

U.S. Sixth Fleet Threatens Lebanese People



U.S. Sixth Fleet, shown above, with atomic-armed marines, is kept waiting in the Mediterranean Sea while the U.S. State Department decides if this country should go to war in Lebanon to help Camille Chamoun keep his job as President. So far the threat of U.S. military intervention has not induced the Lebanese rebels to lay down their arms. (See editorial, page three.)

British, French Leftists Blast Execution of Nagy

By Lillian Kiesel

The executions of Nagy, Maletier and two other former Hungarian Communist Party leaders has earned the Kremlin hangmen revulsion and contempt from many sympathizers of the Soviet Union in the U.S., England and France.

The National Guardian editorial of June 30 expresses the opinion of a large section of the left-wing movement in the United States when it declares that the execution of Nagy and his colleagues is "shocking and appalling."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Cedric Belfrage, editor-in-chief of the National Guardian, declares in the July 7 issue, his contempt for the "crocodile tears" of all those from Dulles to the pseudo-socialists over the executions. However, he points out that Arthur Horner who is a Communist and leader of the National Union of Mine Workers in Great Britain expressed his "shock and horror" over the Kremlin action. In addition the progressive Fire Brigades Union, he reports, calls the executions "shameful reversion to the methods of the Stalin period."

Belfrage makes it plain that "These protests come from people who have invested their blood, sweat and tears without stint in the progressive movement at home, and in defense of the world socialist cause. They are comradeship protests, motivated by no arrogance or 'bourgeois morality.'"

"If the Socialist-World leaders," continues Belfrage, "fail to recognize in such protests the voice of their true friends, it will be perhaps the greatest tragedy of all. The voice is saying that socialists in the capitalist world have made sacrifices for the cause, and will not stand silent while that cause is again dragged through a mire of terror where socialism reigns and torn to pieces where the fight remains to be won. It is reminding the socialist world that the movement is universal, and that if its less advanced forces have a re-

sponsibility toward the more advanced, that goes in the other direction too."

He concludes: "Friendship with western peoples, as distinct from imperialism, can not be built by defenders of the Nagy executions. Socialism can not be spread to new countries by defenders of such political vindictiveness — not in a century. They will only dig their own political grave."

Belfrage's remarks parallel a growing sentiment in the Communist Party of Great Britain. The Newsletter, British socialist weekly, edited by Peter Fryer, reports in its June 28 and July 5 editions that numerous branches of the Young Communist League and

Communist Party have passed resolutions to protest the executions.

HIT SECRET TRIAL

For example, the Golborne branch of the Communist Party in a working class district passed a resolution strongly protesting to the Hungarian Communist Party the execution of Nagy and his colleagues, "whether they are guilty or not." The resolution states: "In the present world situation, we consider the death sentence to be completely unnecessary. In particular, the secrecy of the trial, the nature of the charges — which are very reminiscent of the trumped-up charges so familiar in Stalin's day — and

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Seattle SWP Leaders Victims of Gang Attack

SEATTLE, July 7—Clara Kaye, Richard Fraser and Jack Wright, local Socialist Workers Party leaders, were victims of a gang assault at the annual July 4 picnic of the People's World.

Fraser received a broken nose, cuts and bruises on the face and scalp, and multiple contusions of the ribs. Clara Kaye suffered facial cuts and bruises. Wright escaped with the least serious injuries.

Clara Kaye and Fraser were attacked by 12 men as they left their car at the parking lot near the picnic grounds. The gang had evidently been waiting for their arrival.

The victims had come to the picnic on official invitation from the People's World. Fraser said they attended the fund-raising affair to express solidarity with the People's World as a minority newspaper.

Although the attackers wore People's World badges, the assault had no connection with the paper, according to the victims.

LOCAL CP LEADER

Jack Wright, who recognized the assailants, said the gang was led by Carl Ranta, local section organizer of the Communist party, and two other prominent members of the Communist Party, Charles Legg and Harold Johnson. Wright was attacked by a part of the gang headed by Henry Huff, a former CP organizer.

Mary Wright, wife of Jack Wright, who had been assigned by the Sobell Committee to seek signatures at the picnic for the release of Morton Sobell from prison, was forced off the picnic grounds by Carl Ranta. This, presumably, was because of her association with her husband.

The motive for the attack, in the opinion of Clara Kaye, was resentment among some of the Seattle Communist Party leaders over efforts of the Socialist Workers Party to unite the so-

cialist forces in the area in common electoral activity. These efforts have met with favorable response from members of the Communist Party. In the spring election, Jack Wright, who ran for City Council on the SWP platform, was aided by CP rank and files despite opposition from CP leaders, who favor Democratic Party candidates.

Those who witnessed the attack and saw the blood trickling down the faces of the victims, quickly spread the story. In angry indignation, picknickers protested with members of the gang, whom they recognized as fellow adherents of the Communist Party. This led to heated arguments and even fist fights.

Some of the attackers sought to justify the assault on grounds that the Militant had been "distributed" at the picnic. Fraser, however, denied that any Socialist Workers Party literature had been distributed at all, although he saw no reason for barring picknickers from reading it if they wanted.

"We came to the affair," he said, "only because of several personal invitations from CP leaders and members as well as an official invitation from the People's World. We came with the intention only of expressing our solidarity with the People's World as a radical newspaper and to engage in the kind of friendly discussions which have generally characterized all of our associations with readers of the People's World during the past two years."

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Miss. Negro Killed in Jail By Sheriff

JULY 9 — The face of a lyncher all too often leers over the authoritative badge of the law. And other official agents all too often find technical reasons for looking the other way. Such is the case in the fatal beating of 35-year-old Woodrow Wilson Daniels by Sheriff J. B. (Buster) Treloar in Water Valley, Miss. Daniels was arrested, June 21, on charges of reckless driving and illegal possession of whisky. (Friends said the bottles had been collected by Daniel's son and contained only water.)

Two white witnesses to the beating, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Vaughan, said they heard the prisoner cry, "Mr. Buster, you have killed me. The blood is coming."

Mrs. Vaughan said, "Buster hit him behind the head and knocked him into the bars of the cell. He hit him about eight times."

"And he started beating him again the next morning," her husband added. The Vaughans said they were willing to testify in court to what they had witnessed.

Mr. Daniels was released from jail, taken to a doctor and then to a Memphis hospital where he died.

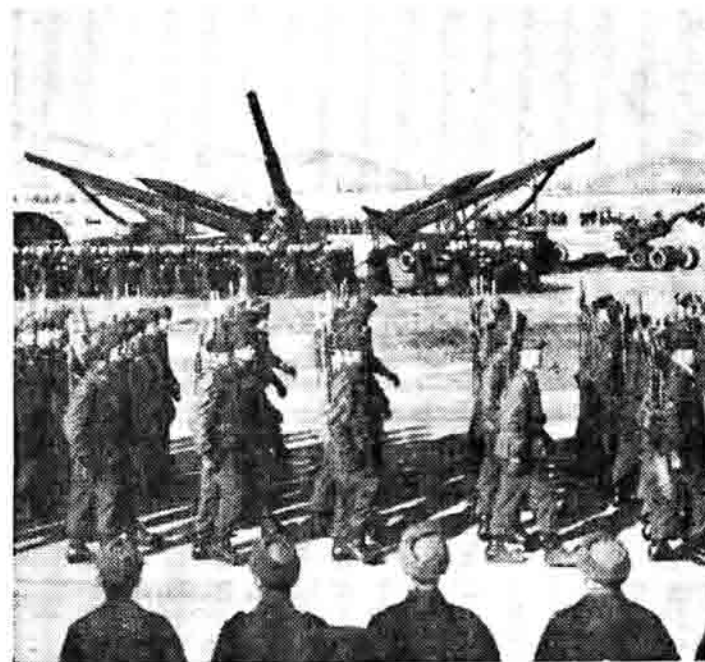
FBI WON'T INVESTIGATE

According to the July 8 New York Post, a spokesman for the "Justice" Department in Washington said there would be no federal investigation of the killings as no "official request" for either the FBI or the Civil Rights Division "to enter the case had been received." And Mississippi Governor Coleman has refused to investigate.

Mr. Daniels was well-known and well-liked by the whites of Water Valley as well as by the Negroes. Fifteen white people reportedly attended his funeral and the Daniels' family is hoping white residents will initiate action against the sheriff. But if they don't keep their promise to do so in the next few days, one of Daniels' brothers said, he will write to the Justice Department himself. "Otherwise 'Wilson will be just another 'dead nigger.'"

