

## A British Union Speaks on Hungary

(See Page 2)

Vol. XXI - No. 24

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1957

PRICE 10c

### A Growing Menace



## SWP Convention Discusses Socialist Regroupment Tasks

By Murry Weiss

NEW YORK, June 9—The 17th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party concluded here today after a three-day meeting which focused its main attention on the regroupment situation in the radical movement.

The convention vigorously debated and discussed a full agenda of problems: the international situation (with particular attention to the Soviet orbit); the regroupment question; the struggle for Negro equality; prospects of a united socialist youth organization in the U.S.; the socialist press and publications, party organization and finances; and the situation in the world socialist movement. In addition, the delegates devoted their evenings to the work of commissions and panels on the trade unions, civil liberties, youth, and socialist literature.

### CONDITIONS IN U.S.

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, gave the main Political Report to the convention, devoted primarily to the regroupment process. In the course of his report and summary Dobbs placed the struggle for a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the context of

world and U.S. objective conditions. "The ferment in radical circles," he said, "has been precipitated by the world crisis of Stalinism which has produced repercussions in American politics through the crisis within the CP."

Describing the extent of the ferment in the ranks of the CP and all radical circles, Dobbs said, "The shake-up does not in any sense reflect the pressures on the radical movement generated by a class struggle atmosphere in the unions. Conservatism still predominates within organized labor and the whole radical movement remains generally isolated from the mass organizations."

Dobbs carefully cited the symptoms of growing restiveness and discontent of the American working class:

"Apprehension over creeping unemployment, underlined by the growing support to the 30-40 demand; resistance to the man-killing speedup, leading quite often to wildcat strikes; dissatisfaction with the general bureaucratic policies as revealed through the opposition to the dues increases, the running of rank-and-file slates against machine candidates and the overflow attendance at the UAW caucus meet-

# 'Let People Vote on Whether Nuclear Tests Shall Go On'

## Danger of Radioactivity Held Great in Minnesota

By Tom Leonard

MINNEAPOLIS, June 6—The Midwest is one of the most radioactive areas in the world as regards the presence of strontium-90, a cancer-producing chemical which is part of the fallout following nuclear-weapon tests in the U.S.A.

This fact was cited by a University of Minnesota scientist, Dr. William O. Caster, in an article in the local press, May 17, in which he alerted the people of the state to this menace.

Caster is an assistant professor of physiology and is currently studying the biological effects

of radiation under Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and Public Health Service grants.

"About 1955," said Caster, "according to my calculations from AEC figures, this area reached about 10 percent of the maximum safe strontium-90 concentration. In the next 10 or 15 years we will reach the maximum value compatible with public health and welfare, even without further bomb testing."

He went on to say that "After the Nevada bomb tests, the wind blows from west to east, and the Midwest is the first area of reasonable rainfall you hit. The strontium is washed out of the atmosphere, gets in our soil and then gets in all foodstuffs and water."

### AFFECTS CHILDREN WORST

Strontium is absorbed into the bone when consumed, and according to Caster, can produce cancer in "about 30 years." He said that the menace is not "immediate" for the average member of the population but warned: "Growing children, however, absorb strontium-90 into their bones four or five times faster than adults."

Several days later, during a press interview, he again warned the public of this danger to children. He intimated that one of the reasons for reporting his views was that he wanted "to give them a fighting chance."

So far the only organized response to Caster's warning has come from a group of Minnesota University students. They ran off a crude petition on a "ditto" machine with the object of gathering 10,000 signatures. Addressed to President Eisenhower and Senators Humphrey and Thyne, both of Minnesota, the petition reads as follows:

"Gentlemen:

In the light of recent disclosures made by a University of Minnesota scientist that the Midwest is the globe's top radioactive fallout area, we urge you, in the interests of our personal safety and that of the generations to come, to take every measure in your power to bring about the immediate and permanent end of thermo-nuclear testing. The tests in Nevada endanger our health, that of our children, and that of

people all over the United States; ultimately these and any such tests endanger the lives of mankind everywhere.

"In the interests, therefore, of humanity—interests which transcend those of state and nation—we petition that you end thermo-nuclear racial suicide."

## Report US Fallout Of Strontium 90 Highest in World

The United States has a higher known cumulative fallout of Strontium 90 than any other country in the world, according to an Atomic Energy Commission report submitted to Rep. Hollifield (D-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Atomic Subcommittee and reported by Robert Allen in his syndicated column, June 10.

A direct product of nuclear tests, Strontium 90, is absorbed by humans in their milk, water and food. Like calcium, it forms deposits in the bone structure. In sufficient quantities it leads to fatal cancer of the bone.

### THREE CITIES

With its accumulation measured in terms of millicuries, the general U.S. average fallout of this deadly element is estimated at 14.2 millicuries. Three cities in the Rocky Mountain area have the fearful distinction of cumulative fallout far higher than the average. Albuquerque, N. M., leads with 34.9 millicuries. Salt Lake City, Utah has 34.6, and Grand Junction, Colo., has 27.7 millicuries. The heavy dosage in these three areas is attributed, first, to their proximity to the Nevada nuclear testing site and, second, to their location in relation to the hydrogen testing site at Eniwetok in the Pacific.

In one breath the compilers of the report insist that these figures indicate no peril for these particular areas or the country as a whole. But in the next breath they concede that no scientific conclusion has been reached on just what is the dangerous Strontium level.



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York.

## American Forum Draws 500 at First N.Y. Meet

NEW YORK, June 12 — Despite sweltering heat, over 500 New Yorkers gave their answer to Sen. Eastland tonight by turning out for the first public meeting of the newly organized American Forum for Socialist Education.

Dedicated to free and untrammelled discussion of all socialist viewpoints, the American Forum has drawn heavy fire from the witch-hunters for its insistence on the right of Communist Party members, as well as members of all other radical tendencies, to participate.

Coinciding with tonight's meeting was an announcement from the Justice Department that it "is very much interested in the possible Communist control" of the organization. This came as a reply to the "suggestion" of Senator Butler (R-Md.) that the Justice Department initiate action to determine if the American Forum falls under the scope of the Communist Control Act.

### NO RETREAT

Vigorous applause greeted A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum, as he opened tonight's meeting by reiterating that the organization would not retreat before the "undemocratic and evil" attack of the witch-hunters. Muste also announced that the American Civil Liberties Union had informed him that if he is hailed before a Congressional committee, the ACLU "will regard it as a duty and an honor to provide for my defense."

The meeting heard addresses on the purpose of the American Forum by three of its national committee members and then went on to questions from the floor addressed to other New York members of the national committee present on the platform.

The noted educator, Dr. Stringfellow Barr, told the meeting that although he was a non-socialist he wanted to help build the American Forum because "I am sick of the political apathy in a country that makes it dangerous to even ask questions, no less search for answers."

Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker stated that the members of the American Forum, are by and large agreed on the kind of a society we need. "Our problem," she continued, "is how to achieve that society. These are the great matters for our discussion."

In a slashing attack on the

## Socialist Workers Nominee Calls for Nationwide Ballot

JUNE 13 — Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, today demanded that the American people be given the right to decide by referendum vote whether nuclear tests are to be continued or stopped. The text of Joyce Cowley's statement follows:

"I call for a national referendum in which the people of America will decide whether the U.S. government shall continue or stop nuclear-weapon tests.

"These tests endanger the lives and health of future generations as well as our own, and all of us in the country today should have a voice in deciding the question.

"Irresponsible politicians who still attempt, in the face of ominous evidence and mounting public protest to minimize the danger of the tests, should not have the power to gamble with the world's future.

"Two thousand leading U.S. scientists, who signed a petition demanding an immediate end of the tests, have declared that 'each additional amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world.'

"They warned that children for twenty generations to come will be born physically and mentally defective. This is the opinion of scientists with a close working knowledge of the effects of radiation.

"The politicians in Washington, in a shameful effort to defend the tests, have questioned the competence and attacked the integrity of these world-famous scientists. Secretary of Defense Wilson dismissed their warnings with a joke about the greater danger of smoking cigarettes. The safety of all of us, and the future of humanity itself can be jeopardized by the arbitrary decision of such men.

"The Soviet Union has already expressed willingness to come to an agreement with the United States to end nuclear tests. "In a recent Gallup poll 63% of the American people questioned said they thought this country and the USSR should come to such an agreement.

"This is an indication of how the American people feel about the matter, and I am confident that in a national referendum they will vote against all 'calculated risks' (as the Washington politicians and brass hats themselves call the tests) which lead to catastrophe.

"I will make the democratic right of the American people to decide the question of further nuclear-weapon tests a main issue in my campaign."

