

## Where's the Proof Of Nagy's 'Guilt'?

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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXII—No. 26

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1958

Price 10c

## Debate Over Socialist Political Action

By Harry Ring

One central issue dominated the United Independent Socialist Election Conference held in New York June 13-15. Should socialists stand in clear-cut opposition to the Republicans and Democrats or should they support and work inside the Democratic party? The great majority of the conference sponsors and delegates recorded themselves in favor of militant socialist opposition to the two capitalist parties. In taking this stand the conference collided with the policy advocated by the leadership of the Communist party which strongly favors trying to work inside the Democratic Party.

The fact that the conference took a decisive stand on the issue by no means ends the debate. The CP leadership is continuing to marshal arguments against the idea of independent socialist political action and in support of its pro-Democratic party "coalition" policy.

The case for "coalition" has been put forward in a discussion article by Clarence Hathaway in the June 22 Worker and by Arnold Johnson in the June issue of Political Affairs.

Hathaway poses the issue as "a real and serious" one that "involves the question of the effectiveness of the entire Left in working among the broad masses of the people to win them away from the old parties and for a socialist solution to present day problems..." The starting point of his analysis is the fact that the labor, Negro and farmers' movements "are pretty well tied to the

apron strings of the old parties, mainly the Democratic, by tradition and through their conservative leaders."

This is a fair enough statement of the problem. The labor movement and its allies are presently tied to the capitalist parties. How then are socialists to help break them away and win them to a socialist program? According to Hathaway, while popular sentiment for a break with the capitalist parties is at its lowest ebb, there is a new and progressive development now beginning to take place which can provide the basis for an ultimate mass break away from the capitalist parties. The "new" ingredient presented by Hathaway is a "growing (but still only 'growing') feeling that labor must have more voice in formulating the platform and selecting the candidates of the Democratic party." (Emphasis in original.)

If socialists will only forget the idea of acting like socialists in the elections, he argues, and devote their energies to seeing that this "new" sentiment "is developed and encouraged," then on the basis of the fight for a greater voice in the Democratic party, "the quicker will come the disillusionment of these people in the old parties and real foundations laid for

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## Who Says "It Can't Happen"



This air view shows the gaping pit left by the accidental explosion of eight Nike missiles in Middletown, N. J. Seven persons were killed instantly when one of the missiles exploded and touched off seven more in a chain reaction. Previously, officials had assured that the set-up was accident-proof.

## War Threat In Lebanon Continues

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JUNE 25 — The civil war in Lebanon grows sharper. The U. S. Sixth Fleet hovers menacingly nearby in the Mediterranean with marines ready for combat. U. S. helicopters flutter about Beirut, the capital. And United Nations "observers" slink around the Lebanese borders looking for Arab "infiltrators."

John Foster Dulles, June 23, briefed a Senate committee on the crisis in Lebanon. According to Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.), the Secretary of State said that "almost daily for three weeks there has been the fear that the spark might come which would ignite a chain of events which might involve our forces." According to Sparkman, Dulles "obviously hopes we will not have to intervene."

What will U. S. marines be fighting for in Lebanon if Dulles "hopes" are not realized and the U. S. goes to war in the Middle East, either in its own name or under the U.N. banner as in Korea?

The Lebanese crisis was precipitated by President Camille Chamoun's announcement of his intention of changing the Lebanese constitution so that he could serve another six-year term. Chamoun, however, isn't that popular. He is an agent in the Arab world of U. S. foreign policy. On May 10 opposition to the President expressed itself in street battles. Today the country is torn apart with civil strife.

**ATTACK EXPECTED**  
The Lebanese government expects a major attack from the rebels tomorrow. The N. Y. Times reports today, "For four days women and children have been moving out of areas along Basta Street in the center of the city (Beirut). This is the area that harbors most of the rebels. Barricades that have barred the Basta area since the revolt began have been supplemented by concrete pill-boxes... Hundreds of armed men have filtered into the Basta area from outside Beirut recently."

"Kamal Jumblatt, rebel leader of the sect of Druses a few miles southeast of Beirut, is said to have sent in several hundred men," the Times report continues. "Traveling as simple workmen or peasants, they can carry pistols inside their belts..."

In growing desperation, Chamoun is expected to ask the U. S. or the United Nations for troops to keep him in power.

The UN Security Council debated whether or not partisans of the United Arab Republic were "infiltrating" across the Lebanese borders to add to Chamoun's woes. But there can be no debate over threatened U. S. intervention into a civil war within an Arab country and among the Arab people.

## Lebanon's Civil War



Rebel in Tripoli resists assault of government troops. On June 7 a pitched battle raged in this section of the city, controlled by the rebels. The government of Chamoun attacked with tanks, planes and artillery. The United States has been supplying weapons to the unpopular regime.

## U.S. Military Bases Abroad

An Editorial

Efforts of the U. S. military to further encircle the Soviet Union with a world network of long-range missile bases is meeting strong popular opposition abroad. More than 48% of the people in six European countries and Japan are against having these bases in their countries and only 22% are in favor of them, according to a recent survey by the New York Herald Tribune World Poll.

In West Germany, 54% of those queried opposed the bases. Seven percent were in favor of them and 29% were undecided.

In Japan, the poll ran 44% against the bases and 9% in favor. In Denmark, 58% said "no" and 18% "yes." In Sweden it was 46% against and 28% for. In Italy 39% opposed the bases and 30% favored them and in Great Britain the poll showed a 40-40 split, with 20% undecided.

The main reason why most of those queried were opposed to the bases is that they recognize that the missiles buildup serves only to increase the war danger. They obviously have not been convinced by the U. S. propaganda claim that missile bases are needed to deter the Soviets from allegedly launching war.

Equally significant is a further reason given in all countries polled for opposing the bases. This is the fear of becoming a U. S. "satellite." In fact, in Sweden this was found to be the principal reason for wanting no part of the bases.

This strong sentiment against the suicidal arms buildup is obviously cause for concern for the cold-war architects in Washington. But it should be warmly greeted by the American people who have no more stake in the plans for war against the Soviet Union than do the people of the rest of the world.

In fact the American people should reinforce this world peace sentiment by demanding that the international network of U. S. missile bases be dismantled and that the American troops be brought back home.

## Court Restores Jim Crow in Little Rock HS Gives Legal Formula That Can Nullify Supreme Court Decision

JUNE 25 — On June 21 Federal District Judge Harry J. Lemley ordered the expulsion of all Negro students from Little Rock's Central High School and the "postponement" of any integration moves in that city until 1961. This decision comes against the background of a steady slow-down in school desegregation.

The high point of desegregation came in 1955 when school districts covering almost 6% of the Negro children affected by the Supreme Court decision took desegregation steps. Next September the figure dropped below 3%. September 1957 saw it slump to 1%. Moreover each mid-year there had been some desegregation for the second term. But this past mid-year not a single school district announced second semester desegregation.

### JIM-CROW WEAPON

Judge Lemley's decision, if allowed to stand, will give the white supremacists the legal weapon for killing all school desegregation attempts in the Deep South and for possible re-segregation in the border states. The Little Rock decision simply puts into legal language the racist vows that "You can't force integration on us," and Eisenhower's argument that "First you have to change the hearts of men." It declares the opponents of integration in Little Rock had prevented normal education at Central High, therefore integration must be ended for at least two and a half years.

Heretofore whenever opponents had obstructed the operation of a law or Constitutional provision, U. S. judges have ordered them punished and the



Ernest Green, first Negro to graduate from Little Rock High School, Ark. Unless reversed, the federal district court decision restoring segregation means the other eight Negro students will have to return to a Jim Crow school.

law upheld. In this case of Negro children's rights, the court has upheld the law's opponents and ordered the law (school desegregation) suspended.

Judge Lemley's formula would give the racists a fool-proof system for stopping

school integration. Where Negro children finally made their way through the jungle of legal obstruction into a lilywhite school, the racists would merely have to stage riots and disturbances within and without the schools. This would constitute legal "proof" that the normal educational process was being disrupted because of integration. At the end of the two-and-a-half years suspension, the same procedure would be repeated to "prove" integration still impossible.

### RACISTS JUBILANT

No wonder Gov. Faubus, the White Citizens Council and the Democratic Party machine throughout the South are jubilant. Last September they suffered defeat when nation-wide, indeed world-wide, pressure forced Eisenhower to open the doors of Central High to nine Negro students with federal troops. Now they believe that defeat has been canceled out.

The Little Rock case was watched carefully by everyone — white or colored — in the South. It became the test of the Supreme Court decision. Defeat of integration in Little Rock cannot but tremendously embolden all racists. The lessons they have drawn from it already is that it pays to riot and beat and kick Negroes as was done before Central High.

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## New Strikes Break Out At Chrysler

JUNE 25 — Members of the United Automobile Workers took "unauthorized" strike action last week against two Chrysler Corporation plants. The union's contract with the company expired June 1, and work has proceeded without contract since then. The Corporation's Maywood assembly plant in California was shut down when 200 workers walked off the job. They protested foremen's reports to the company against 23 workers who had left their posts to complain against a line speed-up from 38 to more than 40 cars per hour.

Tom Smith, president of UAW Local 230 whose members work at the plant, said other grievances were also involved including a three-day suspension of chief steward John Seko, who led the protest against speed-up and against management attempts to cut down grievance-handling time previously allowed to plant committees.

About 400 members of UAW Local 1245 of the Redstone Jupiter missile plant in Detroit, struck in protest over company attempts to freeze out the union through discrimination in hiring and overtime procedures. The 400 are the only union members out of about 4,500 working at the plant. Picket lines were placed at 16 entrances to plant parking lots, causing a traffic jam which backed cars up for a mile or more in the area.

The strikers have refused the request of their local president, Milan Matich, to return to work. The union's Chrysler department, temporarily under the direction of Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, ordered the workers back on the jobs. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, has threatened to place an administrator in charge of the local.

