

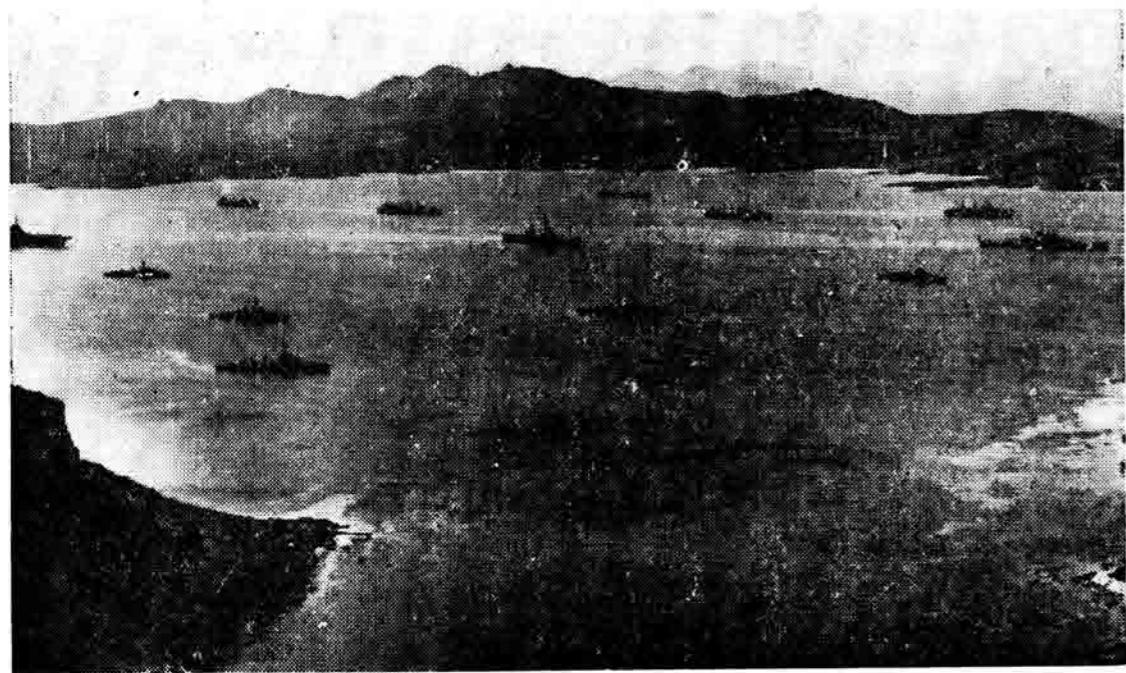
## Socialist Electoral Policy in New York

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### 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 Kiezel

The executions of Nagy, Malter 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-exile 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 comrade 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 too 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 imperialists, 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

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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-

#### Guilty: He Chose Wrong Parents

Because he will not disavow his parents, Patrick Hallinan, 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 Hallinan 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?"

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# THE MILITANT

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## COLD-WAR PASSPORT CURBS BEING PUSHED

### Miss. Negro Killed in Jail By Sheriff

JULY 9 — The face of a lynch 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, on charges of reckless driving and illegal possession of whisky. (Friends said the bottles had been collected by Daniels' 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."

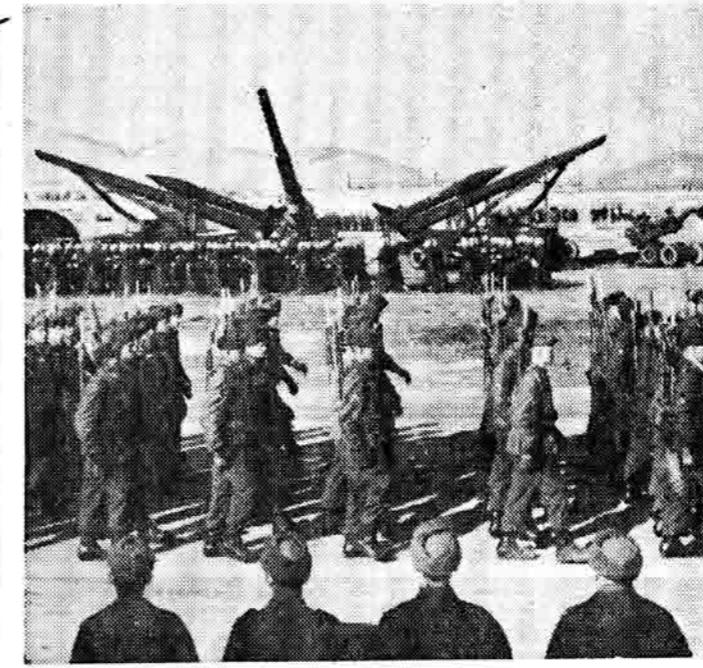
Those who witnessed the attack and saw the blood trickling down the faces of the victims, quickly spread the story. In angry indignation, picnickers protested with members of the gang, whom they recognized as fellow adherents of the Communist Party. This lead to heated arguments and even fist fights.

