

Kremlin Seeks to Restore Stalin-Type Dictatorship

By Daniel Roberts

The Soviet and Chinese attacks on Yugoslavia and the execution of Imre Nagy are part of a big push by the Khrushchev regime to restore and preserve a tight, monolithic dictatorship on the order of Stalin's.

These moves are part of a swing to repression to prevent the Soviet masses, emboldened by previous concessions, from shattering the dictatorship. The function of the dictatorship is to defend and promote the inordinate economic privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. But the rule of this oligarchy runs increasingly counter to the needs of the Soviet society for political freedom and counter to the aspirations of the working masses for greater equality and for socialist democracy.

Following Stalin's death, his successors embarked upon a course of reforms designed to appease the Soviet masses, whose pressure for an end to the Stalinist tyranny was becoming ever stronger. From

the start, however, the Kremlin combined concessions with crackdowns so as to keep the masses from pressing for more.

"ROTTEN ELEMENTS"
Thus Stalin's bureaucratic "methods" were no sooner denounced at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party than the CP tops had to issue threats against "rotten elements" in the party ranks who were taking advantage of "de-Stalinization" to attack current bureaucratic crimes.

Within a few months of the 20th Congress, when the most far-reaching reforms were promulgated, concessions had so emboldened the anti-bureaucratic forces throughout the Soviet bloc as to lead to revolutionary explosions in Poland and in Hungary.

The Kremlin compromised in Poland but crushed the Hungarian workers uprising in bloody fashion. This slowed down the revolutionary process throughout the Soviet bloc, but the Kremlin was not able to restore tight discipline at that

time. The Hungarian events sharpened divisions within the bureaucracy. Capitalizing on this, Soviet workers in key factories conducted a number of limited strikes that won wage improvements while defeating speeded-up work norms.

When last July the power struggle between Molotov and Kaganovich on the one hand against Khrushchev and Zhukov on the other came to a head the victors had again to denounce Stalinist crimes and promise new economic reforms, as they enlisted the support of the workers for the purge of their rivals.

At the same time, "friendly" ties were renewed once more with the Yugoslavs. In the weeks following the Hungarian revolution, the Tito regime had been reviled and Soviet economic aid to it cut off. Renewal of ties gave new encouragement to the tendencies seeking national independence in Eastern Europe and workers' participation in the management of industry through such means as the Yugoslav workers' councils. (Shortly before reopening negotiations with the Yugoslavs, Khrushchev, speaking in Czechoslovakia, made it a special point to attack the Yugoslav institution of workers' councils.)

"LET FLOWERS BLOOM"
Meanwhile, in China, the Hungarian revolution received so much popular sympathy, that the Mao regime decided to forestall revolutionary developments with a liberal line of its own. This was the famous "Let-a-100-Flowers-Bloom" policy in which freedom of criticism was promised and in which the workers were promised a limited voice in factory management.

The result of these concessions, too, went far beyond the limits intended by the Chinese CP leaders. A student movement arose in all the principal universities with demands for socialist democracy. The leaders in many cases were Young Communists. The bureaucracy was confronted with a grave threat of a Hungarian-type explosion in which the student movement would merge with a workers' rising. To prevent such a development the Mao regime launched a crackdown on "rightists" — as it called the student leaders, ditched its "bloom-and-contend" policy and drove all opposition again into silence.

With the purge of Zhukov, last October, Khrushchev rose to unrivaled pre-eminence in the bureaucracy and concentrated sufficient power into his hands to settle inner-bureaucratic conflicts — thus playing a role analogous to the one played by Stalin.

HIT "REVISIONISM"
Together with the Chinese, Khrushchev then set about reimposing a working discipline on all the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe and of the rest of the world. The meeting

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Calif. 'Loyalty' Oath Is Voided

JULY 1 — California's law requiring Loyalty Oaths of citizens and institutions claiming tax exemptions was declared unenforceable by the U.S. Supreme Court yesterday. Most affected by the decision were California Churches and non-profit organizations, and veterans who, up to now had to swear a loyalty oath before being exempted from certain State property taxes. While not ruling on the constitutionality of the law itself, the 7 to 1 decision held that the law was unenforceable because the burden of proving his loyalty was put on the taxpayer himself; thereby violating the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Reuther Helps Chrysler to Break Strike

By Frances James

JULY 1 — A strike by United Auto Workers Local 1245 against Chrysler Corporation's missile plant near Detroit was broken when the UAW International threatened to place an administrator over the local and the District Court granted the company's request for an injunction against mass picketing.

As long ago as May 12, 93% of the members of UAW Local 1245 at the plant voted to strike and asked for International authorization to do so. Since that time the local has been negotiating with the company over discrimination against union members in hiring procedures, reclassification of work, overtime schedules, etc. Several weeks ago, according to the June 23 New York Times, A. Hughes, assistant chief of the UAW Chrysler Department, charged that Chrysler was freezing out the union in hiring at the plant.

The plant once produced jet planes for World War II and was virtually closed when plane production dropped after the war. In January 1957 it was awarded a \$52,000,000 government contract for missile production. Within the last eight months over 4,000 new

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Dues Protest Group Wins Union Votes

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

Gov't Puffs Up Slim Seasonal Job Rise

W. Germans Demonstrate Against A-Weapons



A demonstration of 40,000 in Hanover, Germany, meet to protest arming Germany with nuclear weapons. The banner reads, "Away With Rockets — Away With [Josef] Strauss" (West German defense minister). West Germans are opposed to their country being used as a military base for atomic war preparations.

Washington Stalls On Nuclear Test Ban

An Editorial

In the early days of the CIO, the NLRB told the Ford company to negotiate with the union. Ford's personnel man, Harry Bennett replied the company would negotiate "until hell freezes over," but would never sign a contract. The U.S. government appears to be pursuing the same tactic in relation to world demand for a halt to nuclear testing.

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

With extreme reluctance it finally agreed to "preliminary" negotiations — at the current Geneva parley of experts — to be strictly confined to a discussion of what kind of inspection provisions could be established assuming a ban is agreed upon.

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

tests. This stand is based on an alleged concern for discovering if adequate inspection measures could be established. It flies in the face of irrefutable scientific evidence that no atomic blast of any size can escape undetected even without the elaborate inspection provisos that the Soviet Union has indicated it would accept.

The current delaying tactics by Dulles only exposes how hypocritical were the howls that went up at the time the Soviet Union announced suspension of its tests. Then the Washington propaganda machine insisted that because the Soviet Union had waited until its test series was over before announcing the suspension this only showed bad faith.

But the U.S. government has not only stalled until its current Pacific test blasts are at an end, or nearly at an end, but it seems intent on stalling until it gets through its next series.

No amount of anti-Soviet propaganda can obscure the fact that the onus for continuing poisoning of the atmosphere rests squarely with Washington.

Grabs Alibi To Stall on Jobless Aid

By Gordon Bailey

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

As evidence of the "recession's end" government spokesmen point to May and June statistics on construction, manufacturing, and employment. In these sectors of the economy there was a slight rise over the April figures.

Construction awards in May registered a \$5 million gain over April and equaled May 1957. Industrial production rose one index point in May, though still 12% below a year ago. Steel mills operated at 64% of capacity after running for several months at below 50%. Official figures on insured unemployed (only a part of the total jobless) show a drop of 200,000 from the middle of May to the middle of June.

A closer look at these figures shows a far less rosy prospect than that held out by Eisenhower. The rise in construction activity is centered entirely in home building, and state and federal public works. The key factor — private capital investment in new plants and production equipment shows no sign of pickup. From a \$37 billion level last year, capital spending for 1958 is projected at \$30 billion, a 17% drop. And when this figure may not be realized if the summer upturn is not sustained.