## TV Networks Fire Two For Defying Witch Hunt

By Henry Gitano

NEW YORK, June 25 — All 18 witnesses appearing here before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee on June 13-19, boldly defied the witch-hunters who attempted to pry into their alleged political beliefs and associations; most refused to give more than their names, one refused to give the committee the time of day, all the witnesses used the First (free speech) or Fifth (no self-incrimination) amendment in refusing to answer questions.

Because they refused to cooperate with the inquisitors, headed by Rep. Morgan Moulder (D-Mo.), Charles Dubin, a director at NBC and Joseph Papp, a stage manager at CBS were immediately deprived of their livelihood by the networks.

Joseph Papp, stage manager of the Garry Moore TV show "I've Got A Secret" and founder-producer of the widely acclaimed Shakespeare Festival was asked by Moulder if he had the opportunity to inject communist ideas into his Shakespearean productions.

**DID SHAKESPEARE CARRY A CARD?**  
This evoked a burst of laughter from the spectators in the hearing room and a vigorous reply from Mr. Papp: "When Shakespeare says, 'This above all: to thine own self be true,' would that be subversive? His plays speak for themselves."

Acting outraged, Richard Arens, chief counsel and hatchet man for the committee, blustered: "No suggestion has been made here that William Shakespeare promoted a Communist line. You are trying to twist the questions to make it appear that Shakespeare might be listed as a subversive."

Papp was asked "If communism is not subversive, why is it wrong to name them?" His ready reply was: "There is a blacklisting in industry which keeps people from working and this is terribly unfair."

After the "hearing" Papp reported for work at CBS. A superior handed him a plain

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## Cold-Warriors Exploit Murder of Nagy

By Herman Chauka

Spearheaded by the bi-partisan cold warriors in Washington, world capitalism is utilizing its propaganda machine to capitalize to the fullest on the international revulsion and indignation created by the Kremlin-ordered murder of Imre Nagy in Hungary.

At his press conference following the announcement of the execution, Eisenhower, who has constantly sought to resist world pressure for a liquidation of the cold war, was quick to piously declare: "The whole thing has been a very great setback to my hopes... I think the whole sense of shock to the free world is going to be a very great obstacle to further [summit negotiations]."

### SELWYN LLOYD SMIRKS

In Great Britain, where the Tory government has also stubbornly bucked strong popular pressure for summit negotiations, Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd cynically asserted: "Our caution is now, perhaps, a little better understood."

Back in the U. S., both houses of Congress joined in seizing on the execution as a new stick for pounding the anti-Soviet drum. A resolution

jointly sponsored by Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and William F. Knowland (R-Calif.) hypocritically declared "deep indignation" at the "barbarism and perfidy" of the killing. The resolution was unanimously adopted by a Congress that has given billions of dollars without hesitation to aid blood-stained despots across the globe.

While pretending horror, U. S. politicians could scarcely conceal their glee at the manner in which the Nagy affair had offered them a handle to repair some of their devastated international prestige. Increasingly, in the past several years, millions of people throughout the world have come to recognize the U. S. ruling class as the real source of the war danger. Its claims of defending freedom everywhere have rung hollow to these millions because of the brutal suppression of Negro rights in America.

According to a June 25 Washington dispatch to the New York Times, "United States government specialists believe the execution... may have turned the tables in the East-West propaganda war in favor of the West."

"In many areas," the specialists note, "the Soviet Union

succeeded in projecting a picture of itself as reasonable and peace-loving, and of the United States as belligerent and unwilling to negotiate... The United States Information Agency is therefore publicizing the execution of Mr. Nagy and related events by every possible means."

### SOCIALIST OPPOSITION

As opposed to the imperialists who seek to exploit the affair as a cold-war weapon, increasing numbers of Soviet partisans have denounced the executions as gross violation of socialist principle. They are convinced that this crime can only encourage further Kremlin outrages and allow American imperialism to capitalize on the crimes for its own reactionary, anti-Soviet objectives.

In this country, the pro-socialist weekly, the National Guardian, in its June 23 issue, declared editorially: "... we can only regard the execution of Imre Nagy and his colleagues in the October uprising as shocking and appalling. We have long campaigned against the death sentence and political death sentences certainly seem to us no exception. That the men should have been tried,

convicted and executed in secret... is appalling to us in another sense. To portray the Hungarian people as 'unanimously and deeply satisfied' with the executions is barbaric journalism. We reject the argument that comment such as this may be unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Such an argument might just as easily have been raised in the fight to keep Ethel and Julius Rosenberg from going to the electric chair..."

"The first job is to fight against the pessimism being peddled by the hypocrites in high places... as to the possibility of dealing with those whose hands are stained with blood. All hands are stained with blood — whether they have triggered napalm bombs in Korea, electric torture in Algeria or in the rifles of a firing squad in Budapest..."

An article by staff writer Elmer Bendiner on "The Crimes for which Imre Nagy was killed" declares in part: "It was dismaying to find the socialist countries still using the methods of secret trial and secret executions after the 'excesses' of earlier years had

been so thoroughly condemned. It was still more disheartening to find socialists seeking to kill ideas by killing those who hold them."

### 'DANGEROUS THOUGHTS'

In a dispatch from Britain, Konni Zilliacus, Labor member of Parliament, writes in the same issue: "In practice, the Soviet, Chinese and other Communist leaders are, in the long run, hardly more likely to be successful in stifling 'dangerous' thoughts... and imposing limits to freedom in their own countries than Dulles, Macmillan and the other defenders of the old order will be in the west."

This reaction by Zilliacus seemed to express a general seething indignation in the British labor and radical movement. The most dramatic reflection of this sentiment came when Arthur Horner, a long-time Stalinist die-hard in the British Communist Party leadership, and general-secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers, vigorously assailed the execution in public statements.

"This is horrifying, absolutely horrifying," Horner is reported as declaring. "I can't keep quiet any longer." Stating

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## 'State-Department Socialists' Fuse

By Frances James

The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation at its national convention, May 31-June 3, finally decided to recognize that the Independent Socialist League is acceptable in the circle of "democratic socialists." The majority resolution on unity recommended taking the ISL membership into the party-federation. (Final decision on unity was referred to a national membership referendum.)

By "democratic socialist" these people mean lending "socialist" cover to a pro-State-Department program. The SP-SDF 1957 convention resolution demanded "no appeasement of the Communist imperialism" and came out for "democratically established military agencies" to "guard against the military drive of the Communist dictators."

The 1958 convention resolution contains essentially the same program and is touted as the means "to restore world-wide confidence in our American concern for peace."

Essentially the same line is presented in an article, "For A Democratic Foreign Policy" printed in the May 19 Labor Action, newspaper of the ISL. It criticizes the State Department for its "negative anti-communism" and complains that "the struggles of the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe for freedom from the Stalinist empire" have not resulted in their "flocking to support of U. S." It complains further that "Even at the time of the great crisis in the Stalinist empire — Hungary — American policy was helpless to exploit the crisis." The ISLers do not fight American Big Business as the source of the war danger, but oppose its policies as not effective enough in combating what they consider to be the main danger in the world — namely, the Soviet Union.

The June 16 Labor Action pretends that the 1958 SP-SDF position is a development to the left from that of 1957 — a "change from one spirit to another, totally different in tone." The ISL needs to claim a "change" in the SP-SDF program to help justify its dissolution into the SP-SDF. Actually, the only noteworthy change is the acceptance by the SP-SDF of the ISL's pledge to dissolve its organization, put its paper, Labor Action, and its magazine, New Internationalist, at the disposal of the party-federation and work loyally for the program of State-Department socialism.

### ISL Electoral Policy

To advocate a "democratic foreign policy," ISL style, means to advocate "democratic socialism" at home, too — Democratic Party "socialism," that is. For a number of years, the ISL has ceased to consider socialist electoral activity as an important function of the socialist movement. Instead, it has advocated activity within such organizations as Americans for Democratic Action, the Liberal Party in New York and the AFL-CIO's COPE even though the major attention of these organizations has been on electioneering for Democratic Party candidates.

As a result, in June 1957, the ISL adopted the policy of not placing themselves "in the position of campaigning among workers to reject the advice of their unions in the midst of a political campaign." Concretely, the ISL holds that if the union leaders say "Vote for Mr. Democrat," socialists should not reply by saying "Do not vote for Mr. Democrat."

The electoral policy adopted by the recent SP-SDF convention endorses participation in primary elections of the capitalist parties — with the convention discussion emphasizing particularly the Democratic Party. The objection raised by the ISLers is not that this violates the principle of working class political independence. They object to socialists trying to run in the primaries as socialists. Labor Action is for getting into Democratic Party politics in support of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's maneuvering rather than "finding some new device" for the SP-SDF's own electoral activity. With this line the ISLers find themselves supporting the right-wing of the SP-SDF in the electoral policy debate.

As can be seen, it isn't lack of political agreement that held up formal unity of the ISL and the SP-SDF. It was the question of renunciation of "Leninism." Those in the SP-SDF who opposed admission of the ISLers held that the ISL has not sufficiently repudiated Lenin, especially his conception of the character and role of a revolutionary party in the struggle for workers power. The majority held that the ISL has proved in action that it is anti-Leninist and that it can work in "comradely harmony with social democracy."

The ISL began its break with revolutionary socialism when its tendency, led by Max Shachtman, split with the Socialist Workers Party in 1940 over the question of defense of the Soviet Union and formed the Workers Party. Leon Trotsky and the SWP predicted at that time that their break with the first workers' state would lead them to abandon class-struggle politics and head them into the camp of social-democratic reformism. They have arrived at this point in their political evolution. They have proved to the satisfaction of the majority of the SP-SDF convention delegates that they are full-fledged social democrats. The SP-SDF referendum is expected to approve the unity.

