

Chinese Aid Kremlin In East Europe

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Mid-East Policy Sharpens Witch Hunt

The National Convention Of the Communist Party

An Editorial

The convention of the Communist Party of the U.S., Feb. 9-12, is taking place against the background of a world-wide crisis in the Communist movement, a crisis that has fully engulfed the American CP.

For the top leadership of the CP, the crisis consists in the fact that its bureaucratic control of the party has been shaken and it has been unable to replace this control with genuine political authority.

For the CP members, especially the CP militant workers and youth whose entire life is at the disposal of the workers' cause, the crisis has posed the fundamental question as to how socialism will be realized.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with its admissions about Stalin's brutal rule, shattered the central core of the CP militants' convictions on this score.

ROAD TO WORLD SOCIALISM

It had been their firm belief that socialism was genuinely being built up in the Soviet orbit; that if given sufficient time and if left alone by world imperialism, the Soviet Union would demonstrate the viability of the socialist program in life. From the sacrifices of the Soviet working people would come a social order of such appeal for the exploited and oppressed of the world that they would ultimately be impelled on the road to socialism, too.

The Stalin cult was indissolubly tied to this perspective, since it was believed that thanks to Stalin's leadership the road to socialism was being secured.

The CP militants believed that the Communist Party in the U.S. would ultimately succeed in bringing the working class to socialism here in the wake of the achievements in the USSR, provided, of course,

the CP played a role in the struggles of the working people.

Acceptance of the premise that Stalin's policies were paving the road to world socialism, led the CP militants to go along with switches in party line in tune with the changes in Stalin's diplomacy. It also led to acceptance of the class-collaboration politics — support of American imperialism in World War II, support of the Democratic Party, alliance with the imperialist labor bureaucracy, etc. — foisted on them by a leadership that was totally subservient to the Kremlin.

Actually, the policies of Stalinism, as is now becoming clear, represented nothing but the narrow national interests of a conservative bureaucracy; they represented a break with the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin. The progress of the world anti-capitalist revolution and the industrialization of the Soviet Union took place not because of the Stalinist theory and practice of "socialism in one country" but despite it. For a long historic period, however, this was not clear to the mass of Communist workers.

20th CONGRESS ADMISSIONS

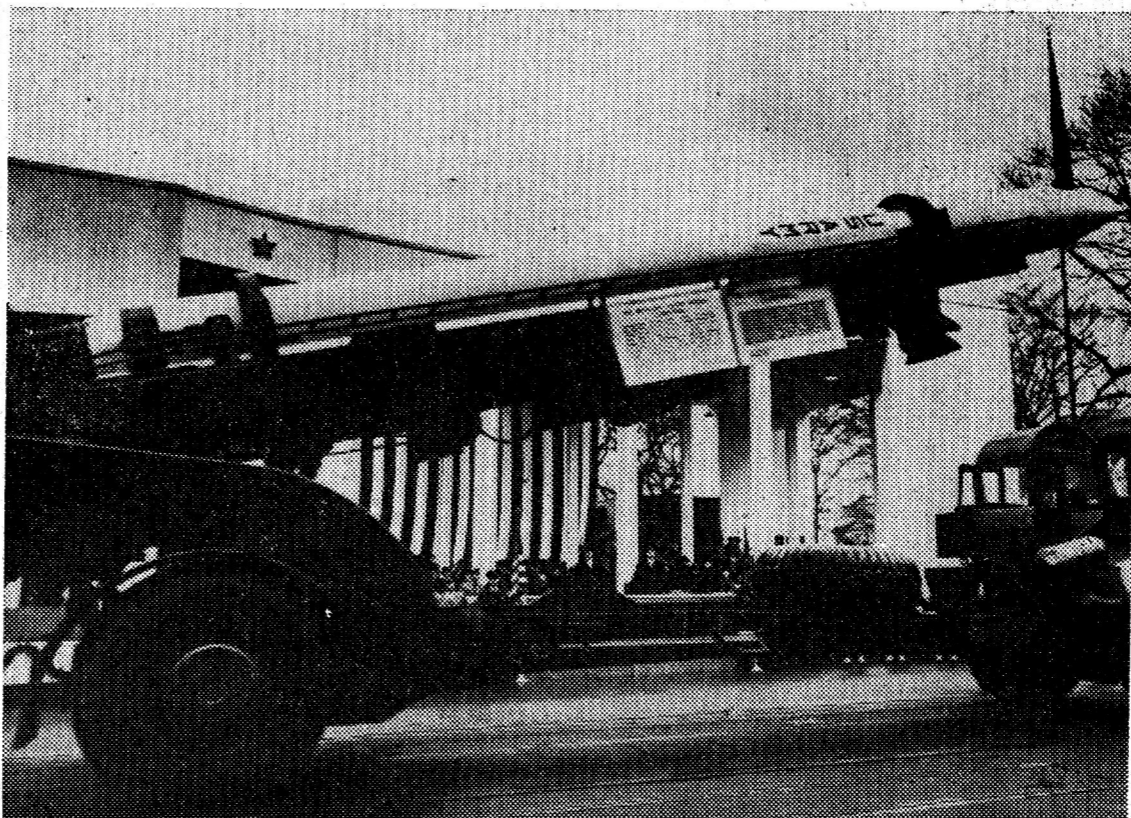
Now, the admissions at the 20th Congress, especially Khrushchev's revelations, have dealt the very premise upon which CP militants operated a shattering blow.

These admissions and revelations showed only a part of the picture of Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union, but this was enough to arouse revulsion in the socialist consciousness of innumerable CP members.

Frameup trials, national oppression, anti-Semitism, mass killings amounting to genocide, absolute one-man rule, and unheard of military and economic mis-

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Peace Was the Keynote



Symbolic commentary on the "peace" talk contained in Eisenhower's inaugural address is the above scene from the parade that followed. Passing in review is "The Corporal," one of the military's latest long-range missiles. Such weapons, fitted with atomic warheads and capable of flying between continents, are promised as a push-button feature of another world war. In dots in the center of the photo are President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon.

Use New 'Red' Scare To Help Push Through Eisenhower Doctrine

By William Bundy

JAN. 31 — The United States House of Representatives approved today the "Eisenhower Doctrine" under which the President will be granted authority to start a war in the Middle East without consulting Congress or notifying the American people. Senate approval is expected sometime in February.

This congressional action is part of preparation for a new Korea-type "police action" — to be directed against the rising movement of the Arab peoples for national independence.

ARABS REDBAITED

The propaganda campaign in preparation for the proposed new atrocity is two-fold. On the one hand, Egypt and Syria — the centers of the Arab national independence movement in the Middle East proper — are being charged with becoming Soviet dominated. On the other hand, a heightened "communist-menace" campaign is being waged in the U.S. itself.

The real "crime" of the Egyptians and Syrians, in the eyes of U.S. imperialism, is that they have refused to line up with the puppet governments of Iraq, Iran and Turkey (already bound in military alliance with Britain in the U.S.-sponsored Baghdad pact) and that they do not support attempts of the U.S. government to "fill the vacuum" created by the British-French defeat at Suez. The Arab masses in the Middle East want to "fill the vacuum" themselves, not replace one colonial master for another.

Under pressure from these masses, the Syrian government and Radio Cairo (the Egyptian Government itself has remained



DULLES

officially non-committal) have denounced the Eisenhower Doctrine for what it is — an attempt by U.S. Big-Business to take over the dirty, but lucrative, business of colonial exploitation from its British and French counterparts.

