

Issue of Neutrality
In the Cold War

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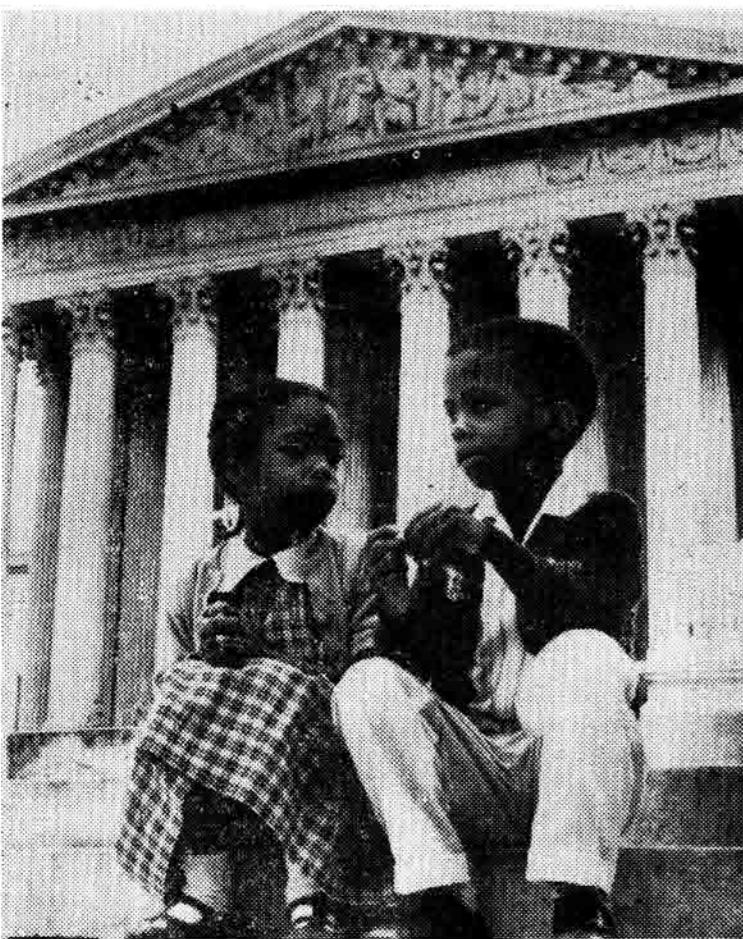
THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1958

Price 10c

Carolina Negro Community Fights Racist Persecution



"Equal Justice Under Law" says inscription at top of Supreme Court Building in Washington. But does it really mean justice for Allan and Patricia Bradford (above) and all other Negro children?

Strike of Airline Mechanics Wins Substantial Pay Boost

During the past six weeks some 30,000 airline ground-crew machinists have battled the nation's biggest passenger airlines. They are winning substantial wage concessions. On Dec. 4, Trans-World Airlines (TWA) granted a 44-cent wage increase over a three-year period to its 6,700 mechanics following a two-week strike that grounded all its planes.

On Nov. 22, 7,500 mechanics at Capital Airlines won an increase of 41 cents an hour over a similar three-year period. They were on strike for 37 days. Ground-crew wages before the increase were \$2.54 at Capital and \$2.51 at TWA. The bargaining union at Capital and TWA is the International Association of Machinists.

Machinists are still striking at Eastern Airlines. They are demanding wage increases similar to those at Capital and TWA. In addition they support the strike of 550 flight engineers and employment rule provisions. At American Airlines, 1,500 pilots want a cut in monthly flight hours, wage increases and rule changes. Their strike has been halted by court injunction.

At Pan-American Airlines, the Transport Workers Union has postponed its strike of mechanics under court injunction. The union demands a cut in the work week from 40 to 32 without reduction in pay. Ground-crew wages are currently \$2.76 an hour.

The Lake Central Airlines, a small feeder company in the Midwest, has been struck since Nov. 24 by 33 stewardesses following a 15-cent an hour raise. They are the first members of the Air Line Stewards and Stewardesses Association to go on strike.

The companies have fought back with hamstringing provisions in the National Railway Labor Act. American has instituted suit against the pilots for alleged lost earnings. Six airlines (American, United, Eastern, TWA, Capital and Pan American) have an agreement whereby, if one is struck, the others turn over income from diverted business.

The airlines now carry the biggest share of commercial passenger traffic domestically. Four companies fly 75% of all trunk-air miles in the country.

Besides air crews and mechanics, the airlines employ upward of 150,000 workers, some of whom, like kitchen helpers at TWA, receive as little as \$1.45 an hour.

(Continued on Page 4)

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

Three more areas — St. Louis, Boston and Denver — have crossed the finish line in the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund drive. This makes six which have already fulfilled their pledges. To be precise, that should be amended to fulfilled or overfulfilled. For St. Louis added an extra dollar to its amount pledged and the Militant supporters in Oakland just don't know when to stop.

From Pittsburgh: "We have had a lot of illness, but like all good socialists we may be down but never out. So enclosed find money order for \$5."

From Los Angeles with a payment of \$310 came the following: "I'm sure we will be able to make our quota on time."

From Allentown: came \$41 and "I'm sure we'll have this balance in before the 15th."

Connecticut, also a latecomer to the scoreboard by three weeks, apparently was too rushed to do any writing — simply sent in \$73. This leaves only \$27 to go.

From Philadelphia a payment of \$58 and "We are going to try to make it."

closed please find check in amount of \$90 fulfilling our quota of \$450. Comrade Franklin deserves credit for collecting the money, all I did was mail the checks."