## Nat'l Review Publisher Wriggles Out of Debate

NEW YORK, June 20 — The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation last night cooperated with the ultra-rightist National Review against other socialists to keep a spokesman for the anti-labor extremist magazine off a socialist platform. The Young Socialist, a monthly published at 144 Second Avenue, Manhattan, had scheduled a debate between its editor, Tim Wohlforth, and William Rusher, publisher of the National Review, on the subject: "Which Road for France: Gaullism or Socialism?" Rusher backed out of the debate at the last minute with the endorsement of the SP-SDF's state chairman and the editor of the Socialist Call.

Rusher sent a telegram to the meeting at the Great Northern Hotel reading: "I accepted the invitation of the Young Socialist to debate this evening under the impression that it was an organization approved by the Socialist Party, with which I violently disagree but whose good faith I have never questioned. I have now been advised, however, by Samuel Friedman, the state chairman of the Socialist Party, and Herman Singer, the editor of the Socialist Call, that the Young Socialist is not approved by the Socialist Party and in fact has no greater claim to the name 'socialist' than the Communist Party or the National Socialist of Germany. Accordingly, rather than participate in a debate that cannot be depended upon to meet

the ordinary tests of intellectual candor, I regretfully decline to debate at all." William Rusher.

Mr. Friedman verified by telephone that Mr. Rusher had quoted him correctly. The debate was nonetheless held, with a chair on the platform left open for any who cared to defend the Gaullist point of view.

The meeting's chairman, Richard DeHaan, member of the Young Socialist Editorial Board and chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, read a statement including the following: "On May 28, more than three weeks ago, James Robertson, Business Manager of the Young Socialist, and myself, met with Mr. Rusher in his office, subsequent to a telephoned proposal from us for this debate."

"Rusher asked specifically whether we had any connection with the Socialist Party," the statement continued. "I specifically replied that we did not. Indeed, so emphatic was my reply, that Rusher felt obliged to comment on it. When I spoke to Rusher on the phone a little while ago, he could not manage to recall this incident." Prof. Saul K. Padover, scheduled moderator of the debate, also absented himself after consultation with Mr. Rusher.

# They Favor a Full Socialist Slate

(We print below excerpts from speeches by three members of the presiding committee at the United Independent-Socialist Election Conference, held in New York, June 13-15. Speeches by Henry Abrams, a co-chairman of the conference, and by Muriel McAvoy were made at the opening session, Friday, June 13. John T. McManus' speech came at the Saturday morning session in presentation of the presiding committee's recommendation that the conference nominate a full slate of candidates for state offices.—Ed.)

## Muriel McAvoy

We are meeting here tonight, typically enough, to launch a new venture. Some of us are strangers who have never worked together on a common project. Some of us are old friends. Some of us are old enemies. We have all been through a period of defeat and of confusion, doubt and distrust. Probably all of us at one time or another have been guilty of bad temper, and hot words. Probably all too many of us have been equally guilty of not having fought hard enough for what we believed in.

We have all spent, in the last few years, a great deal of time at forums and symposiums, discussing with people of different views where we've gone wrong in the past, what different things we should do in the future. I think that many of us here tonight feel we should continue this debate about why we differ, but we should also act on the basis of the many points on which we are in agreement. For this is a time of mounting unemployment and social stress. And the mushroom shaped clouds are still hanging over the horizon. This is a time when the American people need to have pointed out to them the solution that socialism offers to the problems that we all face.

### AN IMPORTANT TEST

And there is no better way to reach Americans, no other way half as good, really, than through the medium of the old-fashioned radical election campaign. We in the Socialist Unity Forum, of which my husband was chairman, have long stubbornly believed in two things: in independent political action and in socialist unity. We are proud and happy tonight to see the launching of

this conference. It is the culmination of what we, along with many others, have been working for. For this is a highly important conference. Much depends upon the outcome of this first serious attempt to unite the left in a socialist campaign. We face an important test this weekend — the test of whether or not the left is yet ready to join in bringing our beliefs before the people of this state. Of whether, in spite of varying points of view, we can join to challenge the two old-party machines head-on. Of whether we can say to Tammany Hall as well as to Big Business, "You shall not have our connivance in your lies to the people of New York State."

We will vote tomorrow on matters as to whether or not we will have a full ticket, of which we all share the honor as well as the hard work before us. Is it possible that even now, even here, a majority will vote to sit out this campaign except perhaps in one or two Congressional districts? Or to reduce the campaign to a mild protest that will not offend the Democratic Party?

I have of course, thought a great deal recently about what my husband would have thought of this conference. But I think none of us who knew Cliff and worked with him could really doubt that he would have expected and wanted us to be here tonight. As well as most people, Cliff knew the self-sacrifice that goes into such an effort as the realization of a meeting like this. Specific tactical errors I am sure he would forgive us. But he would expect us to try to do all we can, to fight as hard as we can, to keep at it.

For if this conference fails in doing what it was called to do, if it is beguiled into the primrose path of coalition, let us face the fact that this will be a serious setback for us. If we fail, we disappoint people all across the country who are watching with eager hope. If we fail, we prejudice efforts for some time to come, and cast a shadow for forthcoming election years. And so we must not fail to achieve our goal for a full ticket of independent-socialist candidates.

## Henry Abrams

Friends, we are gathered here tonight and over the weekend to reach an agreement as to how we can in the



Muriel G. McAvoy and John T. McManus were members of the Presiding Committee at the United Independent-Socialist Election Conference held in New York June 13-15. Mrs. McAvoy was an early organizer for the Progressive Party. McManus is general manager of the National Guardian.

1958 election give the voter in New York State a chance not only to express his dissatisfaction with the two major parties and their Liberal Party replica but also to cast a positive vote on the great issues that face us.

To clear up any misunderstanding as to our purpose, we are not trying to build a farm-labor party. There is no sign that this is a realizable goal for 1958. Nor are we trying to form a new ideological party of socialism. We are trying to create, however, for those who have a basic agreement that our country would enjoy a happier, a more peaceful and more fruitful life under socialism, an organization where such people — regardless of doctrinaire differences of past decades — can act in concert around issues on which all can agree, leaving them free to discuss their differences in some other medium.

The committee in the course of the conference will submit some proposals arrived at with substantially unanimous consent. Matters on which no such consent was forthcoming were discarded. We proposed to challenge the two major parties at the polls with a socialist-oriented platform, with hard-hitting planks on immediate issues. The future of these proposals rests on your decision.

We believe that the people of our state deserve a better choice than a Rockefeller or a Harriman.

In California, the Holland Roberts campaign proves that it can be done. Let us show our brothers in California that New York can do it too.

In closing, let me repeat that we are not here to settle longstanding doctrinal disputes. If anyone insists that he is the sole repository of political wisdom, he will not serve the best interests of this conference. But if everyone approaches our problems with tolerance, for views of others and with a flexibility designed to reach an agreement we can present the platform that not only gives immediate answers but also begins to indicate the only lasting cure for the nation's problems — socialism.

## John T. McManus

For the benefit of the many who may not know the genesis of this effort [the United Independent-Socialist Conference], my temporary co-chairman, Mr. Henry Abrams and Mr. Morris Goldin, former executive officer of the American Labor Party, began to call

meetings in the early part of 1957 with the purpose of resumption of independent political action at some level.

At the beginning of this year, my two colleagues resumed these conferences hoping to lead to independent political action. To the meetings were invited a wide spectrum of individuals, [as well as] members and leaders of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party and rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party and many others.

In discussing what would go into the call and what would be taken up at this conference, the sponsoring committee felt that there was overwhelming proof that the machine parties had no difference on brink-of-war world positions and neither could or would establish the rights of the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people, the Mexican people or others making up our country's population to equal participation in the bounty and wealth which their labor produces and in the freedom which should be enjoyed equally by all.

### HARRIMAN RECORD

Both machine parties have been and are now parties of the witch hunt. This is specifically true of the present Democratic governor, Averell Harriman. It is also true of Harriman that he was one of the earliest architects of the cold war and that he has used the position of the office to which he was elected with the votes of independents and by the slimmest of margins to oppose a summit meeting and a coming to an understanding for peaceful competition between the reigning social systems in the world. He is a banker and a capitalist, and he has not been a traitor to his class. He is furthermore a true and unyielding anti-Soviet, unlike some at this conference who have been accused of this in some of the pre-conference polemics in our left press.

Correctly, I believe, assuming this situation in the machine parties, the sponsoring committee turned to the question of how to challenge the machines. All arguments were aired. But the final unanimous view was that the machine parties must be challenged where it hurts, where the contest between them is close, and where the independent voter holds the balance of power.

In considering a single candidate — say for the post of

U.S. Senator — and the question of a full ticket including especially a candidate for governor, it was the considered opinion of the sponsoring committee that if the effort undertaken for one candidate were undertaken for all the candidates, [it would] thereby provide the voters of the state for future use, if they so desired, with a political instrument of their own, independent of the machine parties, devoted to the development of a socialist program for this country, inviting — not rejecting — the participation and concurrence of all the socialist groupings in the state.

### DISRESPECT FOR VOTERS

I now cite my own opinion . . . that a lesser effort — an effort for example to seek to put a single candidate on the ballot, that for U. S. Senator — in effect has embodied in it a kind of disrespect for the independent voter in the state.

It is as if to say that we do not dare or venture to put before the independent voter an opportunity to dislodge either one or the other political machine from power because he might use it, [because] he might create a political instrument to unbalance the present machine balance in the state.

Therefore it seems to me that the effort required to put on a campaign such as we would like to put on should not be limited to a single candidate as has been proposed but should be devoted to putting on the ballot alternatives that the voters of the state can be trusted to use with the great wisdom they have always shown, and this goes especially for the independent voters.

## London Bus Strike Settled

JUNE 20 — The strike of 50,000 London bus drivers came to an end today after nearly seven weeks of struggle. About 36,000 men will receive an increase of \$1.19 a week, allotted in arbitration before the strike. A new concession won will be a pay rise, unspecified as yet, for 700 drivers. In addition the pay of other drivers and conductors will be reviewed for "an upward trend in wage levels." Settlement of a London dockworkers strike is expected soon.