"I saw [Sheriff Treloar] beat a boy with his fists right out on the street," said another brother of Daniels. "There've been other beatings, but I saw this one. . . I wouldn't beat my dog or my cow, and they're lower animals."

Atomic Cannon Displayed in Korea



U.S. occupation troops in South Korea parade before a grim display of newly installed atomic cannons. North Korean objections to the introduction of the atomic weapons in Korea was curtly rejected by a UN commission who blamed the situation on lack of Communist "sincerity."

Teamsters Urge Unity Of Transport Unions

By Frances James

JULY 10 — A call for the establishment of a permanent Conference on Transportation Unity has been issued in Washington, D.C., over the signatures of James R. Hoffa, International Brother-

hood of Teamsters, Joseph Curran, National Maritime Union and William Bradley of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union authorized Hoffa to say he "looks with great favor" on the confederation. The SIU in Canada has already combined with the ILA and IBT in an organizational drive in the St. Lawrence seaway area.

The Teamsters Union is the driving force behind the unity move and will finance the conference through its early stages. The conference call asks for three representatives from each of 50 transportation unions — air, rail, dock and sea — to participate in a joint meeting in August to arrange for a permanent conference.

HARRY BRIDGES AN ISSUE

Objections have been raised to participation by the West Coast International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges because of its alleged "Communist domination." According to the July 7 Wall Street Journal,

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Eisenhower Presses Congress to Restrict Freedom of Travel

By Herman Chauka

President Eisenhower's demand of Congress that it legalize unprecedented curbs on the right of U.S. citizens to travel abroad can only be construed as a move to accelerate the cold war by trying to keep the world rigidly divided into two hostile camps. At the same time it is intended to help keep the witch hunt alive at home.

In the face of a growing world demand for a relaxation of cold-war tensions, Eisenhower has demanded that Congress give legal sanction to the State Department's arbitrary ban on travel to China and various parts of East Europe. He also wants a legal overriding of the Supreme Court's recent decision which declared the State Department does not have the right to deny passports because of beliefs or associations.

The Eisenhower message demands the right to deny passports "to an applicant who is a member of the Communist party; is under Communist party discipline, domination or control; or that the applicant is travelling abroad to assist knowingly the international Communist movement."

The pressure for legalization of the China travel ban is motivated by the wide criticism leveled against Dulles for the ban and the fact that he has been unable to justify it legally. The Administration has refused to budge on this issue because it fears that granting the right to travel to China might be construed as tacit recognition of a government that it is fiercely determined to isolate.

In asserting that the "right" of the Secretary of State to deny passports is traditional, Eisenhower contemptuously brushes aside the Supreme Court ruling which found the State Department guilty of gross violations of civil liberties in its denial of passports.

PROPOSES SWEEPING LAW

If adopted, the proposed legislation will go far in abrogating Constitutional liberties. It would authorize denial of passports "where their possession would seriously impair the conduct of foreign relations . . . or where their presence would conflict with our foreign policy objectives."

With such a law, an administration can deny passports to anyone in disagreement with any phase of its foreign policy. Today it could mean a travel ban for a business man who favors East-West trade. It

Seeks New Power



SECY OF STATE DULLES

could deny travel rights to a scientist who has demanded a halt to nuclear tests. And it would certainly be used against anyone who opposes the U.S. inspired cold war.

According to Eisenhower, such legislation is needed at once because "Each day and each week that passes without it exposes us to great danger." What danger? That a Paul Robeson might appear on a London stage? That a Corliss Lamont might make a study of conditions in Europe? Or that American newsmen might get to China and through the lines of their dispatches make known that the Chinese people want only to build a decent new life without interference from Wall Street?

The Senate Foreign Relations committee has scheduled hearings July 16-17 on a draft bill being prepared by the State Department embodying the Eisenhower demands. Opponents of the cold war and witch hunt should make their voices heard by the committee against this McCarthyite measure.

London Dockers Teach Tories a Lesson

By Philip Maghri

LONDON, June 29 — When the Tory government made its plans to teach the working class a lesson by breaking the London bus strike, they placed prime importance on isolating the busmen from the rest of the workers. By maintaining "social peace" with the decisive sections of the working class they would keep their hands free to beat down the busmen. But a small spark, set to the explosive tinder of the London docks, blew up all their time calculations.

Much of the meat consumed in London goes through the giant Smithfield meat market. From Smithfield, meat trucks take it to the local butchers. The meat truck drivers, a small group of workers, had been hit by British capitalism's current attack on wages and working conditions. At the start of this year they were ordered by the employers to drive in London traffic at speeds up to ten miles per hour faster than previously. In response to this speed-up, they demanded a 15% wage increase. The employers refused to give anything, and at the start of May the drivers went on strike.

This strike touched off

chain reaction. Workers at Smithfield refused to handle meat that would normally be carried by the trucks. Because of their reduced business, the Smithfield employers fired 600 men. In protest against the firings the entire Smithfield market struck. Imported meat for Smithfield is normally landed at the Tooley Street docks. The longshoremen at Tooley Street declared this meat "black" (scab), and refused to unload it.

The dock employers thereupon attempted to use clerical and supervisory employees to unload the meat. This was a clear violation of the National Dock Labor Plan, whereby only longshoremen registered with the Dock Labor Board can work on the docks. In protest against the use of "unregistered labor" to do struck work, the rest of the London dockers walked off the job. This whole series of strikes had been spontaneous and "unofficial," without the approval or support of the union leaders. Nevertheless, the London docks were completely shut down. 20,000 men were out on strike.

For the government and the employing class as a whole, this was a problem of an entirely different order of magnitude from the bus strike. The absence of buses was a bearable inconvenience, but the dock strike hit British capitalism in its most sensitive point—world trade. The full effect of the strike, in terms of direct and indirect loss of exports, will not be known for several months. But it is certain to run in the tens, perhaps hundreds, of millions.

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voice, the dockers answered, "Home!" At another meeting, dockers met a union official's flag-waving appeal by intoning, "We Are the Boys of the Bull-dog Breed that Made Old England Great."

ALAS, FALSE RUMOR

The Tory press used its usual weapons of slander against the dockers. They shed crocodile tears over the fate of perishable goods rotting on the docks. But every docker could tell stories from personal experience of how the employers constantly kept goods off the market, even at the risk of spoilage, in order to keep prices high. More, the dockers in fact offered to unload perishable goods, and without pay — if these foodstuffs were donated free of charge to hospitals and other charitable institutions.

Naturally, the philanthropic woffers rejected the subversive proposal. Equally natural, the Tory press went right on blaming the dockers for allowing vegetables to rot.

The Tory press also resorted to Red-Scare tactics. Reports were printed that the "Trotskyite Communist Party" was sending agents armed with a hundred pounds each to bribe the dockers to stay on strike.

The dockers, trying to get by without strike pay and with only "National Assistance" (relief) to feed their families, greeted this "news" with gales of laughter and asked each other if anyone had seen "the man with the hundred pounds."

Faced with a totally unexpected challenge that they were not prepared to meet, the employers had to back down all along the line, after a six-week struggle. "Unregistered labor" was withdrawn from the docks, and the original Smithfield strike was provisionally settled by appointing a Commission of Inquiry to set the amount of wage increase for the truck drivers and by rehiring the fired meat-market workers.

But this retreat by the employers was immediately accompanied by preparations for a counter-offensive. Simultaneously with the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into the wage dispute, the Ministry of Labor set up a second Commission of Inquiry to study "general labor conditions" at Smithfield. The job of this commission will be to find ways to prevent future "unofficial" strikes. Already two of the

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Guilty: He Chose Wrong Parents

Because he will not disavow his parents, Patrick Hellinen, 23, is threatened with being classified 4-F, "security risk," by the Army. The youth said that in a letter he received from Army Headquarters, his father, Vincent, and his mother, Vivian, were listed as having been identified with "Communist-front" groups. Vincent Hellinen was 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. Patrick was informed that to "clear" himself he would have to "refute the existence of a close and continuing association" with his parents. "I'm ready to serve in the Army," he said. "If they don't want me that's their business. What do they want? That I go up and say I won't go home; that I won't talk with my parents?"

Strait Jacket for Soviet Writers

(The author of this article is a Seattle artist. He was active for many years in the Communist party in the Pacific Northwest. He resigned last year after finding it impossible to democratically express his views within the organization against the crushing of the Hungarian revolution and the continuing dictatorial practices in the Soviet Union.)