From San Diego, which joined our scoreboard after the Fund was three weeks underway, comes the following message: "The comrades here have asked me to assure you that we will make our quota and will get it in before the deadline."

And from Pittsburgh: "We have had a lot of illness, but like all good socialists we may be down but never out. So enclosed find money order for \$5."

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Contributions to the "General" category in the past few weeks have come from such places as Outlook, Mont. (two contributions); Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Newberg, Oregon; Elma, Washington; Prince Rupert, British Columbia; as well as a \$5 contribution and a very interesting letter from a Militant reader in Georgia who said among other things, "There is nothing I believe in any more than socialism and I will be watching the growth of your fund."

What is the overall picture? The Fund has now reached 74% of the \$18,000 goal. From the date of the present scoreboard (see page 3) there are 13 more days to finish on time and in full. Dec. 15 is our target date.

None of the areas which have made pledges are in a very bad way though many are behind schedule. Of the three which up till Nov. 11 had been unable to make any payments, two have already completed and the other is very close.

So now is the time for all good socialists to make that extra effort, to dig deep, to scrape and sacrifice, and to blow out the safety valve on our 30th Anniversary steam gauge.

Although it is the second largest party with 20% of the popular vote, the Communist Party dropped from 144 seats in the old Assembly to 10 in the new one. The party lost 20% of its voting strength and 90% of its assembly seats since the 1956 elections. Party leader Jacques Duclos was defeated, although Maurice Thorez just barely squeezed into the Assembly. The Socialist Party lost many of its leading deputies and dropped to 40 seats in the Assembly from 91 held in 1956.

The Gaullist sweep plus restrictions on the Assembly incorporated in the constitution adopted by referendum last September bolsters de Gaulle's power. When he is elected President on Dec. 21, reports the N.Y. Herald Tribune, "He will have power to appoint and remove Premiers, to dissolve the Assembly if he deems this necessary, and in a national emergency, to assume dictatorial powers by proclamation."

The Assembly can pass laws only in circumscribed fields and

DE GAULLE

may meet for only five and one half months of the year."

Two factors combined to give the Gaullists their electoral victory. First, the carefully rigged majority electoral law which was employed this year for the first time since 1936. De Gaulle's constitution did away with proportional representation. The first round called for an absolute majority vote for a candidate in his district. Only a plurality was needed to elect in the second round (Nov. 30). Maneuvering and coalitions developed among the right-wing groups between the two rounds which resulted in defeat for the disunited working class forces.

Second, and more fundamental, the middle class and possibly a section of the workers, swung behind the party of the Algerian coup. The middle class has no program of its own in modern society. Its tendency in time of crisis is to join with the boldest appearing force. The fact that the working class

Victims of British Imperialism



Cyprus hospitals were described last October as filled to overflowing with Cypriots rounded up and "questioned" by British troops. Injured shown above suffer from head wounds from rifle butts. British are keeping Cyprus in colonial status against will of majority of Cypriots who want to be free to unite with Greece. (See story, page 3.)

British Union Militants Adopt List of Demands

In the face of a witch hunt by the capitalist press and intimidation by the right-wing labor bureaucrats, well over 500 British trade-union militants, half of them sent by union locals or shop units, held highly successful rank-and-file conference in London on Nov. 16.

After lengthy debate, the conference, which had been called by the Newsletter, a Marxist weekly, overwhelmingly adopted a Charter of Workers' Demands. It calls for (1) a militant fight against unemployment; (2) nationalization of major industries and their operation under workers' control; (3) transformation of local branches of the Labor Party into campaign centers to aid the unions in strike struggles; (4) restoration of trade-union democracy.

"MIGHT GET OUT AT 21"

Three warrants were produced against the two eight and nine-year-old boys, accusing them of "molesting and assault upon a white female." They were found guilty and given indeterminate sentences in the reformatory for Negro boys at Hoffman, N.C. They were told that if they proved themselves worthy there might be released before they reached the age of 21.

The lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till for an alleged "wolf whistle" at a white woman three years ago brought home to millions of Americans the fact that the practitioners of Jim Crow are capable of the most brutal acts against Negro children. But Monroe is in "enlightened" North Carolina, not in the Mississippi delta. And though it is reported that some unidentified people threatened violence against the parents of the children, it was a judge, with the approval of a social worker, who declared these children guilty. And this was done not in a heated lynch mob, but after a week's deliberation and in the calm of a courtroom.

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The climate in Fleet Street (London's newspaper row) was well described by Tribune (Nov. 7), organ of the Labor Party left wing. An article by John Marullus, entitled "The New Specter," begins: "A new specter is haunting Britain or, at least, Fleet Street — the specter of Trotskyism. Open the newspaper almost any day of the week and you can read of the machinations of little groups of alleged Trotskyites, anti-Stalinites, call them what you will, who are supposed to exercise a massive influence in the trade union and Labor Movement."

The press campaign built up to a crescendo in the hope of preventing or spoiling the rank-and-file conference of unionists called by the Newsletter for Nov. 16.

The British Communist Party joined in the campaign. It forbade its members to attend the conference. It turned out its full strength at union meetings to vote against sending delegates. Its press whitewashed the reprisals of the right-wing labor bureaucrats against militants associated with strike struggles supported by the Newsletter. The Daily Worker, for example, polled 2,936 votes.

(Continued on Page 2)

Basic Socialist Issues Debated In Cleveland

Representative Gathering Reviews 1958 Socialist Election Policy

By Harry Ring

CLEVELAND, Nov. 30 — The Conference of American Socialists which was held here yesterday and today was the most broadly representative gathering of socialists to sit together in one hall in many decades. It convened to discuss the experiences of



it by all segments of the radical movement, whether friendly or hostile. All of the organized groups had been invited to attend, along with unaffiliated socialists. The Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation had both publicly rejected the invitation and denounced the parley in advance. The Communist Party gave no public indication of its attitude. Yet all three parties were represented at the conference along with the Socialist Workers Party which had urged maximum participation by all socialists.