# ... CP Opposes United Socialist Election Policy

(Continued from Page 1) a new party truly committed to the peoples' interests and to socialism.

In fact, Hathaway grandly promises, "By the Left staying with . . . such progressive forces . . . substantial progress could be made this year and by 1960 the forces of progress and Socialism could be a real power."

### NOTHING NEW

Before examining this promissory note, it is worth getting the facts straight about the "new" incipient demand by labor for a greater voice in the Democratic party. The fact is that the labor movement — or more precisely, its top leaders — have been making this demand for more than 20 years. They have responded to every proposal for independent political action with the argument that this would isolate the unions politically and that the only realistic course is to try to gain greater influence within the Democratic party. And, appearances in certain brief periods notwithstanding, the CP leadership has promoted this

view of the labor bureaucracy since 1936. This policy of political collaboration is today known officially as the "people's anti-monopoly coalition." In 1936, the same course was pursued under the title of "people's front" or "popular front." Now well has it worked up to now?

The CP's adoption of that policy in 1936, coinciding with a similar turn by the right-wing of the Socialist Party, marked a qualitative change in the state of the radical movement. What happened, in essence is that these tendencies swung behind the official labor leadership which had entered into a coalition with the Northern wing of the Democratic party as part of the "New Deal."

The CP-Social-Democratic turn came as a sharp break with the long established tradition of the radical movement. Previously, regardless of all other differences, the movement was united on the elementary principle that socialists did not support capitalist

politicians. The break with this principle did not coincide with any dwindling of popular sentiment for independent working class political action. On the contrary, such sentiment was at its peak in the 1936-40 period.

In fact it was so deeply imbedded that in New York it was necessary to line up radical votes for the Democratic party by forming a new organization — the American Labor Party.

While many in the ALP saw the new organization as the first step toward a national labor party, this was by no means the views of its initiators who included Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers as well as many union leaders who followed the line of the CP.

That Hillman saw the ALP as a device for coralling otherwise unavailable votes for Democratic nominees is candidly explained by his biographer, Matthew Josephson, who wrote:

"For Hillman, the first and most important task was to 'sell' the idea to his own union members . . . Many of the union members, especially in New York and Chicago, had grown up in the tradition of supporting the Socialist party, at least locally and shunning our Tammany Halls."

Did the CP leadership view the founding of the ALP any differently? Not according to an article in the May 1954 Political Affairs by Jonathan Swift which states in equally candid fashion that the ALP was so organized "that it enabled the independent voters in New York to form a new party without thereby endangering the election of those major party candidates who . . . still deserved support. In practice this performed the function of delivering an even larger vote to the Democratic party Presidential, state and Congressional tickets."

From the outset the ALP ran a minimum number of independent candidates for top city and state offices, mainly nominating capitalist-party candidates on its line.

In the final days of the ALP when other forces pressed successfully for independent candidacies, the CP leadership gave formal endorsement while actually throwing their votes to the Democrats. The bid by Clifford T. McAvoy for Mayor in 1953 and John T. McManus for Governor in 1954 are cases in point.

In all basic respects, the CP attitude toward the Progressive party was the same. Originally it viewed the PP as a means of bringing pressure on the Democratic party through the candidacy of Henry Wallace, who, like all other capitalist politicians, quickly proved he had no intention of turning against his class.

After Wallace's desertion, the CP leaders rejected the argument that, since those remaining in the PP were virtually all pro-socialist, it should adopt a pro-socialist program. By the time of the 1952 presidential campaign for Vincent Hallinan, the CP had lost all enthusiasm for the PP because it failed to hold the capitalist elements represented by Wallace and gave but token support to Hallinan while again hustling votes for the Democrats with the double-talking slogan that the Republicans were the "main danger." Shortly afterward the CP leadership decided the PP experience was a "left-sectarian" adventure, moved in to scuttle it along with the ALP, and announced the need for concentrating on the Democratic Party to build the "anti-monopoly coalition."

The result of this 22-year experience in "coalition" politics is painfully clear. From the time when the New Deal turned into the war deal in 1938, labor has not won a single major piece of progressive social legislation. But it did get Taft-Hartley and the current anti-labor drive. With the support of the labor leadership in its vest pocket, the northern liberal wing of the Democratic party has felt free to continue its alliance with the Dixiecrats thus blocking the movement for civil rights. Korea, the cold war and the witch hunt

that the decision had closed the door on further discussion." However, as the Worker itself reports further down, the conference took a clear-cut stand in favor of keeping the door open to negotiations with the CP and others to enlist their support for the campaign. In electing a continuations committee, the conference voted unanimously that the committee be empowered to add to its own membership and to "explore all avenues of enlisting the participation of additional socialist and independent forces in a united independent-socialist campaign."

If, as the Worker seems to say, the door is really closed to unity, it is the Communist Party leaders who have closed it. This, notwithstanding Benjamin Davis' statement that the Communist Party would work for unity of the Left "regardless of the outcome of the conference."

Before that the Worker article states: "The conference, however, went on record for a full slate of candidates . . . on a 'socialist' program. It thus in effect closed the door on the further discussion the Communist Party had urged."

The crucial point of the conference, according to the Worker report, came when the delegates voted against an amendment that would have avoided registering the stand of the conference on whether to run a full state ticket or only one candidate. The Worker says: "Following defeat of the amendment a Communist spokesman reiterating the position presented earlier by Benjamin J. Davis . . . indicated

the attendance, with leaders and members of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance estimated to make up the rest.")

The Worker then infers that the possibility of achieving unity with the CP in the campaign was cut off when the conference registered its stand in favor of a full ticket rather than a single candidate on a platform limited to the peace issue such as the CP had urged.

The Worker says that "The die was cast Friday night in the opening session when Vincent Hallinan . . . urged a full slate of candidates on a 'socialist' ticket and launched a bitter attack on the Communist Party." And again "A heavy concentration of Trotskyites among the participants was the decisive factor in closing the door on unity of the left in the campaign."

## The Worker's Report of N.Y. Conference

The June 22 issue of the Worker carries an account by Erik Bert of the United Independent-Socialist Election Conference held in New York, June 13-15. The article seeks to portray the conference as one where the Communist Party fought for socialist unity in the coming New York election campaign but was defeated in its endeavors. Headlined, "CP presses for Unity of Left at N.Y. Election Conference," the article opens with the statement: "Unity of the left on a minimum basis in the 1958 New York election campaign was urged strongly, but in vain, by the Communist Party."

The report quotes party leader Benjamin Davis' statement to the conference that "Regardless of the outcome of the conference, the Communist Party would continue to fight for unity of the Left in association with all those who want such unity."

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(The June 23 National Guardian estimated the conference composition as follows: "Independents made up some 300 of

the attendance, with leaders and members of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance estimated to make up the rest.")

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round out the score. The results in terms of educating the workers and Negro people to the need for a break with the two-party system has been equally dismal. The wide socialist sentiment of the 1930's has been largely dissipated, and the strong rank-and-file demands of that period in the UAW and other unions for a labor party has also been beaten down.

This 22-year period of the stifling of the consciousness of the working class clearly dictates not a course of more of the same but a complete break by all those who are serious about building a socialist movement. The socialist movement has the opportunity of again becoming a meaningful force in this country. But experience shows that it won't do it in the Democratic party.

## Stalin's School Of Quotations

Both Clarence Hathaway and Arnold Johnson try to smear independent sponsors of the united independent-socialist ticket as linked with "anti-Soviet Trotskyites." Johnson goes so far as to make the vile charge that in the SWP program "one finds the infamous, 'Project X' and Allen Dulles' program!" As "proof," he offers the following: "This Socialist Workers Party placed an ad in the National Guardian calling for a United Socialist Ticket and listed planks including 'aid to the countries of the Soviet orbit who are fighting for their freedom.'"

This is the text of the plank as it appeared in the Feb. 3 National Guardian: "Replace the bi-partisan, cold-war, imperialist foreign policy of the Democrats and Republicans with a socialist policy of friendship and aid to the countries of the Soviet orbit and the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for their freedom."

Subscription: \$3 per year;  
\$1.50 for 6 months. For-  
eign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25  
for 6 months. Canadian:  
\$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6  
months. Bundle orders: 5  
or more copies 6c each in  
U.S.; 7c each in foreign  
countries.

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: AL 5-7460  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: BEATRICE ALLEN

Signed articles by con-  
tributors do not necessarily  
represent the Militant's  
policies. These are ex-  
pressed in its editorial.

"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. XXII—No. 26

Monday, June 30, 1958

## Hungary: 1. Where's the Proof?

A communique by the official Hun-  
garian news agency announced the execu-  
tions of Nagy, Maleter et al, and detailed  
charges of subversion, treason, conspiracy  
with fascist and imperialist elements, etc.,  
etc. ad nauseam, of which they had been  
found guilty.

But who can believe in the truth of  
the charges or the justice of the verdict?  
The trial was secret! (A fact that the  
Worker article (June 22) reporting the  
executions "neglected" to mention.)

After the Moscow Trials, after the  
Rajk, Slansky, Kostov frame-ups in East  
Europe, after the "irrefutable" evidence  
of the Jewish Doctors' Plot repudiated at  
the last moment, and after the Khrush-  
chev revelations, could any politically  
conscious worker anywhere in the world  
help but scrutinize carefully a political  
trial in the Soviet orbit? Such suspicion  
would be justified in the case of a public  
trial. What could then be a greater ad-  
mission of frame-up on the part of the  
Kremlin and its stooge regime in Hun-  
gary than a secret trial?

Towards the end of the communique  
from Budapest detailing the "crimes" of  
Nagy and the others this paragraph ap-  
pears: "All this has been proved by ir-  
refutable evidence in the course of sub-  
sequent investigations and at the present  
trial." On the contrary not one thing has  
been proved. It may well be that the  
defendants effectively disproved the  
charges; or that they had no opportunity  
to cross-examine their accusers; or even  
that no trial actually was held. The

"proof" boils down to mere assertion by  
the executioners.