T-H INDICTMENTS

So they can proceed with their bloody task without interference

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Helen Sobell in Interview Hits Persecution of Husband

By Myra Tanner Weiss

For more than six years every ounce of energy that Helen Sobell possesses has been concentrated on the task of liberating her husband from prison. I realized that there could be nothing else in her life as she talked to me intently about the long struggle to vindicate Morton Sobell, held in Alcatraz in the San Francisco Bay.

She is calm. She is confident. And she knows that if she can just get people to hear the facts in the case of Morton Sobell, they will help to free him. "Fear still dominates the mind of many," she said. "That is our greatest obstacle. Once they lift their heads and look at the facts, people feel the same indignation that I feel."

WAR HYSTERIA YEARS

Morton Sobell was convicted in 1951 of "conspiring to commit espionage" for the aid of a foreign government, the Soviet Union. He was accused of being a part of the alleged spy ring, said to have been led by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

"Those were years of nightmare," Mrs. Sobell said. "You will remember the Korean War was on. Everyone was afraid it might be the beginning of World War III. Atom bombs filled such a thought with terror. You can

just imagine the effect this had on the trial. The trial judge, Irving R. Kaufman, even accused the Rosenbergs of causing the Korean War in his sentencing speech."

The nightmare began much earlier, in the summer of 1950. On Aug. 16, Morton Sobell and his family, who were on vacation in Mexico City, had just finished their coffee after dinner. The day had been spent in a neighborhood park with the children. There was not much vacation time left. Smallpox vaccinations had been taken for the journey back home.

"Suddenly the door opened," Mrs. Sobell related. "Three men burst into the room with pistols drawn. They were dressed in plain clothes but they claimed to be Mexican police. One of the men accused my husband of having robbed a bank in Acapulco. Outraged at this fantastic charge Morton demanded his rights as an American citizen. He asked to be permitted to telephone the U.S. ambassador.

"We had no way of knowing then," Mrs. Sobell added, "that this attack and the kidnaping that followed had all been plotted by the FBI with the help of officials of the U.S. Embassy without the knowledge of the Mexican government. We didn't even know this at the trial. Years of work were necessary to uncover the details, including the

protests of the Government of Mexico to U.S. authorities for these illegal moves."

FACTS OF KIDNAPING

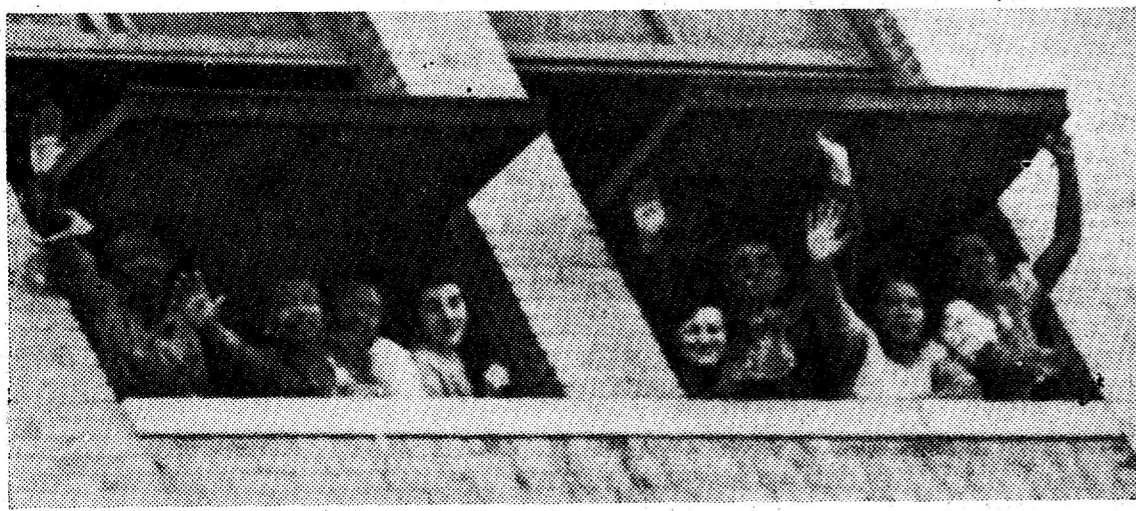
Returning to the terrible scene in Mexico City in 1950, Helen Sobell described the way her husband was dragged down stairs to a waiting taxicab. In reply to his protests, one of the thugs hit him over the head with the butt of his gun. Then he was clubbed with a blackjack into unconsciousness. "When I tried to help my husband," she told me, "one of the men forced me down on the wet sidewalk."

The little family was finally assembled in the corridors of an office building. "It was about four in the morning when we began the 800 mile trip to the U.S. border at Laredo, Texas. We didn't know then where we were headed. We were just piled into two black cars and whisked away at 80 miles an hour. The driver of the car that my husband was in was told, 'If he makes a move, shoot him! I had to improvise ways to feed and care for the baby," she said.

The lawyers who were obtained to defend Sobell—Harold M. Phillips and Edward Kuntz—had a great deal of difficulty in preparing for the trial. Like their client, they were completely ignorant of what the prosecution

(Continued on page 4)

New York Sitdown Strike



Workers wave to supporters as they held 11th-floor Spiral Binding Company in Manhattan during a sitdown strike last month. After three days they forced their sweatshop employer to grant an eight-cent increase over their previous average wage of \$1105-1.35 an hour.

Gov't 'Racketeer' Probe Aimed at Union Rights

By Vincent Copeland

On Jan. 29 Senator Joseph McCarthy and a "bi-partisan" trio of other Senators introduced a resolution authorizing a "select committee" to investigate racketeering in the labor unions. The resolution is expected to pass the Senate without debate.

The new committee will work closely with the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (the notorious McCarthy Committee). McCarthy's legal investigating staff will be the staff for the new committee.

It is well known how the old McCarthy Committee badgered labor witnesses and hounded workers out of their jobs by publicizing their alleged radical past. Only three or four years ago this committee, after investigating "communists in government" stepped up its witch hunt to persecuting "communists in labor." Due to McCarthy's own fading fortunes and a change in the general political

climate, this campaign has been soft-pedaled in recent months. Now a certain aspect of it is being revived under a new label.

The present investigation into labor racketeering bears at first sight a more attractive and even beneficial character for the union movement. But it is in reality not aimed at imprisoning labor racketeers so much as it is aimed at imprisoning the labor movement itself in an intricate web of government control of labor.

Only genuine inner-union democracy on the basis of a militant anti-corporation struggle, is capable of beating the racketeers while keeping the independence of the union. From this point of view the government intervention in the present instance is just as dangerous in the long run as it was in the witch hunt of three years ago. The connection with McCarthy in both cases is not accidental.

(Most top union officials actually aided McCarthy's anti-

labor investigations three years ago, and thus aided government penetration into the life of the unions. Now these same officials, in the "impartial" spirit of "innocent bystanders" invite a new and further government penetration into their unions while hypocritically posturing against corruption.

Only a few days before the Senate started action on the new investigating committee, the UAW International Executive Board, and later the AFL-CIO Executive Council called upon Congress to "authorize an appropriate congressional committee to conduct an investigation . . . and expose . . . corruption in labor, in industry" (McCarthy and his friends in obliging, did not mention the matter of "industry.")

Not one word was said either in the UAW resolution or in the later AFL-CIO statement — calling upon the union membership itself (whom the Executive Council presumably wishes to

protect from the racketeers) to take any independent rank-and-file action against their internal union enemies.

Instead of resisting McCarthy's meddling in union affairs, the Executive Council resolved Jan. 28 in a 38 to one vote that any union official who invokes the Fifth Amendment in any Congressional investigation into racketeering must automatically lose his job.