Irving Suall, national secretary of the SP-SDF, was present throughout as an observer, along with Max Shachtman and Herman Benson, former leaders of the Independent Socialist League whose members recently joined the SP-SDF. The Socialist Labor Party registered an observer. It also presented a lengthy statement explaining why it was not participating, with copies for each delegate, and distributed its paper and various leaflets and pamphlets.

The Communist Party was represented by Arnold Johnson of New York and Sam Kushner, Chicago editor of the Worker. Explaining that his participation did not mean endorsement of the conference, Johnson was a speaker at the (Continued on Page 2)



Vincent Hallinan, strong champion of united socialist electoral action in California, was guest speaker at public meeting in connection with Cleveland Socialist Conference.

for various socialist tendencies. The steering committee will seek further expansion of this group.

In terms of numbers, the assemblage was modest. One hundred and thirty people registered to participate as delegates or observers and 110 actually signed in. A severe storm prevented a good number from attending.

The political significance of the gathering was underscored by the unusual interest paid to

the unusual interest paid to

French Vote Reinforces De Gaulle Dictatorship

By Lillian Kiezel

Overwhelming victory of the Gaullist forces in the recent elections for the French National Assembly means further consolidation of de Gaulle's "strong-man" state.

The Union of the New Republic, organized by Jacques Soustelle and other semi-fascist figures, has become the largest party in France with 32.1% of the total vote and 188 seats in the Assembly. Soustelle and other UNR organizers led the Algerian coup last May that brought de Gaulle to power. The Independents (Conservatives) swept along by the rightist wave won 132 seats as against 95 in 1956. These two parties between them have swept up all the extreme rightists including the Poujade followers, who were reduced to one seat in the Assembly.

DOWN TO 10 SEATS

Although it is the second largest party with 20% of the popular vote, the Communist Party dropped from 144 seats in the old Assembly to 10 in the new one. The party lost 20% of its voting strength and 90% of its assembly seats since the 1956 elections. Party leader Jacques Duclos was defeated, although Maurice Thorez just barely squeezed into the Assembly. The Socialist Party lost many of its leading deputies and dropped to 40 seats in the Assembly from 91 held in 1956.

The Gaullist sweep plus restrictions on the Assembly incorporated in the constitution adopted by referendum last September bolsters de Gaulle's power. When he is elected President on Dec. 21, reports the N.Y. Herald Tribune, "He will have power to appoint and remove Premiers, to dissolve the Assembly if he deems this necessary, and in a national emergency, to assume dictatorial powers by proclamation."

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leadership — Communist Party and Social Democratic — presented no dynamic alternative to the rot of the Fourth Republic (indeed, were identified with it to the end) repelled the middle class. The Algerian coup and de Gaulle's taking power won the middle class for the time being because of the aggressiveness of the actions. The working-class will regain the support of the middle class and more politically backward workers only by struggling on a clear-cut socialist program including the program of independence for Algeria as the way to end the Algerian war.

The French working class organizations have been placed on the defensive by the whole series of events since de Gaulle gained power last May. Furthermore, the initiative is with the capitalist class, now that it has strengthened its political structure to a considerable extent. However, the Communist Party is still the second largest in France. The Socialist Party received 15% of the popular vote. The unions are intact. A basic test of strength has not yet taken place, although big business will be pressing ever more vigorously for the showdown.

Confronting the workers of France is a life and death struggle to defend their organizations and their prior gains. They need to prepare. They cannot do it along the policy of the Communist Party leadership which looks not to the independent mobilization of the workers' strength but to class-collaborationist alliances, as for instance last May, when the CP deputies in Parliament voted emergency powers to Premier Pflimlin in the hope of stopping de Gaulle. Successive resistance to the attacks by the Gaullists would create the basis for the working class regaining the initiative and passing over to the offensive.

St. Louis, Boston, Denver Complete Fund



Highlights Of Cleveland Conference

The wide range of socialist viewpoints in Cleveland was reflected in the publications sent for inclusion in the kits given to each participant. The kits included copies of the National Guardian, Worker, Militant, Young Socialist, Weekly People, Monthly Review, American Socialist and International Socialist Review. There were catalogues from Pioneer Publishers, Monthly Review Press, Liberty Book Club and International Publishers. From Britain, there was literature from the Victory for Socialism group.

Some of the delegates were seeking score cards to identify the different tendencies represented at the conference. One such delegate was in a car headed back to New York. He was doing in the back seat as the car went through Pennsylvania but he heard someone remark, "This is Mennonite territory." His eyes popped open, and he demanded to know, "Who did they split from?"

During a dinner conversation, Rev. Joseph P. King, who ran as United Socialist candidate for Congress in Chicago said that many Negroes in his district were impressed by the number of whites collecting signatures to get him on the ballot. He said they viewed it as a significant demonstration of inter-racial unity.

The conference attracted a good deal of attention from the Cleveland press, with reporters popping all kinds of questions. William Price, publicity director for the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, stepped into the breach to handle press relations. One reporter asked if he could explain the 2,000 word statement from the Socialist Labor Party outlining why it was not participating in the conference. Price referred her to a section of the document which said, "Let us get down to fundamentals: Labor is a commodity."