BLOW TO UPTURN

The financial editor of the Christian Science Monitor points out the significance of this in an article, June 9. The halt in capital investment, he writes, "reflects thousands of business decisions, cancelling out millions of dollars of new private spending, and of course, millions of jobs." He adds, "It records a large failure of confidence in the business community and comes as a blow to those who had hoped that the economic tide could be turned quickly."

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

Even with the most favorable interpretation put on the May-June statistics, no serious economist expects any real decline in unemployment this year. The staff of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee calculates that on the basis of "optimistic" assumptions, unemployment will be as high as 5,500,000 next winter. Under less optimistic assumptions, the staff said, "unemployment would rise to as many as 7,000,000 in the first quarter of next year."

Checking past rates of recovery from recessions, the Committee staff concluded that an economic level sufficient to assure reasonable full employment "is unlikely to be reached before mid-1959 at the earliest; and might not be achieved until late 1960."

Long before 1960 Eisenhower and Congress will have to take off their rose tinted glasses and face the insistent demands of the jobless workers and the unions for effective anti-recession measures.

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Follows in Stalin's Footsteps



Khrushchev, left, shaking hands with Anastas Mikoyan, right, is greeted in Moscow after a visit to Hungary. The Kremlin boss is responsible, directly or indirectly, for the secret trial and execution of four Hungarian Communist leaders.

The Nat'l Guardian On Nagy Execution

By Harry Ring

In a June 30 editorial statement, the National Guardian sharply condemned the execution of Imre Nagy, branding it a "shocking and appalling act."

The stand taken by the Guardian will receive serious attention by the entire radical movement. This is particularly true because of the Guardian's sympathy for the Soviet Union and because of its vigorous opposition to the cold war and to the U.S. government's anti-Soviet aims.

The Guardian stand on the executions is based on an elementary and sound proposition — one that no genuine socialist can argue with. Its editorial states: "The plain fact is that injustice anywhere is a universal concern; and any man or woman who feels that a life has been taken unjustly has the right — and the duty — to speak up."

The editorial also states that there are bloody hands in both capitalist and Soviet sectors of the globe, and that "something surely has gone wrong" within the Soviet countries.

A similar viewpoint is presented forcefully in an article by Elmer Bendiner in the same issue of the Guardian. Entitled "The 'crimes' for which Imre Nagy was killed," this piece is a thorough refutation of the Kremlin's charges against Nagy and deserves to be widely circulated and read. Here I would like to discuss the conclusion he poses. He says:

"The executions seemed designed to shatter the hopes of those for whom socialism means not only material benefits but social justice as well; who saw on the horizon the prospect of a socialist society, equipped with a full parliamentary democracy and a non-political judiciary such as the capitalist world has never known. The verdict seemed to say that, for the present at least, it was enough to make socialism work for the people, but fatal to insist that it be of or by the people." (Emphasis in original.)

Something has gone wrong; there is no democracy in the Soviet Union — that is the terrible, but truthful, indictment that the Guardian presses against the Khrushchev regime. The causes and solution should be thoroughly discussed in the radical movement, and I am sure they will be.

Socialism and Democracy

In this article, I would like to present the point of view of the Socialist Workers Party on these questions. Some of the ideas will be disputed — and we welcome that. Others will be agreed to generally. In any case their presentation should aid in the process of clarifying one of the most burning problems confronting the radical movement in this country and throughout the world.

Socialism and democracy are inextricably linked. A broadening democracy — of, by and for the working people — was in the center of the program of the October 1917 revolution and of the Bolshevik party. The socialist overturn established a state power based on genuinely democratic popular organizations — the Soviets, or workers, soldiers and peasants councils.

In the period from 1923 to 1928, on the background of inherited poverty, exhausting civil war and imperialist encirclement, the regime of workers' democracy was crushed by a privilege-seeking bureaucracy, which has ruled the USSR to this day. This degeneration of the workers' state is what went

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A Report on How French Workers Live

By Marvel Scholl

Millions of words have been written about the rise of de Gaulle to power in France. Political analysis of all shades have pontificated about the hows and the whys of this new rise of reaction on the backs of the French people, right in the bastion of the most historically militant working class in the Western world.

More millions of words will roll off the presses before the issue of France is decided. But one thing is certain. No matter how many words are spoken or written, it is the French working class which will have the last say — and even though today it might seem that they have taken a frightful setback, it is a fact that this class has not been decisively defeated.

The London Daily Express, on the day that de Gaulle was invested, said, "he comes to power over a working class that is sullen and angry."

Sullen and angry. And, for the moment, leaderless.

WORKERS WERE READY

The role of the Communist Party played in the rise of de Gaulle is one of outright treachery, repeating anew the be-

trials of 1944 when an armed, experienced and revolutionary working class emerged from almost five years of occupation by the Nazis. In 1944 the CP was the biggest and most powerful party in France. The masses were ready and willing to take the power and start France off on the road to socialism. They had their army, the Maquis, which had fought the Nazis throughout the war.

Instead of taking the power, the CP, obeying Kremlin dictates, handed it over to the capitalists, entered a popular-front government, disarmed the workers, and settled down to betray and disorient the class.

Their role in the events of May and June, 1958, is entirely in keeping with their past history.

But what of this class which has been so badly misled by both the Communist Party of Thorez and the Socialist Party of Mollet? Is it so apathetic that it cannot, will not, rise in its own defense, with a new and militant leadership forged in the heat of the present battle? Let us look at the living standards in France today to

see how conditions are driving the workers toward class struggle.

AVERAGE WAGE

The average wage of the French male worker in industry is approximately 40,000 francs a month (about \$100.00). For women the scale is much lower — from 19,000 francs (\$47.50) to 35,000 francs (\$87.50). Skilled workers, technicians, teachers, laboratory workers, etc., average about 50,000 francs (about \$125.00). One worker I talked to, a machinist in Renault, France's largest automobile factory, earns 60,000 francs (\$150.00) a month — but in order to earn this much he has to work ten hours a day, six days a week.

In almost every family both husband and wife work. Small children are cared for in day nurseries until they are four, when they go to school. Older children take care of themselves after school unless there is a grandmother or elder aunt in the family.

French workers spend from 60% to 70% of their income for food alone.

During the past year food prices have doubled. It costs

as much to feed a family in Paris as it does in the United States. And this despite the fact that wage levels average one third those of American workers.

Meat costs approximately \$1.25 per pound. Butter, coffee, eggs, milk and vegetables run American prices a close race. There are only two things which are cheap in France — wine and flowers. And even wine has doubled in price during the past year. A litre of ordinary table wine used to cost 85 francs (20 cents). Today the cheapest is 150 (38 cents). To a Frenchman wine on the table is as important as meat. It is not a luxury. It is a tradition.

NEW TAXES

During the short reign of the Pflimlin government it was announced that new taxes would be imposed to raise 80 million francs to carry on the Algerian war. Added to the already staggering burden of income taxes and direct and indirect taxes the French people pay, this can only mean the further worsening of the standards of living.

Housing in France, especially in Paris and its suburbs, is a

sin and a shame. Paris is one of the most beautiful cities in the world — architectural wonders, museums filled with much of the world's best art, beautiful parks, wide, tree-lined avenues, with tiny little twisty streets so narrow that the houses lining them seem to lean out to meet one another in a canopy. Yet behind this facade of beauty which the ordinary tourist sees is the corruption and decay which is the real Paris.

All of the housing in the first seven Arrondissements (districts) in Paris has been officially declared unfit for habitation, and most of them have been condemned. It is in these areas that the workers and the students live.