Merely by literary evidence some of  
the accusations in the communique have  
already been disproved. Allegedly "secret  
documents" written by Nagy in 1955 and  
1956 are cited as calls to overthrow  
"people's democracy" and place Hungary  
"in the hands of the imperialists." Far  
from being secret, these documents were  
originally circulated by Nagy in the two  
years preceding the October 1956 Revo-  
lution to all the members of the Central  
Committee of the Hungarian Communist  
Party. Their meaning, when put back in  
context, is not what the communique pre-  
tends, as any person can readily verify  
since they have been available for a year  
in the book "Imre Nagy on Communism."  
(Published in New York by F. Praeger.)

Why did the Kremlin prefer a secret  
to a show trial? Certainly one important  
reason was the memory of Poznan. The  
trial of the Poznan rioters was prepared  
by official statements about "provocateur  
imperialist agents in the pay of foreign  
governments" and defendants who "had  
been inspired by foreign sources hostile  
to Poland." But in the courtroom the  
frame-up fell to pieces: confessions were  
repudiated, the foreign agent and foreign  
inspiration charges shown to be flimsy  
fabrications. Since the frame-up of Nagy  
and the others was basically the same as  
the unsuccessful one against the Poznan  
rioters, the Kremlin wisely decided on a  
secret trial — hiding even the date from  
the Hungarian and world public.

## 2. Dulles Gets An Assist

As loathsome as vultures circling a  
human corpse is the sight of Secretary of  
State Dulles and other imperialist spokes-  
men running around flapping their arms  
in pretended grief at the deaths of Nagy  
and Maleter. The true unconcern of cap-  
italist rulers over frame-ups and human  
lives is symbolized by the graves of their  
victims in every land (here at home from  
the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Van-  
zetti down to the Rosenbergs) as well as  
by the mountains of corpses of Hiroshima,  
Nagasaki, Korea and Algeria.

That the perpetrators and accomp-  
lices of such wholesale murder are now  
able to derive world-wide political ad-  
vantage for their cold-war plans and H-  
bomb diplomacy is devastating evidence  
of the terrible cost of the Kremlin bu-  
reaucracy to the Soviet Union and to the  
struggle for a socialist world.

But because Dulles and his ilk hypo-  
critically make a big propaganda show of  
deploring the secret trial and execution  
of Nagy and the lack of the most ele-  
mentary freedoms in the Soviet bloc,  
does this mean that opponents of the  
cold war and defenders of planned econ-  
omy in the Soviet bloc, should be silent?  
Or worse, try to justify the executions?

The problem is not as complex as it  
might seem. Right here in the U.S. we  
have unions which are run dictatorially  
by corrupt bureaucrats. Class-conscious  
workers instinctively defend such a union  
when the employers move to smash it. In  
so doing the workers are not defending  
the ruling bureaucracy of that union, but  
the union itself — that economic orga-  
nization which is to the material advantage

## 11 Years of Taft-Hartley

June 23 marked eleven years since  
Congress enacted the Taft-Hartley Act.  
The authors of this law did not hope to  
legislate the powerful American labor  
movement out of existence. They knew  
this could not be done. But they did aim  
to shackle labor, tie it up with red tape  
and weaken it for the final kill.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft in  
defending his law claimed, "There is a  
public demand for compulsory arbitra-  
tion and a complete prohibition of strikes."  
Taft resisted this imaginary "public de-  
mand" and insisted that a regimented  
economy was not desirable. "It may be  
that in time the world will become so  
complicated that a free economy can no  
longer be maintained," he pointed out.  
Then presumably the workers would have  
to be enslaved.

Taft gave another reason for not  
openly outlawing the right to strike: "In  
the last analysis," he said, "it is difficult  
indeed to prohibit by law a nation-wide  
strike if all the men in the industry really  
want to strike. The leaders can be re-  
strained. The strike can be discouraged.  
But no democracy can put a million men  
in jail or put them to work at the point  
of a gun."

The slow process of weakening labor  
by restricting the right to strike, threat-

of the workers and which is historically  
progressive.

At the same time class-conscious  
workers try to throw out privileged bu-  
reaucrats who have usurped control of the  
union and to restore it to the rank-and-  
file. This is not merely an optional task  
but a fundamental necessity.

The Russian Revolution may be com-  
pared to a trade union winning state  
power. Under Lenin and Trotsky there  
was workers' democracy. External and  
internal difficulties resulted in a degen-  
eration of the workers' state and the rank  
and file were stripped of political rights.  
Now the rank and file are beginning to  
stir and exert pressures for cleaning up  
the organization and restoring internal  
democracy.

The Kremlin's denial of the most ele-  
mentary democratic rights to the popu-  
lation and such crimes as the execution of  
Nagy furnish the imperialists with power-  
ful cold-war advantages. Those in the  
U.S. who defend these crimes help Dulles  
and the imperialists by discrediting social-  
ism. The true and effective opponents of  
the imperialist campaign against the  
USSR are those who deprive Dulles of  
his ammunition by showing that frame-  
up is an excrescence, removable by the  
Soviet workers, rather than an organic  
part of the Soviet system.

The idea that falsehood and injustice  
can serve the workers' movement or build  
socialism comes from Stalinism. Marx and  
Lenin taught that truth was an indispen-  
sable weapon for socialism — a weapon  
that in our era can serve no privileged  
caste or class other than the working  
class.

ening the workers with injunctions, tying  
the unions' resources up in long litiga-  
tions — this was the smart strategy of  
Big Business. The Taft-Hartley Act was  
a beginning.

Fred A. Hartley, co-author of the act,  
explained that this legislation was only  
designed to "equalize the positions of  
management and labor in this nation." A  
pretty piece of double-talk. Before the  
mass production workers won the right  
to organize in the 1930's, no one in the  
capitalist government was interested in  
"equalizing the positions of management  
and labor." The New Deal only recognized  
what labor had already won on its  
picket lines.

When the government intervened to  
change labor-management relations, it  
passed Taft-Hartley to weaken labor and  
pile more advantages in the hands of the  
boss.

Ever since that defeat in 1947 labor  
bureaucrats have begged for repeal or at  
least amendment of T-H. They have been  
given lavish promises — in election cam-  
paigns — from President Eisenhower on  
down. But none of the promises were  
kept. Isn't it time labor stopped begging  
for its freedom? Isn't it time to build a  
labor party that will wipe the Taft-  
Hartley Act off the books?

# London Busmen Prevail Over Strike-Breaking

By Philip Maghri  
LONDON, June 20 — In an  
unprecedented display of in-  
dependence and militancy, the  
50,000 London bus workers who  
have been on strike for six  
weeks have rejected a proposal  
by their official leadership to  
return to work on terms scarce-  
ly better than those offered be-  
fore the strike began. Their  
strike remains solid and this  
sprawling metropolis remains  
without bus service except for  
a few near-empty scab buses  
being run by an organization  
jocularly calling itself the "Peo-  
ple's League for The Defense  
of Freedom."

This long and bitter fight  
was forced upon the busmen by  
the Tory government, acting as  
the militant leader of the British  
capitalist class. Govern-  
ment policy is to cut the living  
standards of the workers by  
freezing wages while prices  
continue to rise. Their aim in  
resisting the bus strike so ten-  
aciously has not been to save  
a few hundred thousand  
pounds, but to show the entire  
working class that they mean  
business. They found that the  
working class could get tough,  
too.

**MODEST DEMAND**  
More than nine months ago  
the busmen put in their claim  
for a 25 shilling (\$3.50) a week  
increase. This very modest  
amount would only partly make  
up for the loss in real wages  
due to the inflation and would  
only narrow the gap between  
the wages of busmen and those  
of industrial workers.

Nevertheless, the "publicly  
owned" London Transport Ex-  
ecutive (an exact British coun-  
terpart of the New York Trans-  
it Authority) opposed a stony  
refusal to the busmen's plea.  
"We don't have any money for  
a wage increase," they inces-  
santly repeated. And to under-  
line the desperate financial  
plight of the LTE, Chairman  
Sir John Elliot and the other  
seven members voted them-  
selves wage increases amount-  
ing to 8,500 pounds (\$23,800) a  
year, retroactive to the pre-  
vious July.

Negotiations dragged out over  
months and months, the bus-  
men gradually reducing their  
demand to 10½ shillings (\$1.47)  
a week, just 3½ cents an hour,  
the LTE repeating, "We don't  
have any money." Finally, the  
question was referred to the  
mediation of a government-ap-  
pointed "Industrial Court." The  
"Court" proposed a settlement  
giving 36,000 Central London  
drivers and conductors three  
cents an hour, and giving noth-  
ing at all to the suburban drivers  
and maintenance workers. Even  
this measly increase was to  
be taken out of the workers'  
hides in the form of "econom-  
ies" (i.e., speed-up and wors-  
ened conditions).

**STRIKE OR SURRENDER**  
Faced with this insolent pro-  
vocation, the workers could  
only strike or capitulate. They  
chose solidly to strike, with the  
official support of their union,  
the giant Transport and Gen-  
eral Workers Union. The Tory  
government was prepared for  
a fight. Its kept press (called  
collectively "The Harlot of

Fleet Street") opened a vicious  
campaign against the "leftist"  
leader of the TGWU, Frank  
Cousins, and against the bus-  
men. This didn't disturb them,  
they knew what to expect. As  
one militant bus driver put it,  
"All I want from the Tory  
press is vilification and slan-  
der." The scab buses, too, were  
an occasion for ridicule, not  
worry.

The government had far more  
serious weapons, and it has  
used them to the full. Sir John  
Elliot said he was willing to  
let the strike last till Christ-  
mas — a long time for strikers  
to keep their families on three  
pounds (\$8.40) a week strike  
pay. And this was no empty  
threat. By adding extra cars  
to its subway trains the LTE  
has been able to handle most  
of the normal London traffic  
and make up much of its loss  
in revenue.