New York's Independent-Socialist Party was well represented at the conference. Besides Price, seven members of the ISP Administrative Committee attended. These were John T. McManus, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Albert Blumberg, Bert Deck, George Stryker, Irving Beinin and Otto Skottedal. At least four other committee members were prevented from attending by illness or travel conditions.

The extensive discussion of independent socialist political action vs. working within the Democratic Party led Sam Kushner, Chicago editor of the Worker, to declare at one point: "After listening to the debate here I almost get the feeling that I'm a Democratic precinct committee captain."

McManus drew a good laugh when he commented: "You know the Communist Party is addicted to self-criticism and lately in the Worker I've been the subject of a good deal of it."

During a panel presentation, William F. Warde indicated how the views of the Socialist Workers Party differed from those of other tendencies. In the course of his remarks he mentioned that the former Independent Socialist League (no relation to the New York Independent-Socialist Party) had given up its adherence to Leninism and Trotskyism. This was challenged by Herman Benson, a leader of the former ISL, who should "That's not true!" The following is from a Sept. 28 statement by the ISL Political Committee printed in Labor Action and announcing dissolution of the organization and its entry into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation: "We do not subscribe to any creed known as Leninism or defined as such. We do not subscribe to any creed known as Trotskyism or defined as such."

A very moving part of the public rally was a dramatic presentation by Jerry Gordon and Myron Pershing of excerpts from speeches by Eugene Debs.

New York Sub-Getters Pace Militant Subscription Drive

By Karolyn Kerr

Subscription Campaign Director

Many of our readers and subscribers are confronted at this time of the year with the problem of exchanging gifts and greetings with their friends and relatives. For those who find it hard to choose a gift of lasting value to fit a limited budget, may we suggest: Take advantage of our Club Subscription Plan. For five dollars you can buy a book of 6 six-month subs to the Militant. For a gift that will be really appreciated at a cost of little more than a fancy greeting card you can earn the gratitude of the recipient as well as the Militant staff and business office. In this way you make your Christmas giving serve double duty.

Our Philadelphia campaign director writes: "We had a mobilization last Sunday and are planning another this coming Sunday . . . I am thinking of proposing a two-week extension because of our late start." The proposal for an extension has been suggested by other Militant groups and essentially for the same reason. We are giving serious consideration to this proposal to give our Militant supporters a little more time to fulfill their quota. Let us know what you think of the idea.

It is always gratifying to receive from our hard-working supporters expressions of appreciation for the job being done by our staff. This week, comrade C.S. writes on behalf of our Militant supporters group in the Twin Cities: "You comrades in the center are doing such a fine job of turning out the best paper in the country and giving us an inspiration for an energetic campaign that you deserve far better response than you've received up to now." Thank you

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... British Rank-and-File Conference

A Charter of Workers' Demands

(Continued from Page 1) in its headlines even called these victims "troublemakers" as did the capitalist press and the labor-fakers engaged in selling out the Shell-Mex strike. The Stalinist journal World News carried a series of articles replete with fake and doctored "quotations" from the Newsletter to "prove" the reactionary character of Trotskyism and to persuade its readers to boycott the conference.

REPRESENT 38,000

Despite all these efforts, delegates representing 37,752 organized workers attended the conference while several hundred others present as individuals or observers would have been official delegates had it not been for the bans and proscriptions put on attendance by their top union officials. Nonetheless the conference attendance was highly representative of British labor. There were miners, longshoremen, construction workers, electrical workers, railwaymen, bus men, auto workers, seamen, etc. They came from Wales, Scotland — sacrificing half a day's pay — from Birmingham, Coventry, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. There were colored and colonial workers employed in Britain. Thirty members of the Communist Party attended.

The attitude of these militants toward the conference was explained thus by one delegate, Lawrence Daly, a coal miner from Glencraig, who said: "I am an ex-member of the Communist Party. But the comrade with me is a member of the Communist Party and he has come despite Dennis Goodwin's articles in World News. This is not to say that he agrees with the Newsletter and disagrees with World News. But if we can get unity in action despite differences in political ideas we

The following are excerpts from the Charter of Workers' Demands as amended and adopted by the National Industrial Rank-and-File Conference called by the Newsletter in Holborn Hall, London, Nov. 16:

Half a million are idle in this country at this moment. And many of the machines that should be enriching the lives of all of us are idle too. There are a million families whose breadwinner is either out of a job or on short time. Millions more are seriously worried about the danger that soon they also will be out of work. The unemployment figure is rising by 30,000 a month and share [stock] values are rising too.

In our opinion the time to fight unemployment is now, while the greater part of our class is still in the factories. We must fight unemployment before it grows any more — above all by refusing to the employer the right to hire and fire at will.

DEMANDS

We demand: (1) the sharing of all available work without loss of pay.

(2) Solidarity action with all sections resisting sackings [firings].

(3) A national protest campaign led by the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, including a one-day national stoppage against unemployment.

(4) No discrimination against colored workers.

(5) Solidarity between unemployed workers and those in work to prevent the use of unemployed men as blacklegs [strikebreakers].

(6) Protection of shop stewards: all strikes against victimization to receive the full backing of the union concerned.

(7) A campaign for a real determined fight

for the 40-hour week and less hours, without loss of pay, to reduce the growing unemployment. [The 44-hour week is prevalent in Britain.]

The root cause of unemployment lies in the private ownership for private profit of the means of production. To remove an industry from the incompetent and greedy hands of profiteers is the way to ensure jobs and decent living standards for the men who work in it.

The nationalization we envisage is nationalization under workers' control.

We demand: (1) The nationalization by the next Labor government of the engineering, shipbuilding, building and textile industries and of the land of big landowners.

(2) No compensation to the former owners of these industries.

(3) No representatives of big business to have a say in the running of these industries.

