFT

Second, and more fundamental, the middle class and possibly a section of the workers, swung behind the party of the Algerian coup. The middle class has no program of its own in modern society. Its tendency in time of crisis is to join with the boldest-appearing force. The fact that the working class

leadership — Communist Party and Social Democratic — presented no dynamic alternative to the rot of the Fourth Republic (indeed, were identified with it to the end) repelled the middle class. The Algerian coup and de Gaulle's taking power won the middle class for the time being because of the aggressiveness of the actions. The working-class will regain the support of the middle class and more politically backward workers only by struggling on a clear-cut socialist program including the program of independence for Algeria as the way to end the Algerian war.

The French working class organizations have been placed on the defensive by the whole series of events since de Gaulle gained power last May. Furthermore, the initiative is with the capitalist class, now that it has strengthened its political structure to a considerable extent. However, the Communist Party is still the second largest in France. The Socialist Party received 15% of the popular vote. The unions are intact. A basic test of strength has not yet taken place, although big business will be pressing ever more vigorously for the showdown.

Confronting the workers of France is a life and death struggle to defend their organizations and their prior gains. They need to prepare. They cannot do it along the policy of the Communist Party leadership which looks not to the independent mobilization of the workers' strength but to class-collaborationist alliances, as for instance last May, when the CP deputies in Parliament voted emergency powers to Premier Pflimlin in the hope of stopping de Gaulle. Successful resistance to the attacks by the Gaullists would create the basis for the working class regaining the initiative and passing over to the offensive.

St. Louis, Boston, Denver Complete Fund

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

Three more areas — St. Louis, Boston and Denver — have crossed the finish line in the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund drive. This makes six which have already fulfilled their pledges. To be precise, that should be amended to fulfilled or overfulfilled. For St. Louis added an extra dollar to its amount pledged and the Militant supporters in Oakland just don't know when to stop. After having increased their original pledge from \$300 to \$340, the Oakland comrades have kept on going to this week's figure of \$442 or 130%. And a note in the last heavily laden envelope from them forewarns, "More will follow."

TWO CLOSE TO FINISH

In addition to the finishers, both Connecticut and Allentown, are far down the home stretch — within 10% or less of the pledges they have assumed.

Sally Conti of Boston, who has been quoted previously in this column, sent the following letter whose laconic style and Yankee rectitude made redundant the postmark showing it was from New England: "En-

closed please find check in amount of \$90 fulfilling our quota of \$450. Comrade Franklin deserves credit for collecting the money, all I did was mail the checks."

From San Diego, which joined our scoreboard after the Fund was three weeks under way, comes the following message: "The comrades here have asked me to assure you that we will make our quota and will get it in before the deadline."

And from Pittsburgh: "We have had a lot of illness, but like all good socialists we may be down but never out. So enclosed find money order for \$5."

From Los Angeles with a payment of \$310 came the following: "I'm sure we will be able to make our quota on time."

From Allentown: came \$41 and "I'm sure we'll have this balance in before the 15th."

Connecticut, also a latecomer to the scoreboard by three weeks, apparently was too rushed to do any writing — simply sent in \$73. This leaves only \$27 to go.

From Philadelphia a payment of \$58 and "We are going to try to make it."

Contributions to the "General" category in the past few weeks have come from such places as Outlook, Mont. (two contributions); Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Newberg, Oregon; Elma, Washington; Prince Rupert, British Columbia; as well as a \$5 contribution and a very interesting letter from a Militant reader in Georgia who said among other things, "There is nothing I believe in any more than socialism and I will be watching the growth of your fund."

What is the overall picture? The Fund has now reached 74% of the \$18,000 goal. From the date of the present scoreboard (see page 3) there are 13 more days to finish on time and in full. Dec. 15 is our target date. None of the areas which have made pledges are in a very bad way though many are behind schedule. Of the three which will still Nov. 11 had been unable to make any payments, two have already completed and the other is very close. So now is the time for all good socialists to make that extra effort, to dig deep, to scrape and sacrifice, and to blow out the safety valve on our 30th Anniversary steam gauge.

Full steam ahead

Highlights Of Cleveland Conference

The wide range of socialist viewpoints in Cleveland was reflected in the publications sent for inclusion in the kits given to each participant. The kits included copies of the National Guardian, Worker, Militant, Young Socialist, Weekly People, Monthly Review, American Socialist and International Socialist Review. There were catalogues from Pioneer Publishers, Monthly Review Press, Liberty Book Club and International Publishers. From Britain, there was literature from the Victory for Socialism group.