So much terror and presumption of guilt was generated during the witch hunt around any use of the Fifth Amendment that the same attitude now exists in the present case. McCarthy played no small role in the attempt to destroy this constitutional protection. Now the Council would go as far as McCarthy himself dared to go in attacking civil liberties. (The Fifth Amendment protects not only political victims of the witch hunt, but anyone who may not want to incriminate himself in respect to some former episode of his life

before he became a union representative.)

The single vote against the resolution came from Dave Beck, head of the 1,400,000 member truck-drivers (Int. Teamsters) union. He said the union had "notified its officers and mem-

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S.

Farrell Dobbs Speech on the Negro Struggle in the South Today.

White Students Aiding Tallahassee Boycotters

By Henry Gitano

Defying the racist school board and braving expulsion, white students are maintaining their solidarity with Tallahassee Negroes' fight for equal rights.

John Boardman, a graduate student at the all-white Florida State University, who addressed a Negro mass meeting to express support for integration of Tallahassee buses, was barred from continuing his studies. His other "crimes" are taking three Negroes to a white Christmas party and publicly supporting Rev. K. S. Dupont, a Negro bus-boycott leader who is candidate for City Commissioner. Boardman is fighting the ban on the grounds that he is being deprived of the rights of free speech and assembly.

The Tallahassee White Citizens Council, noting that both white and Negro students at separate state colleges are supporting Dupont, demanded that they be expelled for "wilfully violating the direction of the Board of Control." "All of the students at both the universities must be suspended or expelled from school," says the WCC, "and they must not be allowed to reenter any state supported institution of higher learning ever."

The order referred to is one issued by Florida's statewide Board of Controls which dictates school policy. Last week the Board prohibited both Negro and white students from joining the boycott movement.

A few hours after the Board's ruling, white students from FSU worked at the headquarters of the Inter-Civic Council, organized to lead the boycott, and completed plans for an integrated bus protest rally. A white woman student, working at the ICC declared: "I'm a citizen of tomorrow, and if I permit the Board of Controls to suppress me today, I cannot be anything but an oppressed citizen tomorrow." Though aware that they are facing expulsion, more than 50 white students pledged to participate at the ICC mass meeting.

The myth that the White Citi-



REV. C. K. STEELE, Tallahassee bus boycott leader.

zens Councils represent the aspirations of Southern whites is being exploded by Tallahassee's demonstration of Negro-white solidarity.

This myth was also blown sky high on Dec. 4, when the people of Clinton, Tennessee, by a four to one margin, defeated the candidates for mayor and aldermen endorsed by local segregationists. On that same day the Clinton Student Council adopted a resolution for immediate reopening of the school "in order to provide an education for all citizens." The faculty unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of peaceful school integration.

The WCC's were organized by bankers, plantation owners, their managers and key business men in Indianola, Miss. in July 1954, to maintain the old rotten Southern pattern of segregation, open-shop, low wage and semi-feudal plantations. The people of Tallahassee and Clinton are challenging the attempted domination by the WCC's over both Negroes and whites.

Workers' Upsurge Put Gomulka In

By John Thayer

News accounts of the events in Poland have centered principally on the doings at the top—the emergence of Gomulka, his defiance of the Kremlin and now his victory at the polls. Neglected has been the surging movement of the workers which is the motor force of Poland's developing political revolution.

The following facts and quotations will afford a glimpse of this revolutionary mass movement.

Here is an excerpt from the minutes of the Central Committee sessions in the crucial revolutionary days, Oct. 19-21. Roman Gramas, a supporter of Gomulka, is picking up the Stalinist members of the committee on some slighting remarks they had made about Warsaw.

WARSAW'S ROLE

"Witness the terrible hatred with which certain comrades attack the city of Warsaw. What is it about Warsaw that frightens them so? What horrible dangers do they see? It is Warsaw that heads the whole country in the spontaneous and revolutionary initiative of workers who are demanding control of industry. It is Warsaw which has those youth who enthusiastically are seeking new roads for themselves and for Poland. It is at Warsaw that our intellectuals courageously disperse the dark shadows of the past epoch—blazing a new road toward democracy in the press. It is at Warsaw that the rank-and-file organizations of the party, with the factory of Zeran at the head, have for months preached the political principles which we have but now brought to realization—now at the eighth session."

Claude Bourdet, editor of the independent French socialist weekly, France-Observateur, went as correspondent to Warsaw early in November. In his first article, dated Nov. 6, he called the resurgence of the Polish working class an "astonishing phenomenon" and added the following:

A REAWAKENING

"Let us simply say that at this moment all over Poland workers' committees in great numbers are springing up. They are destined soon to intervene in the management of factories in the Yugoslav manner, but already they constitute—on the model of the workers' militias of Geran, the huge auto plant in Warsaw—organs of vigilance and defense, both against foreign aggression and domestic acts of provocation and irresponsibility. This 're-activation,' as it is called here, which has taken place in a few days in the depths of a working class stultified and disgusted by years of Stalinism, is striking and can already be put to the credit of the Gomulka regime."

"This is truly a revolution, and it already appears so powerful that the attempts of the Nationalists [the Stalinists of the Polish CP] and of Francizek Mazur's 'watchdogs,' if they occur, will be hard put to sabotage it. . . Besides, it is not only the 'Polish Workers Party' [the CP] which is cleansing itself, the whole working class is rising up."

For the Nov. 15 issue of France-Observateur, Bourdet sent from Poland an article giving some of the background of the October revolution there. He wrote:

"Silently until 1953-54, then

progressively in a more and more open manner, discontent began to express itself. The revolt of writers, in close connection with the working class, got underway. Little by little, in the workshops and offices, as in the editorial rooms, the opposition organized itself. Gomulka's return was not a revolution from the top; it was prepared by an irresistible agitation in the ranks, of which the best-known—and undoubtedly one of the most striking—examples is the fight of the workers of the Zeran factories.

"A revolution always causes men to rise to its tasks. I have already said a few words about Gozdziak, secretary of the CP in the Zeran factories, who today is one of the most popular men in Poland. This big proletarian with prominent cheekbones, who is no more than 25 years of age, built over a long period of months—at first more or less secretly, then more and more openly to the degree that the Gomulka revolution shaped up—squadrons of communist workers, for the most part young like himself, whose task it was to rouse the consciousness and combativity of workers throughout the country. Here is an example.

THE GOZDZIKI

"Some time before the historic days which saw Gomulka rise to power, Gozdziak and his squad members, whom people familiarly call 'the Gozdziaki,' had gone to Wroclaw [Breslau] to 'agitate' the workers of the city and show them the need for profound changes in the local Communist Party. The workers' pressure subsequently forced the regional secretary of the party to resign. But the Federal Committee, controlled by hardened bureaucrats, re-elected him. Thus strengthened, he wrote to the [Party's] First Secretary, at that time Ochab, denouncing Gozdziak for 'counter-revolutionary activity.'

"But it was too late to change the direction of events. With the accession of Gomulka to power a strong gust of fresh air swept across the country. Gozdziak and his squad returned to Wroclaw. Once more they gathered the workers of the city, asked the party secretary to come to the meeting and explain, forced him to admit his own lies and his denunciation. This time, finally defeated, he realized that he could no longer head the party and really resigned.