Let me describe just one of the houses in the Latin Quarter where we were privileged to visit frequently. An iron gate closes off the courtyard from the street. You pass down a narrow, dark passage filled with garbage cans into a cobble-stone courtyard. It is like passing back into history. Our friends live in the last of four houses which open onto the

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Why the Kremlin Killed Nagy

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The Worker, weekly voice of the Communist Party, in an editorial, June 29, gave its stamp of approval to the execution of Imre Nagy and three other Hungarian Com-

munist. Said the editors of the Worker, "There is no doubt that the accused were guilty of the most serious crimes against the Hungarian Peoples' Party . . . Nagy, Maléter and their co-conspirators were guilty of high treason."

With this approving support of the Kremlin's execution of their former comrades, the Communist Party completed a 360-degree turn. In 1949 the Communist Party, in the tradition of Stalinism, accepted the verdict against Laszlo Rajk. It approved his execution. In 1956, after the Hungarian high court under the Rakosi regime, absolve Rajk of guilt, rehabilitated and re-buried him, the April 2, 1956 Daily Worker condemned the "frame-up of Rajk and other Hungarian Communist leaders" as a "betrayal of the socialist movement."

William Z. Foster, reacting to all of Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin's regime, demanded in the same issue, an explanation for the "Stalin cult" and its crimes. "The workers have every right to information on this matter," said Foster.

Now the Worker is back where it started. Once more it takes the word of the Kremlin as gospel truth. In 1949 the Communist Party at least had a "confession" and a public trial to go by. This time it doesn't get that and doesn't even ask why not.

The Worker editorial says that "facts are facts even when they are hard." Quite true. And here are some facts that the Worker should explain.

SOME HARD FACTS

There is the fact that Nagy was a Communist for forty years. He lived in the Soviet Union for about 15 years and returned to Hungary as an appointed minister in 1944. And there is the fact that the Hungarian Communist Party, including Kadar, put Nagy in power in October 1956 and supported his government and its reforms.

crossed the border into Hungary, the Nagy government withdrew from the Warsaw Pact and declared its neutrality. With incredible naivete, it appealed to the United Nations for the aid "of the four great powers in defending the country's neutrality."

One can disagree with these policies of the Nagy government — as we certainly do. But how do they add up to "extreme reaction" as the Worker editors portray the Nagy government? Would the withdrawal of Soviet troops mean "a fascist regime was impending"? Would the granting of freedom to opposition parties spell the end of "socialism" in Hungary? Were the workers too weak or too unwilling to defeat fascists that undoubtedly had crawled out of their holes?

Nagy's appointment of a coalition government was certainly not a socialist move. But neither was the imposition of Kadar's government by Soviet tanks. Both practices were in the Stalinist tradition. Nagy's appeal to the United Nations was not a socialist appeal. Socialists recognize the UN as essentially an instrument of the imperialist powers. But it was in keeping with Stalinist portrayal of this body as a true "arbiter" of international disputes.

Even the Kadar government, when it overthrew the Nagy regime, did not dare to call Nagy an imperialist agent, conspirator, or fascist plotter. The Kadar government merely claimed that Nagy "had come under the pressure of the reaction and become impotent." Is "impotence" grounds for hanging?

'NOBLE AIMS'

Nor did the Kadar government view the revolution as an "imperialist plot." In taking power, Kadar said, "The mass movement which started on October 23 in our country had

Real Aims of Hungarian Revolution

The Kremlin's indictment of Imre Nagy and three other Hungarian leaders, announcing also their execution, portrayed the Hungarian revolution of October 1956 as a "counter-revolution." This could only mean that those who fought supposedly aimed at the restoration of capitalism and a fascist regime or a dictatorship sponsored by the imperialist powers of the West. In December 1956 the Moscow weekly, New Times, attempting to justify the use of the Red Army against the Hungarian revolution, nevertheless, declaimed indignantly: "It would be an insult to the intelligence of the Hungarian worker, farmer and intellectual to believe . . . they were eager to reestablish the old regime of capitalism and landlords with all the brutality and savagery that were characteristic of the Horthy years."

Undoubtedly there were fascists and imperialist agents at work during the revolt. But the mass of revolutionary fighters wanted a regime of socialist democracy and of national independence based on revolutionary organs of struggle. We publish below excerpts from a few of the voices of these workers, soldiers and youth. They speak for themselves:

Oct. 24: Workers Council at Miskolc demanded a government "in the spirit of Bela Kun and Laszlo Rajk," Communist leaders.

Oct. 25: That same Workers Council demanded a government "composed of communists devoted to the principle of proletarian internationalism, who are above all Hungarians and respect our national traditions."

Oct. 26: Point five of the Hungarian army officers' program called for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis."

Oct. 28: The National Council of Trade Unions called for the formation of Workers' Councils and defined their tasks as follows: "It [a council] decides upon every question related to production, management and care of the plant. In order to direct production the workers council will elect five to 15 persons as a managing board to assist the permanent director of the plant . . . It is responsible to the whole body of workers. The main task of the council is to guarantee order and discipline at work places and to start production. It must defend — with the help of all workers — their common livelihood, the factories."

Oct. 28: The Győr-Sopron County National Defense Committee of the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party: "This is not a counter-revolution but the national movement of the Hungarian working people. The workers and peasants in Győr-Sopron County do not want the restoration of the power of manufacturers and landlords; the national revolution is not aimed at the restoration of the old regime."

Oct. 29: A delegation representing students of Sopron reported their views in Győr: "Many of the demands of the Sopron students agree with the demands made by the trade unions and the Petofi Club . . . [but] they do not agree with the present composition of the Parliament and the government . . . They demand that a new parliament be formed from rep-



Scene above shows the Kilian Barracks in Hungary in 1956 after the revolutionary fighters had been driven out. It was here that General Pal Maléter, veteran Communist, heroically fought for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis." He has since been secretly tried and executed by the Kremlin.

representatives of town and village national councils . . . They do not agree with Imre Nagy's address yesterday in which he announced that the security police would be disbanded. They demand from the government an announcement that the security police has already been dissolved."

Oct. 31: Resolution of Győr National Councils: The "Council asks the other national councils to join with it and states that the National Council of Borsod County and National Councils of Bacs-Kiskun County and the Workers' Council of Csepel Island have already joined." The Council "has decided to begin within 24 hours negotiations with the government for the fulfillment of the nation's demands . . . The government must call general secret elections with the participation of several parties by the end of January 1957 at the latest . . . Freedom of speech, the press and religion must be guaranteed."

Nov. 1 Radio Miskolc: "We do not want the capitalists and large landowners to return. We do not want the former Hungary of the gentry. We want to live a life of equal rights. We want to be able to dispose freely of our production and we want free democratic elections. We support the small peasants, middle peasants and all those collectives which were set up or will be set up on a freely voluntary basis."

Nov. 1 Radio Rajk: "Comrades, if the Communist Party wishes to continue in the leading and guiding role . . . it must proclaim and demand immediately and loudly all the demands of the Hungarian people rightfully. . . . The Soviet leaders must see that they cannot change the beliefs of our nation by using bayonets, nor can Hungarian youth

be won over to the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism by attempts to transform them into Russians."

Nov. 3 Radio Rajk: "Let us explain to our Russian and other comrades abroad that there was a time when the liberating Soviet Army reached the frontiers of Hungary (1944), when at least half of the nation placed its trust in the Communist Party. Let us explain with blunt frankness that, as a result of the behavior of the occupying Soviet Army, we obtained only one-sixth of the vote in the ensuing free election. Tell them frankly that our Party today is altogether on the brink of bankruptcy . . . Tell our comrades that a new occupation may assure that Hungary will remain a Russian colony for some time. . . . But the lofty tenets of Marxism-Leninism will have disappeared without trace from our country."

Nov. 5 Radio Rajk: "Comrades, blood is again being shed in our unfortunate country. The leaders of the Soviet Union have reverted to Stalin's and Rakosi's terrorist colonial policy. They betrayed us while we conducted what appeared to be friendly negotiations with them, and their tanks and guns have again begun to commit mass-murder . . . By this barbarous act, they have made it impossible for a Communist Party ever to exist openly and honestly in our country . . . Comrades the place of every honest Hungarian Communist is on the barricades."