The only thing the govern-  
ment had to fear was the ex-  
tension of the strike to the  
subway workers. If both rail  
and bus services were shut  
down, the LTE would be forced  
to its knees. Against this threat,  
the government had to call on  
its "loyal opponents," the trade-  
union officials. First the rail-  
way union bureaucrats were  
bought off with a 3% increase  
for the subway workers —  
even less than the busmen  
were offered and also to be  
paid for by "economies."

Then the Trades Union Con-  
gress, while giving verbal sup-  
port to the busmen, strongly  
opposed extension of the strike.  
(This convinced some busmen  
that the initials TUC should  
stand for "Traitors, Underlings,  
Cowards," or "Tory Union  
Council.") Another cause for  
workers' scorn was the num-  
ber of knights and candidates  
for knighthood on the TUC —  
"they seem more loyal to the  
bosses than to the workers  
they are supposed to represent,"  
one driver said.)

**COUSINS GIVES IN**  
The official leader of the  
strike, Frank Cousins, wavered  
for a time and then he too gave  
in to TUC pressure and op-  
posed extension of the strike  
to other sections of the TGWU,  
notably oil-truck drivers and  
subway powerhouse workers.  
He succeeded in blocking this  
extension by a narrow ma-  
jority of the busmen's delegate  
conference only because of his  
immense personal prestige  
among the strikers.

Abandoned by the entire of-  
ficial union leadership (includ-  
ing the "Communist" leaders of  
the Electrical Trades Union)  
the busmen nevertheless got  
powerful help — indirect aid  
from the successful dockers'  
strike against scab labor (to be  
reported on in next week's  
Militant) and direct help from  
an "unofficial" group of Lon-  
don subway workers who held  
a one-day token strike (which  
was only partly successful) and  
who threatened more and bet-  
ter organized strikes in the  
future if the bus strike went  
on.

The situation was clear from  
the beginning — if the strike  
was extended it would be won;  
if not, it would be lost. When  
Cousins and the official leaders  
finally renounced extension  
they had to try to end the  
strike as an acknowledged de-  
feat. And when the group of  
"unofficial" subway workers  
threatened to end the strike on  
their own, the LTE had to  
make some concessions to try

## Paratroopers Active

Fascist forces in France  
have stepped up their anti-  
labor provocations. On June  
17 paratroopers in the Py-  
renean town of Pau sacked  
the office of a labor orga-  
nization and installed a "Com-  
mittee of Public Safety." On  
June 19, 200 soldiers pre-  
vented a Committee of Re-  
publican and Anti-Fascist  
Defense from placing a  
wreath on a war memorial  
just south of Paris. On June  
20 explosions in Toulouse  
damaged three buildings that  
housed an anti-fascist news-  
paper and anti-fascist or-  
ganizations. Broadcasts from  
the Algerian Public Safety  
Committees, June 21, called  
for a press boycott of "sub-  
versive minorities" and asked  
each Frenchman to "make  
of France a water in which  
the Red fish will be asphyx-  
iated."

and end the strike right away.  
The result was last week's set-  
tlement proposal, accepted by  
Cousins and the delegate con-  
ference. The Central London  
busmen were to get the origi-  
nal three-cent an hour offer, the  
suburban drivers and mainte-  
nance men were to get an in-  
crease whose size would be de-  
termined unilaterally by the  
LTE several weeks after the  
strike was over.

### SURPRISE FOR BOSSES

The Tory press greeted this  
agreement with exultant head-  
lines — "Busmen Surrender,"  
"Strike Crumbles." Sure of its  
victory, the LTE posted notices  
of new and harder work sched-  
ules in the garages. The first  
garages to vote showed a heavy  
lead in favor of a return to  
work. And then the tide turned.  
Only after 100 garages had  
voted did the "no's" get the  
lead, but the trend piled up to  
a 64-34 majority, many gar-  
ages rejecting the agreement  
by near-unanimous votes.  
"Sifted," "Sensation," cried the  
Tory press. Papers which once  
denounced Cousins for drag-  
ging "unwilling" busmen into  
a strike now denounced him  
for letting the busmen vote on  
the settlement offer. Given  
their chance in a democratic  
vote, the workers had pro-  
duced a tremendous surprise,  
overturning a leadership which  
had enjoyed their complete  
confidence in order to continue  
a bitter strike.

At this moment a new set-  
tlement proposal has been ne-  
gotiated, and seems certain to  
be accepted by the busmen. It  
is clearly an advance over the  
rejected proposal and, while  
not a real victory (that chance  
was destroyed by the official  
leaders' refusal to extend the  
strike), it looks like an honor-  
able settlement, not a capitula-  
tion. In any case, whatever has  
been won is due to the mili-  
tancy and determination of the  
rank-and-file busmen, the de-  
mocratic conduct of the strike,  
and the solidarity of other  
workers — in spite of the  
treachery of some leaders and  
the weakness of others. And  
one decisively important vic-  
tory has clearly been won —  
the Tory government failed to  
break the strike despite all its  
efforts. Other sections of the  
British working class will fol-  
low up the busmen's success.

## Paris Fascists Demonstrate



Scene above shows fascists in Paris on May 17 as they marched on the French Na-  
tional Assembly. This assault followed close on the heels of the successful coup in Algeria  
of the "Committees of Public Safety." The demonstrators demanded war to the end against  
the Moslem population's national independence revolution.

## What Is DeGaulism?

By Trent Hutter

(Trent Hutter has been a  
close student of European poli-  
tics for 25 years. The follow-  
ing is a letter to the Militant  
setting forth his views on de  
Gaulle's rise to power.—Ed.)

(1) Charles de Gaulle, in my  
opinion, is not heading toward a  
fascist dictatorship. Not only  
is de Gaulle not a fascist (he  
favors a kind of bonapartist  
republic with a strong execu-  
tive, yet preserving many of  
the traditional liberties of cap-  
italist democracy), he is defi-  
nitely not the instrument of  
the various fascist elements  
who helped him seize power.  
On the contrary, there exists a  
lot of tension between him and  
the fascists. And he undoubtedly  
means business when he is  
attempting to keep them out  
of the government. The composi-  
tion of his cabinet corresponds  
to the present needs of the  
French bourgeoisie: They are  
not yet backing fascism but  
need a more stable govern-  
ment — a "strong" leadership.

### THE FASCISTS

(2) A potential fascist danger  
now exists in France. It is  
represented by the French "col-  
ons" in Algeria and their  
"Public Safety Committees," by  
Soustelle's maneuvers, by Gen-  
eral Massu's paratroopers, by  
various fascist groups in metropoli-  
tan France that are, how-  
ever, much weaker as of now  
than the French fascists in Al-  
geria, although they might  
soon try to organize on a larg-  
er scale. But the French cap-  
italist class, with a relatively  
prosperous economy, does not  
yet need fascism to stay in  
power. Of course, all this may  
change, but I am briefly ana-  
lyzing the situation as of now.

The catastrophic leadership of  
the working class is also a  
great help to the capitalists.  
The ruling class may find the  
existence of General Massu and  
Monsieur Delbecq quite use-  
ful: "You never can tell how  
you might use them some  
day . . ." But at present, the  
policy of the French capitalist  
class as a whole is certainly  
not identical with that of the  
"Public Safety Committees." The  
capitalists prefer the less  
costly method of democratic  
rights, or "republican legality,"  
as long as they do not really  
need fascism to preserve their  
rule.

(3) In the broadest sense, de  
Gaulle is undoubtedly the agent  
of the French capitalist class.  
This does not mean he is any-  
one's puppet. He is and has al-  
ways been a very independent  
figure; and while he again takes  
care of French capitalism's in-  
terests, he does so in his own  
way, on his own terms which  
the capitalists finally found to  
roughly correspond to their  
needs after the political bank-  
ruptcy and financial distress of  
the Fourth Republic. (These  
financial problems of the state  
coincided with an industrial  
boom . . .)

De Gaulle wishes to serve  
the interests of "France," that  
is, capitalist France as a whole  
— not the particular interests  
of the French "colons" in Al-  
geria. If saving the French Em-  
pire, saving Algeria for France  
implies sacrificing some of the  
special privileges of the French  
"colons," he will not hesitate  
to do so. Hence his opposition  
to the political line and role of  
the "Public Safety Commit-  
tees." Nor does he want to  
share power with a second  
government in Algiers.

De Gaulle is willing to make  
concessions to the Algerian  
Moslems that go beyond any-  
thing his predecessors ever of-  
fered. He makes these conces-  
sions in order to stop the costly  
Algerian war and to weaken  
the Algerian independence  
movement. Let us not believe  
de Gaulle is just a clumsy,  
brutal politician, far more in-  
telligent than most of France's  
parliamentarians. And he is a  
very stubborn one (as witness  
his attitude toward Roosevelt  
in World War II).

It is a mistake to see in de  
Gaulle the lackey of any clique  
and an even bigger mistake to  
see in him a lackey of the  
fascists.

### COMPARISON WITH SPAIN?

(4) Is there a comparison  
with Spain in 1936? If Massu  
and Company are potential  
Francos, de Gaulle hardly is.  
Moreover, the Spanish working  
class of 1936, with its revolu-  
tionary committees and strong  
anarcho-syndicalist movement,  
was different from the French  
working class of 1958, with its  
mass organizations under the  
Communist Party's bureaucratic  
control and its reformists col-  
laborating with de Gaulle. And

let us not forget that the Span-  
ish Republic meant something  
to the workers. It had intro-  
duced important social reforms,  
while the Fourth Republic  
gave the workers little more  
than had the Third Republic.

The French workers are not  
eager to fight now, in my op-  
inion, although an actual fascist  
danger might change their at-  
titude. The big demonstrations  
against de Gaulle were not too  
turbulent — a warning, but  
not a political action of de-  
cisive importance, not an of-  
fensive. For the moment, the  
French workers prefer to wait  
and see what de Gaulle will do.  
They have become cautious  
and do not yearn for battle.