(4) Control of these industries to be in the hands of democratically elected workers' councils.

PROBLEM OF LABOR PARTY

Another problem we have considered is that of the Labor Party. We state without hesitation that the main thing wrong with the Labor Party is that it lacks a militant socialist policy, and that this is largely because it is controlled by a junta of middle-class Fabians and full-time trade union officials. The rank and file in the trade unions and local Labor Parties no longer have a say in determining the policy of the Party . . . Only the rank and file can bring the party back to its original [socialist] purpose and restore the socialist vision and energy of the pioneers of our movement . . .

We appeal to industrial workers: (1) To ensure that their trade union branches are fully represented on local and constituency Labor Parties. (2) To fight for the adoption of militant

socialist policies and for the restoration of democracy within the party. (3) To make the local parties campaign centers in the industrial struggle, that will give the utmost moral and material help to all workers in dispute in their particular locality. (4) To strive for united action on agreed policies without discrimination while freely and openly thrashing out differences where these exist. (5) To recognize that the Labor Party was created by the trade unions and is founded upon them, and that major political questions should be regularly discussed in trade union branches.

TRADE-UNION DEMOCRACY

Last but not least, we have considered the problem of the trade unions. For many years the control of the unions has been passing into the hands of the full-time paid officials. In many unions these officials have in practice replaced the elected officials . . . We are firmly opposed to the creation of new trade unions or of any sort of 'breakaway' organizations whatever. We believe, on the contrary, that the rank and file have the power, and the responsibility, to restore trade union democracy, so that the unions can be better equipped to defend their members . . .

We demand: (1) No appointment of trade union officials, but their periodical election, with the right of recall. (2) Salaries, expenses and delegation fees of union officials to be determined by the average wages of the members of that union . . . (4) Annual policy-making conferences of the rank and file in all unions . . . (6) Fullest consultation with the membership in formulating, presenting and fighting for demands, and in the acceptance of settlements . . . (9) A vigorous campaign for 100% trade unionism to seal up all gaps in organization . . .

TWO POINTS ON AGENDA

The editorial board of the Newsletter submitted to the assemblage a draft charter of workers' demands. This had been printed and publicized before the conference. Amendments proposed by the delegates were mimeographed and distributed to all present and

discussed in the debate. There were two main points on the agenda: (1) How to fight the employers: the role of the shop stewards' movement and rank-and-file organization; (2) Unemployment and the color bar (discrimination).

The conference began at 10 A.M. with a welcoming address by Peter Fryer, founder of the Newsletter. Thereupon Brian Behan, construction worker and

member of the Newsletter's editorial board, recently expelled from the Building Trades Workers' union for his association with the Newsletter, presented the Charter of Workers' Demands. The remainder of the one-day conference was given over to discussion from the floor. Of seven amendments moved from the floor the conference adopted five as well as an addendum. There were 22

speakers in the debates. Finally the amended Charter of Workers' Demands was accepted with but two votes against and less than a dozen abstentions.

British capitalism's most authoritative spokesman, the Times, headed its account "Left-wing Meeting Well Attended—Demand for 'Militant Socialist Policies'" and reported the hall "comfortably filled by a notable array of militants who

have preached their doctrines to some purpose in several unofficial strikes." Another article pointed out that the conference had "brought together a number of experienced unofficial strike leaders" and that the Communist Party leaders had shown their "annoyance and anxiety" with this development. Then hopefully the Times questioned whether the militants could "cohere for long."

... Socialist Election Policy Debated in Cleveland

Socialist Candidates in '58



Rev. Joseph P. King, who ran as United Socialist candidate for Congress in Chicago, and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist Party candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of New York. Both participated in Cleveland Conference.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The second important issue on which there were divergent views expressed was that of socialism and democracy, particularly as it relates to the attitude of socialists toward the Soviet regime. Here it can be said that four differing stands were represented.

The strength of the sentiment for independent socialist action was reflected in the Communist Party spokesmen using a defensive line of argumentation for their policy of working within and supporting the Democratic Party. Throughout, Johnson, Kushner and others insisted that their party had no illusions as to the possibility of capturing or changing the Democratic Party. Their sole concern, they said, was to get into the Democratic Party in order to lead workers out of it. Virtually every argument for the Democratic Party line was couched in the most militant, left-wing way possible, considering the class-collaborationist nature of the policy.

The primary function of the SP-SDF observers at the conference was to try to exploit this issue for red-baiting purposes. For them the crimes of the Khrushchev bureaucracy are a convenient pretext for support of Western imperialism in its drive against the Soviet Union. Their "tactic" in relation to the conference was the introduction of a resolution based on their essential line which they assumed would be defeated, thus affording them a further opportunity to smear the conference participants as supporters of "totalitarianism."

Since the conference had agreed in advance to limit itself to an exchange of views, the SP-SDF

resolution, along with others, was distributed to the participants with none put to a vote.

The other side of the SP-SDF coin, the official CP position, was given by Arnold Johnson who tried to establish that anyone who expressed concern for workers' democracy or civil liberties in the Soviet Union was, by that fact, in the anti-Soviet camp or on the way to it.

Referring to the role of the SWP members in the ISP campaign, Annette Rubinstein said, "If some of us had been offered a Militant three or four years ago we would have recoiled as if it were a snake. But we found them honest people, with integrity and capable of working loyally together."

An SWP spokesman advanced the position that socialists should fully support the movement of the Soviet workers for socialist democracy but should also vigorously combat the efforts of the capitalist powers to exploit this issue for their counter-revolutionary aims.

Among the independents, many recognize the need for reforms in the Soviet Union but feel that the present general

process of development is in the right direction.