## Reuther to Punish for Using Legal Right

DETROIT—In a ten-page administrative letter sent June 5 to all United Auto Workers' local unions, Walter Reuther, UAW International President, outlined actions to be taken against any official of the union who utilizes the protection guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution in defending himself and the union against the anti-labor investigations now being conducted by Senate committees in Washington.

Reuther's administrative order provides: (1) the trial procedure of the UAW constitution shall not apply in such cases; (2) instead, a hearing shall be conducted by the local union executive committee; (3) if the officer brought before the executive committee cannot prove his innocence, he shall be removed from office; (4) action of the local executive board is subject to a vote of the membership of the local; (5) any action by the local union is "subject to review by the International Executive

Board and the Public Review Board, and/or the Convention in order to insure compliance with the letter and the spirit of the UAW Constitution and the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Codes."

Reuther's administrative order, punishing for use of the Fifth Amendment, came three days after a U.S. Supreme Court decision which held that use of the Fifth Amendment did not imply guilt in any way.

### EASTLAND HEARINGS

Reuther's order is the direct and immediate result of a series of provocative "Communist hearings" conducted over the past several weeks in Washington by the Senate Internal Security Committee headed by Eastland from Mississippi. On May 14 the Eastland committee called before it Paul Boatin, Walter Dorosh, and John Orr. All are officials of UAW Ford Local 600. John Orr, is vice-president of the local. Also brought before the committee was Jimmy Watts, editor of the local's paper, Ford Facts.

Boatin was a sympathetic witness for the Eastland Committee. He confessed past membership in the Communist party and listed the names of others who were in the party with him. Walter Dorosh refused to cooperate with the committee in any way, refusing to answer

questions under protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment. Watts and Orr likewise refused to cooperate with the committee, but did not utilize the protection of the Fifth Amendment. These non-cooperative witnesses had the aid and assistance of Carl Stellato, Local 600 president, at the hearings.

Another group of UAW members were ordered to appear before the Senate Internal Security Committee on May 23. They were Edith Van Horn, from UAW Dodge Local 3, Max Trachtenberg, from UAW DeSoto Local 227, and Hyman Fireman from UAW Local 460. Miss Van Horn and Trachtenberg are elected members of the union committee in their plants. All invoked the Fifth Amendment rather than testify for Eastland's benefit. A fourth, unidentified, UAW member appeared before the committee at these hearings as a cooperative witness.

### MORE SUBPENAED

On May 28 the Eastland committee again turned its attention to UAW Ford Local 600. Three more members from that local were subpoenaed to appear. They were Mack Cincorzi, James M. Simmons, and Harry N. Philo. All are minor officials of the local, and all refused to cooperate, claiming protection under the Fifth Amendment.

Eastland is powerless to cite these UAW members for contempt of Congress and must submit any evidence of wrong doing against them in open court, where they have an opportunity to confront their accusers.

### REUTHER TAKES OVER

Reuther now assumes the persecution of these UAW members where Eastland is forced to leave off. The first result of Reuther's administrative ruling was the public announcement, June 7, by the UAW president of DeSoto Local 227 that Max Trachtenberg had been removed as union steward in the trim division of the DeSoto plant. This action was taken without benefit even of the

procedure prescribed by the recent Reuther edict.

Before Reuther issued his administrative order, Carl Stellato had denounced Paul Boatin — a recent convert to Reuther in Local 600 — for aiding the anti-union efforts of the Eastland Committee. In a signed editorial in Ford Facts, Stellato also defended the democratic rights guaranteed by the first ten amendments of the U.S. Constitution. This statement by Stellato was subsequently read into the record of the Eastland Committee hearings by committee counsel Robert Morris. Morris commented for the record, "This is an extraordinary position for Mr. Stellato to take."

### STELLATO'S PROCEDURE

Since receipt of Reuther's latest order in the matter Stellato has announced that all members of UAW Ford Local 600 who sought protection under the Fifth Amendment will be brought before the local executive board for a hearing in accordance with the five-point procedure laid down by Reuther. Stellato added in his announcement of compliance, however, that the democratic practice of assuming a man is innocent until proven guilty will govern all hearings of UAW Local 600 executive board. This is exactly contrary to what Reuther has demanded.



REUTHER

See Editorial

On Reuther Decree

Page 3

Executive committee; (5) any action by the local union is "subject to review by the International Executive



# Is Gates Handing The CP to Foster?

By Harry Ring

The New York State Communist Party—until recently the major stronghold of the Gates wing of the CP leadership—is now being handed on a silver platter to the group led by William Z. Foster.

This new gain will be used by Foster and his associates to further their aim of re-Stalinizing the party.

Foster's newest victory came when on June 7, the N.Y. State Committee announced the election of Benjamin Davis as state chairman, George Blake Charney as state secretary and William Weinstein as educational director.

Davis is Foster's chief lieutenant, Charney is a Gates supporter and Weinstein is a Dennis man.

This "equal" three-way split of key posts, for all practical purposes, leaves the Gates forces hamstrung. Yet the decision flows from the insistence of the Gatesites at the recent state convention, where they had a majority, that all three tendencies be equally represented on the newly-elected state committee. The strategy was motivated by the truly utopian conception that such organizational concessions to Foster would bring "unity" to the factionally-torn party.

## FOSTERITES TAKE OVER

That such strategy can only serve to hand control to the Fosterites was demonstrated at the recent Kings County convention in New York. There, after a hassle on the issue of personnel for the new joint leadership, the local Foster people simply elected their own county leadership. This brushing aside of the agreed-upon three-way leadership division was later protested to the state committee where the Foster-Dennis combination refused to act in the matter.

The increasing Fosterite control of the party apparatus has been paralleled, and even aided, by a steady exodus of members from the party in the post-convention period. The membership loss has been accompanied by a continuing decline in the circulation of the Daily Worker and an increasing lack of ability to raise funds to keep it going. At the two-third mark in the \$100,000 fund drive for the paper, less than \$16,000 has been contributed.

These heavy losses spell out the inability of any section of the party leadership to cope with the political crisis which wracks the organization. Unanimous statements by the party leadership have proclaimed that the national convention hammered out a draft resolution that provided the party with a "new look" and the basis for moving forward. But the decline and isolation grow more precipitous. Why?

## SILENCE ON ISSUES

For the sake of illusory "unity" with Foster, the Gates faction decided not to pursue its differences with the Fosterites. This course serves to stifle programmatic discussion throughout the ranks. Thus the Gatesites agreed to "neither condemn nor condone" the Kremlin's crushing of the Hungarian revolution, thereby further compromising the party and at the same time choking off the possibility of any further internal discussion of this vital issue.

Since the national convention, which resolved none of the problems confronting the party, the Gates wing of the leadership have shouted themselves hoarse about the need to "get down to work to bring our program to the people" and have vainly appealed for an end to "factionalism" in the party. The logical climax to the "anti-faction" campaign came with the reported declaration by a prominent Gatesite that the Gates group itself was responsible for the present factional situation in New York.

Meanwhile, it becomes increasingly apparent that Foster's per-

spective of stifling all discussion or criticism of the Kremlin bureaucracy coincides with an international drive to re-monolithize the Communist parties, as testified to by the French, Italian, British and Canadian conventions.

The character of this international campaign is made clear in Alan Max's open letter of protest in the June 4 Daily Worker against the report on the CP convention in the March issue of International Affairs, the English-language magazine published in Moscow. Taking issue with its assertion that "the convention consisted of a rejection of 'revisionist' attempts to 'derail the party,'" Max points out that a number of CP organs abroad have sung this same tune and he comments sarcastically, "How these publications happen to carry such similar reports, I do not know."

## DW ALSO AT FAULT

He then warns International Affairs that such reporting can "only tend to shake the confidence of your readers in the ability of your journal to give sound political estimates."

As managing editor of the Daily Worker, Max could well heed his own sound advice. While such publications as International Affairs have not hesitated to make political estimates with a fine disregard for facts, the Daily Worker, ever since it threw in the towel on Hungary, has been guilty of a variation of the same defect. Despite an ample supply of facts, the Daily Worker editors have never presented any political conclusions that might bring them into further collision with Foster.

This, of course, is all right with Foster. He is determined, regardless of cost or consequence, that the party must be reduced to its previous state of blind apologetics for the Moscow bureaucrats. Such a goal can not be realized by a process of free discussion. And that's why he doesn't want any—either inside or outside the party.

Foster's attitude toward discussion is perhaps most clearly revealed by his attitude toward the American Forum for Socialist Education. Lack of Fosterite participation in the American Forum has made it an open secret throughout the radical movement that he wants no part of it.

But on what reasonable grounds can the Fosterites object to the American Forum or to CP participation in it? Composed of every shade of socialist thought, its sole function is well-expressed in its recent statement, "A time for questions—A search for socialist answers."