Nov. 7 Radio Ráckoczi: Dunapentele is the foremost socialist town in Hungary. The majority of residents are workers, and power is in their hands. The workers will defend the town from Fascist excesses . . . but also from Soviet troops . . .

Nov. 8 Radio Rajk: "Comrades, let us preserve the fighting spirit of Marxism-Leninism, let us continue to fight within the framework of our betrayed and outraged Party for the independence of the Socialist Hungarian nation."

Nov. 12 Manifesto of Armed Revolutionary Youth: "In the name of the dead, in the name of the dead of the Hungarian and Russian peoples, we accuse him [Kadar] and call him to account, him and his bosses, the responsible leaders of the Soviet government. As evidence of our strength, we will keep up the strike as long as a single soldier is on our country's territory. For a neutral, independent, democratic and Socialist Hungary!"

Nov. 12 Resolution of the Workers' Councils of the 11th District of Budapest: "We wish to emphasize that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people . . . The people have put their faith in the workers' councils to make certain that the will of the people continues to be carried out. We demand that the authority of the workers' councils be expanded and reaffirmed by the government in the economic, cultural and social fields . . . We demand that a date be set for free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to the society."

This is only a sampling of the heroic voices of Hungarian revolutionists. Can they be twisted to spell "reaction"? They sound like the voices of the Russian workers in October 1917. They are the voices that were silenced by the present Soviet regime.

... National Guardian

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wrong in the Soviet Union.

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

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

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

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

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

'Gendarmes and Bureaucrats'

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

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

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

And several days later came the turbulent mass meeting of the Petofi Youth League where the celebrated Communist writer, Tibor Dery, made the ringing declaration: "It is high time that an end be made to this present regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats!"

Pressure for Democratization

But, it may be argued, despite the terrible methods employed, those governments have furthered the development of the nationalized economy and doesn't this mean that in this basic sense they are working for socialism?

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

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

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

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

Such a stand — for the Soviet Union, but against the crimes of the bureaucrats — is equally essential from the view point of combating Wall Street's efforts to exploit the crimes of the Kremlin to poison the American workers against the Soviet Union and against socialism.

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



There is the fact that the Nagy government did everything in its power to halt the revolutionary struggle of the workers before acknowledging it as victorious. On Oct. 28 it ordered a cease-fire. Almost all its proclamations to the Hungarian people appealed for the restoration of "calm and order" with only a promise that all just demands would be met.

The indictment of Nagy, supported by the Worker editors, portrayed the October revolution as a "counter-revolutionary uprising," the result of a conspirator's "plot." But here are the words of the present puppet-ruler of Hungary, Janos Kadar, spoken on the occasion of the reorganization of the Hungarian Communist Party, Nov. 1, 1956. Kadar said that the old party had "degenerated to a medium of despotism and national slavery through the blind and criminal policy of the Hungarian representatives of Stalinism — Rakosi and his clique." His statement concluded with the observation, "Our people have proved with their blood their intention to support unflinchingly the Government's efforts for the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces."

What was the record of the Nagy government in power? It abolished the hated secret police. It recognized the Workers Councils hoping through negotiations to disarm the workers.

At the same time, Nagy formed a coalition government, like that set up by Stalin in 1945, composed of Communists, Social Democrats, Smallholders and Peasant parties. None of these were fascist movements. All promised to defend nationalized property in land and industries.

APPEAL TO UN

The Nagy government negotiated for Soviet troop withdrawal. When new Soviet forces

the noble aims of remedying anti-Party and anti-democratic crimes committed by Rakosi and his associates." The first point in Kadar's program was a promise to secure "our national independence and our country's sovereignty" and ended with a promise to negotiate for a withdrawal of Soviet troops "after the restoration of calm and order."

It is true that had Nagy been a Communist in the tradition of Lenin instead of Stalin, he would have pursued an entirely different course. He would have called on the Workers' Councils to take state power instead of looking to non-socialist allies and appealing to the UN.

But that would not have made him more popular with the Kremlin. Far from it. For these democratically elected councils, led in several key areas by rank-and-file Communists, were the enemy the Kremlin feared most. They were the organs of the workers' revolution for socialist democracy. In November-December 1956, when Nagy had been removed from the scene and the pro-capitalist elements had gone back into hiding or fled the country, these councils organized a six-week general strike of the entire Hungarian working class in the teeth of the Soviet armed forces. Finally, they, too, were crushed by the bureaucratic armed might.

Nagy's real crime in the eyes of the Kremlin was that he was lifted into power by a working-class revolution that displayed such heroic tenacity. Although he served the revolution ill, he was murdered because he was associated with it. His frame-up and execution mirror the hatred and fear the Kremlin holds for the authentic socialist movement of the Soviet-bloc working class.

... Seek Return to Stalin-Type Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

of 64 Communist Parties in Moscow last November marked the first step in that direction. The "leading position" of the Soviet Communist Party was reaffirmed there, and "revisionism" — a label applied to those who continued criticism of the Soviet and Eastern bureaucratic regimes — declared to be the greatest evil within the CP's. Only the Yugoslavs refused to sign the principal declaration of the conference, although they subscribed to the manifesto on peace.

When at their party Congress in April, the Yugoslavs indicated that they would not subordinate themselves to the Kremlin, but would continue

to uphold their country's national independence and their criticisms of Stalinism, they came in for Moscow's and Peking's ferocious attack. It was designed to force the Yugoslavs to capitulate or, at the very least, to isolate them once again from the East European satellites.

Where the Yugoslavs stood firm, Gomulka, fearful of Soviet military intervention, has been capitulating to the Kremlin. He cracked down on "revisionists" in his party — often the men who helped him to power, moved to cripple the workers' councils, and in the course of the last several days lined up completely with the Soviet-Chinese attacks upon the Yugoslavs.

It is true that economic reforms are being continued throughout the Soviet orbit. The regime is seeking to meet its promises for increased living standards and has granted a series of important concessions to the peasants.

In Eastern Europe, it is reported that the Soviet government is sending more goods into the countries than it is taking out. This is the reverse of relations that obtained prior

to the Hungarian Revolution. In fact, the heavy tribute that the Kremlin exacted from its satellites was one of the causes for the uprising.

But although the Kremlin does not dare wipe out those concessions — especially the economic — already made, it

seeks desperately to prevent any independent movement of the masses from intervening in Hungary to push the reforms further to a complete liquidation of the bureaucratic despotism. Hence the need to turn to repression, to threaten, to bully and to purge.

Hungarian Tragedy

By PETER FRYER

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Monday, July 7, 1958

Wall St. Journal and Little Rock

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

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

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

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

bases to give time for "tempers to cool and for men to think." It's ready to spend the last dollar of the American people for war budgets (dropping big, juicy profits into the pockets of businessmen in the process) and send U.S. marines to the far corners of the earth for not only quick and immoderate, but also highly dangerous "change."

Yet if one looks a little deeper it is possible to see that the Wall Street Journal is not so inconsistent after all. Billionaires think basically in tune with the cash register. Jim Crow is an extra source of profit to the capitalists. It cheapens labor and divides the workers. They have more solid reasons than a philosophy of moderation to hope for a slow-passing, or none at all, of the outrage and injustice of Jim Crow.

And the "freedom" they're preparing to go to war for, not so calmly, moderately or patiently, is really their own freedom to make profits in Africa, Asia, Latin-America — and in the Soviet orbit. The editors of the Journal are not stupid. They're too smart to tell the truth even if they could see it.