While there were differences over the lack of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, there was no dearth of socialist democracy at the conference itself. All viewpoints were heard in an orderly, fraternal atmosphere.

COMPLETE SPECTRUM

Political opinion ranged from Christian Socialism to the ultra-leftism of the late Hugo Oehler's Revolutionary Workers League. (Oehler's group dissolved several years ago but one participant presented himself as a member of its national committee.)

The principal issue in debate was independent political action as opposed to working in the Democratic Party and supporting its slates. The great majority of the conference favored independent socialist political action.

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PANEL DISCUSSIONS

The day and a half of discussion was organized into four consecutive panels, with representatives of different viewpoints making ten minute presentations followed by discussion from the floor.

The opening session was devoted to "Electoral Activity and Advancing Labor's Independent Political Action." Dr. Holland Roberts, who polled 400,000 votes as a united socialist nominee for California Superintendent of Public Instruction, said the Independent Voters of California with which he is now associated, had decided that as independents "we could serve the people better than as a socialist organization."

A leading figure from one of the student socialist clubs declared, "I absorbed a lot of stereotypes, perhaps from my family. One thing this conference made me realize is that there are socialists of other views that I can discuss with. It came as a surprise, but it's so."

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Among the independents, many recognize the need for reforms in the Soviet Union but feel that the present general

process of development is in the right direction.

While there were differences over the lack of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, there was no dearth of socialist democracy at the conference itself. All viewpoints were heard in an orderly, fraternal atmosphere.

A leading figure from one of the student socialist clubs declared, "I absorbed a lot of stereotypes, perhaps from my family. One thing this conference made me realize is that there are socialists of other views that I can discuss with. It came as a surprise, but it's so."

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Monday, December 8, 1958

Hungary and the Cold War

On Oct. 23, 1956, the Hungarian revolution began. Even after the Soviet troops crushed armed resistance to bureaucratic despotism, the workers persisted in their fight. Their heroic general strike lasted into the middle of December.

What were the aims of this great working class struggle? To open the door to capitalist restoration and U.S. imperialist control, say the Stalinist bureaucrats.

"Liberation from Communism," say the State Department propagandists, implying that the Hungarians wished to line up with the U.S.-sponsored "Free World." Both sides slander the revolution. Nicolas Krasso's article printed on this page is a reminder that the Hungarian masses fought above all for themselves. They wished to retain the established property forms, institute workers' democracy, and end Red Army occupation. They wanted the right to determine their own fate as a nation.

As readers of the Militant know, we don't place the blame for the cold war equally on both camps. In fact we believe that the cold war was instigated by American Big Business as preparation for its plans of regaining the Soviet Union and China for capitalist exploitation. These plans are the true source of the danger of the outbreak of World War III.

The Cleveland Conference

The Conference of American Socialists in Cleveland showed that the sentiment in the radical movement which led to the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York is not a localized phenomenon. At the national gathering in Cleveland, the Communist Party's policy of counterposing support of the Democratic Party to independent socialist action won no backing. The great majority of the unaffiliated socialists at the conference firmly opposed the CP's "coalition" line. Opponents of that line included many who had previously gone along with it or who saw no effective alternative to it.

But those at Cleveland who favored united socialist opposition to the capitalist parties also differed among themselves. (See conference report, page one.) Socialists favoring the National Guardian's stand believe that no principle bars them from supporting major party candidates under specific conditions. They see their stand as a "flexible" alternative to the CP's treacherous "coalition" line and to what they view as the Socialist Workers Party's "rigid," "doctrinaire" approach. The SWP holds that socialists ought never to support capitalist party candidates.

In practice, supporters of both Guardian and SWP positions collaborated in the 1956 united socialist campaigns, and both favored continued electoral collaboration at the Cleveland parley. What is the basis for their joint action?

How to Prevent Recession

RECESSIONS — AND HOW TO PREVENT THEM, by Harry Kelber. Straight Talk Pamphlets, Brooklyn, N.Y. 38 p. 25 cents.

Harry Kelber, former editor of AFL and CIO newspapers, has written a fine pamphlet on the current crisis of American capitalism. He brands as American public enemy No. 1 the war-depression economy of the American capitalist system.

With salient facts he proves that there is a "built-in bust in every boom." He points out: "They [American businessmen] put the ordinary citizen through the wringer twice — as a worker and as a consumer — and then expected the impossible; that he should still have sufficient purchasing power to buy the ever-expanding quantities of goods and services that industry could produce."

HARSH REALITIES

Overproduction, underconsumption, boom and bust — "these are the harsh realities of our profit system, Capitalism," says Kelber. He declares that capitalism holds supreme and unchangeable! . . . that not a wheel turns not a man works, not a commodity is bought or sold — without profit or the expectation of profit."

The author proves, too, that the recession "cures" are nothing but quack remedies for a system that has long outlived its usefulness. War spending which is the most effective "cure" capitalism has found has proved impotent: "Even with the fantastic outlays of World War II and the Cold War —

we still could not stave off economic crises. We kept on being hit by recessions — under Democratic as well as Republican Administrations."

In opposition to this outmoded system, Kelber poses the historic necessity of Socialism. He proposes a planned economy based upon government ownership of all industries.

He cautions correctly that, in the first period of socialist transformation, inequalities will continue to exist. People will be paid according to their ability instead of according to their need.

He believes that this new system in America would breed its own share of unscrupulous and self-serving officials. He says: "Socialism offers tremendous opportunities for the flowering of freedom and individual liberty — but it offers no guarantees. The people have to take it from there." It is at this point, however, that the pamphlet needs to say more.