## A PRIME NECESSITY

Such a discussion is the number one need of the entire American radical movement today. Who would argue that it is any less the need of the Communist Party? Even if convinced of the correctness of its own particular viewpoint, no section of the radical movement can expect to influence today's socialist-minded workers and youth unless it is ready to put its views to the test of confrontation with all those contending with it. And for the members of the CP there is a special urgency to the discussion of conflicting views for which the American Forum is now providing a vehicle. Failure to clarify and to arrive at correct positions on precisely the great issues now under debate throughout the radical movement is what led the members of the CP into their present impasse. Only a thoroughgoing, democratic discussion can provide the way out.

# A Political Document from Hungary

We publish below excerpts from a mimeographed document signed "Hungaricus," dated December 1956. It was written by a person who, in the days prior to the October 1956 revolution, belonged to the opposition (anti-Rakosi, anti-Geroe wing) of the Hungarian Communist party. Representative excerpts from the document were first published in the Jan. 31 issue of the French socialist weekly, France Observateur, which informed its readers that the document "was circulating at the present time among intellectual circles in Budapest." The entire document is about 20,000 words long. It is a serious attempt at a theoretical appraisal of the Oct. 24 Hungarian revolution from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

Throughout the courtesy of Francois Fejto, a writer for France-Observateur, and author of a book on the Hungarian revolution, we obtained the loan of a copy of the Hungarian document. The translation from the Hungarian of the excerpts below are by Robert Dixon. While some of them duplicate excerpts that appeared in France Observateur, other portions appear in translation for the first time. — Editor.

... It is difficult to predict what will ensue from the shooting-up of Budapest, the abduction of Imre Nagy, the counter-revolution. But one thing is clear: October 1956 exposed with startling suddenness, more than anything hitherto, the complete moral and ideological bankruptcy of the Soviet-communist world movement. The Hungarian October finally laid bare what the Russian revolution of 40 years ago had degenerated to. That is why our revolution can have world-historical significance, but only if the adherents of socialism everywhere come to grips with the real lessons of the Hungarian October.

As against Stalinist terrorism and the Social-Democracy coddling up to capitalism, new roads are projected in the international labor movement. Hungarian socialists can take on a role in hammering out such a new orientation which the socialists of no other nation are in a position to do. To do this, however, it is necessary—among other things—to clear up our own history. That is the first task posed.

... The exploding revolution found [the CP opposition] not on the barricades, but in the

corridors of the paralyzed party centers. The Opposition "prepared" the revolution, but— with the exception of a few members—perhaps no one was more surprised than the Opposition itself. On the 23rd of October they paraded proudly and triumphantly down the streets, but in the evening they could only look on with open-mouthed impotence as suddenly onrushing history set out on unforeseeable paths. The people acted independently of the Opposition, for the Opposition had in essence always been independent of the people. ... According to some hospital statistics, young workers furnished 80-90% of the wounded, the university students [mass base of CP Opposition] counting for about 3-5%. These figures show more convincingly than any argument what responsibility rests on the Opposition for letting slip the opportunity for independent and serious organization.

... The main question, in any case, involves the Soviet Union. Not simply because Soviet guns shot up Budapest, and thus set the possibility of Socialism in Hungary back for a long time internal development for 12 years has been a function of the Soviet Union. ...

The capitalist press and bourgeois science have said and are saying many true things about the Soviet Union. It would be well, if we examined these writings without prejudice. But capitalist criticism cannot be objective, and furthermore there is often lacking any moral foundation for their criticism. For instance, on what basis, with what moral right can the French press sound forth against Soviet aggression, while it sends such touching greetings to the fighter-bombers appearing over defenseless Egyptian cities?

... Soviet communism, mainly after Lenin's death, always had positions within the party. The Russian Oppositionists could not demonstrate in any positive way the truth of their assertions, because they could not validate their conceptions, and Stalin settled accounts with them in short order. Oppositional communists abroad also had no way of backing up their continued struggles against Moscow with arguments based on practice. Many Oppositionists—in their bitterness and impotent fury at the Stalinist system—went over to bourgeois positions. Stalin could say, pointing to these latter, and to the frame-up trials: "whoever turns against us is selling out to the bourgeoisie."

[Hungaricus then takes up the criticisms of the Yugoslav CP and of Togliatti, finding both inadequate as an explanation of Stalinism. — Tr.]

## TWO VARIANTS

After [Lenin's] death, two possibilities were open for choice, both theoretically and practically. Let us be objective: the proponents of both possibilities (variants) quoted from Lenin and not without justification. Lenin's last writings tended to support the Opposition and Trotsky; Stalin, on the other hand, quoted other writings of Lenin. If we view it theoretically,

both Trotskyism and Stalinism were Leninism; the actual outgrowths of the contradictions in Lenin's life-work, the separating out of the two extremes. To the question of whether or not it was possible to build socialism in Russia, Trotsky's answer was no, Stalin's yes; both were Leninist answers. ...

## LENIN'S FORMULA

It was a genial insight (on Lenin's part) that the revolution would not necessarily get its start in an advanced country—that was proved by history. But the revolution and the victory of Socialism are two different things. A proletarian revolution can conquer in a backward country also, as Lenin later recognized, can conquer even more easily than in an advanced country, since it solves the long overdue tasks of the bourgeois revolution (land-divisions, republic, etc.). ... We must add that in the case of Russia we are not dealing with just some "one country" not even with just some one backward country, but—considering the majority of the population—with a gigantic peasant empire.

... One of Stalin's favorite points in the repeated struggles with the Opposition was the one that "what was there" for the October revolution, if not to build socialism? ... This argument is nothing more than a debater's trick. October had to be carried through, it would have been a crime to let slip a historical opportunity waiting till the creation of conditions for Socialism might bring about workers-peasants power. ... Stalin later maintained that if they did not build Socialism, then there would be capitalism. He chided Zinoviev, saying he wanted the return of capitalism. He picked up Lenin's thesis that "small-scale production gives birth to capitalism daily."

All this is falsification and dogmatism. What did the Op-

position want? To bring back the capitalists and landowners? Not even Stalin dared to say this, at least not as long as they were still discussing. The Opposition was on the right track here. A transitional society had to be created, until the revolution conquered elsewhere, or the conditions were ready for Socialism internally.

## WHAT STALIN WROTE

... Summarizing: Russia of the Twenties was not ripe for the realization of Socialism. This Lenin hinted at in his last writings, the Opposition said it openly and clearly. Let us leave as a final proof, more accurately, as an amusing illustration, the fact that that was also Stalin's opinion in '24. So he wrote in Problems of Leninism. As he was later forced to admit under prodding from Zinoviev, he wrote the following in Problems of Leninism on the possibility of building Socialism in one country, especially a peasant country:

"But the overthrow of capitalist power and the establishment of the proletarian power in one country does not mean the assuring of the complete victory of socialism. The main task of Socialism—the organization of production on a Socialist basis—is still ahead. But can this problem be solved, can the ultimate victory of Socialism be achieved in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several other leading countries? No, it cannot. For the overthrow of the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are enough—this is shown in the history of our revolution. For the ultimate victory of Socialism, for the organization of production on a Socialist basis, the efforts of one country, especially such a peasant country as Russia, are not sufficient, for that the efforts of the proletarians of more advanced countries are needed."

Stalin here properly separates the possibility of the victory of

a revolution and the possibility of Socialism, i.e., of the organization of production on a Socialist basis. He writes in his usual grade-school teacher manner, but he does answer the question correctly. Several months later he was saying the exact opposite, (how, and why, we will come back to later) and won the victory for his position. What would have happened if Trotsky's, or later Bukharin's, point of view had come out on top? We don't know, crystal balls are not in our line. We do know what were the consequences of Stalin's coming out on top: misery, terror, a torrent of lies, all (and a great deal more) that was sketched by Khrushchev with such passionate ardor at the 20th Congress. ...

... The handful of communists had two ways open to them to maintain themselves in the sea of the (peasant) people: either to express the aims of the people or by means of a repressive apparatus to act as a brake on the people. As the immediate application of Socialism cannot express the intentions of a peasant people, there remains no other recourse than the building of a system of lies to conceal a system based on force. In such a situation a whole tissue of complicated interactions developed. For Stalin to prevail over the Opposition, the support of the apparatus was required. But the apparatus also needed Stalin.

The apparatus also stood alongside Stalin out of a spirit of self-defense, as it received nothing but criticism from the Opposition. The Opposition on its part had to aim its fire at the apparatus, already organized by Stalin in Lenin's lifetime, as the main obstacle to debate and to party democracy—to the vindication of the Opposition. The Opposition accused the apparatus of degeneration, the apparatus clung all the more passionately to Stalin.