"Blind Apologetics"

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

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

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

By using demagogic "left" phrase-

ology about fighting for a class-struggle program, the Fosterites won the support of many militants in the party who were repulsed by the unabashed reformism of Gates and who wanted to make the CP into a party capable of organizing the American workers for socialism.

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

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

The legal concept of coming into court "with clean hands" applies with full force in the court of working-class public opinion. Those in the Communist Party who are concerned with proving to the American workers that socialism and justice are inseparable will demand a complete repudiation of the Worker's disgraceful editorial effort to whitewash an indefensible injustice. The editorial represents not the "return to Leninism" that was promised the party ranks, but a return to the worst features of Stalinism.

Worker's Bookshelf

For Summer Reading

For those who plan to use part of their vacations for reading or study Pioneer Publishers recommends the following list.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. 256 pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 plus 15 cents postage.

The finest and most comprehensive Marxist work on art yet written. Trotsky not only extends and enriches earlier Marxist studies of literature; he deals with questions history had not placed before them: the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after the conquest of state power.

UNADDRESSED LETTERS and ART AND SOCIAL LIFE. By G. Plekhanov. 243 pp \$1.00.

This little book is valuable for its materialist analysis of the role and meaning of art from primitive times to the 19th Century.

ANTI-DUHRING. By Frederick Engels. 546 pp. \$1.35.

Starting out as a polemic, this work developed into a positive exposition of the dialectic method and the socialist world outlook.

DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By Frederick Engels 496 pp. \$1.50.

Engels explains the basic laws of dialectical thought, and illustrates their workings by examples from natural science and mathematics.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. By James P. Cannon. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75 Paper \$2.00.

The book comprises a series of twelve lectures delivered in

New York. An absorbing story of the struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in the U.S. from the founding of the Communist Party to the launching of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE. By Karl Marx. Cloth \$1.50. Paper 75 cents.

In 1852, an adventurer made himself dictator of France under circumstances and in a manner that foreshadowed the rise of "strong-man" rule in modern times. Highly pertinent as an aid in understanding de Gaulle's rise to power in France today.

OUT OF THE DEPTHS. By Barron B. Beshoar. 372 pp. Regular price \$3.50. Special for this column \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

The Ludlow Massacre was the end result of a bitterly fought strike of coal miners against the Colorado Rockefeller interest. It has become the prime example of the class struggle in its most naked form. This book is a carefully compiled document of every stage of the struggle and reads like an exciting novel.

THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. By John Wexley. 672 pp. Original price \$6.00. Now \$3.00 plus 20 cents postage.

An intensive, carefully documented examination of the trial of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. Of this book, Prof. Francis D. Wormuth the West-ern Political Review said: "Obviously the Department of Justice cannot answer all criti-

cisms. But unless it answers Mr. Wexley's, we must conclude that the Rosenberg case is our Dreyfus case, outdoing the first in sordidness, cruelty and terror."

THE NAKED GOD. By Howard Fast. 197 pp. Regular price \$3.50. Special price, \$2.85, plus 15 cents postage.

An absorbing and informative account of the author's personal experiences with Stalinism.

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 224 pp. Regular price, \$3.75. Special price, \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

The technical aspects are examined in detail, and an analysis made of its impact on the social structure.

KARL LIEBKNECHT. By Karl W. Mayer. 180 pp. Regular price \$3.25. Special price, \$2.75 plus 15 cents postage.

In the generation since the assassination of this great revolutionary leader there has been only one other biography of him written and it has not been translated from the German. This new biography in English will fill a deplorable gap in the bookshelves of socialist-minded Americans.

FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Karl Kautsky. 400 pp. Original price \$5.50. Now \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

A profound historical study of the origins of Christianity. A Marxist classic.

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

Two Speeches for United Socialist Ticket

(The following are excerpts from brief addresses by Joyce Cowley and Richard DeHaan to the New York United Independent Socialist Conference held June 13-15. The addresses were made in the opening session, Friday night, June 13. Joyce Cowley was Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor last year. Richard DeHaan is chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. A report of the conference, the text of the draft platform and excerpts from other speeches were printed in the June 23 and 30 issues of the Militant.—Ed.)



JOYCE COWLEY

Joyce Cowley

The last time that I shared a platform with Vincent Hallinan, the main speaker of this evening, was in the mayoralty campaign of 1957, when I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate. At that time I expressed the hope that all socialist tendencies would be able to unite in election campaigns to challenge both capitalist parties. In this Conference tonight—in the various individuals and tendencies represented and in their determination to advance the cause of independent socialist action in the election campaign—I see the realization of that hope. And I am sure it looks like the beginning of a successful campaign that will give voice to all those who seek to build a socialist society, free from H-bombs, racism, witch hunts and economic exploitation.

A socialist campaign can tell the truth about the Democratic and Republican parties. They can examine the record and show that both are pro-war parties, and that both have conducted witch hunts. Both have failed to enact a program for civil rights for Negroes, or to enforce it. We can

also bring socialist ideas to tens of thousands, and possibly hundreds of thousands of workers in New York State . . . **ONE-PARTY SYSTEM**

Above all, we want to bring the idea of independent, working-class politics to the workers of this state. Because this alone will make it possible to transform our present society and make the socialist future a reality. This Conference marks a break with class collaboration in politics, which has paralyzed the labor movement and blocked the formation of a labor party. We really don't have a two-party system in America, we have a one-party system, because both parties represent the same class interests.

And I say it's not practical to expect capitalist parties to adopt policies contrary to the interests of the class they represent.

Now, in looking at the history of third parties, some people may feel discouraged, but remember that not all third parties have failed. The Republican Party was organized six years before it elected a President. And that was because it arose in a period of

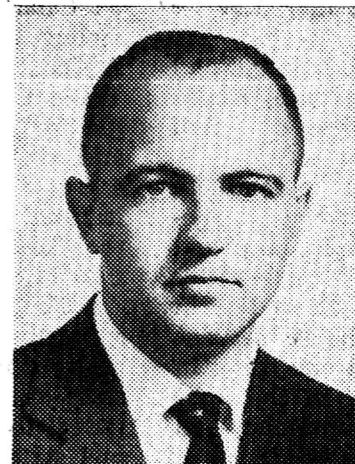
national crisis, and answered the needs of that period. Today we are faced with a world crisis, in which only the socialists offer an alternative to the anarchy of our present society. And this demands that they make a new political start.

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

Our program, I am sure, will call for legislation to improve wages and working conditions; for slum clearance and low-cost public housing; for laws to end all forms of discrimination with teeth in them; for schools, recreation facilities and the child-care centers that our children need instead of reformatories and mental hospitals.

SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

But we must go further and consistently present an alternative to the capitalist system, which creates problems of slum housing, segregation and delinquency, which profits from misery and exploitation, which is responsible for the depression that now grips our economy and which at the same time



RICHARD DeHAAN

threatens us with annihilation in another war.

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

Richard DeHaan

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

Youth have the most to gain from a just and humane society and the most to lose through compromise with the irrational reality. Not only do they share in the general dehumanization of capitalist society, but as youth they are particularly affected by the evils of capitalism

and imperialism. . . . The unique situation of young people in America today has produced a total change of atmosphere, a development which is especially noticeable on the campuses. Caught in an unprecedented economic and ideological crisis, youth are turning to radical solutions for their problems. We, of the Young Socialist Alliance, became convinced of this development not only theoretically but have had occasion to observe it in practice.

FREE-SPEECH FIGHTS

Because of this unique relation between youth and socialism, then, and because I have the floor anyway, I am going to utilize it for a plug. One task which any united socialist ticket will surely face is that of . . . persistent and uninhibited exercise of the freedoms of speech, press and assembly. The preservation and exercise of these rights is the first order of business for any socialist movement. Now we, in the short year of our existence, have had some experience in these matters. We have carried the message of socialism to the streets and on the campuses of this city. We have presented the socialist alternative to high school and college students by newspaper and leaflet, by street meetings and public lectures, by personal contacts and by participation in the broad student movements.