Some of the delegates were seeking score cards to identify the different tendencies represented at the conference. One such delegate was in a car headed back to New York. He was dozing in the back seat as the car went through Pennsylvania but he heard someone remark, "This is Mennonite territory. His eyes popped open, and he demanded to know, "Who did they split from?"

During a dinner conversation, Rev. Joseph P. King, who ran as United Socialist candidate for Congress in Chicago said that many Negroes in his district were impressed by the number of whites collecting signatures to get him on the ballot. He said they viewed it as a significant demonstration of interracial unity.

The conference attracted a good deal of attention from the Cleveland press, with reporters popping all kinds of questions. William Price, publicity director for the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, stepped into the breach to handle press relations. One reporter asked if he could explain the 2,000 word statement from the Socialist Labor Party outlining why it was not participating in the conference. Price referred her to a section of the document which said, "Let us get down to fundamentals: Labor is a commodity."

New York's Independent-Socialist Party was well represented at the conference. Besides Price, seven members of the ISP Administrative Committee attended. These were John T. McManus, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Albert Blumberg, Bert Deck, George Stryker, Irving Beinin and Otto Skottedal. At least four other committee members were prevented from attending by illness or travel conditions.

The extensive discussion of independent socialist political action vs. working within the Democratic Party led Sam Kushner, Chicago editor of the Worker, to declare at one point: "After listening to the debate here I almost get the feeling that I'm a Democratic precinct committee captain."

McManus drew a good laugh when he commented: "You know the Communist Party is addicted to 'self-criticism' and lately in the Worker I've been the subject of a good deal of it."

During a panel presentation, William F. Warde indicated how the views of the Socialist Workers Party differed from those of other tendencies. In the course of his remarks he mentioned that the former Independent-Socialist League (no relation to the New York Independent-Socialist Party) had given up its adherence to Leninism and Trotskyism. This was challenged by Herman Benson, a leader of the former ISL, who shouted "That's not true!" The following is from a Sept. 28 statement by the ISL Political Committee printed in Labor Action and announcing dissolution of the organization and its entry into the Socialist Party-Democratic Federation: "We do not subscribe to any creed known as Leninism or defined as such. We do not subscribe to any creed known as Trotskyism or defined as such."

A very moving part of the public rally was a dramatic presentation by Jerry Gordon and Myron Pershing of excerpts from speeches by Eugene Debs.

New York Sub-Getters Pace Militant Subscription Drive

By Carolyn Kerry
Subscription Campaign Director

Many of our readers and subscribers are confronted at this time of the year with the problem of exchanging gifts and greetings with their friends and relatives. For those who find it hard to choose a gift of lasting value to fit a limited budget, may we suggest: Take advantage of our Club Subscription Plan. For five dollars you can buy a book of six six-month subs to the Militant. For a gift that will be really appreciated at a cost of little more than a fancy greeting card you can earn the gratitude of the recipient as well as the Militant staff and business office. In this way you make your Christmas giving serve double duty.

for the compliment and for the three Twin Cities subs that accompanied it. Speaking of the response to our sub campaign to date — the results of the past two weeks show a decline over the average of 50 subs per week since the beginning of the campaign. The total for the two-week period is 72 new subscriptions and renewals. New York leads the field again with a total of 19 for the period. Los Angeles is next with 13. Philadelphia and San Francisco are tied with 8 each and Milwaukee, Cleveland, Chicago and Seattle trail with 6, 5, 4, and 4, respectively.

Our Philadelphia campaign director writes: "We had a mobilization last Sunday and are planning another this coming Sunday. . . I am thinking of proposing a two-week extension because of our late start." The proposal for an extension has been suggested by other Militant groups and essentially for the same reason. We are giving serious consideration to this proposal to give our Militant supporters a little more time to fulfill their quotas. Let us know what you think of the idea.

Five Will Get You Six
\$5 will get you six half-year trial subscriptions to THE MILITANT

Ask your friends to join you in the fight for a socialist world. Use this club subscription blank for yourself and your friends.

Name

Address Zone

City State

Send with \$5 to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. We will send you six prepaid subscription blanks.

... British Rank-and-File Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

in its headlines even called these victims "troublemakers" as did the capitalist press and the labor-fakers engaged in selling out the Shell-Mex strike. The Stalinist journal World News carried a series of articles replete with fake and doctored "quotations" from the Newsletter to "prove" the reactionary character of Trotskyism and to persuade its readers to boycott the conference.

REPRESENT 38,000

Despite all these efforts, delegates representing 37,752 organized workers attended the conference while several hundred others present as individuals or observers would have been official delegates had it not been for the bans and proscriptions put on attendance by their top union officials. Nonetheless the conference attendance was highly representative of British labor. There were miners, longshoremen, construction workers, electrical workers, railwaymen, bus men, auto workers, seamen, etc. They came from Wales, Scotland — sacrificing half a day's pay — from Birmingham, Coventry, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. There were colored and colonial workers employed in Britain. Thirty members of the Communist Party attended.