"Not only the workers' squads from Zeran but those from many other factories were engaged in this work. It blew up the old cadres which were imbued with Stalinist authoritarianism or lulled into bureaucratic quiescence. The movement also went after the mammoth trade union bureaucracy, perhaps the most fossilized of all, which following the example of its chief, Klossiewicz, Vice-President of the Council of State (that is, the collective presidency of the Republic), who in accordance with the pure Stalinist tradition had transformed his job of defending the workers into that of administrator of government policy.

Lenin and the CP Draft Resolution

By Harry Ring

In its bid for control of the Communist Party convention to be held Feb. 9-12, the Gates tendency has capitalized on widespread sentiment among the membership for greater independence from the Kremlin and for an end to bureaucratic rule within the Party. Foster has countered by attacking the Gates proposal to transform the organization into a "political association," a proposal opposed by a substantial section of the membership as a Browderite form of liquidation.

In a renewed attack on this proposal, Foster warns against the "class peace, class collaborationist ideas" which motivate it and declares: "The CPUSA, in harmony with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, must have a class struggle perspective." (CP National Discussion Bulletin No. 4, Jan. 1.)

But the fact remains that Foster stands united with Gates on the basic program and perspective from which flow the Gates proposal on name and form of the party. After changing his vote on the CP National Committee's draft resolution from a "qualified yes" to "no," Foster explained that he endorsed the political line presented in the

first three sections of the resolution but voted against it on the basis of the fourth section dealing with the question of the Party. In the ensuing fight Foster has not challenged Gates on any of the programmatic points of the resolution.

A genuine class-struggle program, such as Foster says he favors, declares that the workers cannot resolve their problems under capitalism. It urges the working class to build its own political party in opposition to the capitalist parties and to struggle for workers and farmers governments. It bars support to capitalist parties or their candidates. As corollary, it proclaims the need to combat the pro-capitalist ideology of the top AFL-CIO officialdom and to work for the creation of a left wing in the unions to replace these misleaders of labor.

The draft resolution pursues the opposite course. In the first three sections (endorsed by Foster) the resolution actively supports the union officialdom in its efforts to keep the workers hogtied to the Democratic party. To accomplish this aim, the resolution is compelled to paint up and falsify the role of the Reutherite wing of the labor bureaucracy. Thus we learn that "in the labor movement there has been a growing differentiation on foreign policy on peace within the past few years. . . . In contrast to Meany's anti-coexistence position, Reuther's ten point program for [foreign] aid envisages joint action through the UN by the USA and the USSR."

... Red-Hunt Stepped Up

(Continued from page 1)

from the American working people, America's capitalist rulers are intensifying the witch hunt at home. The latest attack on civil liberties is the indictment last week in Cleveland of eight more persons (two of them prominent in the labor movement) under the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley act. (See story on page 2.)

Fourteen officials of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union are already facing a similar indictment issued last Nov. 16.

The danger of a new witch-hunt hysteria is apparent from the sensational publicity aimed at promoting a spy-scare in connection with the arrest last week of three alleged Soviet spies in New York. A specially screened federal grand jury has been impaneled for the case, and is scheduled to stay in session for an indefinite period.

The U.S. Attorney handling the case has already appeared on television in the New York area and has indicated he was considering seeking the death penalty. It was the spy-scare hysteria around the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg which marked the most feverish point of the McCarthy witch-hunt. It served as a vehicle for making deep inroads into traditional civil liberties in order to silence opposition to the Korean war.

At that time, a record number of people were jailed, deported or blacklisted and deprived of livelihood solely because of their alleged political beliefs or affiliations.

It is the duty of the labor movement to defend all victims of thought-control measures and to defend the Arab national independence movement. The American working people have nothing to gain from the counter-revolutionary war plans that U.S. Big Business is drawing up for the Middle East. On the contrary, they have everything to lose.

to capitalism (the essence of a class-struggle policy) the outbreak of imperialist war is inevitable.

Similarly, on the question of the state, what has been discarded is the class-struggle perspective. The essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory is that the state is the executive committee of the ruling class. The purpose of the state in capitalist countries today is to uphold the exploitive rule of monopoly-finance capital. Big Business will use its control of the state to prevent any "people's coalition" from seriously curbing its power. The rule of monopoly capital can be ended only by replacing its state by a workers' state.

The issue between the draft-resolution authors and Lenin is not at all the question of violence. Lenin did not advocate violent revolution. He favored, as do all revolutionary socialists, a peaceful transformation. Violence, when it occurs at any stage of the class struggle is initiated as a rule by the capitalist class which forcibly resists the further advance of the working class to power. What is crucial to Lenin's approach is that he excluded as utopian the use of the capitalist state for a solution of any basic problem confronting the working people. He excluded as doubly utopian its use for a gradual transition to socialism such as envisaged by the draft resolution.

In his polemics against the social democratic advocates of "gradual evolution," Lenin demonstrated that their theory leads

inevitably to support of the status quo. This applies with equal force to the authors of the draft resolution and to those who shape their politics—the bureaucrats in command in the USSR.

The bureaucratic caste in the Soviet orbit is motivated by a single purpose—to preserve its vast material privileges. To secure these privileges, it smashed, under Stalin's leadership, the democracy of the Soviets and imposed its own dictatorial rule. Today it sends tanks against the revolutionary Hungarian workers who demand socialist democracy and an end to Kremlin plunder of their national resources and their labor.

Faced with rising mass opposition in East Europe and in the Soviet Union itself, the Kremlin bureaucrats want the security of the status quo. Just as the union bureaucrat seeks "harmonious relations" with the employing class to better control the ranks, so the bureaucratic caste seeks to "negotiate differences" with world capitalism. Unleashing the class struggle means putting the masses into independent action. And history has shown that where the masses are in motion against their class enemy, they inevitably begin to think and act in terms of getting off their backs.

For the bureaucrat, class peace is always better. The line of the draft resolution coincides with this need of the Kremlin bureaucracy and not with the needs of the American or international working class.

Meaning of the Chinese CP's Manifesto Supporting Kremlin

By George Lavan

What with Hungary, Poland, the developing unrest in the Soviet Union and the crisis in the Communist Parties abroad, the heads of the Soviet government have ample reason to be grateful to the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The support of the Chinese CP was given to Moscow at the end of December in the form of a lengthy document and the visit of Premier Chou En-lai.

With this political and moral backing, the Kremlin has launched a counter-offensive against the growing opposition of workers to its high-handed rule. The political and moral prestige of the Chinese Communist Party should not be underestimated. It is great in the USSR and all the East European countries, for the Chinese leaders are not associated with the crimes of Stalin's rule. They have the prestige of having headed a revolution on their own—indeed, one conducted against the directives of Stalin. The Chinese Revolution and the impulse it has given to the colonial revolutions in Asia and Africa is generally credited with breaking the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union and East Europe.

SIDE WITH KREMLIN

While the full text of the Chinese document is not yet available, the Soviet news agency, Tass, has released a lengthy paraphrase-summary.

On each point the Chinese decide in favor of the Kremlin. But there is no blanket endorsement of all past policy. In the form of weighing the pros and cons, the Chinese criticize past Soviet "mistakes." This riddles the document with possible escape clauses for a future change of line.

Of the Yugoslavs, who have particular reason for their hostility towards Stalin, the Chinese say they are critical but understanding. But they are "astounded" to hear Tito attack all Soviet bloc countries and many CP's. Attacks on Stalin and Stalinism can only split the movement. Tito is commended for support of Kadar in Hungary but his Vice-Chairman Kardelj is sharply criticized for saying control should have been turned over to the Hungarian Workers Councils.