The youth of New York City have evidenced a sincere interest in organizing a socialist movement independent of any political party or adult group, broad enough to include socialists of all persuasions. Although still in the process of formulating their political attitudes these youth are militant in the prosecution of socialist aims and in identification with the socialist tradition. In the course of this activity, we have fought and won two important victories for free speech in New York City.

STREET MEETINGS

The first involved the right to distribute socialist literature on the streets. Two of our comrades were arrested for pressing their right to do so. And we went on to win the case. The second fight occurred only last week. During a series of street meetings outside the Bronx High School of Science, two of our comrades were arrested for disobeying police orders to desist from holding a meeting and to move along.

Two days later, we returned to Bronx Science in strength. We informed one Captain Kelly that if he interfered with any speaker, he would have to arrest all of us. We carried that point, and held a successful meeting at which the principles of socialism were presented to an audience of several hundred high school students.

The case of the two is still pending in the courts and we have every confidence that we shall win there as well.

Now, in all modesty, we think that these activities have been instrumental in re-opening the streets of New York to socialist speakers. And, what is even more important, re-opening the minds of New Yorkers to socialist ideas . . .

I would like, finally, to point out the relationship between this independent socialist electoral conference and the youth of New York State. I often think that the lesser evil theory of politics must have been invented by a very old man. The fervid—sometimes embarrassingly so—rationalism of young people is such that when confronted with this theory, they instinctively say, "Lesser evil? But we don't favor any evil at all in any form!"

"PRACTICAL" POLITICS

This is, I submit, a proper attitude for both the young and the young in heart. So-called practical politics have never in the course of history proved attractive to any but those on the defensive for a lost cause. Socialism, as the wave of the future, does not require and cannot afford contamination with "practical" politics . . . In New York State, especially, it would take a man of infinite courage to ask of young people to help return to Albany the man who assiduously fostered and intensified the witch hunt and thought control in the schools of this state, Averell Harriman.

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

Socialists Protest Little Rock Ruling

NEW YORK, June 25—President Eisenhower and Attorney General William P. Rogers were urged today by the Continuations Committee of the United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference to intervene in the Little Rock school integration dispute.

In a telegram signed by John T. McManus and Henry Abrams, co-chairmen of the Committee, Eisenhower was asked to "use his good offices to restrain lawless elements" who might take advantage of the recent federal court decision in Little Rock postponing integration to engage in anti-integration violence.

The president was also urged to instruct the Attorney General to intercede in any appeal from the Little Rock court order as a friend of the court in order to secure justice in the integration fight. A separate telegram to the Attorney General carried the same message.

The Continuations Committee that pressed for the action is a 13 member group which was empowered June 15 by a three day conference of more than 500 independents and socialists to organize a campaign to put a third slate of candidates on the New York State ballot in November in opposition to the

two major parties. The conference adopted a platform which charged that both the major parties "condone and foster race hatred" and stated that "Further procrastination in integration is intolerable."

The Text of the Telegrams Follow:
President Dwight D. Eisenhower
Washington, D.C.

We strongly urge you to use your good offices to restrain lawless elements who might be encouraged by recent Little Rock court decision and that you instruct U.S. Attorney General to intercede as a friend of the court in behalf of those who will appeal the decision postponing integration.

Attorney General William P. Rogers
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

We strongly urge that the Justice Department intervene as a friend of the court to prevent serious setback to justice as result of recent ruling in Little Rock integration dispute.

UAW Meetings Hear Mich. SWP Candidates

DETROIT, June 29—Several UAW local union meetings heard campaign talks over the weekend by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers candidate for governor and Larry Dolinski, party candidate for lieutenant-governor.

Speaking at UAW Local 212, Dolinski, a former member of the local and one of the pioneers of the early UAW organizing drives, rapped the inadequate measures being taken by the state and federal governments to aid the jobless. "The stingy extension of unemployment relief for 13 weeks by the Eisenhower administration," he said, "is justly criticized by the UAW, and we must recognize that the same measure is of no greater help to the unemployed when it is proposed in Michigan by Governor Williams."

At Dodge UAW Local 3, Dolinski spoke along with several other candidates including Congressman Machrowicz. The congressman said he had favored a 16-week extension of jobless benefits but was defeated in this by the Republicans. Dolinski replied, "The 16-week proposal by Machrowicz is a mere crumb, certainly not a solution to the problem." He cited Machrowicz's own admission that only a few would benefit from the 13-week extension and those would only draw half checks during the

extension period.

Frank Lovell spoke at unit meetings of Ford Local 600, where local President Carl Stellato also spoke in behalf of his own candidacy for Congress from the 16th District. Lovell pointed to Stellato's campaign to win the Democratic nomination as one of the many signs of a new awakening of working people to their political needs.

STELLATO CAMPAIGN

He described Stellato's opponent in the primary, Congressman Lesinski, as "one of those Democrats who are always careful to make the record on labor-endorsed bills. But such people are now being judged not simply by their liberal front. They are also being judged by what they failed to do. And in the case of Lesinski, this has resulted in his repudiation by the Ford workers and others in his district." Lovell pointed to this development as underscoring the need for an independent party of labor and said he viewed his own candidacy as spade work for the organization of a labor party in 1960.

Report on French Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

courtyard. The stairwell is stone, the steps worn by thousands of feet which have trod them for over three hundred years. On each landing there is a water tap from which the tenants get their drinking, cooking and washing water. The only toilet for the whole building is on the first landing. Perhaps the less said about French plumbing the better.

Suffice it to say that these sanitary facilities probably date back to the construction of the house in the seventeenth century.

CONDEMNED SINCE '38
Our friends' apartment is on the top floor. It consists of three tiny rooms—a small bedroom for the little boy, a kitchenette in which our friends have installed their own sink with running water (the only one in the building) and a common living, eating and sleeping room. The house is clean, but only hours of work can keep it that way. It is heated with one small coal stove. This house has been condemned since 1938.

We visited other French workers in their homes. We found that the apartment described above was an average working class home—in fact, in some respects, superior.

There is one saving grace in the situation. Rents are very cheap. Our friends pay only about \$7.50 for a quarter.

RENT CONTROL RELAXED

But—the Paris landlords now have a way of getting out from under this very unprofitable arrangement. Rent control has been in effect in France for many years. As a result, landlords refuse to repair their existing property. Furthermore, all construction of low-cost dwellings has been at a virtual standstill for a long time. Now, under a relaxing of rent control, the owners of rental property are allowed to sell their houses and to evict their tenants.

They want either to get entire buildings off their hands, by selling individual apartments to the resident tenants, or to evacuate whole houses so that they can sell the valuable land upon which they stand. Therefore, they offer the apartments to the residents—at from one to three million francs (about \$2,500 to \$7,500) a room! Since very few French workers can raise this kind of money, many are now being evicted and forced either to move in with relatives or take their families to hotels. In this latter case they must pay from \$0,000

to 60,000 francs (about \$125 to \$150) per month for one room.

Clothing presents an equally bad problem. A pair of ordinary men's shoes cost from five to ten thousand francs (\$12.50 to \$25). I saw a woman's cotton skirt on sale for 8,000 francs. Clothing is carefully tended, patched and darned, passed down from one member of the family to another. Children are comparatively well dressed, generally with the help of grandparents. But mothers and fathers do not fare so well. It is only because of style-sense and clever needle work that most French working class women still manage to look smart and chic. Certainly it is not because they dare spend much money on clothing.

MEDICAL INSURANCE

French workers are covered by government medical insurance—but when illness strikes all bills must be paid in cash. One half to two thirds of the medical expenses are then refunded through the insurance—which, incidentally the workers pay for in a form of social-security tax.