The attitude of these militants toward the conference was explained thus by one delegate, Lawrence Daly, a coal miner from Glencairn, who said: "I am an ex-member of the Communist Party. But the comrade with me is a member of the Communist Party and he has come despite Dennis Goodwin's articles in World News. This is not to say that he agrees with the Newsletter and disagrees with World News. But if we can get unity in action despite differences in political ideas we shall be starting to get things moving very rapidly indeed."

The following are excerpts from the Charter of Workers' Demands as amended and adopted by the National Industrial Rank-and-File Conference called by the Newsletter in Holborn Hall, London, Nov. 15:

Half a million are idle in this country at this moment. And many of the machines that should be enriching the lives of all of us are idle too. There are a million families whose breadwinner is either out of a job or on short time. Millions more are seriously worried about the danger that soon they also will be out of work. The unemployment figure is rising by 30,000 a month and share (stock) values are rising too.

In our opinion the time to fight unemployment is now, while the greater part of our class is still in the factories. We must fight unemployment before it grows any more — above all by refusing to the employer the right to hire and fire at will.

DEMANDS

- We demand: (1) The sharing of all available work without loss of pay.
- (2) Solidarity action with all sections resisting sackings (firings).
- (3) A national protest campaign led by the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, including a one-day national stoppage against unemployment.
- (4) No discrimination against colored workers.
- (5) Solidarity between unemployed workers and those in work to prevent the use of unemployed men as blacklegs (strikebreakers).
- (6) Protection of shop stewards: all strikes against victimization to receive the full backing of the union concerned.
- (7) A campaign for a real determined fight

discussed in the debate. There were two main points on the agenda: (1) How to fight the employers; the role of the shop stewards' movement and rank-and-file organization; (2) Unemployment and the color bar (discrimination).

TWO POINTS ON AGENDA

The editorial board of the Newsletter submitted to the assembly a draft charter of workers' demands. This had been printed and publicized before the conference. Amendments proposed by the delegates were mimeographed and distributed to all present and

A Charter of Workers' Demands

for the 40-hour week and less hours, without loss of pay, to reduce the growing unemployment. [The 44-hour week is prevalent in Britain].

The root cause of unemployment lies in the private ownership for private profit of the means of production. To remove an industry from the incompetent and greedy hands of profiteers is the way to ensure jobs and decent living standards for the men who work in it. . . . The nationalization we envisage is nationalization under workers' control.

We demand: (1) The nationalization by the next Labor government of the engineering, shipbuilding, building and textile industries and of the land of big landowners.

(2) No compensation to the former owners of these industries.

(3) No representatives of big business to have a say in the running of these industries.

(4) Control of these industries to be in the hands of democratically elected workers' councils.

PROBLEM OF LABOR PARTY

Another problem we have considered is that of the Labor Party. We state without hesitation that the main thing wrong with the Labor Party is that it lacks a militant socialist policy, and that this is largely because it is controlled by a junta of middle-class Fabians and full-time trade union officials. The rank and file in the trade unions and local Labor Parties no longer have a say in determining the policy of the Party. . . . Only the rank and file can bring the party back to its original [socialist] purpose and restore the socialist vision and energy of the pioneers of our movement. . . .

We appeal to industrial workers: (1) To ensure that their trade union branches are fully represented on local and constituency Labor Parties. (2) To fight for the adoption of militant

socialist policies and for the restoration of democracy within the party. (3) To make the local parties campaign centers in the industrial struggle, that will give the utmost moral and material help to all workers in dispute in their particular locality. (4) To strive for united action on agreed policies without discrimination while freely and openly thrashing out differences where these exist. (5) To recognize that the Labor Party was created by the trade unions and is founded upon them, and that major political questions should be regularly discussed in trade union branches.

TRADE-UNION DEMOCRACY

Last but not least, we have considered the problem of the trade unions. For many years the control of the unions has been passing into the hands of the full-time paid officials. In many unions these officials have in practice replaced the elected officials. . . . We are firmly opposed to the creation of new trade unions or of any sort of "breakaway" organizations whatever. We believe, on the contrary, that the rank and file have the power, and the responsibility, to restore trade union democracy, so that the unions can be better equipped to defend their members. . . .