What should they have  
fought for? The crumbling, im-  
potent Fourth Republic with  
its scheming politicians, its  
ever changing cabinets all do-  
ing and neglecting the same  
things, its bloody colonial wars?  
The slogan raised by the Com-  
munist Party leadership of "De-  
fending the Republic" had no  
meaning to the workers at all.  
It might have been different if  
the CP leadership had injected  
a socialist content into the  
campaign, had made an issue  
of the class character of the  
state, or had urged an offensive  
against the rule of the capital-  
ist class as such.

The French workers think  
twice before actually going  
into action because they have  
been betrayed and disappointed  
too often. Their energies have  
been partly spent in the CP's  
foolish "rotating strikes" and  
in demonstrations with false  
slogans and false promises.  
Thus the mood of the working  
class seems to be one of scepti-  
cal patience (for the time be-  
ing). There was no question of  
an uprising for a resurrection  
of the completely rotten Fourth  
Republic.

### Every Test Kills

By Linus Pauling

The Nobel prize winning  
scientist speaks out against  
the nuclear bomb tests.

10 cents

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## ... Murder of Nagy

(Continued from Page 1)  
that he was still a member of  
the CP. Horner added, "But I  
refuse to be gagged by anyone  
when I see folly and futility.  
I am determined to speak out."

Among the British unions  
scoring the execution were two  
in which the CP has exerted  
considerable influence, the Am-  
algamated Engineering Union  
and the Fire Brigade Union.

The killing was also sharply  
hit by the prominent indepen-  
dent socialist weekly, the New  
Statesman, which has been in  
the forefront of the demand for  
an end to the cold war. And  
the left-wing Labor weekly,  
Tribune, bluntly characterized

the executions as "another  
black crime."

Yugoslavia, which was direct-  
ly linked to the frameup charge  
against Nagy of "conspiracy  
with imperialism," roundly con-  
demned the charges as "un-  
true and staged from beginning  
to end."

In Poland, where the govern-  
ment is deeply alarmed over  
the threat to its own future  
presented by the present turn  
of the Kremlin, official de-  
nunciation was withheld, but  
a series of "leaks" to the press  
made clear their condemnation.  
The day after the executions  
were announced, the Chopin  
concert on the state radio of-  
fered Chopin's funeral music.

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# The Haymarket Affair

**THE HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR.** A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements. By Henry David Russell and Russell, 1958, 579 pp., \$6.75.

Seventy-two years ago on May 4, 1886, a column of 180 city police advanced on a peaceful meeting of workmen near Haymarket square in Chicago. The meeting, which had been called in protest over the killing and wounding of strikers by police at the McCormick Harvester plant the day before, was almost over and the crowd had dwindled to less than 1,000. Suddenly someone threw a bomb which exploded near the first rank of police, wounding about 70 of them, several fatally. The remaining police opened fire and the crowd dispersed.

The capitalist class, which in 1886 was faced with the first powerful nationwide upsurge of labor in the form of the eight-hour-day strikes, chose this incident around which to organize a counter-offensive. In a matter of seconds, says the author of this book, "the Haymarket 'riot' was over—and the Haymarket Affair had begun."

This, the second printing of a work published in 1936, is a detailed account and analysis of the affair proper—the frame-up and trial of eight Chicago radicals accused of the bombing and the death sentences executed against five of them, as well as of the social and political background and aftermath of America's first red-scare hysteria. The new preface examines the most recent discoveries in connection with the actual bomb-thrower,

whose identity, motives and accomplices if any, remain unknown to this day, according to the author.

David sketches the economic basis of the labor struggles of 1886, in which some of the eight martyrs were leading figures. He delves into the particular wing of the young American revolutionary movement with which the eight were associated—the "anarchist-socialist" International Working People's Association of Chicago. One cannot read of the ideological and practical struggles of these pioneers without being impressed with how much the American working class and revolutionary movement have learned since then—some of it from the insight and courage of these people and some of it from their mistakes.

David documents the changing reactions of the labor movement to the accused men: From shock or frightened indifference in the beginning of the wave of manufactured hysteria; to concern over the anti-labor attacks accompanying the "anti-anarchist" campaigns; and finally to identification with those supremely brave men who died as they lived, denouncing oppression.

Working people everywhere who have any knowledge of the Haymarket affair know this much about it: In 1886, men were sentenced to death or imprisonment by the American capitalist class because they fought for labor, for the eight-hour day and for a better future. David's scholarly, detailed and documented social and legal analysis proves this judgment to the hilt.

— Fred Halstead

## 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.

**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.

**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 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.

**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.

**THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.** By Ludwig Feuerbach, 340 pp. Paper, \$1.45 plus 15 cents postage.

The first materialist analysis of religion, important in the development of Marxist thought.

**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.

**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.

**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 Western Political Review said: "Obviously the Department of Justice cannot answer all criticisms. 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."

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

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1958

NUMBER 26

## The Case for Wage Increase



Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, whose contracts with the Big Three Auto companies expired about June 1. The chart Reuther holds shows profit picture of companies. Unauthorized strikes have occurred in several plants protesting anti-union company moves.

## ...Little Rock Ruling

(Continued from Page 1) it pays to incite their children, to insult, harass, threaten, spit upon, beat and kick Negro children in the school for that will make their integration temporary.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is appealing Judge Lemley's decision to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. Win or lose there, it will be appealed the next step to the U.S. Supreme Court. This will take considerable time, however. Normal tempo would bring the NAACP appeal before the Circuit Court next October—after school had begun in Little Rock. Hence the NAACP is asking that court to issue a stay, or suspension, of Judge Lemley's ruling, before the appeal has been heard.

Unless a stay is granted or the Circuit Court holds emergency sessions and overrules Judge Lemley, Central High will open lilywhite next September. Even if the NAACP wins a stay, the persecution of the seven Negro children there will be greatly intensified. For the case will still be in litigation and the racists will attempt to furnish additional "proof" that integration must be suspended in Little Rock.

### PULLING OUT

The long-promised meeting of Eisenhower with Negro leaders took place on June 23—by unforeseen coincidence two days after Judge Lemley's catastrophic ruling in Little Rock. Negro leaders, Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King and Lester Granger, were, however, unable to get anything from Eisenhower but a smile and a handshake. The administration

made no promises of any kind on their list of requests. More-over continuation of Justice Department participation in the Little Rock case is now in doubt. Attorney General Rogers says it is "under study" but most Washington sources predict a withdrawal.

The administration has never displayed any desire to enforce the school desegregation decision. Eisenhower sent troops to Arkansas only after the greatest resistance. To get the Little Rock issue out of the way till 1961—that is until after he has left the White House—must be regarded as a real windfall by Eisenhower. Similarly with the Democratic politicians. If the whole Little Rock scandal can be suspended until 1961 by court order, it will make it that much easier for the Dixiecrats and Northern liberals to get through the convention and 1960 presidential campaign with the party unity both desire.

## Walter Threatens Passport Victory

**JUNE 25** — Following the victory of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on its passport cases, the State Department announced it was also issuing passports to Paul Robeson, Corliss Lamont and others who have been denied the right to travel. However, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.) introduced a bill to counter the U. S. Supreme Court's support of the right to travel. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold hearings, July 7, on passport bills.

## Mich. SWP Candidates Address UAW Locals

**DETROIT, June 22** — The close relationship between labor to secure and maintain a higher standard of living and the efforts of the Negro people to gain first-class citizenship," was stressed in a speech prepared for delivery today to units of Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan.

"This major fact," Lovell said, "is underlined by the recent report in Drew Pearson's column of a political deal made again between Southern Democrats and the liberal Democratic and Republican Senators. This time the deal revolved around passage of the Ives-Kennedy bill, a 'mild' introduction to complete state control over the labor movement. In return for support of this anti-labor measure, the Southern Democrats won agreement to leave the filibuster—which they use to take progressive legislation to death—untouched for at least two years."

## ...TV Networks Purge

(Continued from Page 1) for whom the official party line is a liability."

Benjamin Steinberg, violinist and assistant conductor of the "Music Man," top Broadway musical comedy, refused on the basis of free speech to answer whether he or anyone else is or was a "Communist." He accused Dolores Scotti, committee shuffler (who was sitting at the table with Arens) of a "thinly veiled threat to ruin my career unless I turn informer." He also charged that Scotti interfered in internal union affairs, where he was concerned.

After a verbal nudge by Scherer, Moulder ordered the court reporter to strike references regarding Scotti from the record. During the recess, Scotti sulked to her fellow gumshoes: "The nerve he had!"

### HARASSMENT

Steinberg lashed into the witch-hunters: "This is illegal and inhuman harassment of the entertainment industry. The questions are not pertinent. Since I will not testify as to my own beliefs and associations, I certainly will not testify as to others. Eleven years of investigating the entertainment industry is a little too much. One has the right to defend an unpopular cause. Free speech and free association are inviolate."

Bernard Gersten, stage manager for the American Shakespeare Festival at Stratford, Conn., was quizzed about his politics while speaking at a recent Actors Equity meeting, in favor of granting a passport to "international communist agent Paul Robeson." Gersten angrily demanded: "I would like to know whether there is a stool pigeon on the executive committee. I would like to know how private deliberations before a union meeting come to this committee."

Then he added: "I am afraid I anticipated the Supreme Court decision." (The Supreme Court held last week that the State Department could not deprive an American citizen of a passport for political reasons as it did in the Robeson case.)

Paul Mann, actor, director and drama teacher, read with great feeling a statement denouncing the committee: "The

way to build the American theatre is to subsidize it — not to investigate it. Brooks Atkinson in the New York Times, says: 'ignorant heresy-hunters and bigoted character assassinations' are draining 'the vitality of the American theatre.'"