Modern technology makes it possible for the workers' homes to be equipped with all the conveniences and comforts—refrigerators, washing machines, tele-

visions, radios, comfortable furniture. But the French workers have none of these. Very few have bathrooms: Even fewer have private toilets. Installment buying has not taken hold among the workers, not because they do not want these conveniences, but for the simple reason that they must make the choice between having them and having food on their tables.

One French worker told me, "When you strike at a Frenchman's table, you make him mad."

And they are mad. As de Gaulle forces the living standards down still further, the workers will get even more angry.

Then watch out. The French workers will show the world, in the spirit of 1871, the way to solve all problems—economic and political.

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The Negro Struggle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the preparatory examination, 61 of the prisoners were released. Ninety-five must stand trial soon before two or three hand-picked judges in a special court designated by the attorney general even though the prisoners asked for a trial by jury.

The book contains an appeal by John Gunther for aid in the fight against the South African frame-up. The American Committee on Africa, Rev. Donald Harrington, chairman, has set up a special South African defense fund. Those who wish to contribute should send to the committee, 4 W. 40th St., New York 18, N.Y.

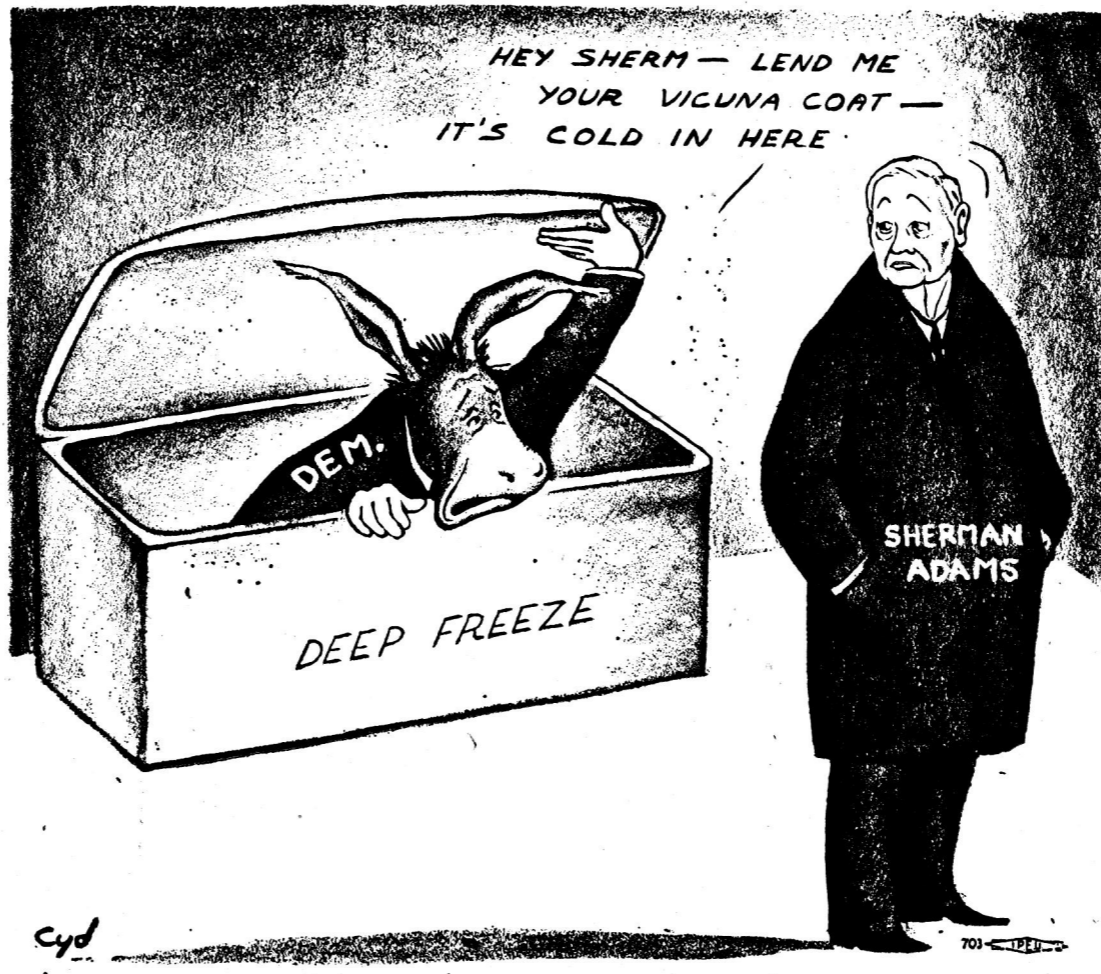
—Lillian Kiesel

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Dr. Pauling Cites Peril to Mankind From A-Testing

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

The noted scientist and lecturer spoke on the topic: "Can We Avoid Nuclear War?" under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. His statements were discussed by a panel composed of Rev. Irving Murray, Unitarian minister; Dr. Charles B. Nutting, director of the Buhl Foundation; Ray Harsaugh, peace education secretary of the Friends Committee; and R. A. Brightsen, president of the Nuclear Science and Engineering Corp.

Dr. Pauling has been fighting against the conducting of bomb tests since 1945. He said, "In 1945 we moved from the one-ton block buster [bomb] to the 20,000 TNT-equivalent A-bomb. From 1952 to 1954 we moved from the 20,000 ton A-bomb to the 20-million-ton super-bomb [the H-bomb]. Altogether it was a change of 20-million tons," he explained. He further declared that bombs made "to kill cities" emphasize the fact that "war no longer has sense."

Dr. Pauling contended that a 20-year period of tests would result in a total of 320,000 children born with "gross physical and mental defects, 1,200,000 dead shortly after childbirth and 2,800,000 embryonic deaths."

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

fusion bomb produces 13 times as much dangerous Carbon-14 as the "dirty" fission bomb. He explained that nuclear tests have already increased the Carbon-14 content of our atmosphere by 10%. Thus the "clean" bomb is "dirtier" than the "dirty" bomb.)

TREATY-BUSTERS

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Nutting, who favored continued tests, expressed the view that it would be impossible to reach an agreement with the Russians, much less to expect it to be honored. The audience was delighted when Dr. Pauling replied by citing the innumerable treaties the United States has broken, including treaties with American Indians.

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

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

"Modern Times" And the Witch Hunt

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

New Bills Would Deny Travel Right

By Ruth Norton

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

Point 1 of this bill would deny the right to travel to "Persons who are members of the Communist Party or any organization which is registered or as to which there is in effect a final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring registration with the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist-action, Communist-front or Communist-infiltrated organization, or who have terminated such membership under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests of the Communist movement or who, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, engage in activities which support the Communist movement under such circumstances as to show that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement."

The wording of the above-quoted clause, deliberately obscure and with no provision for proof of charges, would give to one man, the Secretary of State, control over who can and cannot travel abroad. The worst of the bills are said to be one by Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) and one by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.).

ANTI-SEMITISM

A survey by the Anti-Defamation League revealed that in suburban Detroit one third of the real estate agents "clearly indicated they do not wish to sell or rent to Jews."

Why Blame the Housewife?

By Melba Baker

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

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

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

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

It is the housewife who must cope with and solve to the best of her ability the problem of preparing and serving attractive and wholesome meals with the foods the family can afford. This problem she must contend with day after day, seven days a week, three times a day, and it is harassing. No eating in fancy restaurants nor even in plain, ordinary ones for her. Thus, in addition to being a physical victim of decreasing food supply due to inflated prices she becomes also its emotional and mental victim.

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

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

Daumier Exhibit And Lecture in Los Angeles

JUNE 27 — Honore Daumier, whose lithographs of over a century ago are still treasured for their deep understanding of French social forces and politics, will be exhibited in Los Angeles Saturday, July 19, at Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St., starting at 5:00 P.M. This exhibit celebrates the 150th anniversary of the artist's birth.