(To be continued)

# ...SWP National Convention

(Continued from page 1)

bor movement with the program of workers' democracy, independent political action through a Labor Party, and a bold program for a socialist reorganization of American society. To carry out such a program we must have a party. The intensive discussions now preoccupying the radical workers, he said, are a necessary prelude to unifying all revolutionary socialists in a single party. "We do not make a fetish of the organizational question," Dobbs declared. "We are entirely flexible as to the ultimate form of the party that will emerge from the regroupment process."

He outlined the view that such a party, in order to succeed in its socialist goal, must be "firm in revolutionary principles; international in revolutionary outlook; and, combine full internal democracy with unity in action."

## ORGANIZATION REPORT

The Organization Secretary of the SWP, Tom Kervy, reported the growing activity of the party in all fields. His report was a masterful presentation of the facts and statistics which showed an ascending curve of results, during the last year in particular, in the field of socialist press circulation, publication and sale of books and pamphlets by socialist publishing houses, recruits to the party, and the winning of a new circle of friends and sympathizers.

The delegates responded during the discussion with many examples from local party experience that showed the new, if limited, opportunities that the party was now straining its utmost to seize upon. The convention was particularly enthusiastic in its response to the proposal that wherever possible, branches broaden their activity to promote revolutionary socialist participation in elections.

Under the point of the international situation, the convention approved the main line of a number of resolutions prepared by the outgoing National Committee. Among these was the resolution, "The New Stage in the Russian Revolution," adopted by the National Committee meeting in April 1956; the resolution on "The Hungarian Revolution and the Crisis of Stalinism," adopted by the NC meeting January 1957; and the "Crisis in the Middle East," also adopted by the NC in January.

## DISCUSSION OPENED

The convention approved the line of the National Committee resolution on regroupment. It also approved the resolution on "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality." It was decided that a full discussion, both literary and in the branches, would be opened on all aspects of the Ne-

gro question, following the convention.

A highlight of the enthusiastic, work-packed, three-day convention, was the concluding speech given by SWP chairman James P. Cannon, a veteran of the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States. Cannon evaluated the current situation and the work and decisions of the convention from the historical perspective of an earlier regroupment crisis of American radicalism—the one which broke out against the background of the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

Cannon noted that the revolutionary regroupment in 1917-19, which gained its impetus and inspiration from the Russian Revolution, brought together in the young Communist Party of the U.S. elements from all the organized radical tendencies—the Socialist Party, the IWW and even the Socialist Labor Party. He pointed out that Louis C. Fraina, one of the most influential figures in the early years of the American Communist movement, began his socialist activities in the sectarian SLP.

## WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

As in 1917-19, Cannon said, the current regroupment will gather together the active revolutionists who have demonstrated their determination to stand up to all the pressures of the imperialist ruling class. These forces will find their way to programmatic clarification and organizational unification.

Cannon commended the convention for its decision to open a campaign of propaganda and education on the vital question of workers' democracy. He noted the widespread revulsion among workers of all political beliefs to the horrors of the Stalinist police dictatorship in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The purveyors of capitalist and imperialist "democracy" have been allowed to misuse this revulsion long enough, he said. It is time that socialists vigorously carried the message of genuine democracy—the democracy of the self-liberating movement of the working class—to the American people.

He urged the party to spell out in detail its concept of workers' democracy—in program and in life. And the first place where a socialist conception of democracy should be practiced, Cannon contended, is in the workers' revolutionary party itself. In this connection he pointed to the experience of the convention as a demonstration of workers' democracy in full-blooded, living form, in the spirit as well as the letter. Cannon thought that workers' democracy, which would be a revolutionary extension and expansion of the democratic safeguards guaranteed by the Bill of

Rights, should be concretely worked out in the socialist program for the democratic rule of the workers in the U.S.

## KEY IS IN THE UNIONS

Citing the situation in the bureaucracy-ridden American labor movement, Cannon declared that in his opinion the pivotal point of the socialist revolution in America would be a democratic revolution within the unions. When the American workers rise to take back their rights in the union movement, take the necessary steps to ensure these rights, and prevent any usurping clique of fat-salaried officials from regaining power, the anti-capitalist revolution in this country will be more than half accomplished.

The dynamic power of the fully democratized mass organizations of the industrial workers in the U.S. could never be matched by the tiny group of billionaire monopolists, who couldn't rule for a single day without the aid of a labor bureaucracy.

The convention ended on a note of high enthusiasm. But it was not the enthusiasm of the wide-eyed, unrealistic, day-dreaming variety. It was youthful enthusiasm; but not of youth untempered by experience in the class struggle. The age-level of the convention delegates had indeed dropped significantly for the first time since the beginning of the cold war. But the delegates were all either battle-tested veterans of a decade's struggle against the witch-hunt reaction of American imperialism, or new fighters gained in the very heat of that difficult struggle.

Many delegates had records in the class struggle dating back to the IWW, the pre-World-War-I socialist movement, the early years of American Communism, the foundation of the American Trotskyist movement, the stormy class battles of the Thirties, the Second World War, the post-war strike wave and the cold war.

There were no "summer soldiers" among the delegates.

## HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

by Peter Fryer

96pp \$1.00

(Plus 15c mailing charge)

Order from:

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

# British Electrical Union Hits Terror in Hungary

By Peter Fryer

LONDON—The event of the week in Britain has been the magnificent display of solidarity by the Hungarian workers seen at the annual conference of the Electrical Trades Union.

Not for many years have the members of this union given such a slashing and decisive rebuff to their Stalinist leadership. The leaders sensed that the mood of the delegates was to defy them, and they did everything they could to cushion the blow—even to the extent of holding the discussion on Hungary in private session, which was as unprecedented as it was unexpected.

But rank-and-file Communist Party members were among the delegates who by 174 votes to 154 defeated an amendment which would have deleted the following words from a resolution: "Conference welcomes the financial assistance and solidarity shown by the Executive Council towards our Cypriot brothers but is disturbed by the Executive Council's attitude towards the shooting down of the workers at Poznan and its belated protests against the attempt by Russian troops to suppress the workers' revolution in Hungary."

## SCORE BRUTAL ATTACK

As if this was not clear and unequivocal enough, the delegates then went on to pass by a large majority—a show of hands vote, the platform evident—fearing a count—a resolution condemning "the brutal attack of the Soviet armed forces on the Hungarian people" and adding: "We demand that all Russian forces be withdrawn from Hungary unless their presence there is agreed to by a government freely elected by the Hungarians. We pledge our support to the Hungarian people in their efforts to obtain a government of their own choice, free from outside intervention. We also demand those imprisoned or deported for their part in the fight for Hungarian independence be released and returned to their homes."

And then the final bitter pill for Stalinist Frank Foulks and Stalinist Frank Haxell, the president and secretary of this 230,000-strong union: "Copies of this motion to be sent to the USSR and Hungarian Embassies in London and to the British Foreign Secretary."

## A WORKING-CLASS STAND

What was so splendid about this message of sympathy and support for the Hungarian working class in its ordeal—and readers will understand the profound satisfaction this decision gave those of us who have been battling on the Hungarian question

for the past half-year—was its absolutely principled stand, with no concessions to the imperialists' "support" for such aspects of the Hungarian struggle as they think they can make use of.

These electricians saw the working-class nature of the Hungarian struggle, and rightly described it as a "workers' revolution"—a phrase which drew from the Daily Worker an editorial, written more in embarrassment, dismay and sorrow than in anger, claiming that this view was merely "a proposition that has been frequently advanced by refugees."

Well, the jails and concentration camps of Hungary are full at this moment of Communists and other workers, many of them delegates to workers' councils, who are being "re-educated" by Kadar's A. V. H.

It was appropriate that the British electricians should take this decision only a few days after a report about conditions in these prisons, a quite circumstantial report, had appeared in The Times. According to reliable estimates, it said, over 50,000 political prisoners were being held in atrocious conditions:

"Inhuman overcrowding seems to be the worst part of it. Rooms intended for 80 persons are now occupied by 200. Sanitary conditions are said to be indescribable, it being impossible for the prisoners to keep themselves clean. They sleep crowded together on straw pallets spread on racks or shelves. ... Judging by the battered and sometimes mutilated condition of some of the people who have since been released from these places, the treatment there seems certainly to be no better than in the bad old days of Mr. Rakosi."

## SZIGETHY SUICIDE

And only a few days earlier The Times had reported that Attila Szigethy, a National Peasant Party MP and Imre Nagy supporter, who was vice-chairman of the national committee in Gyor during the revolution, had after three weeks in the hands of Kadar's police broken his glasses, cut an artery with a piece of broken lens, and then when taken to the prison hospital, leapt from a third-floor window to his death.