We demand: (1) No appointment of trade union officials, but their periodical election, with the right of recall. (2) Salaries, expenses and delegation fees of union officials to be determined by the average wages of the members of that union. . . . (4) Annual policy-making conferences of the rank and file in all unions. . . . (6) Full consultation with the membership in formulating, presenting and fighting for demands, and in the acceptance of settlements. . . . (9) A vigorous campaign for 100% trade unionism to seal up all gaps in organization. . . .

speakers in the debates. Finally the amended Charter of Workers' Demands was accepted with but two votes against and less than a dozen abstentions.

British capitalism's most authoritative spokesman, the Times, headed its account "Left-wing Meeting Well Attended—Demand for 'Militant Socialist Policies'" and reported the hall "comfortably filled by a notable array of militants who

have preached their doctrines to some purpose in several unofficial strikes." Another article pointed out that the conference had "brought together a number of experienced unofficial strike leaders" and that the Communist Party leaders had shown their "annoyance and anxiety" with this development. Then hopefully the Times questioned whether the militants could "cohere for long."

... Socialist Election Policy Debated in Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

opening panel on socialist and labor independent political action. Kushner presented the CP stand in the panel, "Where Do We Go From Here?" On the basis of the floor debate, I would estimate that perhaps a dozen other members or supporters of the CP participated in the conference.

A tabulation of 82 of the 110 present showed representation from 13 states. A minimum of 30 active unionists were present, including a half dozen or more local or international officials. There were at least 14 students, two of them in high school. They included members of socialist clubs at the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin, University of Chicago, Wayne University and Western Reserve.

Political opinion ranged from Christian Socialism to the ultra-leftism of the late Hugo Oehler's Revolutionary Workers League. (Oehler's group dissolved several years ago but one participant presented himself as a member of its national committee.)

The principal issue in debate was independent political action as opposed to working in the Democratic Party and supporting its slates. The great majority of the conference favored independent socialist political action.

The strength of the sentiment for independent socialist action was reflected in the Communist Party spokesmen using a defensive line of argumentation for their policy of working within and supporting the Democratic Party. Throughout, Johnson, Kushner and others insisted that their party had no illusions as to the possibility of capturing or changing the Democratic Party. Their sole concern, they said, was to get into the Democratic Party in order to lead workers out of it. Virtually every argument for the Democratic Party line was couched in the most militant, left-wing way possible, considering the class-collaborationist nature of the policy.

Johnson and Kushner's argumentation bore little relation to the reality of the CP line. Its policy is not merely "going in to the Democratic Party to take the workers out." Nationally and locally in 1958, the CP stumped for the Big Business candidates of the Democratic Party. In New York, it thoroughly discredited itself among radicals by supporting the cold-warrior Harriman and leveling its main fire against the Independent-Socialists who presented a socialist anti-war alternative to both Harriman and Rockefeller.

While the debate made clear that the pro-Democratic party position was a distinct minority, it was also apparent that there were two differing approaches prevalent among those opposed to working within the Demo-

cratic party. One view, generally associated with the Socialist Workers Party, is that if socialists are to build their own movement they should not support candidates of either capitalist party at any time. The second view, generally associated with the National Guardian, is that while socialists should oppose the two major parties they should not rule out on principle the possibility of supporting one or more candidates of these parties. On the basis of the floor discussion and conversations with delegates, I would estimate that a majority of the independent socialists at the conference presently support the viewpoint that socialist political action should not eliminate support to Democratic or Republican candidates where the situation is deemed to warrant it. This approach, however, is a far cry from the CP line, for it sees independent socialist political action as the primary task. (See editorial, page three.)

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The second important issue on which there were divergent views expressed was that of socialism and democracy, particularly as it relates to the attitude of socialists toward the Soviet regime. Here it can be said that four differing stands were represented.

The primary function of the SP-SDF observers at the conference was to try to exploit this issue for red-baiting purposes. For them the crimes of the Khrushchev bureaucracy are a convenient pretext for support of Western imperialism in its drive against the Soviet Union. Their "tactic" in relation to the conference was the introduction of a resolution based on their essential line which they assumed would be defeated, thus affording them a further opportunity to smear the conference participants as supporters of "totalitarianism." Since the conference had agreed in advance to limit itself to an exchange of views, the SP-SDF resolution, along with others, was distributed to the participants with none put to a vote.

The other side of the SP-SDF coin, the official CP position, was given by Arnold Johnson who tried to establish that anyone who expressed concern for workers democracy or civil liberties in the Soviet Union was, by that fact, in the anti-Soviet camp or on the way there.

An SWP spokesman advanced the position that socialists should fully support the movement of the Soviet workers for socialist democracy but should also vigorously combat the efforts of the capitalist powers to exploit this issue for their counter-revolutionary aims.