INTERRELATED

First, it should be made clear that socialism and democracy are interrelated, that one cannot exist without the other. Second, it should be stressed that, although the working people cannot expect guarantees, they are the only force that can prevent corruption and bureaucracy.

They will need to establish workers' control over government-owned industries. This would be exercised through elected factory committees and democratically-run unions. In addition, the working people

will have to establish a system of democratic adoption of economic plans.

Despite shortcomings on the question of workers' democracy, the pamphlet presents an eloquent message to all socialist-minded people as well as reasoned arguments for the non-socialist. Kelber calls for the establishment of a new party opposed to Democrats and Republicans and organized to win the American people to socialism. He also urges socialists to participate in the workers' mass movement not only as fighters on immediate issues but as propagandists for socialism.

The pamphlet may be obtained from Straight Talk Pamphlets, P. O. Box 191, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

— Dorothy Russel

Negroes On the March

A Frenchman's Report of the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

Negroes on the March is based on years of painstaking research and first-hand observation of the American scene. Translated from the French edition, it has been revised by the author to cover recent events; he has also written a new introduction for the American reader.

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Hungarian Insurgents Rejected Both Sides

The following article, reprinted from the British socialist weekly, Tribune, is by Nicolas Krasso, "who drafted the proclamation of the Budapest Workers' Council during the November revolution." The article appeared in the Oct. 24 Tribune. For our comments, see editorial this page. — Ed.

As I cast my mind back to that tremendous demonstration in Budapest on October 23, 1956, I remember that the slogan we shouted most often was: "Soldiers of all countries, go home!"

The mainspring of the Hungarian rising was the insistent demand of the people for the neutralization of our country.

More than that — a single nation set itself the heroic task of transforming the European status quo.

We failed. But we showed the absurdity of the present structure of world politics.

Not only did the Hungarian events burst Dulles' "liberation" bubble — thinking men had never taken that seriously — but they also convicted the great powers of being unable, unprepared and unwilling to make the slightest effort to solve the problem posed by Aneurin Bevan in his 1954 speech in Peking: how the status quo can be peacefully changed.

RESHAPING FACTS

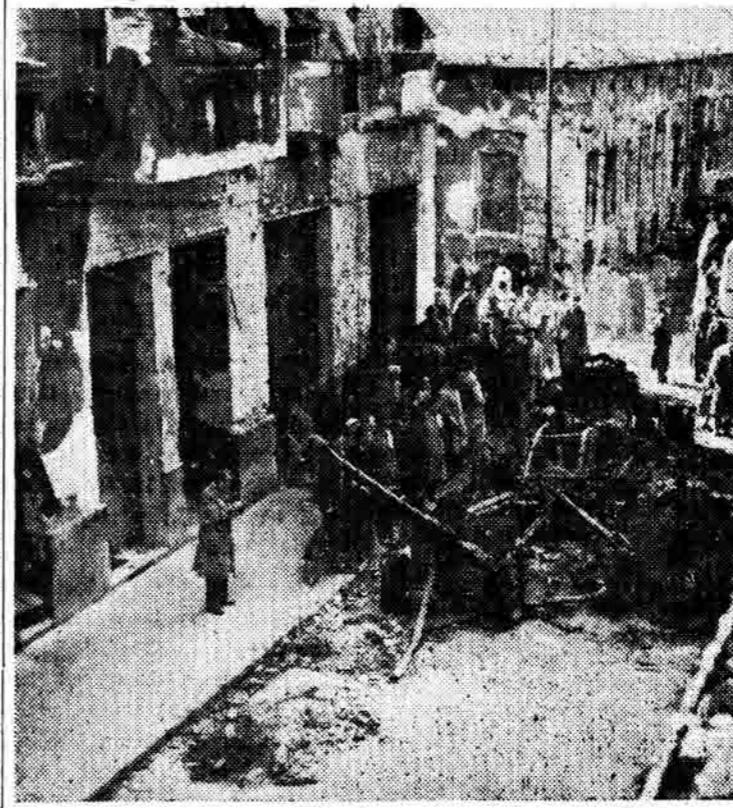
Two years have passed. The advertising departments of both blocs have spent them in fitting the Hungarian revolution into the cold war mythology.

An outstanding achievement in the Eastern advertising campaign was the statement put out by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, after the execution of Imre Nagy, that the "treason of the Nagy faction was crowned by Nagy's broadcast of November 4, 1956, in which he appealed to the Western imperialists for open armed intervention."

Here are his words: "In the early hours of this morning, Soviet troops launched an attack against our capital city with the obvious intention of overthrowing the lawful, democratic Hungarian Government. Our troops are fighting. The

YOU MUST BELONG!

Both sides dispose of a string



Budapest workers shown inspecting two of the Kremlin's guns they knocked out of action during the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Even after the Kremlin crushed their military resistance early in November, the Hungarian workers pressed for withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops. Their nation-wide general strike lasted until mid-December, 1956.

Government is at its post. I inform the people of the country and world public opinion of this."

Intervention? Only the intervention of a Hungarian Prime Minister in Hungary's internal affairs. The Stalinists can only reply: "So much the worse for the facts."

But the "anti-Communist" cold war myth is quite consistent with that of Stalinism. Both present our revolution as an aspect of Russo-American cold war rivalry.

The falsehoods stand little

risk of contradiction, since the best representatives of Hungary's intelligentsia have been murdered like Imre Nagy, imprisoned like Tibor Dery, or at best condemned to silence like Gyula Illyés.

YOU MUST BELONG!

Both sides dispose of a string

of second-rate intellectuals all too ready to echo the "realistic" words of Kardarist L. Mesterházi: "The world is split in two. You must belong here or there. Neutrality is a vanishing transitory state."