I met Szigethy in Gyor soon after arriving in Hungary, and I came to respect him as an honest, upright man, devoted to the cause of the revolution, trusted and loved by the clothing workers and engineering workers of the town. I felt his death as a personal blow, though he is only one of thousands whose lives have been snuffed out by this yellow terror that Kadar and his masters have brought to Hungary.

The day after the ETU decision was reported, the Daily Telegraph reported the discovery and trial by the Kadar administration of a real live "White Terrorist"—the first, it seems, who has been discovered by the re-born AVH.

This is an old man of 70, now on trial before the television cameras in Budapest, accused of murdering progressive people—not in 1956, mark you, but in 1919. Where this "White Terrorist" was under Rakosi's rule is a mystery; why he was never tried before for his crimes is a mystery; and it is a curious commentary on Kadar's propaganda machine that it is forced to add some color to its charges about "White Terror" last October by taking up a real White Terrorist from the 40-year-old past.

These things make the ETU decision all the more welcome. It is a message that will sooner or later reach the ears of the men of Csepel and Dunapentele and give them comfort and new courage to withstand the orgy of "treason" trials that is now sweeping Hungary, including poor unhappy Magyarovar, the scene of last October's worst massacre on the part of the Stalinist police, and now delivered over to the AVH for new and dreadful acts of revenge.

## MORE CP'ERS QUIT

Besides the ETU vote there have been two other body-blows to King Street (British CP headquarters) this week: the resignation of two former members of the party national Executive Committee. And not two "spineless" intellectuals, either, but two of the party's most solid mass leaders: Brian Behan and Jim Roche.

Behan was on the EC until the recent Congress. He was dropped from the slate of names recommended for election to the new EC because he had been so critical of the leadership in the preceding year. He received, however, 188 votes, and came very near to breaking the slate. Now he has decided that he must leave the party.

Roche, a popular and respected figure among the clothing workers of Yorkshire, has held a whole range of party offices since he joined the CP 27 years ago.

These are only two among the steady flow of resignations that has followed the Congress. King Street is remodeling the party to its heart's desire, a tight, hard core of blindly devoted, unthinking and uncritical members.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

BY LEON TROTSKY

In Defense of Marxism .....	\$2.50
The Revolution Betrayed .....	cloth \$3.50 — paper \$2.00
Stalin's Frame-Up System	
And the Moscow Trials .....	1.00
Draft Program of the Communist International .....	.25
Europe and America .....	.50
Marxism in the U. S. ....	.35
Death Agony of Capitalism	
(Transitional Program) .....	.25
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin .....	.25
Stalinism and Bolshevism .....	.15
Fascism: What It Is — How to Fight It .....	.15
The Class Nature of the Soviet State .....	.25

Send for Complete Catalogue

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.



Subscription \$3 per year:  
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$4.50 per year; \$2.50 for 6  
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per  
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.  
Single Copies: 5 or more  
copies of each in U.S., 7c  
each in foreign countries.

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Mixed articles by contribu-  
tors do not necessarily rep-  
resent The Militant's policy.  
These are expressed in its  
editorials.  
"Entered as second class  
matter March 7, 1944 at the  
Post Office at New York,  
N.Y., under the act of March  
3, 1879."

Vol. XXI - No. 24

Monday, June 17, 1957

## Reuther Gives Assist to Eastland

The way Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, seeks to "defend" the union movement against government control is to do the union-busters dirty work himself. His latest move against UAW officials who invoke the Fifth Amendment (see story, page one) is a case in point.

A long and growing list of minor UAW officials are now being called before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to answer whether they "are now or have ever been members of the Communist Party."

The immediate purpose of the Eastland committee is to create the impression that the UAW is infiltrated with "Communists." The further aim of the Eastland committee is to enact restrictive legislation governing union elections. Eastland would limit the choice of candidates in union elections in as undemocratic a way as the choice of candidates is limited in the state of Mississippi.

Instead of denouncing the Eastland committee and calling for an all-out fight against it, Reuther has turned on the very victims of the racist senator. He has cited all officers of the union who invoked their legal rights under the Fifth Amendment to appear before their local union executive boards to prove that they

are not members of the Communist Party and are "fit" to continue in office.

Thus Reuther completes the process started by Eastland. Where Eastland would pass legislation interfering with the right of the membership to elect whom they please, Reuther simply proceeds to impose such restrictions himself.

It should further be noted that Reuther's latest edict is a breach of faith with the union membership. For in 1954, Reuther recognized the validity of using the Fifth Amendment. He said: "We recognize fully that to waive the privilege of the Fifth Amendment involves the risks of incurring abuse, mental torture, the possible eventuality of being forced into the distasteful role of informer on one's friends and former associates, and finally, the possibility of being cited for contempt of Congress."

But what is perhaps the shabbiest feature of Reuther's decree is that many of the individuals involved in the Eastland hearings have opposed Reuther's union policies. By his latest edict, Reuther shows — as he has on a number of occasions in the past — that he has no compunction about using the government witch-hunters to strike at inner-union opponents and to strengthen his own bureaucratic control over the union.

## East Germany Showed the Way

This week marks the fourth anniversary of the June 17, 1953 general-strike uprising of the East German working class. It was the first major revolutionary action of the workers in the Soviet orbit on behalf of workers' democracy, and it thereby showed us the pattern of the whole subsequent course of developments.

Undoubtedly, the East German uprising also contributed profoundly to shaping the events that followed — the Vorkuta strike of political prisoners in the forced labor camps of Northern Russia, the Poznan general strike, the October days in Poland, the Hungarian revolution and the widespread ferment among the workers in the Soviet Union itself, which in the last analysis is the explanation for the appalling revelations of Khrushchev at the 20th Congress.

To many workers, who went along with Stalinism up to the Khrushchev revelations and the Polish and Hungarian uprisings, the East German events of four years ago are a dark and bitter memory. Many of these workers swallowed the lies about the East German uprising that poured out of the Stalinist slander factory. Now they must wonder. In the light of all that has happened and all that we have learned in the last few years, isn't it necessary to go back and pick up the thread of truth?

In East Germany, back in 1953, the workers uprising was followed immediately by panicky admissions by the Stalinists of the "legitimacy of workers'

grievances." But alongside of this came the sinister slander, that we also heard after Poznan and Budapest, that the legitimate grievances of the workers were exploited by the spies and provocateurs of imperialism.

For us, as for all revolutionary opponents of American imperialism, it is, of course, not a question of proving that Wall Street did not try to advance its own interests through these uprisings. On the contrary. The hand of Western imperialism was to be seen at every turn. What is decisive, however, is the complete failure of the imperialists to realize their aims.

The East German uprising, for example, took on the scope of a general strike movement of 2,000,000 industrial workers in every corner of the country. The workers raised clear demands for an end to the speed-up, for democratic rights, for the removal of the Kremlin's troops.

At no point did the workers manifest the slightest sympathy for a return to capitalism in any form — for the old slavery. The movement pointed to the future not the past.

The pattern of the four years is a pattern of struggles by the Soviet workers for a democratic workers' revolution against Stalinist bureaucratic tyranny. This movement did not play into the hands of Western imperialism. It ushered a new powerful force into the world socialist revolution.

# Premier Kishi's Tour of Asia

By Ota Ryu

TOKYO, June 4 — N. Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan, finished his tour of Southeast Asian countries today. He will visit Washington, D.C. at the end of June.

On his tour, which began May 20, Kishi visited Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand and Taiwan. During the last war, the Japanese ruling class, whose government included Kishi as an important minister, aimed to "organize" the whole Asian area under Japanese domination. The productive forces of capitalist Japan could not develop without new colonies in Asia.

### COLONIES NEEDED

Now that Japanese economy is recovering from its terrible defeat, it again needs more markets, more raw material resources, more territory—in short, it needs new colonies. But the Japanese capitalist class lost its powerful military force after the war, and

in the Asian countries, national independence revolution keeps on developing rapidly. Under such conditions, the only way by which Japanese capitalism can hope to keep expanding its economy is to obtain American money.

The Asian colonial countries got their independence recently. In Southeast Asia, the national capitalists are trying to stabilize their regimes both economically and politically. But they cannot do this so easily. The working people are strongly organized, and they could confer on their country the same kind of industrial development as in China, were they to take political power. In this way they would not have to wait many years before being able to improve their living standards. On the other hand, nowhere in Southeast Asia can the native capitalist class develop the various national economies without severe exploitation of the workers and peasants.

The Japanese capitalist class

was able to develop capitalism in its country because it was able to impose an extreme burden of exploitation on the working masses. As a result, the Japanese masses had the lowest standard of life among capitalist countries for 80 years. From 1868 to 1945, Japan had no real, powerful labor movement. The working people did not influence Japanese political events. They were only an object of capitalist exploitation.