His letter of resignation declared in part: "I shall continue to fight for socialism and I shall offer my talents as an artist to all radical and socialist tendencies in the interests of regroupment of revolutionary socialists . . . I feel that the one overriding responsibility of all socialist artists is to join our voices with those of Picasso and Aragon demanding an end to Kadar's murders and imprisonment of Hungarian artists.")

By William Cumming

The capitulation last winter of Vladimir Dudintsev, whose novel *Not By Bread Alone*, marked the warmest temperature reached by the literary "thaw" in the Soviet Union, is but another proof that the ruling Soviet bureaucracy is not reforming its despotism out of existence. For a short period there was official tolerance of critical novels, as well as a limited but hot literary debate. And this was taken by many as a sign of a genuine "thaw."

Yet there was ample warning from the beginning that the Kremlin rulers were not concerned with self-reform either in the field of the arts and literature or in politics generally. Their actual policy was to contain, then stifle, something which broke out independently of and against their will. Indeed, it was the recently-appointed "savior of Stalingrad" (will it now be renamed Nikitograd or Khrushchevo?) who a year ago singled out Dudintsev for attack as "misrepresenting [Soviet reality] in a distorting mirror."

Following Khrushchev's lead, tons of invective were hurled at the Soviet writer's head. Writers in the USSR are themselves among the economically privileged. Their revolt is thus

a secondary whirlwind on the edge of the working-class storm that is gathering. Until the revolutionary storm breaks with full power, it is difficult for the Dudintsevs to stand up to the outraged bureaucrats. Grudgingly, Dudintsev retreated.

Khrushchev's attack occurred in the course of three speeches on cultural policy last year in which he hurled the whole literary "thaw" into the frigid wastes of outer space.

Although the prose of this ignorant flows with all the slushiness of poorly-heated tar, his meaning is clear. Writers and artists, he sneers, are "ignorant of life, with no adequate political experience or ability to spot the main determining factor in life . . ." They have a "one-sided and incorrect understanding of the essence of the party's criticism of the Stalin personality cult." There are not only delinquent Dudintsevs, there are also delinquent editors who "gave space to publication of writings akin to Dudintsev's book."

Zhdanov's Decrees

Under the party's "guidance," the method of "socialist realism" has "insured outstanding successes" and "the flowering of the socialist culture of all the peoples of the USSR." (Whether this "flowering" includes the bodies of the murdered Jewish writers, Khrushchev did not say. In fact, he has never commented at all on this crime of Stalin's. Writers and artists will find "plenty of good models in the life of the factory workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia . . ." The hitch is that writers, being "ignorant of life," are prone to "poke around in garbage cans." This is a damaging admission. Dudintsev found his models right where Khrushchev pointed—the factories, the schoolrooms, the engineering departments. He found garbage cans of bureaucratic stifling of workers' initiative, frame-up and imprisonment of those who refused to toady, corruption and mutual protection among the state and party bureaucrats offset by ruthless purges.

Khrushchev's thundering went on: "The party's decision on ideological questions defined the major tasks and basic principles of the party's policies in the sphere of art and literature, and they retain their force at the present time." This is the key passage. Khrushchev is referring to the notorious 1948 resolutions based on the "Zhdanov line," the most rabid expression of Stalinism toward the arts.

Zhdanov, whose speeches on literature and music read like the ravings of a psychopath,

imposed on Soviet culture a regime of national chauvinism, obscurantism, sterility and bigotry. He drove into exile the poet Akhmatova and the satirist Zoshchenko; introduced anti-Semitism into Soviet criticism under guise of "anti-cosmopolitanism;" and drove Sergei Eisenstein, the great motion picture producer and director, to death by the obscene flood of invective poured out on his film *Ivan the Terrible*.

These are the decisions Khrushchev refers to — "and they retain their force at the present time." An ominous phrase that is linked with a sinister reference to "certain [Hungarian] writers." There is a threat in these assertions, and it is no wonder that Dudintsev finally caved in and promised to write his new novel to bureaucratic measure.

There will be more threats and more capitulations. But the writers will surrender with gritted teeth while they wait for the workers' revolt to bring a new thaw. The bureaucrats at any rate don't trust them. How else explain Khrushchev's snarl at "advocates of freedom of creation, [to whom] guidance of literature and art by the party and state is oppressive . . . [who] conceal these moods and desires of theirs by talk about excessive tutelage, fettering of initiative, etc." So there are those who venture opposition to bureaucratic stifling of culture by oblique references to "tutelage," "fettering," etc.? Significant admission!

The Real Leninist Policy

In an effort to gain sanction for his Stalinist rubbish about guidance by the party and state, Khrushchev invokes the shade of Lenin. "Lenin, it will be remembered, time and again pointed out . . ." Pointed out what? According to Khrushchev, pointed out exactly what Khrushchev claims is a Marxist policy toward art. But Khrushchev doesn't quote Lenin; he merely asserts that Lenin said the same thing as Khrushchev. To this he adds, "it will be remembered" — a phrase reminiscent of Stalin's "as is well known."

The fact is that Lenin did not "time and again" point out any specific policy toward the arts. His writings on the subject include a pamphlet in 1905, articles on Tolstoy, remarks on art passed on by Clara Zetkin, plus his general comments on the ideological superstructure of society. None of these deals in clear-cut fashion with the problem of Communist policy toward the arts after the seizure of power.

Khrushchev is reduced to categorical assertion. Unfortunately for him, it will be remembered what authentic Leninism

Voted Top Man



When Stalin died his heirs pledged a return to "collective leadership." Khrushchev (head bowed) since then has worked to re-establish one-man rule. Bulganin (rear, right) who was still a member of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium when this picture was taken last March has since been chopped down by Khrushchev.

taught on this question, because we have at hand the recently republished book, *Literature and Revolution*, by Lenin's closest co-worker from 1917 on — namely, Leon Trotsky. In this book, written in 1924, Trotsky devotes an entire chapter to Communist Policy Toward Art, in which he develops a line that was held in common by all the leading cadre of the Bolshevik Party at the time, Lenin included. A similar line was embodied in resolutions on cultural policy adopted by the Russian Communist Party in Lenin's days.

In the early chapters of *Literature and Revolution*, Trotsky established the relation of various literary schools to the October revolution, pointing out that with the death of the Czarist-capitalist regime, many writers lost their base and began to turn toward the revolution to which each school brought its theories, talents and claims. Having disposed of the claims of the contending schools to a monopoly on the affections of the revolution, Trotsky rebuffs the arrogance of those Marxists who rejected the claim of all these writers to a place in the new society.

If the refugees from the literary bohemia of bourgeois society were to be rejected, nothing would be left "but a few unpaid promissory notes of a future proletarian literature."

What policy, then, should the Party adopt? "The Marxist method," says Trotsky, "affords

an opportunity to estimate the development of the new art, to trace all its sources, to help the most progressive tendencies by a critical illumination of the road, but it does not do more than that . . . The domain of art is not one in which the Party is called upon to command. It can and must protect and help it, but it can only lead it indirectly."

The policy of authentic Bolshevism—of Lenin and Trotsky —is the polar opposite of the policy of Stalin, Zhdanov and Khrushchev. Bolshevism recognizes that it can and should only lead the arts by indirect methods, by observing and estimating the sources and direction of the new schools, by throwing the light of criticism on what is being done, by encouraging the creation of the new, and by protecting the work of culture from all threats including that posed by what Lenin called "Communist content."

What Trotsky means by "critical illumination" can be judged by his own appraisals in *Literature and Revolution* on Futurism, Formalism and other literary schools which were either non-Marxist or even anti-Marxist. These should be read and compared with the bludgeon and hatchet "critical" technique of Stalinism (as for example, when *Izvestia* informs Soviet painters that impressionism has no place in their art.)

Khrushchev insists on direct guidance—in reality, command

—of art by the party and the state. As a theory, this is appeasement, without the slightest resemblance to Leninism. And in practice, we have only to recall the fate of A. Tolstoy, Babel, Mayakovsky, Eisenstein, Sholokhov and a thousand other writers and artists to recognize that Stalinist "guidance" has generally "guided" the artist into the bureaucratic fold (A. Tolstoy), the prison-labor camp (Babel), suicide (Mayakovsky) or silence (Sholokhov).

Criticism in the hands of the

bureaucracy draws a line of equation between politics and culture. The insanity of this line is evident to even the most empirical observers in the continual outcrodding of cultural works by the erratic tangents of Stalinist politics, as attested by the mountains of rubbish which were once proclaimed to be "outstanding" successes of socialist realism.