According to the Chinese, the Hungarian uprising was "imperialism's most serious offensive" since Korea. Admitting the existence of internal causes, they insist that imperialism played the "basic and decisive" role. Consequently they endorse Moscow's bloody repressions as "the just actions of the Soviet Union."

The theoretical heart of the Chinese manifesto deals with the difference between conflicts between capitalism and conflicts within the Soviet sector of the world. The former are class conflicts and irreconcilable. The latter (between workers' states, parties or intra-party), to the Chinese view, stem from differences between "correct" and "erroneous" opinions or from "interests of a partial nature."

These must be subordinated to the united struggle against imperialism.

A basic cleavage in the working-class movement centers precisely on evaluations of the role of the Soviet bureaucracy, the nature of its conflicts with the proletariat and other segments of Soviet society and the solution of these conflicts.

CONFLICTS IN USSR

Apologists for the present rulers of the USSR deny, minimize or rationalize away the conflicts between the bureaucratic oligarchy and all the progressive forces in Soviet society. Even those who admit the contradictions, resolve the issue in the bureaucracy's favor by maintaining that their abolition other than by mutual consent would be a greater danger than their continuance.

The conflicts in the Soviet orbit differ from those between workers and capitalists in that in the case of the former the antagonists are not both classes. The Soviet bureaucracy is a caste formation not a class. That is to say, unlike the capitalists in the capitalist system, it has no organic, integral, necessary role in Soviet society. It is a parasitic formation on Soviet society and with the progress of that society toward socialism will disappear. But it will disappear not of its own choosing or action but because it will be thrown off by the workers.

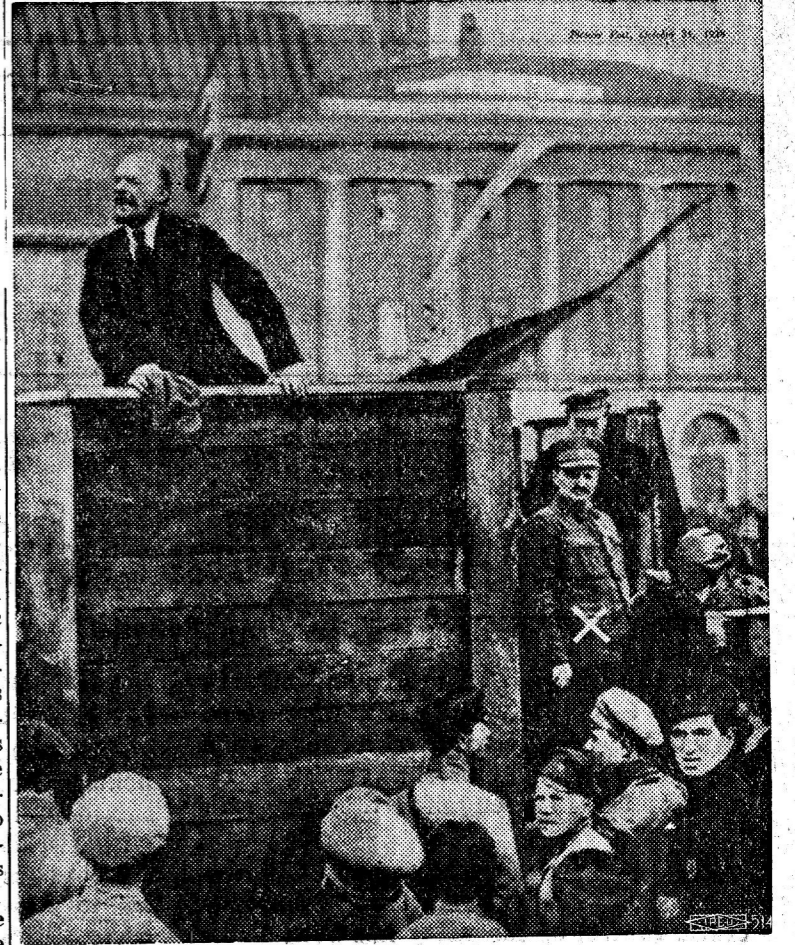
Though it is a caste, its base is still material. And its grip on tremendous luxury and privilege gouged from the workers, and on political power usurped from the workers, is no less tenacious than that of a ruling class. The violence that it is willing to use against the people to preserve its economically, socially and politically superior position in Soviet society was brutally demonstrated by Stalin's mass purges and police terror equalled in modern history only by the representative of fascist capitalism, Hitler. Its recent repressions in Hungary show that its readiness to defend its position by violence did not die with Stalin.

To say that the conflicts within the Soviet orbit are based on differences between "correct" and "erroneous" opinions, as the Chinese document asserts, is to belie the fact that they are based on material conflicts between bureaucracy and workers, between bureaucracy and oppressed nationalities, as real as class conflicts in capitalist society.

PERVADING CONFLICT

To add that at the most they are based on "interests of a partial nature" is to deny their scope or intensity. Instead of partial, the conflict between the bureaucracy and the rest of Soviet society pervades every aspect of Soviet life. It is not only economic—affecting the worker in the factory, in the food stores, in slum housing; not only political in extinction of soviets, rigged elections, a lying press and radio; it must also police art, literature and science. It is significant that some of the earliest signs

The Whole Picture



This photo of Lenin, cropped to exclude Trotsky waiting to speak next, is frequently used in USSR. These Bolshevik leaders inspired millions of workers throughout world and won them to their movement. Only a return to their principles can bring workers' movement out of crisis Stalinism led it into.

of the coming political revolution appear precisely in these cultural fields.

Revolutionary socialists must reject the Chinese apology for Stalinism and for the Kremlin bureaucracy which maintains that the distortions of Soviet society are minor and subject to correction from the top. As Trotsky declared in 1936, we are dealing with a Revolution Betrayed. Counterposed to the Chinese promise of a controlled and gradual self-reform of the bureaucracy is Trotsky's prognosis, which events are confirming: "All indications agree that the further course of development must inevitably lead to a clash between the culturally developed forces of the people and the bureaucratic oligarchy. There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws. The Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its positions without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution."

Precisely such a revolution broke out in Hungary. Despite the Kremlin and Chinese assertion that imperialism directed the Hungarian people, all objective reporters agree it was a mass uprising led by the workers with the demands of national independence and socialist democracy.

Those who fear that the workers' ouster of the Kremlin bureaucracy will weaken the Soviet defense against imperialism, must ask themselves the following questions: Will the ending of a system that alienates the overwhelming mass of Soviet and East European citizens from their gov-

ernment weaken or strengthen the Soviet sector? Will the ending of a system that oppresses whole nationalities weaken or strengthen the Soviet Union and its alliance with the East European nations? Will the freeing of Soviet economy from the plunder, graft, bureaucratic incompetence by the establishment of workers' control weaken or strengthen Soviet economy?

Will the democratization of the army and the end of its use as a repressive force in the concentration camps, in Poland and Hungary, etc., improve or weaken the Red Army's morale? Will such a political revolution in the Soviet Union rescue the name of Communism from the disrepute into which it has fallen among millions of workers in the advanced capitalist countries, thus hindering the imperialists' plans for attack and hastening the day of socialism in those countries?

(A subsequent article will deal with the Chinese views on Stalinism.)

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New T-H Frameup in Cleveland

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Jan. 28 — Civil liberties received another blow last Wednesday with the indictment here of eight persons for an alleged "conspiracy" to get around the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act by concealing Communist affiliations. This charge was first used against United Mine, Mill and Smelter workers' union officials last November.

Indicted were Marie Reed Haug, economic consultant for Lodge 2155, International Association of Machinists, and a prominent labor leader here for more than ten years; her husband, Fred, also a former union officer and organizer, and six other persons alleged to have aided and abetted them in falsifying.