Among the independents, many recognize the need for reforms in the Soviet Union but feel that the present general

Socialist Candidates in '58



Rev. Joseph P. King, who ran as United Socialist candidate for Congress in Chicago, and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist Party candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of New York. Both participated in Cleveland Conference.



process of development is in the right direction.

While there were differences over the lack of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, there was no dearth of socialist democracy at the conference itself. All viewpoints were heard in an orderly, fraternal atmosphere. As John T. McManus quipped, even the observers of the observers got the floor.

The principle of non-exclusion was clearly established at this national gathering as it had been at the New York Independent-Socialist conference last June. The old CP edict, often successfully enforced, against the inclusion of the SWP in gatherings of socialists was laid to its final rest in Cleveland.

One delegate from New York recounting her experience in the ISP campaign, described how after long years of prejudice she had learned by experience that she could work with and respect the members of the SWP.

A leading figure from one of the student socialist clubs declared, "I absorbed a lot of stereotypes, perhaps from my family. One thing this conference made me realize is that there are socialists of other views that I can discuss with. It came as a surprise, but it's so."

Referring to the role of the SWP members in the ISP campaign, Annette Rubinstein said, "If some of us had been offered a Militant three or four years ago we would have recoiled as if it were a snake. But we found them honest people, with integrity and capable of working loyally together."

At the same time when one participant castigated the Communist Party as representing "red facism," a union official with no sympathy for the pol-

itics of the CP rose on a point of order, pointing out that name-calling had no place at a socialist conference devoted to the exchange of ideas. He was immediately upheld by chairman Eric Reinthaler and vigorously applauded by the entire gathering.

long as we have Republicans and Democrats." Arnold Johnson saw the Democratic victory as "a mandate for labor's rights" and asserted that many socialists have neglected developments in the Democratic party and "this has isolated them." He said his party would continue to try to work within the Democratic Party.

'SOCIALIST OBJECTIVE' Reviewing the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, John T. McManus said, "What was needed to distinguish the independent political effort was a socialist objective." He urged efforts for reform of stringent nominating requirements in various states as essential to an effective national united socialist campaign.

Richard Tussey, an organizer for the Mechanics Educational Society in Ohio, described labor's highly effective independent campaign for the defeat of the "Right-to-Work" proposition. He said that Ohio labor learned from this fight that it didn't have to depend on the Republicans and Democrats to win its demands and described current activity to build rank-and-file support for the formation of a labor party.

The panel on Civil Liberties and civil rights was moderated by the noted author and civil liberties fighter, Harvey O'Connor. Speakers were Perry Cartwright of the Southern Newsletter, Stephen Grattan of the American Forum for Socialist Education, Sam Pollock of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union and Jean Simon of the SWP. All were in agreement with O'Connor's proposition that socialists have the special re-

sponsibility of going beyond the defense of the rights of individuals to the rights of groups and classes. Both Grattan and Jean Simon stressed that socialists should support civil liberties in all countries including the USSR.

The panel on economics and peace was chaired by Professor Oliver Loud of Antioch. Panelists were a professor of theoretical physics, Harry Kelber, author of "Recessions and How to Prevent Them," and Harry Ring of the SWP. All opposed the cold war and stressed the link between socialism and enduring peace and prosperity.

Speakers at the final panel on "Where Do We Go From Here" were Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein; a young socialist and union organizer; Sam Kushner of the CP and William F. Warde of the SWP. All except Kushner stressed the need for the continued development of united socialist political action, with Annette Rubinstein stating her reservation about regarding such action a matter of principle in all situations.

All of the panels were followed by vigorous floor discussion of just about every issue being debated in the socialist movement.

Toward the end of the discussion George Stryker of New York expressed disagreement with various policies of the Independent-Socialists. He appeared to have little support for his particular position but he spoke for a lot of people when he paid tribute to the late Clifford T. McAvoy as a man who had contributed greatly to the movement for united socialist action which took a new step forward at this conference.