Is there a relation between culture and politics? Of course. But they coincide at one point only: " . . . in the broad sense that the Revolution creates conditions for a new culture." This happy coincidence is the magnet which attracts artists to the revolutionary banners. For it is increasingly clear that only revolutionary changes in society can save humanity and its culture. But aside from the fact that the socialist revolution creates the base for a truly new culture the relations of politics and culture are purely refractive. They do not proceed in a straight line, nor is there a simple correspondence between them.

Making cultural judgment conform to political standards (with itself as final arbiter). Stalinism brands artistic trends that do not kowtow to "socialist realism" as being not only artistically bad but politically reactionary. Bigoted and provincial, the Russian bureaucracy has condemned virtually all new tendencies in Western Europe and America during the last hundred years as "cosmopolitanism" and "bourgeois formalism." Thus have the paintings of the School of Paris, the novels of Proust and Joyce, the theater of Piscator and Brecht, the jazz of our country, and the poems of Eliot been light-mindedly tossed on the junk heap.

Results of 'Socialist Realism'

In the meantime, fresh cultural creation in the Soviet Union is at a virtual standstill, despite the tremendous pressure of the currents let loose by the October Revolution. At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party two and a half years ago, the novelist Sholokhov (author of *The Quiet Don*) raved: "Not twelve good novels in the last twenty years! And if the Khrushchevs continue to 'guide' literature, there will be even fewer in the next twenty years."

Stalinism, from its triumph in the 1920's to the present, has failed utterly to create by bureaucratic edict the slightest rudiments of a new culture. "Socialist realism" more than any other artistic trend in the world, is scraped together from the droppings of the least significant schools of the past.

(First of two articles)

N. Y. Times Music Critic Reports On Major Soviet Cultural Gains

By Myra Tanner Weiss

A very conscientious observer spent "three weeks of almost total immersion in the Soviet cultural scene." That observer was Howard Taubman, music critic of the New York Times. His report on this experience is presented in a series of five articles beginning in the June 30 Times.

Taubman was deeply impressed by what he saw and heard. "It would be easy," he said, "in the old habit of discrediting everything Soviet to underestimate the significance of this phase of Soviet life. . . . But it would be wrong."

"There is a genuine dedication to artistic ideals in the Soviet Union. There is a pervasive love of beauty. There is an exhilaration in the skill and virtuosity of highly trained performers. There is respect for the creative vocation."

SOPHOCLES A HIT

Taubman presents impressive statistics on the growth of cultural institutions and facilities since the Russian Revolution of 1917. He then translates these figures into human terms. "In Tiflis," he reports, "the audience at a performance of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* was even more impressive than the production. It was a crowd in shirtsleeves, people of all ages who did not look or behave like sophisticates. They identified themselves with the story and reacted as if it were a tale of their own."

"At Hamlet's one Sunday noon in Moscow," Taubman continues, "more than half the audience was made up of youngsters of grammar and high school age. In the balconies one could see scrubbed lads in their Sunday best and little girls with long braids. They leaned over the railing

or stood in the back rows intent on every word uttered on the stage."

"The spreading of culture in the Soviet Union is pursued with unflinching energy," Taubman observes. He is so impressed that he concludes his series with the query: "The United States has wonderful diversity in the arts. But must it be purchased at the cost of the artists' insecurity? Is there not enough ingenuity and goodwill in America to match the solid virtues the Soviet Union has established in the arts without aping its disadvantages and without loss of our zest for experiments and adventures?"

The "disadvantages" Taubman refers to, of course, are the bureaucratic regulation, under Khrushchev as under Stalin, in before him, of the artists' creative work and bureaucratic control of culture to force it into politically determined paths.

"Only a fortnight ago the Central Committee [of the Communist Party] sought to vindicate the composers who had been abused for various sins in the years of Stalin," Taubman reports. "The committee in effect apologized to men like Dmitri D. Shostakovich, Aram Khachaturian and the late Sergei S. Prokofiev for the attacks that had been made on them. They had been labeled guilty of 'formalism,' 'modernism' and a failure to live up to the requirements of 'Socialist realism.' Now, it develops, they were not guilty at all."

However, Taubman points out, "The Central Committee's decree did not open the gates wide to unlimited freedom. It continued to speak of 'shortcomings' and 'wrong tendencies.'"

Yet wherever there is dictation there is also resistance to dictation. Taubman reports, "I heard of several painters . . . who were not conforming to old Soviet patterns in the visual arts . . . And these artists, I was assured went unmolested. They were not getting shows or acclaim, but they were allowed to work, and somehow they managed by private sales to earn enough to live on."

Despite the "disadvantages" Taubman urges a "soul-searching" on the part of the United States in order not to lose "the competition with the Soviet Union."

A study of the relative positions of Soviet and U.S. culture must begin with an understanding that the progress of the Soviet Union reported by Taubman was made possible by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The profit system was replaced with a planned economy. This social change opened the door for a rational approach, not only to the production of the means of subsistence, but in education and culture as well.

With a planned economy it is possible to undertake systematically the raising of the educational and cultural level of the entire people. This was done in the Soviet Union despite the bureaucratic despotism that triumphed in 1924-28. Although original creation has been stifled, the classics of all countries have at any late been given mass circulation. They have acquired popularity on a scale probably unrivaled in any other country. Now the culturally developed forces of the population are in growing rebellion against the bureaucratic regime and pressing for political and cultural freedom.

Under capitalism neither the ruling class or its state feels under any compulsion to provide a mass base for cultural creation — either classical or new.

Furthermore, the "disadvantages" cited in Taubman's report are not peculiar to Soviet culture. Stalin invented nothing new. The Soviet bureaucracy took over methods of dictation to the arts, literature and science from the capitalists.

The capitalist class has long oppressed the artists, starved them into conforming to its notion of what is "good" and "bad" art. The history of creative work under capitalism is full of the struggle of the artist against the pressure of poverty. That is, in fact, what Taubman refers to when he asks if diversity in art must be purchased at the expense of the "artists' insecurity."

WITCH HUNT IN U.S.

In addition, in the last ten or more years, government bureaucrats in the United States have made it their business to pry into the politics of the artist. Congressional committees have "investigated" his political views and affiliations. "Loyalty" has been questioned and many an artist has found his name on some private or government blacklist.

America "can match the solid virtues the Soviet Union has established in the arts" only by ridding itself of the profit system. When capitalism has been abolished and a planned economy won in the United States, "our zest for experiment and adventure," like that of all other peoples will be liberated for full expression. Both freedom and security for the creative artists in this country require this social change as the indispensable beginning.

Behind Kremlin Frameup System

(The following excerpt is from Leon Trotsky's summary speech to the International Commission of Inquiry that investigated the Moscow Trials in 1937. The Commission was headed by Prof. John Dewey. The speech was reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in Stalin's Frame-up System and the Moscow Trials, with a foreword by Joseph Hansen. We believe that Trotsky's explanation for the Moscow Trials applies also for the frame-up and execution of Nagy.—Ed.)

"One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its positions, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition."

The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn—which laid bare all social falsehood—to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the . . . lies. It is, consequently, a question not simply of individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity."

...Blast Nagy Execution

(Continued from Page 1)

the announcement of the sentences only after they had been carried out, must cause great concern to socialists and communists all over the world who had begun to hope that such methods were a relic of the past."

British workers in those districts where the Communist Party has strong influence are voicing their concern and opposition too. By an overwhelming majority, in three shift meetings, about 200 miners at Glencraig colliery in life passed a strongly worded resolution addressed to John Gollan, General Secretary of the British Communist Party and to the Hungarian Legation in London. They made plain their utter disgust at the brutal action of the present Hungarian government and their solidarity with the Hungarian workers.

Again, Brian Pearce, an executive member of the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR, resigned from the organization and stated: "The oppression of Hungary, and the attack on Yugoslavia are being accompanied by an intensified drive against cultural freedom inside the Soviet Union. It is contrary to the interests of the Soviet working class that their friends in the west should continue to give any kind of endorsement, however indirect, to the claim of the bureaucracy to represent them."

Konni Zilliacus, Member of Parliament, deals with the relation between the executions and the cold war. In a letter to the July 3 Manchester Guardian Weekly, he points out that the Soviet leaders felt compelled to revert to a tough policy because they were convinced that the American and British governments do not want a summit meeting to end the bomb-tests and also out of fear "of the strength of the popular demand for more freedom when granted a little . . ."

"They are barbaric enough to believe that they can suppress dangerous thoughts ('revisionism') and make the 'Socialist camp' monolithic by intimidation and coercion," says Zilliacus. "Their main stock-in-trade is fear of the west, made plausible by the war preparations and intransigence of the British and American governments."

FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM

In conclusion he declares: "The lesson is obvious: We must increase and ease up on pressure for a summit conference, and must add to it the demand for a British attitude and policies that hold out some hope of reaching agreement. By generating a politically effective demand for peace here we shall also help to make effective the demand for democracy and national and political freedom in the countries of the 'Socialist camp.'"

In France, Liberation, a daily whose viewpoint corresponds to that of the National Guardian, protested the Budapest killings but warned that "the execution

of Nagy must not be the alibi for atomic war."

BUDAPEST AND ALGIERS

Claude Bourdet, editor of the independent socialist weekly, *France Observateur*, wrote "One must then expect a shameful utilization of the crime of Budapest . . . by those who are all-indulgent for the crimes of Algiers and for the system that Algiers would impose upon us." For this linkage of Stalinist and French fascist crimes, *France Observateur* was suppressed by the de Gaulle Ministry of Information. The weekly, which defends the Soviet Union against the cold-warriors, played an outstanding role in publicizing and documenting the working-class and pro-socialist character of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. Bourdet recalls this in his comments.

In conclusion, he warns that the gravest danger in France comes from the fascists. Unity of the left against this menace is imperative. The crime in Budapest makes unity more difficult, but the CP must still be considered an "integral part of the left." "It is in this spirit, with open eyes and without mincing words that unity must be realized," says Bourdet.

... Assault In Seattle

(Continued from Page 1)

reaction was so sharp that some of those friendly to the CP leadership in the area sought to hush up the scandal.

At the Pension Union two days later, for instance, Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, after a speech on "Two Views of Civil Liberties," said, "The incident was unfortunate, very unfortunate, a mistake, and the People's World should issue a public apology . . . However, it would be wrong for the SWP to publicize it; if they do they would be rendering a great disservice to the working class and would be giving an indication of what I think is their counter-revolutionary character. Of course, I can't prove this. I only feel it is true that the SWP is counter-revolutionary. I can't emphasize strongly enough the great danger that publicity would create among ignorant workers."

Shock and indignation among members of the Communist Party over the return to Stalinist hooliganism is reported to be high. The victims of the attack have received many expressions of sympathy from these sources and assurances that such tactics will no longer be stomached by CP members after all the promises from the leadership about a break from the past.

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Availability Pay

There are two basic approaches to the unemployment question. There is the approach of the capitalist for whom profits are the determining factor. When his goods can no longer sell at a profit, when his investments no longer yield sufficient returns, then he lays off, and that's all there is to it, as far as he is concerned.

Then there is the socialist approach. Socialists maintain that there can be no justification for unemployment as long as there exist unsatisfied human needs that labor can satisfy. The right of all human beings to engage in creative activity, to produce to meet the needs of society, and to partake of the total product to meet their individual needs is a basic socialist concept.

The right of a worker to his job was one of the basic concepts advanced in connection with the great sit-down strikes of the 1930's. It is becoming an active issue again in the current discussion on recession and unemployment compensation.

The MESA Educator, newspaper of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, AFL-CIO, raises the idea of the workers' right to employment in the form of a demand for full trade union wages for every one who is available for work. In motivating its demand the Educator points to the wealth of natural resources and productive capacity in the U.S. and to the fact that, though millions of work-

ers are looking for jobs, their labor efforts are not utilized because production is in surplus of "market requirements."

The right of the worker to the product of his labor is recognized by the Educator when it says: "Labor provides the skill, the knowledge, the manpower, which takes the natural resources, the raw materials, applies them to the machines, all of which it too created, and turns them into the finished products . . ." When workers are unemployed "they are entitled to enjoy the benefits of the goods they produced which stock the warehouses. . ." It is the capitalist who owns this wealth of products, and the cost of unemployment insurance should certainly be laid at his door. To implement its demand for full pay when unemployed, MESA proposes an employer payroll tax of 5% which it estimates will more than suffice to cover a 100% unemployment compensation.

Socialists will certainly agree with the Educator when it says in conclusion: "We believe that workers who are unemployed though available for work are also entitled to continued income just as though their work was needed. This is our program. There can be no compromise — nothing less. Full pay for availability is not something to ask for as a concession, it is something that workers are entitled to — it is their right. It is about time it became their demand."

Second Thoughts on Lebanon

The danger of war in Lebanon has temporarily receded with the July 3 report of the United Nations' team of observers. This report rejected the contention that the Lebanese government that massive infiltration of forces on the Syrian border was the cause of the civil war still raging in that Mideast country.

The UN report stated that it had been impossible to determine the source of rebel arms or whether rebels had "infiltrated." Most important the UN Commission stated conclusively, "There is little doubt, however, that the vast majority was in any case composed of Lebanese."

The government of Camille Chamoun, of course, was furious with this rejection of their attempt to portray a rebellion as an invasion. In a statement circulated July 8 to members of the UN Security Council, the UN report was declared to be "either inconclusive or misleading or unwarranted."

The imperialist powers were also unhappy about the UN report, but more restrained in their criticism. They had hoped that it would be enough to threaten the Lebanese rebels with U.S. Marines anchored close by, ready for action. But the Arab revolution is too deep-going to be bluffed into acquiescence.

This is not to say that the UN observer team acted in opposition to decisions made in the chancelleries of the dominant imperialist powers. There was obvious uncertainty and fear of unleashing a war in the Middle East at this time.

A Bill for \$210,000

Members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters should be very interested in how their union is to be "democratized" through government intervention.

A three-man panel of monitors appointed to "watch over" the union affairs last February hasn't brought the membership a nickel's worth of democracy. But it will cost union members some \$232,000. Most of this sum is to go to the lawyers.

Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts arranged the settlement of the dispute between 13 New York truck drivers and James R. Hoffa. The drivers were suing for democratic procedures in the union. The settlement gave Hoffa the presidency of the Teamsters, with the three-man panel to watch him.

On July 7, Letts awarded three lawyers for the rank-and-file truck drivers \$210,000 from the union treasury. In addition, he awarded \$5,622 to Godfrey P. Schmidt, one of the three, for out-of-pocket expenses; \$9,997 in expenses for another, Thomas J. Dodd; and \$1,981 for the third, M. J. Blumenfeld.

Schmidt had already received \$7,205 from funds directly raised by the rank-

and-file committee. The group of 13 truck drivers who initiated the suit were awarded \$4,700 to cover their expenses.

Of the \$210,000 in fees, Schmidt is to get half. It might be added that he is one of the three monitors appointed by the court.

The Teamsters Union is one of the most dictatorially run labor organizations in the country. Three successive presidents—Tobin, Beck and Hoffa—have ruled by goons, expulsions, receivership, blacklisting and collusion with employers and corrupt political machines. They have a vast retinue of peacocks to do their bidding. It is extremely difficult to dislodge this bureaucracy and return the union to rank-and-file democratic control.

However, in the long run, through patient organization of the membership around a program of union democracy and militant struggle against the employers, the battle against the bureaucratic machine can be won.

The 13 Teamsters who filed suit against Hoffa sought a short cut in the fight in the form of a federal court order. They got the court order. But democracy is still far away. The only ones who gained are the lawyers.

Is United Socialist Ticket 'Middle Class'?

By Harry Ring

The June 22 issue of the Worker carried a report by Erik Bert on the United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference held in New York June 13-15. The report lays the basis for a new line of argument now being developed by Communist Party leaders against the decision of the conference to enter a full socialist ticket in the state election.

At the conference, CP spokesmen were against nominating a candidate in opposition to the Democratic party incumbent, Governor Harriman. They argued that to back Harriman would mean isolation from the labor movement which is expected to endorse him. As an alternative, they suggested limiting the ticket to a single candidate for an office other than governor. This approach was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the conference delegates.

LABOR BASE

According to the Worker account of the conference, delegates active in unions and other mass organizations supported the CP proposition for a single candidate while delegates without such ties favored a full socialist slate.

This assertion, which has no basis in fact, coincides with similar allegations by various CP leaders. The case that they are trying to build is that the initiators and supporters of the United ticket movement are "petty bourgeois," or middle-class, socialists who fail to

Urges Socialist Campaign

UNITED INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST ELECTION CONFERENCE



Dr. Annette Rubinstein, former American Labor Party spokesman, presents draft socialist platform to United Independent-Socialist Electoral conference held in New York June 13-15.

understand that an effective socialist movement must be based on the labor movement and who therefore are willing to withdraw into "militant isolation" from labor.