### CHINA'S INFLUENCE

At the present time, the capitalists in Southeast Asia do not have a working class that will wait 80 years in misery. Nevertheless, the Japanese capitalist economy needs Southeast Asia as a market and field of investments. So Kishi decided to visit India, Burma and the other countries to find out if it was possible to realize Japanese aims in the area. And in the course of his trip he was astonished to find that China has a very strong influence in these countries. He found it hard to understand why the leading people—the capitalist class—of the Southeast Asian countries have so strong a sympathy for China. Perhaps, in his mind, he found it illogical that capitalist governments should have developed friendlier connections with the Soviet bloc than with capitalist Japan.

What Kishi, the bureaucratic servant of the Japanese capitalists, fails to understand, is the real situation in these countries—namely, the coming struggle for power between the native capitalist class and the mass

movement. He reasoned somewhat like this: The Southeast Asian countries 'cannot develop their economy by themselves, the U. S. A. has lots of money, and Japan has a well-developed industry. Therefore, the best solution is to unite the three elements, Southeast Asia would establish its own industry with the help of American money and Japanese technology. This has been the program of the Japanese ruling class for a number of years.

Of course, if the native capitalist class in Southeast Asian countries could realize political stability, Kishi's program would work. But then, if capitalist rule in Southeast Asia were politically stable, Wall Street's money would flow into these countries without Japanese urging, and the Japanese capitalists would be left out in the cold.

On his trip to Southeast Asia, Kishi met many important people who informed him that "communist forces" are "infiltrating" the area. He became alarmed that if America and Japan do not give political and economic "aid" to the native capitalists in Southeast Asia, they will not be able to maintain their regimes against the "red offensive."

Alas! Kishi has run into another roadblock. For if the Southeast Asian capitalists were to ask for large-scale help from the U.S., the small amount of authority they enjoy among the masses would exhaust itself rapidly. Working people would not tolerate the new colonial exploitation that American "aid" really represents.

Because of all the problems posed by the presence of a strong mass movement in Southeast Asia, it is very possible that Kishi's forthcoming visit to the United States will fail—that Kishi will not get many dollars from Washington.

When Japan and all other countries of Asia shall have become workers' and peasants' states, Japanese industry will be used to develop the Asian economy and improve the living standards of the Asian people. There will no longer be any capitalists, bureaucrats or landlords. The Asian people will rely on Japan's advanced technology, and Japan will become merely one part—an economically advanced part—for the time being—of an Asian Socialist Federation. Within a short span of years, most Asian people will obtain a high standard of living as industrial development spreads from Japan throughout all Asia.

Capitalist Japan today is in a blind alley. On the other hand, Southeast Asia under native capitalist rule cannot go forward or back. It is becoming ever clearer that a resolution of these contradictions does not rest with conferences of leading people of the U.S., Japan and Southeast Asia, but with the struggle of the working people of these countries for state power.

Kishi and his friends in Washington thus have many problems to talk over, but they cannot solve them. Only the Asian working people—including the Japanese workers—can do that.

## Cuban Rebels



Fidel Castro (center), leader of Cuban guerrilla force fighting hated Batista dictatorship, is shown in mountain hideout. The anti-Batista movement has mass support throughout Cuba. In Santiago, for example, the entire populace is reported to be struggling at all costs to end Batista's bloody rule.

## Report Latin American Trotskyist Conference

(Special to the Militant)

A conference of Latin American Trotskyists, with delegates from different countries, was held recently. It was a meeting of adherents of the International Committee of the Fourth International—the orthodox Trotskyists. The most positive accomplishment of the conference was the elaboration of a unified policy for Latin America.

The Activities Report gave evidence of the rapid advance of the orthodox Trotskyist tendency in various Latin American countries.

In Argentina, Trotskyists have established themselves as one of the strongest political tendencies among workers in the great industrial plants of Buenos Aires—the most powerful section of the Argentine working class. In the last union election (September 1956), the Trotskyists won in more than 20 large factories and lost by a scant margin in as many others. In the metal workers strike of January 1957, which involved 250,000 workers, the Trotskyists elected a number of militants to the national strike committee. Reflecting their growing influence, the Argentine Trotskyists now envisage publishing a weekly paper with a circulation of 10,000 to 15,000.

### CHILE AND PERU

In Chile, the Trotskyists have formed an organization whose cadre is 90% working class in composition. Publication of their monthly newspaper is now on a regular schedule. And what is most heartening, they are exerting a certain amount of influence among the industrial workers. Thus, in two important unions, Trotskyist militants were able to gain approval for several of their resolutions in which a class-struggle point of view was set forth.

In Peru, after the persecution and jailing of Trotskyists under Odría, the POR (the Workers Revolutionary Party) has begun to reorganize. Outstanding militants of the APRA have begun to come over to the Trotskyists, who are making headway on the basis of their policy of building an independent revolutionary socialist party.

The general political report analyzed the policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Yankee imperialism aims not only at economic domination but also at limiting and curtailing the political independence of the Latin American countries. The most concrete proof of this is to be found in the military pacts which force the countries of the continent to go to war when the U.S. government wills it.

In order to counter U.S. colonialism, the Trotskyist conference resolved to push for a Latin American conference of unions to mobilize the working class for struggle and to form a Latin America-wide trade-union federation.

### MAIN GAINS

The report noted that the Latin

American working class was on the offensive in the immediate post-war period, but is now generally in retreat, except in Bolivia. Two great gains characterize the development of the workers' movement during the last 15 years. These are: (1) a considerable extension of union organization; (2) a significant working class participation in the national independence movement. In the process, the working class made heroic efforts to overcome the limits imposed on the nationalist movement by a leadership tied to the capitalist class. Clear examples were the armed mobilization of the Argentine workers on June 16, 1955; the general strikes of the Chilean workers in 1955; and, above all, the events of the Bolivian revolution since 1953.

The Trotskyist conference concluded that the next stage of the class struggle in Latin America will be of a defensive character—namely, reorganization of the union movement, unification of unions on industry-wide and national-wide bases and defense of the living standards of the working class.

In analyzing the Bolivian revolution, the Trotskyist conference estimated that the government of Siles Suazo represents an entrenchment of reaction. Nevertheless, the situation continues to be revolutionary, as the working class still retains its arms.

Finally, the Trotskyist conference resolved to publish a theoretical magazine for Latin America.

## ... American Forum

(Continued from page 1)

We need to forge links between all socialists, both nationally and internationally." The message also expressed admiration at "your courage in the face of persecution."

Included in the meeting's panel of American Forum national committee members were the following: Joseph Starobin, Farrell Dobbs, David Dellinger, Albert Blumberg, Dixie Wilkerson, George Stryker, Tim Wohlforth, John T. McManus, Clifford McAvoy and Milton Zaslow. A variety of questions were directed to them.

Replying to a question as to why the American Forum has not taken an official stand on "civil liberties behind the iron curtain," Milton Zaslow declared that if the question "is meant to cast aspersions on the Forum as an apologist for dictatorship in the Soviet Union or elsewhere, it is not well taken." The very purpose of the forum, Zaslow explained is precisely to discuss this and other questions confronting the socialist movement.

### DOBBS ON UNITED FRONT

Asked if the Socialist Workers Party viewed the American Forum as a "united front," Farrell Dobbs replied that it might be viewed as such in "its determination to use the rights set down in the Constitution," but that it definitely was not a political united front in that it confined itself solely to a free discussion of issues. He said there was a basis for united front action among radical tendencies on such issues as civil liberties, civil rights and the defense of labor's rights. The forum, he pointed out, does not prohibit the organization of such actions through other vehicles.

Asked if he believed that the Communist Party can play a progressive role in the regroupment process, Dobbs said that aside from any opinion on this, the SWP "defends unconditionally their right to participate in the forum." Pointing to the SWP's differences with the CP, Dobbs said, that while he did not

consider the CP's program a contribution to a socialist solution, the collective process of discussing all points of view, can advance the socialist movement as a whole.

### BLUMBERG'S VIEWS

Agreeing there are "grave differences" between the CP and SWP, Albert Blumberg said that while the CP felt that these differences should be discussed, they viewed the main purpose of the forum as helping "to take the question of socialism beyond its present limited circles."

The audience responded with gratification as Tim Wohlforth, a leader of the Left Wing of the Young Socialist League just returned from a national speaking tour, described the growing interest in socialism among youth, and the widespread interest he found among radical youth for the American Forum.

In closing the lively discussion, A. J. Muste declared again: "We really mean it when we say we are determined to operate on the principle of non-exclusion of any socialist tendency."

### A New Park Publication

## The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism

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

124 pages 50 cents

Order from:

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

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester  
Manager, Pioneer Publishers

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

THE KIROV ASSASSINATION. By Leon Trotsky. 32 pages. 25 cents. (Pioneer Pocket Library No. 3).