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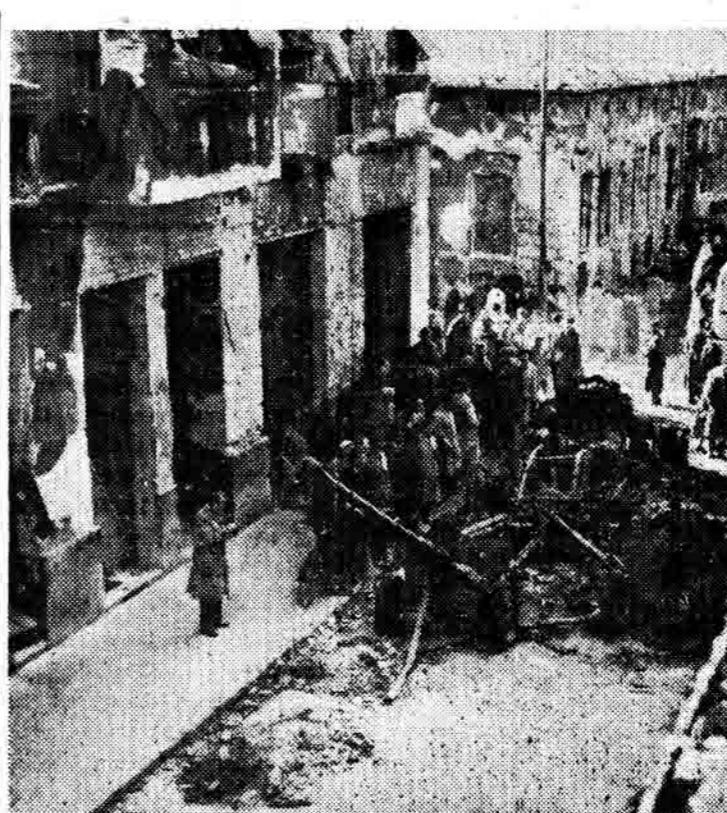
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Hungarian Insurgents Rejected Both Sides

[The following article, reprinted from the British socialist weekly, Tribune, is by Nicolas Krasso, "who drafted the proclamation of the Budapest Workers' Council during the November revolution." The article appeared in the Oct. 24 Tribune. For our comments, see editorial this page. — Ed.]



Budapest workers shown inspecting two of the Kremlin's guns they knocked out of action during the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Even after the Kremlin crushed their military resistance early in November, the Hungarian workers pressed for withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops. Their nation-wide general strike lasted until mid-December, 1956.

Hungary and the Cold War

On Oct. 23, 1956, the Hungarian revolution began. Even after the Soviet troops crushed armed resistance to bureaucratic despotism, the workers persisted in their fight. Their heroic general strike lasted into the middle of December. What were the aims of this great working class struggle? To open the door to capitalist restoration and U.S. imperialist control, say the Stalinist bureaucrats. "Liberation from Communism," say the State Department propagandists, implying that the Hungarians wished to line up with the U.S.-sponsored "Free World." Both sides slander the revolution. Nicolas Krasso's article printed on this page is a reminder that the Hungarian masses fought above all for themselves. They wished to retain the established property forms, institute workers' democracy, and end Red Army occupation. They wanted the right to determine their own fate as a nation.

As readers of the Militant know, we don't place the blame for the cold war equally on both camps. In fact we believe that the cold war was instigated by American Big Business as preparation for its plans of regaining the Soviet Union and China for capitalist exploitation. These plans are the true source of the danger of the outbreak of World War III.

The Cleveland Conference

The Conference of American Socialists in Cleveland showed that the sentiment in the radical movement which led to the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York is not a localized phenomenon. At the national gathering in Cleveland, the Communist Party's policy of counterposing support of the Democratic Party to independent socialist action won no backing. The great majority of the unaffiliated socialists at the conference firmly opposed the CP's "coalition" line. Opponents of that line included many who had previously gone along with it or who saw no effective alternative to it.

But those at Cleveland who favored united socialist opposition to the capitalist parties also differed among themselves. (See conference report, page one.) Socialists favoring the National Guardian's stand believe that no principle bars them from supporting major party candidates under specific conditions. They see their stand as a "flexible" alternative to the CP's treacherous "coalition" line and to what they view as the Socialist Workers Party's "rigid," "doctrinaire" approach. The SWP holds that socialists ought never to support capitalist party candidates.

In practice, supporters of both Guardian and SWP positions collaborated in the 1958 united socialist campaigns, and both favored continued electoral collaboration at the Cleveland parley. What is the basis for their joint action?

We consequently oppose Wall Street's military alliance systems — NATO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact (now without Baghdad), etc. We also oppose the posting of U.S. troops in nearly 950 military bases in 73 foreign countries. We demand that the military treaties be scrapped and American troops be brought back home.

While we do not share many of Krasso's conclusions, we uphold the right of East European nations to pull out of the Warsaw pact as is championed in Krasso's article. The truth is that the Soviet bureaucracy with its tyrannical methods of rule in defense of its economic privileges is incapable of rallying the East European working people for the struggle to repel American imperialism.

What the working people in Eastern Europe need above all is the chance to rule themselves and to determine on the basis of their own experience what the fundamental issues are in the cold war and what constitutes the best program for the promotion of socialism and of world peace. The result, as Krasso indicates, would be pleasing to neither Washington nor to the Soviet bureaucracy. It would, however, advance the cause of the international working class and of world socialism.