Named as co-conspirators but not defendants in this case were John B. Williamson, Gus Hall, Sidney Stein, Steve Nelson, Martin Chancev, Frank Hashmall, Joseph Brandt and Anthony Krchmarek, all of whom have been tried for "conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government," under the Smith Act.

Mr. and Mrs. Haug, never charged in Smith Act conspiracy

indictments, were first accused by a federal grand jury, Jan. 9, of swearing falsely under the Taft-Hartley law that they were not Communists or affiliated with that party.

Mrs. Haug allegedly filed two false non-Communist affidavits at the Cleveland office of the National Labor Relations Board in 1952 and in 1953 when she was business agent for Local 735 of the United Electrical Workers. Mr. Haug was cited for filing one affidavit as an official of Local 715, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in 1952. On Jan. 18, the Haugs pleaded not guilty to the charges and were released on \$7,500 bond each.

THE NEW CHARGE

Five days later the federal grand jury again indicted them, this time on the conspiracy-to-circumvent the Taft-Hartley-Act charge.

This "conspiracy" charge, prepared by high officials of the U.S. Department of Justice, adds a fantastic new tactic to the arsenal of the witch hunters.

The bill against the eight defendants charges that: "It was a part of said conspiracy that false affidavits of non-Communist union officer would be

made, used and filed and caused to be made, used and filed" with the NLRB; to "make and cause to be made false resignations" from the Communist Party USA; and notwithstanding such "resignations" to remain as members of the Communist Party USA; to "adopt aliases, use secret codes and engage in other deceptions to conceal their Communist party membership" and to "conceal the existence and operations of said conspiracy."

The so-called "overt acts" charged by the government against Mr. and Mrs. Haug are the filing of false non-Communist affidavits in 1950, 1951 and 1952. James West, another defendant, is accused of appointing Edward Chaka, also a defendant, as a "secret courier" to maintain contact with them. Hyman Lumer, Sam Reed and Andrew Remes are also accused of issuing directives for the Haugs. Eric Reinthaler is charged with transporting "a person known by him to be a member of the Communist Party USA" to a meeting with Hyman Lumer.

Officers of IAM Lodge 2155 which employs Mrs. Haug, have sent a letter to the union's 1,500 members calling for full support of her defense against "per-

secution for union activity."

IAM Vice President Ernest R. White, questioned by reporters for the daily papers about the charges against Mrs. Haug, who has been the chief target of the red-baiters both inside and outside the labor movement in this area for years, replies: "Our union operates on the theory that a person is innocent until proven guilty. Just because she has been indicted isn't proof, either."

This is the bare minimal basis on which the labor movement should base its defense of the Haugs. The real conspiracy is on the part of the Justice Department which is trying to deepen and extend its repressive power with a new use of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act. The labor movement should demand and immediate halt to such violations of civil liberties.

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 Monday, February 4, 1957

A Critical Letter and a Reply

A Reply to Shachtman By Myra Tanner Weiss

Editor, Labor Action:

In a letter published in Labor Action, Jan. 28, Max Shachtman [National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League] quoted the Jan. 21 issue of the Militant, in which I wrote about the merger of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. The left wing of the SP denounced the proposed terms of the merger, I reported, as a "capitulation to Dulles and American imperialism." The Militant article further said that "the ISL instead of supporting the SP left-wing in this struggle, urged them to accept these terms wholeheartedly and did everything in its power to facilitate the capitulation of the left wing leadership."

After quoting the above lines in the Militant, Shachtman says, "they are a rare case of the flawless lie, unmarred at a single point by the truth. If the Militant writer alludes to no fact to support her assertion, it is because none exists, and she knows it. The entire story about what the ISL did or did not support... is pure invention, and she knows it."

Contrary to the charge that the Militant had "no fact to support her assertion," I submit the following: In a mimeographed memo issued by the Committee for a Socialist Program dated Jan. 9, David McReynolds, Sec'y of the CFSP [Committee for a Socialist Policy, the name of the SP left-wing], explained why he changed his mind about opposition to the merger with the SDF.

In addition to other explanations for his sudden reversal, he said the following: "I have also been relieved following recent talks with Max Shachtman since it seems the ISL looks upon unity with the SDF as a first step toward a re-built socialist movement under the banner of the Socialist Party and will therefore refrain from that sectarian cross-fire I had feared. In fact, I thought it rather ironic that when I last met with Shachtman to urge the ISL to suspend judgement on the merger since I thought it might not prove as disastrous as I had earlier expected, that before I could even set forth this view of things, Comrade Shachtman was saying how important it was that the left-wing not leave the Party in a huff, but remain and help make the best of the unity."

If Shachtman wants to repudiate McReynolds' account of their discussion, then let him do so, and the Militant will take note of the correction. In the meantime, I am sure you will oblige me, in the spirit of the most elementary regard for truth, by publishing this reply to Shachtman's letter.

Sincerely Yours,
 Myra Tanner Weiss

... CP Convention

(Continued from page 1)

management — all these the heads of the CPSU admitted had taken place.

They put the blame for these crimes on aberrations of Stalin, while claiming that the basic policies of his regime were sound. They promised sweeping reforms in the direction of democracy, elimination of bureaucracy, better living conditions for the masses. And they granted limited reforms.

The assurances of Stalin's heirs that they had now corrected the "errors" of Stalinism were put to a test in the revolutionary outbreaks in Poland and Hungary. These uprisings were verification that the admission, promises and actual reforms at the 20th Congress arose from the pressure of the Soviet-orbit working masses for an end to bureaucratic dictatorship and not from any socialist consciousness on the part of Khrushchev and Co.

This pressure exploded in revolutionary mass struggles in Poland and Hungary. It will inevitably explode in revolutionary struggles in the Soviet Union itself. The aims of the masses were clearly spelled out by the Hungarian Workers Councils, the organs of working-class struggle. These aims are: workers' democracy on the basis of the socialized property.

Steuben, CP Labor Writer, Hits Kadar 'Death to Strikers' Law

On Jan. 19, John Steuben, a prominent member of the Communist Party in an interview with A. H. Raskin on the New York Times, urged American Communists to "repudiate everything that smacks of Stalinism."

Steuben is a former union organizer and has written books and articles on labor. These have been translated and widely circulated in the Soviet orbit. He joined the CP 35 years ago.

Like a host of other CP members, Steuben was upset about Soviet trends since Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. But he told Raskin, he made a private resolve "to live out my few remaining years in agony and silence." (Steuben suffers from a bad heart condition.)

"Now," he said, "the announcement of the death penalty for Hungarian strikers makes me feel I must cry out against such a crime, particularly when it is done in the name of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'"

Any government that decrees death for strikers, said Steuben, is "morally bankrupt." The excesses of Stalinism are not only being continued by Khrushchev and his gang but are taking on worse forms and dimensions.

Steuben told Raskin that he would not turn informer. "What this country needs is not more informers but room for more debate and discussion in the market of great ideas."

TWO ROADS

The crushing of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet troops brings the CP militants in this country to the crossroads. One road leads back to Stalinism, to the subordination of the Communist parties to the Kremlin rulers. That in turn means having to swallow the frame-up that the Hungarian workers were really "fascist-inspired." It means having to accept Kadar and his decree of the death penalty for strikers. It means covering up for brutal repressions added to a previously long list of Stalinist crimes.