The need for the socialist movement to establish the strongest links with the working class and eventually to win leadership of it is paramount. The Marxist program is based squarely on the premise that the working class, by virtue of its decisive role in production, is the only social force capable of leading humanity to socialism.

But the CP leaders are

simply using the vital issue of socialists establishing firm working-class roots as a fake debating point. At the conference, unionists and non-unionists were on both sides in the debate. But even that is beside the point because none of the unionists who spoke — either pro or con — were speaking for any real segment of the labor movement. The plain fact is that today the entire radical movement, and not least of all the Communist party, is largely isolated from the labor movement in terms of exercising any significant influence as socialists.

An Old-Timer Gets Back Home

By Ed Atwood

He had been a member of the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World; he had personally known Gene Debs, Bill Haywood, and T. P. O'Connor; he had been friends with Chicago Anarchists just after the Haymarket executions — he had been around.

Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Haymarket martyrs — all the history-making labor struggles that occurred around the turn of the century were fresh in his mind.

That's why everyone paid close attention when Paul Dennie spoke at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit the other night. He brought to life for us the early days of the socialist and labor movement — the days of his youth. We had gathered to help celebrate his 83rd birthday.

Seventy years ago Paul joined his first union, the Knights of Labor, as an apprentice candy maker in Chicago. He was 13 years old. Later, caught up in the early imperial designs of U. S. capitalism, Paul served in the armed forces during the Spanish-American War. He came back a confirmed socialist.

For a while he lived in Georgia — "Just as bad then as it is now," he said. He ran for governor of Georgia on the Socialist ticket in 1913. "They kept putting me in jail, so I finally had to leave," he recalls.

"I haven't said much about

Dennie doesn't think much of our present-day labor leaders especially in comparing them with the giants of the past. However, he gave due credit to the few who survived without capitulating to the capitalist class. "Among the greatest of these was my close friend Matthew Smith of the Mechanics Educational Society of America," he said. "His untimely death, just a few months ago, was an irreparable loss to the labor movement."

About Walter Reuther, Paul could only say, ". . . he has been cussed and discussed plenty around Detroit, so I won't waste any breath on him."

As an old-timer, Dennie concluded his remarks with an appeal to youth. "After looking on as a spectator and frequent participant in the class struggle for 70 years," he said, "I trust you young people, here assembled, will pledge yourselves anew to carry on the fight. The class struggle is still with us, and is definitely growing more severe. Socialism is still the only answer, but it won't come easy."

The secret of Paul's youthful outlook and energy lies, he says, in his ability to "recognize mistakes and correct errors whenever they occur." During the question and discussion period following his talk Dennie, who recently joined the Socialist Workers Party, gave an example of what he meant.

"I haven't said much about

the last few years of my political activity," he began, "because I was one of those socialists who got trapped in the Democratic Party. They told us we could inject socialist ideas, fight for socialist goals, and defend the class struggle from inside the Democratic organization. For a while it seemed like it might work. We got social security, unemployment compensation, and a few other reforms. But soon I realized that whenever any truly socialist ideas were raised we were butting our heads against a stone wall. This was a capitalist party and socialists were welcome to get out the vote, knock on doors, and raise money, but when it came to making policy — we didn't exist."

"I learned a lesson," he concluded, "and began looking around for a socialist group that had the revolutionary spirit of the old Socialist Party of Gene Debs' day. I found this small group of young people and realized that I belonged here. They want to build a revolutionary working class party, and they have the spirit and the energy to do it." With obvious signs of the emotion which produced a slight tremor in his voice, Dennie added, "It was like coming back home. . . and . . . they took me back."

It's a grand thing when an old-timer like Paul Dennie comes back to the socialist movement.

SP-SDF Assails United Ticket as 'Totalitarian'

The projected united independent socialist ticket in New York has been denounced as "phony" by the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. According to a statement by SP-SDF national secretary Irving Suall, the united ticket movement is "a coalition of persons whose only common political denominator is admiration for the Soviet regime."

He states his organization "cannot and will not" support a united ticket which sees the people of the Soviet bloc countries as "engaged in building a socialist order." He explains that his organization views the Soviet sphere as "not 'socialist' but rather a new and brutal form of totalitarian class society."

Suall's claimed concern about the lack of socialist morality on the part of the supporters of the united ticket is not enhanced by his assertion that its common bond is "admiration for the Soviet regime." He ought to be perfectly aware that the supporters of the movement includes the Socialist Workers Party and many others who condemn Khrushchev's crimes (such as Nagy's execution) although they are partisans of planned economy. Suall's real concern is with the refusal of the united ticket movement to accept the SP-

SDF concept that "a new and brutal form of totalitarian class society" exists in the Soviet sphere. His concern on this question is not simply of a theoretical nature. He is against the united ticket because it opposes Wall Street's cold war against the Soviet orbit — a cold war that the SP-SDF vigorously supports.

SP-SDF 'ON GUARD'

The unification of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation last year was based on a joint political memorandum which declared in part: ". . . peace cannot be achieved by appeasement of the Communist imperialism that threatens the world's peace and freedom . . . the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of the Communist dictators."

The united socialist ticket movement was also attacked in a public statement by the national vice chairman of the SP-SDF, Darlington Hoopes. He charged that while the united ticket movement recognizes the need for a socialist alternative to the capitalist politicians, it "fails to recognize that such an alternative must be 'democratic' if it is to be socialist."

Hoopes here forgot to men-

tion that the SP-SDF is not in favor of presenting a socialist alternative to the capitalist politicians, whether it be "democratic" or otherwise. The only "democratic" alternative that now interests the SP-SDF is the Democratic party. At the time of the fusion the SP surrendered its past tradition of running candidates against the capitalist parties and agreed with the SDF that the fused organization would not enter candidates against "labor endorsed" capitalist politicians.

This policy was carried a step further at the recent convention of the SP-SDF in Detroit. A resolution was adopted which now permits "individual members to support candidates who have been endorsed by liberal and labor groups."

Suall's statement proudly notes that the SP-SDF is "the only American affiliate" of the Second International, and as such cannot be part of any movement which includes those who "condone" crimes against the workers. Apart from the slander against the united socialist ticket sponsors, the statement would be more impressive if the SP-SDF would show some of the same vigorous opposition to its French "comrades" of the Second International who helped the totalitarian, de Gaulle, to power.

The real issue under debate was this: Should socialists try to end their isolation from the masses by concealing their identity as socialists and thereby 'becoming' 'acceptable'? Or should they find the way to break through their isolation as socialists by winning worker support for their cause? The conference majority favored the latter course. The fact that the majority delegates were seriously determined to find a bridge to the rank and file of labor was demonstrated not by the number of union books waved in the air, but by the political content of the platform they adopted.

In addition to spelling out immediate and long-range socialist aims, the platform declares: "Labor can win recognition of its rightful place in the life of America only if it rejects company unionism in the field of politics and begins organizing in this field. What is needed is a powerful party of labor whose concern extends to the working farmers, the Negro people and small business men."

It further declares that it "welcomes every development which brings labor into the political arena in collision with the entrenched political machines . . . the solutions to the grave problems facing the American people will not come as a gift from well-meaning liberals; such solutions can be won only through gigantic struggles involving labor, the Negro people and other minority groups. Through such struggles, waged on both the economic and political front, the American people will replace the profit system with a planned society."

PROGRAM DECISIVE

It is such concepts as these that gives the united ticket movement a working-class stamp. The real test of whether a movement is working-class or middle-class in its approach and perspective is not only whether it has or seeks to establish a working-class base. The decisive factor is whether such a base is combined with a program of class-struggle instead of a program of class-collaboration.

For example, the official leaders of the labor movement certainly have a mass working class base and are deeply concerned with maintaining that base. But despite this, their social and political outlook and program is correctly defined by Marxists as middle class.

This characterization is based on the fact that the labor officialdom is saturated with a conservative, middle-class ideology. The essence of this ideology is the rejection of any concept of separate and mutually antagonistic interests between worker and capitalist. Proceeding from the illusion of an identity of class interests, the union bureaucrats confine themselves to seeking reforms by means of class collaboration. They vigorously oppose class-struggle policies.

A recent, striking illustration

of the middle-class mentality of labor officials is the July 7 statement by Guy Brown, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in opposition to the Teamsters Union proposal for unity of all transport unions. Brown asserted: "I firmly believe that if this plan . . . is adopted, the organization might become so powerful that it could result in the destruction of the nation."