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 picnickers 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."

News of the physical attack quickly spread through Seattle labor and radical circles. The

### 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 curiously 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 Brotherhood 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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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. 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 a

### 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 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. If this McCarthyite measure,



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 greater 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.

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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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### London Dockers Teach Tories a Lesson

By Philip Magrath

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 fine 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.

Particularly on Tooley Street, the focal point of the strike, there was prevalent disrespect for the union leaders. At one point, in a speech urging the dockers to return to work, a T&GWU leader asked rhetorically, "And where do we go from here, lads?" As with one

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 Bulldog 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 profiteers rejected the subversive proposal. Equally naturally, 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. (Continued on Page 4)

# 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 re-groupment 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 *Khrushchev*) 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 ignoramus flows with all the sluggishness 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 farms, 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 Zoschenko; 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 admissi-

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Monday, July 14, 1958

## 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 of 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.

Long before the UN team issued its report, the Wall Street Journal editorially gave the same conclusions. On June 27, the Journal said, "The evidence indicates that though the rebels are supported by Nasser, the situation is largely one of internal revolt . . . there is little to indicate that he [Chamoun] represents a majority feeling. His army fights only half-heartedly. Rebel forces and leaders pass through government lines with what appears to be semi-official sanction."

Again, "American intervention would anger more people in the Middle East than it would please."

No easy victory could be seen by the editors of the Journal. "Does not the situation promise — at the minimum — involvement in the bloody and frustrating business of combating guerrillas? . . . If we became bogged down in Lebanon, in a kind of a permanent Korea beachhead, would we be able to move in answer to some more real threat to U.S. interests?"

The Arab revolution has proved strong enough to successfully defy the threats of the U.S. State Department. Chamoun has already backed down on his stated intention to change the constitution to clear the road for another six-year term in office for himself. Another imperialist puppet in the Arab world appears to be falling from his seat of power. The danger of war has not been eliminated, but it has diminished — once more, thanks to the revolutionary determination of oppressed people.

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. 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.

## 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-

# 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 buck 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

### Urge 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 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.

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 Denne 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, Dennis 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 Dennis, who recently joined the Socialist Workers Party, gave an example of what he meant.

"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, Dennis added, "It was like coming back home, . . . and . . . they took me back."

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

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

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

## Local Directory

BOSTON	Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO	Militant 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, 1708 E. 4th St. AN 4-953 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 noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.
SAN FRANCISCO	Workers Educational Center, 1303 W. Girard Ave.
SEATTLE	The Militant, 1145 Polk St., RA 4-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
ST. LOUIS	655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.

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What does the General's rise to power portend for France? Why did the capitalist defenders of democracy and the Communist party leadership both fail to meet the challenge? Does America share in guilt for the ominous trend?

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New York 3, N.Y.

# 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 "seditious" 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.

VOLUME XXII

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1958

NUMBER 28

## 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

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

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.

### TREATED AS RIOTERS

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.

Dillard was arrested on charges of assaulting an officer and resisting arrest. Drosser'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.

## ... Teamsters Union

(Continued from Page 1)

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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 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 united action opens up, the membership will pressure the top 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 Safeway strike which saw the Teamsters endorsing the fight of the Meat Cutters and Retail Clerks.

### HAWAII 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 Warehouses 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.

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leading militants at Smithfield 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 "second 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.

## London Dockers

### For Summer Reading

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

**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.

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This 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

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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.

An intensive, carefully documented examination of the trial

## Letters from Our Readers

### '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."

## 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. Factory employment was running 189,000 below the level of corresponding period last year.

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 189,000 below the level of corresponding period last year.

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