The other road leads to a complete break with Stalinist crimes and Stalinist apologetics. For all those who are devoted to the communist cause, this opens the door to the genuine Leninist program again. It means reliance on the worldwide class struggle as the road to socialism. It does not mean placing a cross over the Soviet Union. The social foundations (nationalized property, planned economy) are progressive and must be defended as the premise for socialist construction. But no support for the rapacious bureaucracy, which Stalin led to power against the regime of workers' democracy headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

It is true that the capitalist class and the State Department "socialists" advocate a break with Stalinism, citing its crimes. They identify Stalinism with Communism, just as the Stalinists do. But they proclaim the road to "socialism" to be support for Wall Street's side in the war against the Soviet orbit. That is the worst betrayal of socialism.

We know that many CP militants are pressing for a break with Stalinism and for a return to the principles of Leninism.

Thus far, however, this pressure has found no clear expression in the party leadership. All attempts of the revolutionary elements in the ranks of the CP to express their will through the two factions, headed by Gates and Foster, have been frustrated.

GATES AND FOSTER FACTIONS

We have no doubt that many rank and file workers in the CP turned with hope to the Gates group, thinking that this group was embarking on a genuine break with Stalinism. However, the obvious tendencies of the Gates group leaders to jump from the frying pan of Stalinism into the fire of reformist Social Democracy could not but baffle and alarm class-conscious militants.

On the other hand, when turning to Foster in the hope that he will champion resistance to opportunism and liquidationism, the rank and file militant is confronted with Foster's cynical adherence to Stalinism as well as his solid agreement with the Gates faction on the whole opportunistic course symbolized by the class-collaborationist support of the Democratic Party.

Where to turn? What to do? There is only one way. It is necessary to break out of the treacherous circle of Stalinism. The leadership for this task must be found in the ranks in every locality. Communist workers must insist that the discussion continue and deepen. The source of Stalinist degeneration must be probed. The old taboos on a study of Trotsky's analysis must be destroyed. Only by a thoroughgoing Leninist discussion can the progressive solution to the party crisis be found.

Editor, The Militant:
 Comrades:

I have seen two recent issues of the Militant which devote considerable space to the recent Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation unity convention. The editors of the Militant and the leaders of the SWP have a perfect right to take any view of this unity they choose. However, I suspect there are enough grounds to be found for criticism of the unity that it should not really be necessary to invent and fabricate facts.

Specifically, as one of the "capitulating" leaders of the Party's left wing, I am very curious to know the basis for comrade Dobbs' statement appearing in the January 28th issue, that the Socialist Party advocates support for the Democratic Party.

I am enormously curious to know why he thinks we support Guy Mollet when our last regular convention passed a resolution which stated clearly: "...this convention strongly condemns Mollet and those Socialists in the French cabinet who have supported him in this undemocratic and un-socialist handling of the Algerian crisis. . . . The Socialist Party supports the democratic aspirations of the Algerian movement, and particularly of Algerian Socialists, for an independent nation. . . . And we particularly demand that the United States reverse its former opposition to submission of the issue to the United Nations. . . ."

I am curious to know what makes him think we give any kind of support to the French and British underheads who joined Israel in attacking Egypt? Certainly, if he read the Call carefully he could not long hold this impression.

It is a little unfortunate that he took the single phrase "Miss Kethly. . . will call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary" from the December issue of the Call and proceeded to the pompous assertion that "called by its right name this is an appeal for imperialist military intervention which would aim to restore capitalism in Hungary. . . ." As a point of fact Comrade Kethly has been very clear on her opposition to military aid as the kind of step which would lead to World War III and inevitably destroy Hungary itself.

The charge in an earlier issue of the Militant that Max Shachtman and the ISL had urged the left wing of the Socialist Party to "capitulate" to the right-wing leadership is completely without foundation, a slander against Shachtman and indirectly an attack to the Party's left wing by suggesting that Comrade Shachtman helps make our policy. With all due respect to Comrade Shachtman, he does not now nor

has ever dictated, decided or shaped the policy of the Party's left wing. If one of us has a conversation with Comrade Shachtman this certainly doesn't mean we are receiving advice, much less that we will act on it. It is quite true that Comrade Shachtman—along with Comrade Muste and others—have urged no further fragmentation of the American Left by splits and resignations. If this sensible advice is tantamount to urging capitulation, then I need a new dictionary.

Certainly in this period there is serious need for discussion among socialists of all shades and opinions. And certainly the SP-SDF can benefit from comradely criticism from all groups on the Left. But you must pardon me if I am considerably less than enthusiastic at criticism which is based on your subjective political dream world and which consequently bears no resemblance to objective reality and is of virtually no help to any of us who are trying to deal with the political questions facing us.

Fraternally,
 David McReynolds

Editor's Reply

An examination of the written record will demonstrate that there is no foundation to Comrade McReynolds' charge that the Militant and Farrell Dobbs have found it "necessary to invent and fabricate facts" in criticizing the SP-SDF merger.

The move to unite with the SDF was initiated by the right wing leadership of the SP. After the actual negotiations were under way McReynolds resigned from the unity negotiations committee and began to organize the left-wing opposition to the merger. In a Nov. 3 statement explaining his resignation from the committee, McReynolds declared that "merger with the SDF would not be socialist unity and would be a block to socialist unity." (Emphasis in original.)

McREYNOLDS ON MERGER

He further stated that genuine socialists "do not — ever — compromise socialist opposition to militarism and imperialism. But merger with the SDF means full support for the worst, most shameful policies of the State Department and John Foster Dulles."

Two months later, McReynolds switched his position. In a Jan. 9 letter to the left-wing opponents of the merger, McReynolds declared that while "it still seems quite possible to block unity at the convention itself . . . (we) should now support unity with the SDF and make no attempt to block it."

Since nothing happened during these two months to alter McReynolds' original description of

the merger, we characterized his sudden reversal as a political capitulation to the right wing. We see nothing in the record that calls for a retraction on this.

Regarding the charge of slander against Max Shachtman, we refer the reader to the letter on this page in which Myra Tanner Weiss refutes this allegation.

What we propose to further discuss in this issue is McReynolds' contention that Farrell Dobbs misrepresented Anna Kethly's stand on UN intervention on Hungary and the SP's stand on Mollet.

Next week we will deal with McReynolds' contention that Dobbs unjustly charged the Socialist Party with supporting the Democrats.

UN AND HUNGARY

Insofar as the fact of Mrs. Kethly's stand on UN intervention in Hungary is concerned, McReynolds' assertion that she opposes it was answered with her Jan. 28 appearance before the UN where she did appeal to that body to dispatch a "police force" to Hungary. What remains then is the political significance of Mrs. Kethly's stand. Dobbs characterized such a stand when proposed by the Socialist Call as an "appeal for imperialist intervention. We don't know what to make of McReynolds' assertion that this is "pompous," but we do believe that the character and record of the UN substantiate what Dobbs said.

All experience with the UN shows that it is an agency of imperialism — more specifically of U.S. imperialism. Thus, a UN force is now in Egypt. It is not there to help the Egyptian masses drive out imperialism. Its function is rather to enable the US government to take charge of dealings with the Arab national independence revolution and to ensure the hegemony of US oil and financial interests in the area. When the struggle opened in Korea to unify that nation, the UN intervened only to preserve the power of the tyrant Rhee and to maintain the reactionary division of the country.

A U.S. decision to send a UN "police force" to Hungary (and it would require a U.S. decision to bring it about) could only mean aid to the forces of capitalist restoration in Hungary — in short an imperialist intervention.