This pamphlet, heretofore long out of print, is presented in a

new edition. In this work, Trotsky nails down the Stalinist frame-up system several years before the Moscow Trials.

I STAKE MY LIFE. By Leon Trotsky. 20 pages. 15 cents. (Ceylon Edition.)

In this pamphlet, Trotsky answered Stalin's charges and offered to appear before an impartial investigation commission such as was subsequently set up

under the chairmanship of Professor John Dewey. "If this commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree," Trotsky stated, "I pledge in advance to place myself in the hands of the executioners of the GPU."

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

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

### STALINISM — WHAT IT MEANS. A Critical Appraisal of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By Anand Mishra. 56 pages with appendix. 35 cents.

The author deals with the conditions that led to the Stalin cult, with the defeats inflicted by Stalinism on the world working class, and with shifts in policy of the Indian Communist Party as they reflected shifts in the Kremlin's diplomatic line.

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

## Introductory Offer!

### A Six-Month Subscription To The Militant Only \$1

The Militant  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....  
Street ..... Zone .....  
City ..... State .....



## Langston Hughes Describes Blacklisting of Negro Artists

Langston Hughes, one of America's great Negro writers, spoke earlier this month at the National Assembly of the Author's League of America. The text of the Hughes talk appears below, as reprinted from the National Guardian:

Bruce Catton spoke of the writer's chance to be heard. My chance to be heard as a Negro writer is not as great as your chance.

I once approached the Play Service of the Dramatist's Guild as to handling some of my plays. No, was the answer, they would not know where to place plays about Negro life.

I once sent one of my best known short stories, before it came out in book form, to one of our oldest and famous American magazines. The story was about racial violence in the South. It came back to me with a very brief little note saying the editor did not believe his readers wish to read about such things.

Another story of mine, which did not concern race problems at all, came back to me from one of our best-known editors of anthologies of fiction with a letter praising the story but saying that he, the editor, could not tell if the characters were white or colored. Would I make them definitely Negro? Just a plain story about human beings from me was not up to his alley, it seems. So before the word man I simply inserted black, and before the girl's name, the word brownskin—and the story was accepted. Only a mild form of racial bias. But now let us come to something more serious.

Censorship, the blacklist: Negro writers, just by being black, have been on the blacklist all our lives. Do you know that there are libraries in our country that will not stock a book by a Negro writer, not even as a gift? There are towns where Negro newspapers and magazines cannot be sold—except surreptitiously. There are American magazines that have never published anything by or about Negroes. There are film studios that have never hired a Negro writer. Censorship for us begins at the color line.

As to the tangential ways in which many white writers may make a living: I've already mentioned Hollywood. Not once in a blue moon does Hollywood send for a Negro writer, no matter how famous he may be—when you go into your publisher's offices, how many colored editors, readers, or even secretaries, do you see?

In the book review pages of our Sunday supplements and our magazines, how often do you see a Negro reviewer's name? And if you do, 99 times out of a 100 the Negro reviewer will be given a book by another Negro to review—seldom if ever, "The Sea Around Us" or "Auntie Mame"—and yet a reviewer of the caliber of Arna Bontemps or Anne Petry or J. Saunders Redding could review anybody's books, white or colored, interestingly.

Take lecturing: There are thousands and thousands of women's clubs and other organizations booking lectures that have never had, and will

not have, a Negro speaker—though he has written a best seller.

We have in America today about a dozen top-flight, frequently published, and really good Negro writers. Do you not think it strange that of that dozen, at least half of them live abroad, far away from their people, their problems, and the sources of their material: Richard Wright—"Native Son," in Paris; Chester Himes—"The Primitives," in Paris; James Baldwin—"Giovanni's Room," in Paris; William Denby—"Beetle Creek," in Rome; Ralph Ellison—"Invisible Man," in Rome; Frank Yerby—"Of the dozen best sellers—South France; Willard Motley—"Knock On Any Door"—Mexico.

Why? Why? Because the stones thrown at Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama are thrown at them, too. Because the shadow of Montgomery and the bombs under Rev. King's house shadow them and shatter them, too. Because the body of little Emmett Till drowned in the Mississippi River and no one brought to justice, haunts them, too. Because the Jim-Crow schools from New York to New Orleans Jim Crow them, too. One of the writers I've mentioned when last I saw him before he went abroad, said to me, "I don't want my children to grow up in the shadow of Jim Crow."

And so let us end with children. And let us end with poetry—Since somehow the planned poetry panel, of which I was to have been a part, did not materialize. So, therefore, there has been no poetry in our National Assembly. Forgive me, then, if I read a poem. Its about a child—a colored child. I imagine her as being maybe six or seven years old. She grew up in the Deep South where our color lines are still legal. Then her family moved to a Northern or Western industrial city—one of those continual migrations of Negroes looking for a better town. There in this Northern city—maybe a place like Newark, N. J., or Omaha, Neb., or Oakland, Calif. The little girl goes one day to a carnival, and she sees the merry-go-round going around, and she wants to ride. But being a little colored girl, and remembering the South, she doesn't know if she can ride or not. And if she can ride, where? So this is what she says:

Where is the Jim Crow section  
On this merry-go-round,  
Mister, cause I want to ride?  
Down South where I come from  
White and colored  
Can't sit side by side.  
Down South on the train  
There's a Jim Crow car,  
On the bus we're put in the back  
— But there ain't no back  
To a merry-go-round!  
Where's the horse  
For a kid that's black?

— Langston Hughes

## Phila. Meet Hears Helen Sobell on Husband's Case

PHILADELPHIA, June 7 — Nearly 75 people listened attentively tonight as Helen Sobell told of the long legal battle to obtain a new hearing or freedom for her husband, Morton Sobell, now serving a thirty-year prison term in Alcatraz. Mrs. Sobell was the principal speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party. All proceeds were contributed to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

The first speaker of the evening was Jean Frantjts, Philadelphia chairman of the Sobell Committee. She spoke of past activities of the Committee and the need for a new effort that will bring all the facts in the Sobell case before the people of this city.

A documentary film strip, "Was Justice Done?", issued by the Sobell Committee was shown. After the film, Helen Sobell was introduced with the reading of one of her poems, "Courage." The collection of \$112 expressed the warm response of the audience to her appeal for support in the fight for justice.

Myra Tanner Weiss, staff writer for the Militant, was the concluding speaker. She described what the Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951 revealed about the nature of the FBI and the "legal" crimes made possible by the witch-hunt hysteria.

## Calendar Of Events

## Detroit

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

## New York

American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion, Tuesday, June 25: Earl Owens will review Rosa Luxemburg's classic pamphlet: Reform or Revolution.

## NLRB Attacks Los Angeles Building Trades Hiring Hall

By Don Phoenix

LOS ANGELES — members of the Building-Trade unions read with seething anger an announcement in the local press last month by Henry W. Becker of the National Labor Relations Board's 21st District Office, that their hiring hall agreements would have to be changed in order to "eliminate discrimination" against non-union workers. The aim is to force the unions to open up their hiring halls to non-union workers and thus weaken the labor movement. As Becker puts it, his office is determined to enforce "open" conditions in the Southlands' 11 counties.

This union-busting declaration by the Board is well-timed with the fact that most of the building trades are now negotiating new contracts. It is apparent to even the most naive person that the statement by Becker about the "open" employment policy of the NLRB is a go-ahead signal to stall or break down negotiations with the unions until a strike or lock-out develops.

Government employment agencies would then supply the agencies with scabs. And after the strike or lock-out is over, according to this new NLRB decree, a strikebreaker could apply to the union that he scabbed on and the union would have to put him to work or suffer the penalty of some oppressive fine by the NLRB.

Thus, with one stroke of the pen some labor-hating NLRB bureaucrats hope to destroy all the protection that the building-trade workers have sweated so hard to build up.

## NOT SLAVES

Some of the more outspoken members of the building-trade unions are now saying, "We are not slaves! We don't have to work with scabs; We've worked too many years and suffered

## NEW YORK

The Militant Labor Forum Announces a special three-day showing of

## Salt of the Earth

The labor film that made movie history

Fri., June 21 and Sat., June 22, at 9 P.M.

Sun., June 23 at 5 P.M.

116 University Place

Contribution \$1



Rosaura Revualtas and Juan Chacon are the leading players in Salt of the Earth, the independently-produced, full-length motion picture which depicts in magnificently artistic fashion the inspiring struggle of Southwestern metal miners and their wives in a strike. The Militant Labor Forum is holding a three-day showing of the film at 116 University Place, New York, June 21 and 22 at 9 p.m. and June 23 at 5 p.m.