REUTHER'S OUTLOOK

The top union leaders reject any idea of building the political strength of labor in opposition to that of the capitalists. They remain committed to support of the Democratic party and work within it to secure "a greater voice" for labor — that is to establish a more equitable relationship with the capitalists who own and control the party. Walter Reuther who proclaims there is no class struggle in America sees his role in the Democratic party as evolving from a very junior partner to an equal with Big Businessmen in the party's councils.

Stripped of class-struggle phrases, the Communist party program of building a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" by working within the Democratic party is basically the same as the program of the AFL-CIO high command. In terms of real politics, a coalition with a section of the capitalist class within a party irrevocably committed to capitalism can be achieved only by class collaboration — that is, by subordinating the interests of the workers to those of Big Business.

The efforts of Communist party leaders to depict the united socialist ticket movement as "petty bourgeois" has a certain ironic twist in that they espouse what is the hallmark of a middle-class outlook — namely, the politics of class collaboration.

HIT JOBLESS PAY

A group of Washington, D.C. employers have filed suit in Federal Court to stop payment of unemployment benefits beyond a 26-week period. In seeking an injunction to stop extended payments to the jobless, the employers charge they are being subject to higher taxes without "due process of law."

Calendar Of Events

TWIN CITIES

"Why the H-bomb Tests Should Be Stopped Now." A panel discussion. Wed., July 23, 8 P.M. Andrews Hotel, Rm. M-3. Mpls. Speakers: Viena Hendrickson, Jean Bradford, James Doran and Al Eiden. Ausp.: Twin Cities Labor Forum.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 285 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 631 Main St.
CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738.
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 6-0853 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.
MILWAUKEE
180 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open Tues. to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs., Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.
SAN FRANCISCO
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The Negro Struggle

By Mary Conway

'The Wall Between'

THE WALL BETWEEN. By Anne Braden. New York. Monthly Review Press. 306 pages. \$5.00.

The white South is not a solid front of racial supremacy. There are militant fighters for Negro rights and courageous supporters of racial integration to be found in all sections of Southern white society. Carl and Anne Braden are among these fighters. Anne Braden was born and raised in a well-to-do Alabama family and was schooled in traditional Southern racial prejudices. By late teen age, however, she opposed all racial inequality and soon became active in the desegregation movement.

Carl Braden came from a working class family in Louisville, Kentucky. His father was a trade unionist and a strong supporter of the great socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. Carl himself became a confirmed socialist at an early age. He earned his living as a newspaper reporter, editor, copy reader; became active in the trade union movement when he was 21 and has participated throughout his adult life in various movements against racial inequality.

The Bradens came to know Andrew Wade and his family intimately when, in March 1954, Wade wanted to buy a home in Louisville, Ky., for his wife and two children. There being no suitable property available in the Negro district, Andrew Wade asked the Bradens to buy a house in a previously all-white area and then deed the property over to the Wade family. This was done. A short time after Mr. Wade had moved his family into their new home the house was bombed and nearly destroyed. In the struggle that followed the Bradens were confronted with the vilest of personal slander, threatened with physical violence and legally charged under a state "sedition" law with stirring up racial hatred in order to overthrow the government. Carl Braden was

convicted of this charge and sentenced to 15 years in the penitentiary. A Supreme Court decision against all sedition laws knocked out Braden's conviction. He did serve many months in prison, however, for lack of bail.

The Wall Between is the story of the battle fought to defend Wade's house and of the persecution of the Bradens for active participation in this struggle. The book is written autobiographically by Anne Braden. It is much more than a factual account of the case itself. Mrs. Braden describes how Andrew Wade, a prosperous, respected, young business man trying to purchase a new house, in the course of the events became a determined crusader ready to risk his life in the fight against segregation.

Mrs. Braden's book is full of compassion and understanding. She describes with the intimacy of personal experience the social pressures bearing down upon both Negro and white sympathizers of the Wades — pressures which held too many of them back from giving active support to the fight.

The Wall Between does not pretend to offer a final solution to the problem of racial inequality. It is a fascinating and beautifully written account of one struggle and an analysis of the social forces underlying that struggle. The author is firmly opposed to the theory of "gradualism," and her book is a recommendation for direct and militant action. She understands the Negro struggle as being more than a fight by a persecuted minority for justice. She sees the cancer of white supremacy infecting all of society, morally destroying its members, and she holds that none can be free while inequality and segregation exist.

The book should be read not only for its account of the struggle for integrated housing in Louisville but for an insight into the thinking and emotions on the race question in the South.

'Mike Isn't His Child'

By Della Rossa

Los Angeles, July 9 — The face of capitalism appeared twice in similar stories in local papers here last week.

Two girls, 13-year-old Gigi Hill and her 16-year-old sister, Sandra, threw their protective love around their 20-month-old brother, Mike, and ran off with him when their parents threatened to give him away for adoption.

They had trudged 30 miles through the Verdugo mountains before being found by police.

There is a struggle for existence in the Hill home where the parents live with eight of their ten children in a two-room house.

The father had been released recently from San Quentin, then worked as a carpenter and painter but had been out of work for three weeks. Food and money were almost gone.

Looking for work, Lyle Hill faced prejudices as an "ex-con." He himself was guilty of the prejudice fostered by capitalism that children belong only to their natural, "legitimate" parents.

"For some time now," Sandra told the police, "Dad has been yelling that he doesn't want Mike. You see, Mike isn't his child."

Upon their being returned home, Hill told his children, "Mike is here to stay."

The Hills are denied county assistance because they haven't been in the state long enough. Meanwhile, they eat in shifts in their tiny house, so cramped there are only three beds for all ten of them.

The second story last week was about a young couple who abandoned their six small children, because "We can't stand seeing the kids go hungry any longer..." "We've decided to leave them and try to find a job so we can take care of them right..."

"Please call police to pick them up, and tell the kids we love them and we'll be back as soon as we can get a place to live and work."

This was the note left by Ollen and Joy Lovell in the kitchen of their little house. Then, while their six children slept, they left.

The next morning, the oldest, eight, went next door to the landlady, carrying the youngest, five months old.

The family had lived in the cottage since January, the landlady said, and the father had been out of work.

"They were broke all the time," she said, "She seemed to be doing her best to take care of the children but it must have been hard. They seemed to think a lot of the kids."

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"I always dress like this during contract negotiations."

... Teamsters Union

(Continued from Page 1)

July 8 New York Times. The Teamsters have mutual assistance pacts in force with major AFL-CIO affiliates including the Retail Clerks, United Brewery Workers, Office Employees Union, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Machinists, Carpenters, Laundry Workers, Bakers, and Operating Engineers. In addition, the IBT has a mutual aid pact with the West Coast Warehousemen, who belong to the ILWU.

WILL STICK

The AFL-CIO Executive Council is expected to take action on the transport unity proposal at a meeting next month. The existence of the many Teamster pacts will make it difficult for the AFL-CIO to take any effective action against the unity conference. Reporting from a source inside the AFL-CIO, the July 7 Wall Street Journal says, "... Mr. Hall [SIU] and Mr. Curran [NMU] are believed to be ready to stick by the new alliance" even if the AFL-CIO prohibits attendance at the transport conference meeting.

The IBT is now the largest union in the country with 1.5 million members. Much of its present strength was built

through jurisdictional raids on other unions. But as a defense against government prosecution for corruption and against expulsion from the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters have promised what is in effect a reversal of their past cannibal practices.

The new policy as stated by Hoffa in the June issue of International Teamster is: "... cooperation with other unions ... organization of the unorganized ... and improvement of wages and conditions of life for workers."

Whatever Hoffa's personal motives are in launching the unity move, it holds out great possibilities for the American working class. An agreement which seeks to pool the strength of the organized workers in the transportation industry, settle outstanding jurisdictional disputes and organize the unorganized could create a formidable weapon for the entire labor movement.

This is attested to by the remarks of Guy L. Brown, reactionary head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who explained his refusal to participate in the unity conference with the statement that "I would fear for a combination of that kind ... the organization might become so powerful that it could result in the destruction of the nation."

The possibilities for new union advances do not reside so much with the bureaucratic officials of the various unions participating in the projected conference as in the enthusiasm the unity undoubtedly will create in the ranks. Once inspired by the prospects that unified action opens up, the membership will pressure the tops for a sustained militant course both in contract negotiations and in organizing the unorganized. And they will pressure for a greater voice — for more democracy — in shaping the policy of the united transport conference.

The new Teamsters policy of cooperation rather than jurisdictional warfare and raids has already born fruit in the settlement of a 22-day West Coast Seafarers strike which saw the Teamsters endorsing the fight of the Meat Cutters and Retail Clerks.