RESHAPING FACTS

Two years have passed. The advertising departments of both blocs have spent them in fitting the Hungarian revolution into the cold war mythology.

An outstanding achievement in the Eastern advertising campaign was the statement put out by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, after the execution of Imre Nagy, that the "treason of the Nagy faction was crowned by Nagy's broadcast of November 4, 1956, in which he appealed to the Western imperialists for open armed intervention."

Here are his words: "In the early hours of this morning, Soviet troops launched an attack against our capital city with the obvious intention of overthrowing the lawful, democratic Hungarian Government. Our troops are fighting. The Government is at its post. I inform the people of the country and world public opinion of this."

Intervention? Only the intervention of a Hungarian Prime Minister in Hungary's internal affairs. The Stalinists can only reply: "So much the worse for the facts."

But the "anti-Communist" cold war myth is quite consistent with that of Stalinism. Both present our revolution as an aspect of Russo-American cold war rivalry.

The falsehoods stand little risk of contradiction, since the best representatives of Hungary's intelligentsia have been murdered like Imre Nagy, imprisoned like Tibor Dery, or at best condemned to silence like Gyula Illyes.

YOU MUST BELONG!
Both sides dispose of a string

Britain Plots and Murders in Cyprus

By C. Christou

NICOSIA, Cyprus — Cyprus has always been a Greek island. Since the most ancient times it has been inhabited by Greeks who came from the mainland of Greece and from the shores of Asia Minor after the end of the Trojan war. This is proved by historical monuments and archaeological findings. The ruins of Salamis, the relics of the Theater of Soli and the old cities of Paphos, Tamassus, Curium and Alesia prove the Greek character of the island.

In its long history, Cyprus came under the domination of numerous conquerors. These included the Persians, the Egyptians under the Ptolemies, the Romans, Richard of England, Luizignans (Portugese), the Genoese, the Venetians, the Turks, and finally the British again.

A DISGRACEFUL DEAL

The Turks seized the island of Cyprus from the Venetians and held it until 1878, when they sold it to the British for a yearly sum of £2,000 and in consideration of Britain's promise to help Turkey in case of attack by Russia. This disgraceful deal ceased in 1914 when Britain annexed Cyprus after the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of the Germans and against Britain.

Britain has continued to hold Cyprus as a colony to this day against the will of the Cypriote people and against the principle of self-determination for all peoples.

As there is no excuse for Britain to remain on the island in view of the Cypriotes' persistent demand for the application of the principle of self-determination, Britain, in cooperation with the Turkish government, made plans to represent Cyprus to the world as a country torn by communal strife. The presence of the British in Cyprus would then be represented as necessary to prevent bloodshed.

In truth, there had never been any communal strife. The Greeks and Turks had always lived in harmony. It is only recently that some of the Turks, instigated by the Turkish government and by two ring-leaders, have put up a claim for partitioning Cyprus. No such claim was ever put forward by the Turks in the past, whenever the Cyprus question was raised by the Greeks. The partition therefore is a recent invention used by the British as a bugbear to intimidate the Greeks into accepting a constitution without provision for the right of self-determination.

NO VALID CLAIM

The Turks have never had any valid claim on Cyprus. The few thousand Turks now living in Cyprus are descendants of the Turkish conquerors who came to Cyprus in the 15th Century and seized the island from the Venetians. They form a minority like the Armenians, the Maronites and the Catholics.

Only the Greeks, of all nationalities living on this island, are original settlers. The others are remnants of the conquerors or of the people that came and settled as merchants. Besides, the Greek population forms the overwhelming majority of the population. Because they were the first settlers and because they are the great majority, the Greeks are the only people entitled to decide the political future of Cyprus. The Turks are entitled only to the protection of their religious and educational rights, and for this protection the Greeks have offered guarantees.

After repeated consultations, British officials and Turkish government leaders at Ankara decided that the Cypriote Turks should keep crying for "partition" of the island and should start attacking the Greeks so as to provoke communal strife. The Greeks repeatedly warned the Turks to cease their attacks, but the leaders of the Turkish community did not respond to these warnings.

The Greeks had to form self-defense groups to guard all houses or other places exposed to the danger of attack by the Turks. It often happened that

ment was missed in 1956. Why not seek an atmosphere which would enable a future crisis to be fruitfully resolved?

Wouldn't this at least undermine the extreme Stalinists by making their future appear uncertain?

Mr. Dean Acheson, replying to Mr. Kennan in "Foreign Affairs" gives his answer to these questions.

Such negotiations, he explains, would set off a chain reaction, encourage neutralist tendencies in the West, and loosen the NATO structure.