Whether you belong "here" or "there" matters little. To Dulles or to Suslov, belonging is what counts. Over there, Nagy's words are falsified to prove he is a fellow-traveller of Western Imperialism; over here, Aneurin Bevan's words are falsified by a pro-Western emigre to make out that he is a fellow-traveller of Communism. "You can't be neutral" is a familiar theme; it was the main plank of Adenauer's election platform.

How realistic is this "realism"? The two blocs are divided along military demarcation lines arising from the sec-

ond World War and the Chinese and Indo-Chinese civil wars; they are utterly unnatural and engender constant threat of conflict.

Wouldn't this at least under-

mine the extreme Stalinists by making their future appear uncertain?

Mr. Dean Acheson, replying to Mr. Kennan in "Foreign Affairs" gives his answer to these questions.

Such negotiations, he ex-

plains, would set off a chain

reaction, encourage neutralist

tendencies in the West, and

loosen the NATO structure.

The Stalinists wouldn't be

the only people whose future

would be made uncertain.

COMMON FEARS

Acheson fears that, if one side lost Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, or Albania, the other side might lose Italy, Belgium, Norway, or Iceland. Thus he has let out the secret. The two power centers have a community of interest.

Both forms of reaction, Stalinist and anti-Communist, feed on international tension. Each

justifies itself by pointing to

the aggressive aims of the

other. Their arguments are

partly designed to externalize

contradictions at home and dis-

credit internal opposition.

The consequences are appal-

ling. Stalinism was born of the

isolation of the Soviet Union in

the 1920's. Today, American

insistence on keeping China in

a similar isolation may be pre-

paring an immeasurable cata-

strophe.

The Chinese intellectuals who

made such a vigorous and sym-

pathetic response to the Hun-

garian revolution are delivered into neo-Stalinist terror.

To arrest catastrophe, we

must set against the half-con-

scious alliance of Eastern and

Western reaction a fully con-

scious unity of Radical forces.

While the power elites of the

two blocs are preparing to de-

stroy the world under the cover

of empty slogans, the duty of

putting forward constructive so-

lutions falls on us — the Op-

position.

The European Left faces its

greatest tasks. The fate of

mankind may depend on how

we tackle them.

ment was missed in 1956, why not seek an atmosphere which would enable a future crisis to be fruitfully resolved?

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Kicking the Jobless

BUFFALO, November 30 — Unemployment in the Western New York industrial complex continues to hit the 62,000 mark, and the lives of the 30,000 workers on welfare grow grimmer. Big Business is setting up tactics and strategy to protect its interests. One of its aims is to divert from itself the wrath of the middle-class taxpayer whose rates are going up as a result of the increased welfare budget.

"Let all the blame fall on the workers," they instruct their hirer newspapers. "Tell the public that people on welfare are lazy, immoral chiselers living off the backs of our industrious citizens. Let's get tougher with these people." And the hounds of journalism start baying. On the front page of the BUFFALO EVENING NEWS of November 28 there are four articles attacking workers on welfare.

Pressure is building up for a one-year residency requirement for workers on welfare. But who are the guilty ones? The out-of-state workers who wanted to earn a better living for their families and now find themselves out of a job and on relief? Or the corporations who recruited workers to come to the Buffalo area? One company in Niagara Falls had offered a \$50 government bond to any of the workers who would bring a man to work in the plant who remained six months. Now this plant has moved its Niagara Falls operations to Steubenville, Ohio with never a thought of provision for the hundreds of jobless they left behind.

Whose crime? The migratory farm workers hauled to New York State by the truckload to work under barbaric conditions, ruthlessly exploited and cheated and left broke at the end of the harvest season? Or the rich farmer who exploits them?

A growing "get-tough" trend in welfare departments fits neatly into Big Business strategy for this period. As more and more people are forced to turn to welfare aid, the strain in the budgets grows greater, pressure grows on supervisors and case workers, and the sympathetic "social worker" approach

gives way increasingly to a hard-boiled attitude.

Said the father of five children, "I've worked all my life as hard as a man could, and I'd be working today if someone would give me a job. Now the welfare sends us the check, and after I pay my rent we got \$6 for each one of us to pay light, heat, food, clothes, carfare, toothpaste and everything else, and I'm telling you it just doesn't reach. And they tell me I'm living off the taxpayers and make me feel like a dog."

Facilities for medical treatment are inadequate. One hears complaints like this: "They told me at the clinic I'd have to wait 6 months to get my dental plates," or "I need my glasses changed because I get headaches all the time, but they said at the hospital they're terribly busy, and there are so many people ahead of me."

Big Business hopes that these demoralizing conditions will drive workers into sub-standard, non-union jobs, and make of them a pool of cheap labor, frightened and pliable.

Besides the welfare residency law, corporations are aiming at the passage of a "work-for-relief" law in Buffalo. Last winter men receiving welfare aid were forced to work — without wages — shoveling snow in Erie county parks. If the men stopped to warm their hands they were told "Get back to work or we'll send you home. And you know what that means." They worked with inadequate boots and gloves, many of them, ill-prepared to cope with New York State's savage winter. If there is work to be done, let the county create jobs and hire unemployed from the welfare rolls to fill them and let them pay the wages paid by the county to its other workers in comparable jobs.

This attack on the most vulnerable section of the working class, the unemployed, will have its evil effect on those of us who are still employed. There is nothing the employers like better than groups of desperate men outside plant gates as a warning to the men still inside. Employed and unemployed together must resist the attempt of the authorities to violate the rights of workers on welfare.

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