HAWAIIAN SOLIDARITY

Similarly, the recent Hawaiian sugar-worker strike conducted by the ILWU was undoubtedly speeded to victory by the solidarity shown by IBT Local 996 in Honolulu which gave financial as well as moral aid.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, where ILWU Local 6 (Warehouse) and the Teamsters have long battled over jurisdiction, Joseph Dillon of the IBT and Louis Goldblatt of the Warehousemen have issued a joint press release stating that the two unions see "eye to eye" on union demands.

Again, a recent national Montgomery Ward settlement was obtained through joint efforts of the Teamsters and Retail Clerk unions.

Finally, an "Agreement on Jurisdiction and Cooperation in the Automotive Industry" signed by the IBT and the International Association of Machinists holds promise of organizing 750,000 garage, auto repair shop and filling station employees.

These examples argue well for what the projected transportation conference can achieve.

NAACP Mass Meeting Protests Racist Attack

A mass meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, June 26, protested the racist assault at a Memorial Day outing in Forrest Park, Pa. and demanded prosecution of police who greeted returning picnickers — the victims of assault — with swinging nightsticks.

Mr. Robert Dillard, adult sponsor of the 28-member Delta Phi Tau sorority that ran the picnic, reported the attack. The sorority decided to do something "different" at this year's annual outing, he explained. With the intention of raising money for a scholarship program, they met the requirements of buying at least 300 railroad tickets and \$50 worth of tickets for amusements at Forrest Park. Everyone looked forward to the big event and when Memorial Day finally arrived, the sorority girls, their families and friends were ready to board the train at 10:15 AM. They arrived at the park at 11 AM, 372 strong. Some also went by car.

TENSION MOUNTS

When the party arrived at the picnic section to which they were assigned, they found the area bared to the sun and some of the grass two feet high. Mr. Dillard protested to the Park authorities who told him to pick whatever space was unoccupied. After settling down in new areas, the picnickers found themselves subjected to the stares of the white inhabitants. From that point on a steady tension began to mount.

The first incident occurred at 2:30 PM. A white boy was shooting off blanks. From 15 to 25 of his companions jumped on a Negro boy "for making remarks" about it.

Mr. Dillard then demanded protection from the Park. Two

guards were on duty. Protection was promised; but at the same time Dillard was told that he and his group had better leave.

At the dance pavillion, a white boy asked a Negro girl to dance. She accepted. A Negro boy asked a white girl to dance. He was attacked.

Baseball bats, knives, beer bottles, tree branches and picnic utensils were employed by the white attackers. Backstabs, head injuries, bruises, a nine-year-old thrown in a creek, forced the picnickers to retreat. It took them three hours to get back to the train. They were under attack all the way. But the train proved poor refuge. All 40 windows were smashed with rocks and bottles. Some tried to gain protection by squeezing into the baggage racks.

At 7:25 PM the State Police received a call (which the Park guards claim they made at 2:30 PM). They joined the neighborhood Chalfont police at the scene of the riot — after the rioting was over.

TREATED AS RIOTERS

During the ride back, the sorority excursioners were given strange treatment. Reinforcements of railroad police "guarded" them. At Lansdale, Pa., riot guns were trained on them while more railroad police boarded the cars. This treatment was climaxed when, tired, battered and bloody, they arrived in North Philadelphia station. Some 75 cops greeted

the Forrest Park victims as being the rioters.

Mr. Dillard said that the precautions on the train were unnecessary. There was no dispute among the sorority guests themselves. He also said that he felt the riot was an organized anti-Negro attack by a group of white people at the park, and that most of the rioters were over 21 years of age. None of the rioters has been identified.

Armed with nightsticks the police proceeded to shove, threaten and beat members of the group. A young man approached patrolman John Prosser and asked to be taken to the hospital. He was pushed off the train onto the platform by that officer. Mr. Dillard witnessed this, and made a note of the policeman's badge number; this was the signal for Prosser to assault him, inflicting facial bruises and cuts.

Dillard was arrested on charges of assaulting an officer and resisting arrest. Prosser's story was that the defendant injured himself when he deliberately fell onto the officer. He was held under \$400 bail for grand jury action. The next morning he was given a hearing at magistrate's court. The officers didn't remember a thing, Dillard said.

MASS MEETING

On June 5 the sorority held a mass meeting at which the Forrest Park Citizens' Committee was formed. One of the first acts of the new committee was to send a statement to the Phila. Daily News, charging the paper with having presented a false account of the riot. On June 6 the News released a second story relieving the sorority of guilt.

Leaders of the Forrest Park committee said, "Our Negro children must not go to Forrest Park on the Fourth of July. Their lives will be in danger if they do!" Action is apparently to be confined to legal procedures.

Mr. James Baker, counsel for the NAACP, said his organization would appeal to the state and federal Attorney Generals and institute civil suit against the Park owners for failing to provide protection to patrons.

Several in the audience proposed that a return to the Park be organized with adequate preparations made to defend the Negroes from racist attack.

... London Dockers

(Continued from Page 1)

leading militants at Smithfield have been denounced as "agitators" before the commission and in the Tory press.

Two important lessons should be drawn from the experience of this dock strike. First, the dockers were fighting, and undergoing great personal hardship, for a basic trade union principle — the right not to scab. In the U.S., this strike would have been illegal from first to last under the "secondary boycott" provision of Taft-Hartley.

TORY WEAKNESS

Secondly, this strike exposed the basic weakness of the Tory government in its attacks on labor. The British economy is precariously perched on the

thin edge of its trade balance—and the effects of the U.S. depression have not even begun to be felt. A long dock strike would be disastrous, and just at this moment the dockers have submitted a claim for a very substantial wage increase. This would be the moment chosen by a real workers' leadership to force the issue.

But the fighting spirit of the dockers and the weakness of the capitalists only scares these "leaders" more and heightens their sense of "responsibility" as labor statesmen. Fortunately, the dockers have shown that they can carry on their own fights, and create their own leadership. British capitalism will get more rough treatment from them in the coming months.

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. 258 pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 plus 15 cents postage.

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

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

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

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

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

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 launch-

ing of the Socialist Workers' Party in 1938.

DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By Frederick Engels 498 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.

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."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Letters from Our Readers

Working In a Hospital

Editor:

The recession is getting worse, and many people are unemployed. Those who still have jobs are lucky and the bosses let them know it all the time. When jobs were easier for the workers to get, they were treated with some kind of decency, but now the bosses can get away with anything. This is especially true in hospitals where services are considered essential and where walking off the job is considered "cruel" to the patients.

The hospital problem is complicated by the fact it has to run on a 24-hour, seven days a week basis which is not true of other businesses — and a hospital is a business.

If one member of the family works in a hospital and therefore works some Sundays, it adds to family income but disrupts family life. Unhappy families are common.

There is usually help on weekends that just works part-time. They are willing to put in extra hours, but the employers refuse because it isn't accounted for in the budget. The same money goes to pay regular help for working extra

hours — maybe 10 to 11 hours a day — when the employers find themselves desperate for help. They disrupt family plans at the last minute. It may be hard for a mother to find a baby-sitter or she may have to disappoint her children by not taking them to the zoo as she had promised.

At the least she is so tired and worn out when she finally does make it home that she is too irritated and crabby to be a good mother. A very courageous employee or one with other sources of income would protest against these conditions.

Furthermore, when at work, one is hardly able to breathe properly. Employees are told to work every possible minute. Most employees are very willing to put in their share of time and more. If a boss comes out and asks, "What are you doing now?" and an employee answers in a courteous way, "Heating some milk for a patient," even then the supervisor is apt to say, "That's no excuse, don't just stand there! Let's get on the ball now!"

One brutal aspect of hospital work is that if someone gets burned or hurt on the job, it is hard to get medical treatment. A few weeks ago, a cook in our hospital got burned and

they paged interns and doctors for a couple of hours before anyone of them had the "time" to even give her emergency treatment — that is, they were too busy collecting fees from patients who would pay for treatment.

Conditions like this make it difficult for hospital employees to do their job right, and I suppose that anyone who works at all now has conditions like this.

I would like to write an article on treatment of patients in hospitals, but that is another subject. This sure is one that should be covered in a socialist paper as it affects the common man and is one that he surely is interested in.

Nancy Bennett Milwaukee

N. Y. JOBLESS

Employment in the metropolitan New York area fell 10,400 in May from the April figure of 5,412,000. Seasonal cutbacks in apparel production and further lay-offs in machinery and metal industries put 18,600 persons out of work offsetting a pickup in employment in construction, finances, and services. Factory employment was running 169,000 below the level of corresponding period last year.