The Stalinists wouldn't be the only people whose future would be made uncertain.

COMMON FEARS

Acheson fears that, if one side lost Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, or Albania, the other side might lose Italy, Belgium, Norway, or Iceland. Thus he has let out the secret. The two power centers have a community of interest.

Both forms of reaction, Stalinist and anti-Communist, feed on international tension. Each justifies itself by pointing to the aggressive aims of the other. Their arguments are partly designed to externalize contradictions at home and discredit internal opposition.

The consequences are appalling. Stalinism was born of the isolation of the Soviet Union in the 1920's. Today, American insistence on keeping China in a similar isolation may be preparing an immeasurable catastrophe.

The Chinese intellectuals who made such a vigorous and sympathetic response to the Hungarian revolution are delivered by this American policy into neo-Stalinist terror.

To arrest catastrophe, we must set against the half-conscious alliance of Eastern and Western reaction a fully conscious unity of Radical forces. While the power elites of the two blocs are preparing to destroy the world under the cover of empty slogans, the duty of putting forward constructive solutions falls on us — the Opposition.

The European Left faces its greatest tasks. The fate of mankind may depend on how we tackle them.

How to Prevent Recession

RECESSIONS — AND HOW TO PREVENT THEM. by Harry Kelber. Straight Talk Pamphlets, Brooklyn, N.Y. 38 p. 25 cents.

Harry Kelber, former editor of AFL and CIO newspapers, has written a fine pamphlet on the current crisis of American capitalism. He brands as American public enemy No. 1 the war-depression economy of the American capitalist system.

With salient facts he proves that there is a "built-in bust in every boom." He points out: "They [American businessmen] put the ordinary citizen through the wringer twice — as a worker and as a consumer — and then expected the impossible: that he should still have sufficient purchasing power to buy the ever-expanding quantities of goods and services that industry could produce."

HARSH REALITIES

Overproduction, underconsumption, boom and bust — "these are the harsh realities of our profit system, Capitalism," says Kelber. He declares that capitalism holds supreme and unchangeable. . . that not a wheel turns, not a man works, not a commodity is bought or sold — without profit or the expectation of profit."

The author proves, too, that the recession "cures" are nothing but quack remedies for a system that has long outlived its usefulness. War spending which is the most effective "cure" capitalism has found has proved impotent: "Even with the fantastic outlays of World War II and the Cold War —

we still could not stave off economic crises. We kept on being hit by recessions — under Democratic as well as Republican Administrations."

In opposition to this outmoded system, Kelber poses the historic necessity of Socialism. He proposes a planned economy based upon government ownership of all industries.

He cautions correctly that, in the first period of socialist transformation, inequalities will continue to exist. People will be paid according to their ability instead of according to their need.

He believes that this new system in America would breed its own share of unscrupulous and self-serving officials. He says: "Socialism offers tremendous opportunities for the flowering of freedom and individual liberty — but it offers no guarantees. The people have to take it from there." It is at this point, however, that the pamphlet needs to say more.

INTERRELATED

First, it should be made clear that socialism and democracy are interrelated, that one cannot exist without the other. Second, it should be stressed that, although the working people cannot expect guarantees, they are the only force that can prevent corruption and bureaucracy.

They will need to establish workers' control over government-owned industries. This would be exercised through elected factory committees and democratically-run unions. In addition, the working people

will have to establish a system of democratic adoption of economic plans.

Despite shortcomings on the question of workers' democracy, the pamphlet presents an eloquent message to all socialist-minded people as well as reasoned arguments for the non-socialist. Kelber calls for the establishment of a new party opposed to Democrats and Republicans and organized to win the American people to socialism. He also urges socialists to participate in the workers' mass movement not only as fighters on immediate issues but as propagandists for socialism.

The pamphlet may be obtained from Straight Talk Pamphlets, P. O. Box 191, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

— Dorothy Russel

For the 30th Anniversary of the Militant

Read: The History of American Trotskyism

James P. Cannon, the author, was one of the leaders of the Communist Party in the United States, and the founder of American Trotskyism. In the opening chapters he deals with the early days of the Communist movement in this country. He says, "the men who founded the American Communist movement and carried it through its first years were indubitably among the most qualified, talented and able people of their generation . . . while all the bright young men were making their fortunes, the leaders of the American Communist Party of all the factions slaved away at less than mechanic's wages trying to build a new society."

Cannon gives a political explanation of the intense internal conflicts that marked the growth of the young Communist Party, and takes us through "The First Days of American Communism," "The Beginning of the Left Opposition," "The Break with the Comintern," the expulsion of the original Trotskyist cadre from the Communist Party in 1928 to the formation of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

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