## New Data on Role of Women in Industry

WOMANPOWER. A Statement by the National Manpower Council with Chapters by the Council Staff. Columbia University Press, New York. 371 pp. \$5.00

Women comprise one-third of the United States labor force but receive only one-fifth of the national income, and as long as this basic inequality remains, the revolution in women's employment will not be fully achieved. But the changes that have occurred in the lives of American women in the last sixty to seventy years do have a profoundly revolutionary character, since they strike at the basic causes of women's inferior status which lead to the exploitation of women in both marriage and employment.

More than seventy years ago Engels pointed out that the real reason for the inferior position of women in our society was the low value placed on the domestic labor they performed, and he concluded:

"To emancipate woman and make her the equal of man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labor and restricted to private domestic labor. The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant part of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not only permit of the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry."

## ENGELS CONFIRMED

The real change that has taken place is not that more women are working, since most of them have always worked, but that they have re-entered socially productive labor. As Engels foresaw, this came about principally because modern industrial civilization requires female labor, and also because domestic labor has more and more been turned into a "public industry"—nursery schools, restaurants and frozen dinners, laundromats and diaper service, etc.

Womanpower records the change. This authoritative study is the most comprehensive and detailed report that I have seen on women's employment and for anyone seriously interested in the question, it is a fascinating book.

In 1890, only half of the women in this country worked at any time in their lives and their average participation in paid employment was eleven years. Today, 90% of all women work at least part of their lives, and today's school girl can anticipate about twenty-five years in paid employment. Of the 28 million women who work in the course of a single year, 62% are married and more than half are over 40 years of age.

## NEW PATTERN

These statistics reveal a new pattern in the lives of women. Formerly, most women who worked expected to leave their jobs when they got married and except in cases of extreme financial necessity, they usually did stop working. They married relatively late, had large families and continued child bearing into the thirties, so that the youngest child in the family entered school while the mother was in her forties. Today, the median age for marriage is twenty, and young women bear their last child at the age of twenty-six. This child enters school when the mother is only thirty-one or thirty-two, and large numbers of mothers then return to the labor force where they remain for twenty to twenty-five years (38% of mothers with school age children are now working).

This means that many women

would encourage them to take jobs. The fact is, however, that about two-and-a-half million women with children under six are working, and they usually do so because of urgent financial necessity—extremely low income of the husband, unemployment or incapacity of the husband, or because they are divorced, separated or widowed.

The United States provides fewer maternity benefits than any country in the civilized world. It is also claimed that maternity leave, with both job and seniority guaranteed and other types of maternity protection would encourage women to return to their jobs soon after the birth of a child, whereas they ought to stay home for at least a few years. Again, it is obvious that women in the lowest income groups, who are forced to return to work, would benefit most from such protection.

As long as working women face the double responsibility of

jobs and housework (it has been estimated that the working wife averages a 79-hour week, 40 on the job and 39 at home), it will be difficult for them to prepare for or accept highly skilled jobs or professional work, and they will remain a low-paid, doubly exploited section of the working class. Only a corresponding revolution in marriage relationships and in the traditional concepts of "men's" and "women's" work in the home, as well as the expansion of services which replace domestic work, can really liberate women and make possible the fullest development of their abilities.

In this summary I have only highlighted some of the significant material in Womanpower, a book which is an indispensable source of information for anyone seeking to understand the changing position of women in a changing society.

—Joyce Cowley

## Solidarity Brings Victory In Seattle Metal Strikes

By John Blair

SEATTLE — The recently concluded metal trades strike here provided a splendid demonstration that inter-union solidarity really pays off for all concerned. Strike

action began when Hope Lodge 79 of the International Association of Machinists shut down all of the shops under its jurisdiction after failing to get satisfaction from the bosses' Washington Metal Trades Association as to wages and fringe benefits. The main grievance centered around the issue of shift differential pay.

Action by the Hope Lodge directly affected the members of Molders Local 158 which has contracts in three of the plants struck by the Machinists. When the Machinists walked out, the Molders were also in the midst of negotiating a new contract. With all their ranks affected by the Machinist walkout, the Molders' membership voted to respect their picketlines.

## MOLDER GRIEVANCES

The determination of the Molder rank and file to stand solid with the Machinists was strengthened by their own major grievances against the bosses. Just previous to going on strike, the Molders had twice rejected contract terms, including a damaging wage gap between journeymen and non-journeymen and a proposal to cut back overtime pay from double time to time and a half.

After rejecting these proposals, the Molders voted to strike the three shops where their members were already inactive as a result of the Machinists strike. This provided the affected members with strike benefits, boosted their morale and badly shook the morale of the bosses.

The employers countered with a new offer to the Molders containing some concessions but still holding out on the overtime rate. Molders' officials tried to persuade the membership to accept the new offer even though it meant a throwback for them and would have struck a heavy blow at the striking Machinists.

Militants in the Molders' local took a strong stand against the proposed settlement, declaring the need for solidarity with the Machinists. The old battle cry of "An injury to one is an injury to all" rang out in the AFL Labor Temple for the first time in many years.

Additional support for rejecting the employers' proposal came from the many Negro workers who are most directly concerned with the need for closing the pay

part of the McDonald machine. He stated that his group had in its possession 700 Rarick ballots taken from a ballot box in a District 11 local. 700 McDonald ballots had been substituted for these in the count. He also stated that the International staff was transported to the Eastern area conference in New York City from Pittsburgh in a TWA strato-cruiser which cost the union \$27,000 during McDonald's feverish campaign in January to line up support for his candidacy.

Rarick also revealed that a Dues-Protest leader on the West Coast had been fired from his job, and blacklisted from the steel industry, while his wife had been harassed by threatening phone calls. He assured his supporters that the McClellan committee agents would soon be in the Detroit area to investigate unfair election charges at Local 1299. Dues-Protest supporters here were denied watchers at the polling place and were driven from the union hall by local cops supporting the McDonald-Shane machine.

While the bureaucratic crimes of the McDonald machine are real enough, Rarick's turning to the McClellan committee as a solution runs counter to the long-term aims of the rank-and-file workers who supported the Dues-Protest movement. The Dues-Protest campaign in last winter's election aroused the fighting spirit of broad strata of the steel workers. It gave them the means to express their resentment against the union bureaucracy's collaboration with the steel corporations.

## LOCAL 1299 CAUCUS

The Local 1299 caucus, for example, has attracted many young white and Negro workers, Mexican-Americans and old-time militants. The caucus is in the process of mapping out a program to bring democracy down to the shop-steward level and of demanding radical changes in the contract all the way to reducing the retirement age in the steel mills.

The rank and file of Local 1299 have already gone beyond the limited program of the national Dues-Protest leaders who call only for some democratic reforms in the union's constitution. The local caucus is also turning the attention of its supporters to the need to carry its program directly to the floor of union meetings. In this it typifies the many rank-and-file caucuses that are growing throughout the steel union.

Rarick and the other Dues-Protest leaders are thus confronted with the task of leading a national movement in the steel union going beyond their limited program of constitutional reforms—a national movement that would link the battle for union democracy with a battle against the arrogant and profit-bleated steel bosses. By his decision to use the Big-Business dominated McClellan committee in his campaign for democratic reforms in the union, Rarick is turning away from that task. He is turning away from the kind of militant struggle that alone can secure union democracy.

## NO FRIEND OF WORKERS

Sen. McClellan, himself, is hardly a champion of workers' democracy. He has maintained his seat as a Senator from Arkansas on the basis of the disenfranchisement of white and Negro working people, who are disqualified from exercising their elementary voting rights by means of poll-tax qualifications.

McClellan is responsible for the "right-to-work" law in Arkansas. Concurrently with his moves to investigate election corruption in the steel workers' union, he is campaigning for passage of "right-to-work" laws in Northern industrialized states.

## ANOTHER TROJAN HORSE

The Dues-Protest leaders would do well to take warning from this that these enemies of labor are as anxious as David J. McDonald to place a halter on the steel workers' struggle for democracy in their union and to prevent them from taking the offensive against the steel barons, Nicholas Mamula, the Dues-Protest nat'l campaign chairman, has warned supporters to be alert to "Trojan horses" (meaning McDonald's henchmen) entering the movement. The McClellan Committee is an even more sinister and dangerous Trojan horse for the new and aggressive rank-and-file movement in the steel workers' union.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

by JAMES P. CANNON

On Problems of Socialism in America

America's Road to Socialism	80pp	\$3.50
The Coming American Revolution	32pp	\$1.00
Socialism on Trial	111pp	\$5.00
American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism		\$1.50
The History of American Trotskyism	268pp	
	Cloth	\$2.75
	Paper	1.75
The IWW — The Great Anticipation	44pp	\$2.25
Eugene V. Debs 40pp		\$2.25
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party	302pp	
	Cloth	\$2.75
	Paper	\$2.00

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

Catalogue on Request