The 200 lithographs to be shown are mainly from the plates of the 19th Century French newspaper *Charivari* and are the private collection of George Lavan of New York City.

Mr. Lavan, a staff writer for the *Militant* and authority on French history and politics, will speak on "Daumier, the Artist and the Man," at 8:00 P.M.

The documentary film "1848," which uses contemporary art to portray the 1848 revolution, will also be shown.

The Daumier event is sponsored by the Laura Grey Memorial Committee. Admission for all three features is 50 cents; students, 25 cents.

(Laura Grey, who died recently, was a political cartoonist for the *Militant*. Her work has been published in 20 countries.)

Jim Crow Real Estate Men Hit by Calif. Court

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, June 28 — Home builders can no longer refuse to sell to Negroes and other minority peoples if they use Veteran or FHA financing ruled Superior Judge James H. Oakley in a long-pending case filed in Sacramento four years ago by NAACP attorneys on behalf of Oliver A. Ming.

Nathaniel S. Colley, NAACP Attorney, hailed Oakley's decision as one which "grants us the essential relief we are seeking — a declaration that it is unlawful for builders and subdividers to obtain financing through the FHA or VA and then exclude Negroes from housing."

Oakley held that the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration cannot discriminate on the basis of color, race or religion when granting loans and that builders seeking government money must abide by the policy. But, whereas Ming and the NAACP charged that there was an organized conspiracy among the builders and real estate agents to deny housing on an equal basis, Oakley called it "unconsciously uniform action," and held that "there was concert of action only in that each defendant had the same ideas he had always been taught."

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

Richard E. Doyle, executive vice-president of the Associated Home Builders, Inc. of San Francisco, said that "there may be no statistics to prove that, but as a representative of the home builders it is the theory under which I operate."

"Not all was serene in the home builders back yard, however. One of the largest builders in the area, Joseph L. Eichler, threatened to resign unless the Association issued a "forthright and unequivocal statement... denouncing discrimination..." He set a July 1 deadline for Association action.

"I also wish to state," wrote Eichler, "that I personally, as well as the key members of my organization, am utterly opposed to any kind of discrimination whatsoever." This is the first break in the solid front of builders and real estate operators here.

Letters from Our Readers

Canadian Politics

Editor:

The Canadian working-class movement has much to learn from the American workers and vice-versa. As your editorial of May 26 titled "Labor Party Move in Canada" suggests, in the field of independent labor political action Canadian workers are pioneering for their U.S. brothers. As evidence of this your editorial presents information on the national convention of the united Canadian Labor Congress in Winnipeg, April 21-25.

On the basis of material from Union News (voice of the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union), you give the impression that the convention's instruction to the executive that it report to the next convention on a plan for the formation of "an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers" marks a great new stride forward by the Canadian workers into the field of independent labor political action.

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

Your editorial does not mention the CCF without which it is extremely difficult to intel-

ligently talk about "Why did they [the union leadership] do it" — that is, why did they pass this resolution?

The various tendencies and forces at the convention supported the resolution for various and quite different reasons. The Canadian Gomerites supported it not at all because they have suddenly become sensitive to the pressure of the unemployed or worried about a Tory anti-labor offensive, but because it is difficult to approach the Tories who appear to be very solidly entrenched for hand-outs with the label of an opposition party around one's neck. Others supported the resolution because they hoped that a new impetus in a more militant direction would be given to the forces that have been compelled to go along with the rightward moving CCF.

The immediate impact of this resolution would appear to be of a minus character. It has had the effect of sinking many CCF clubs. The CCF leadership, which, incidentally, supported the resolution, has interpreted it to free them to move even more to the right in the direction of coalescence with so-called progressive forces in the capitalist Liberal Party. Its long-range character, given the deepening economic crisis, will probably be of a salutary nature.

With the CCF, the Canadian workers have had an experience with a labor party. Some of them have had even more than that. They have had an experience as to what kind of labor party they really need — one with a class-struggle program.

P. Kent Toronto

Praises Platform

Editor:

I wish to say how much I liked this week's (June 23) *Militant*. The preamble to the United Socialist Draft Platform reads great and the United Conference proceedings are very interesting all through. I do not see that the preamble can be improved on as a statement of socialism.

E.J.H. New Jersey

Profits and Prices

Editor:

Wall Street brokerage concerns are advising their clients to buy the common stock of Food Processors and Food Distributors. Many of these giant corporations operate on the principle of never give the customer a break and are showing fantastic profits.

As an example take the National Dairy Products Corporation. This is the largest dairy outfit in the country and has around 300 subsidiaries including the Kraft Cheese Co. In Detroit, it owns the Detroit Creamery Co. and many other distributors.

Since the end of World War II, a period of just twelve years, National Dairy has made such stupendous profits as to cause it to boost its dividend rate NINE separate times. Here is just more proof that it isn't the wage scale that's causing high prices, but rather blind greed for shameful and outrageous profits.

Charles C. Lockwood Detroit

Unfit to Print?

Editor:

Here is an item from the

... UAW Strike Broken

(Continued from Page 1)

employees have been hired. The local union now represents approximately 470 of the plant's 8,500 workers.

The national UAW contract with Chrysler expired June 1 and work has proceeded without contract for the last four weeks. Negotiations have continued between Local 1245 and the company during this time. On June 9 a "memorandum of understanding" was issued which averted strike action at that time and provided for continued negotiations. On Friday, June 20, the company announced that "all outstanding issues have been resolved" and ended discussions with the Local.

The following Sunday the union voted for immediate strike action. Monday morning more than 50% of the employees remained away from work. Lt. Col. A. S. Greenberg, army contract administrator, reported "Operations are at a standstill." (June 24 *Detroit Times*.)

Pickets covered all 16 plant parking lot gates. Traffic was jammed for miles around the plant. The picket line was led by Local 1245's Flying Squadron. On the second day of the strike, reinforcements came

from sympathetic members of UAW mechanics Local 412 and Chrysler office workers Local 889. Wives of strikers appeared to bolster the line and aid the strikers.

On Tuesday, June 24, the UAW international officers declared the strike unauthorized and ordered the local officers to try to get the workers back on the job. Official UAW policy during the four weeks of work without a contract has been to "turn the other cheek" and hold up any action until the new model production begins in August.

PENTAGON PLEA

A Pentagon plea to end the strike was made directly to UAW heads meeting in Solidarity House in Detroit. The June 24 *Detroit Times* reports that the "Pentagon was told the international was doing its best to end the strike and at that very moment UAW president Walter Reuther was meeting with heads of the UAW Chrysler department."

By Wednesday morning several hundred additional pickets had joined the line. 150 police were called to the scene, and scuffles between police and strikers were reported. Several men were arrested. Angry pick-

ets responded to demands of the international officers by shouting: "The International hasn't paid any attention to us. Now it's our turn."

Walter P. Reuther, President of the UAW, and now director of its Chrysler division, called a meeting of top UAW aides (including Emil Mazey, Richard T. Gosser, Leonard Woodcock, Norman Matthews and Pat Greathouse, all vice presidents) and Local 1245 officers. The local officers were ordered to get their men back to work by 7 A.M. Thursday or face immediate removal and appointment of an international administrator. The meeting with Reuther lasted two-and-three-quarter hours and resulted in a promise that the International Executive Board would negotiate Local 1245's grievances with the Chrysler Corporation.

A few minutes after the meeting County Circuit Judge James E. Spier granted a company request for an injunction barring mass-picketing demonstrations.

With this two point crackdown from the International and the Courts, Milan Matich, President of Local 1245 called a local meeting, and the membership voted, though not unanimously to return to work.