Rep. Gordon Scherer, his blackjack ever at his side, threatened Mann that he would see to it "that the Department of Justice has a transcript" with a view to "denaturalization proceedings." Invoking the First and Fifth Amendments, Mann noted "one must be apprehensive before this Committee."

The "hearings" of the House Un-American Activities Committee justified in full the demand of prominent liberals that it be abolished as a menace to civil liberty.

## Wisc. Socialists Will Nominate Candidates

The Socialist Workers Party in Wisconsin has announced a three-day encampment over the July 4 weekend at Point Beach State Park, Wisc., which will include the nomination of socialist candidates for the 1958 election and a discussion of the prospects of a united socialist ticket in the election. "All socialists, progressives and supporters of independent labor political action" are invited to attend.

The rates for all or part of the weekend, including cabin or tent accommodations, are extremely low. Accommodations for an individual for the three days is \$12.50 and family rates are lower.

Reservations and deposits should be made with: James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party, 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee 2, and must be received no later than Saturday noon, June 28. Round trip transportation will be available to the state park. Travel directions will be forwarded to those with their own transportation.

"the struggle of organized Democrats and the efforts of the Negro people to gain first-class citizenship," was stressed in a speech prepared for delivery today to units of Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan.

"It is this atmosphere in Congress," Lovell charged, "which encouraged the recent ruling in the U.S. District Court in Arkansas to suspend integration in Little Rock schools for at least two-and-a-half years."

### MURDERERS AIDED

"These political deals," Lovell concluded, "give aid and comfort to the murderers in Dawson, Georgia. They prove to the hilt the utter hypocrisy of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Only a labor party, built by the working people in alliance with the Negro people, can truly represent the interests of both."

Speaking before De Soto Local 227, UAW, Evelyn Sell, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senator, urged that the war-making powers be taken from Congress and the President. "Let the people vote on war and peace through a national referendum," she said, pointing to the current crisis in Lebanon as additional proof of the need for such a measure.

"The Eisenhower Doctrine," she said, "which states that American troops will be sent to foreign countries only upon request of those governments and where there is a so-called threat of 'communist-domination' is bad enough. But neither of these factors can be claimed in the Lebanon situation, yet American troops are being prepared for intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon."

Mrs. Sell cited the plank in the platform of the Socialist Workers Party which declares: "Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Send Americans abroad with tools, knowledge and skills, not with guns. Instead of military bases, we should aid other countries in the construction of factories, homes, schools, hospitals and dams."

# This Is the Story of How We Took Over City Hall

By Carol Blackman

We took over City Hall. Yes, we did! You say you didn't hear about it? I know you didn't, that's why I'm telling you now. Remember that poem — "Listen my children and you shall hear of the midnight ride of Paul Revere?" It's the same, nearly — "Listen my people and you shall hear about how we took over City Hall." Well you can see I'm not much of a hand at writing rhymes.

Sollie and I were sitting around the other night watching TV. He said, "They call that a play? Why when we took over City Hall it was a better story than that." And then he said (Sollie's my husband), "Why don't you write down the story about City Hall?" He always gets good ideas. Only thing I somehow always find myself doing the work. "Besides," he said, "it's like writing your memoirs. Our kids could show it to their kids."

Well, like they say, I better begin at the beginning. The beginning started when Sollie, our three kids and I got tired of living in three rooms, and having the landlord raising our rent everytime he thought we began to look a little better nourished. So we applied for a house in a project here in Chicago. Eventually, we got called in, and filled out all the papers and were handed the front, back and mailbox key.

After that things went from meeting to meeting. You see, Sollie and I are joiners. We like people and we like to be of service to our neighbors as well as have a place to go to

for help when things are not going so good with us.

Things just grew naturally. When you get a lot of poor people together in one place, you're bound to get a lot of problems in one place, naturally. That's what poor people have plenty of — problems. So we got together and called ourselves a Tenants' Council, and pretty soon we got together with other projects' tenant councils and found ourselves having a City Tenant Council.

Well, one day we were holding one of our meetings when this Mrs. Brown got up and said she'd like for us to hear from her cousin, Mrs. Krew, who'd like to know if we could tell her what to do. You know how it is with people. They're more than happy to give advice, so she was begged to take the floor and tell her story. Which she did.

She told us how she lived in "Mecca." That was the name of a huge old building that had been one of the showplaces of the World's Fair. Not the one during the depression but — 1893, I think it was. After the Fair the Mecca building was turned into a big tenement. Now it was to be torn down. The city officials had promised to find homes for everybody before it was torn down. But this was a big lie, Mrs. Krew said, because they hadn't got everybody a home. She told how about 25 families still were in the building and the water had been turned off. People had to get water from the fire hydrants in the street. She told how the heat was turned off and everybody was cold since it was the middle of December. She said one old World War

veteran had died there from pneumonia and lots of people were sick.

We asked her how come people didn't move, and she said that nobody wanted to rent to colored people unless for high rent, which they couldn't afford. That we knew, but we weren't really thinking when we asked.

So people asked lots more questions and she gave lots more answers. People got hotter and hotter until somebody made a motion we should go over to the building and meet with the neighbors there. Everybody voted yes. I got put on the committee like I usually do (that's because I got a big mouth, Sollie says.)

When we got over to the building, we saw what Mrs. Krew said was more than true — it was just downright awful. So we all decided, with the people there, to see somebody who was important about it. We saw lots of "important" people. They were all very sorry and everything but they said we must see somebody else.

After a while we got tired and began to run out of street car fare. So we decided to see the Mayor. But I guess the Mayor is shy because he let us cool our heels in his outer office.

Since we were pretty tired and had no place else to go, we sat all day in the Mayor's outer office. For such an important man, you'd think he'd have had better manners and at least come out to say hello.

By nighttime we had got pretty used to the place and since it was awful cold out and it was nice and warm there, we decided to stay. One good

argument was that we'd get something of what our tax money bought.

The Mayor as I said wasn't exactly outgoing and didn't exactly favor our staying there. Before he went, he asked some policemen to watch all his stuff. Sollie said he probably didn't think we looked too honest. Or maybe we looked kinda poor and needy. Anyway, one policeman locked himself inside the office with us. The others put themselves at the corner of each hall in City Hall — which is a lot of corners.

Now after awhile the kids got to wanting to go. You know how it is with kids. Anyway, there they were asking to go. The policeman was very glad to hear this, and got all ready to push all the kids out to the john. But we got suspicious that he intended to keep the kids out, and then we'd have to go out after them. We couldn't let such fine folks go back to that cold Mecca building.

By this time we were getting sorta mad. We were beginning to enjoy what our taxes helped buy — like the thick rugs, the fine furniture and the heat. We didn't intend moving out so fast — not until the Mayor showed a little neighborliness at least.

So we decided that one kid should go out at a time. The cop said, "All at once or none." With that we got the Mayor's wastepaper baskets and spittoons and said, "These are as good as any." Then we lined the kids up. Then the policeman moved fast. He opened the door. "Okay, you win, one at a time."

It was three o'clock in the morning and the Mayor wasn't

sleeping either, thinking about finding us down in the morning when he came in, so he phoned the police to get us some food and to put us up in hotel rooms. We agreed since we were tired and hungry. But we refused to go in police cars and so they brought us taxis and we were taken to hotels to sleep.

Next morning while the kids ran up and down the hotel corridors getting their exercise, the older folks got together and decided since the Mayor still wouldn't do anything about the people in "Mecca" we'd let the people who elected him know that. So we decided to set up house in the lobby of City Hall where we were sure to see lots of folks.

Now anybody knows if anybody intends to stay awhile anywhere, he's got to have something to sleep on and something to eat. So we came down all ready with mattresses, pots and pans, dishes, food and all the things needed to keep the kids occupied. And we sat in.

It got mighty comfy. Whenever the pay phone rang, the people answered it with "Mecca tenants residence." And since Christmas was only a few days off we put up wreaths, and the kids made lots of paper chains, and drew lots of pictures about Xmas and some about the house they'd like to live in and the Mecca building they had lived in. Some kid drew a picture of how he thought the Mayor looked, but since he hadn't got to see him, the Mayor didn't look so good.

We even invited friends down to visit and have tea with us. It was mighty nice and neighborly. We stayed three days

until the Mayor's people called some of us in to talk "it" over.

Looks like the really important folks, the people who saw us in the lobby, told the Mayor he'd better do something about all those people who needed homes. And he got worried, especially when he began to count all the votes of their relatives, etc., too.

So his people said that everybody who hadn't a home and was in City Hall would be given a home in a project right away, and the City would be responsible to move all the folks' belongings to the new houses.

What a cheering went up! City Hall never had it so good. By this time, we had begun to tire of camping out anyway, and we relished the idea of going back to living in a house, so we said, "Okay."

We got a lot of new neighbors who'd learned the importance of being neighborly. After that whenever we'd have any trouble, we'd go straight to the Mayor's office instead of spending all that carfare and time messing around with the small fry. We never got to see the Mayor — he's an unneighborly cuss, but we had to camp out only one other time because the Mayor's people and us couldn't see eye to eye. But that's another story.

Sollie is nodding his head as I read out this written story to him. "Yep, that's right," he says, "We sure can write a good story."

### HOW GENEROUS!

In Arkansas the legal minimum wage for women is 16 cents an hour. But nineteen states have no minimum wage laws whatsoever.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON**  
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.

**BUFFALO**  
Millant Forum, 831 Main St.

**CHICAGO**  
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

**CLEVELAND**  
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

**DETROIT**  
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

**LOS ANGELES**  
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1833. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.

**MILWAUKEE**  
150 East Juneau Ave.

**MINNEAPOLIS**  
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 8 P.M. daily except Sundays.

**NEWARK**  
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.

**NEW YORK CITY**  
Millant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

**OAKLAND - BERKELEY**  
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

**PHILADELPHIA**  
Millant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
The Millant, 1146 Polk St., Rm. 4 Open Wed. 4-8 P.M.; Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.

**SEATTLE**  
655 Main St., MU 2-7130. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.

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