This is not what the Hungarian workers fought for so heroically against the Soviet tanks. They struggled for workers' democracy on the basis of existing socialized property relations. When the SP-SDF calls for a UN "police force" to intervene it is guilty of what McReynolds (and not just Dobbs) accused them of two months ago, namely compromising (really, betraying) "socialist

opposition to . . . imperialism." the SP adopted a resolution some time ago criticizing Mollet's role in the war against Algeria. We believe this reminder would be in order were it addressed to the Socialist Call editors, who December issue of Socialist Call which declared: "Socialists in this country need unity in order to continue their efforts to assist their comrades abroad . . . who SDF of the resolution. The SP in the free nations." Dobbs said, "This clearly means such 'socialists' as Premier Mollet of France," and went on to identify Mollet as an initiator of the invasion of Egypt and as the present organizer of the bloody imperialist repression in Algeria.

But, McReynolds reminds us,

No Need for Mourning

By V. Grey

Mamoru Shigemitsu, recent Foreign Minister of Japan, died last week to the accompaniment of lyrical eulogies from his capitalist contemporaries in Japan and only slightly less effusive praises from his former capitalist enemies in the United States.

Shigemitsu was also Foreign Minister of Japan during the Second World War. He signed the "unconditional surrender" to the United States in the famous Battleship Missouri ceremony. Since then his history was a varied one.

After the war he was jailed as a "war criminal" by the Allied Occupation for cruel treatment of American prisoners. He was paroled in 1950 by MacArthur, back in politics within three months, and doing business at the old stand as Foreign Minister by 1954.

HAPPY REUNION

Moreover, during his visit to the United States the very next year, he was feted and dined by America's most solid citizens, — mostly bankers. When he came to New York, he lunched with John D. Rockefeller the Third, and Thomas E. Dewey. He then had a cordial, in fact jovial, visit with his erstwhile conqueror, General Douglas MacArthur; luncheon the next day at the Bankers Club (sponsored by the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank, and the Bank of America); and dinner the next evening with Bernard Baruch, the multi-millionaire octogenarian bond salesman for the banking house of Morgan.

The process of freeing the so-called "war criminals" of Japan and making them the associates of such respectable non-criminals as American bankers has been going on for some time. As early as 1952, six of the twelve members of Premier Yoshida's cabinet were rehabilitated "pur-



YOSHIDA

The Japanese masses liked the idea of outlawing war then, and they like it now. They have no cause to weep for Shigemitsu. Both as rival and stooge of Wall Street, they know him as the consistent opponent of the working class and proponent of war.

Shigemitsu mended some of the broken threads tying Japan to the rest of the capitalist world. He succeeded in finally gaining Japan's admission to the UN (something of a feat under the circumstances). It would be wrong to deny the value of his services to Big Business, both American and Japanese.

Having put a few patches on his little capitalist world before his journey to the next, Mr. Shigemitsu probably died with the conviction that his successors would complete the patchwork. But pragmatic Japanese capitalism, in spite of its flexibility and justly famous ingenuity, and in spite of the "understanding" of its American capitalist mentors, will prove utterly incapable of making the patchwork last. Any serious interruption or weakening of Japanese foreign trade for example, will have an immediate, thunderous impact upon the already super-exploited working class. Japanese society will then tear itself seams so wide that even the cleverest patch-workers will be completely helpless. And Japanese capitalism will be consigned to the same place as Shigemitsu.

PHILADELPHIA

Hear DANIEL ROBERTS Editor, The Militant The Socialist Doctrine On the Mid-East Fri., Feb. 8 - 8:30 PM Militant Labor Forum 1303 W. Girard Avenue Questions Discussion

Socialist Party of Japan Holds Tokyo Conference

By Ota Ryu

TOKYO, Jan. 20 — The Japanese Socialist Party held a conference in Tokyo, Jan. 17-19. According to figures issued at the conference, the Japanese SP has 42,000 members, although it polled eleven million votes in July 1956.

At the conference the so-called Left-wing won 22 Executive Committee seats while the Right-Wing obtained 18. The General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, Sohyo, (with three million members) supported the Left-wing and pushed the whole party to the left.

CLASS STRUGGLE ISSUE

On the other hand the Japanese Trade Union Congress, Zenro (800,000 members), supported the rightist faction. Between the Left-wing and Right-wing, the most hard-fought struggle was over the question whether the party should take a Japanese-patriotic position or a class-struggle position. The Right-wing leaders hoped to get the whole party free from the influence of Sohyo, whose leadership is completely in the hands of Left-wing socialist unionists.

The Executive Committee of Sohyo proposed that the Socialist Party amend its campaign policy draft in favor of a "class-struggle policy." The alleged "class struggle policy" of the Left-wing includes a Stalinist-type slander against the Hungarian workers. Actually the ideology of the Left-wing Socialists is a mixture of Stalinist and Social-Democratic political beliefs plus a number of correct working-class demands. Thus, they demand abrogation of the military treaty between Japan and the U.S., non-recognition of Chiang Kai-shek's government on Taiwan, recognition of China, etc. On the other hand, they assert that "counter-revolutionaries" got the upper hand in the Hungarian events.

The rank and file workers who follow the Left-wing Socialist leaders, especially among the trade unionists, want to struggle for socialist change in Japan.

They showed this clearly both at the Sohyo convention last August and at the recent SP conference. Their ideology is confused because of the policy of their leaders.

Despite this fact, the Japanese working class is developing an ever greater sympathy for the Chinese working class. During 1956, of 590 members of foreign trade union delegations to visit China, 247 represented Japanese unions. This is a measure of growing recognition among Japanese workers that they ought to aid the building-up of China on the basis of socialized property relations. It also testifies to growing consciousness among them that the rule of Japanese capitalists and landlords should be ended and a planned economy established.

The January SP conference showed that the revolutionary pressure of rank and file workers is growing. The force will surely assert itself in the near future as a full-fledged revolutionary socialist movement.

N. Y. Militant Labor Forum

CAN THE POLITICS OF CO-EXISTENCE STOP WAR?

Speaker: Frances James

Friday, Feb. 8 — 8 P.M.

Contribution 25c.

Questions and Discussion

116 University Place (near Union Square)

SP-SDF Rally on Hungary Offers Advice to State Dep't

By Fred Halstead

The first official public action of the newly merged Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation was the sponsorship of a meeting in New York, Jan. 25, on Hungary, with Anna Kethly, emigre Minister of State in the Nagy government and leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, as guest speaker.

The tone of the meeting was set by the American Social Democrats who preceded Miss Kethly in addressing the audience of 200 through a microphone labeled "Radio Liberation." Leon Denen, author and Scripps-Howard correspondent, devoted his remarks to giving advice to the U.S. State Department. "We must tell the Hungarians," he said, "that we are not for a return to the status quo ante. The workers of Hungary and of Eastern Europe do not want the old European capitalism back. That capitalism was different from United States capitalism, which is democratic."

Denen admitted that America's capitalist rulers think in terms of a "war of liberation" in the Soviet block, but he thought the Hungarian events would show them that such a

policy is not necessary or correct. He and all the other speakers, however, avoided the slightest opposition to the preparations of U.S. capitalism for such a war. He offered as a guarantee that the U.S. would not start a third world war, the following statement: "President Eisenhower, I happen to know from personal conversations with him, hates war. Imagine a victorious general of any other nationality being a pacifist!"

Vera Rony, secretary of the Workers Defense League, revealed how little in common the SP-SDF milieu has with socialist ideas by prefacing her appeal for an action with "I call on you to engage in an anti-Marxist plot." She said the audience should "prove Marx wrong in his thesis that people move politically when they are economically oppressed and do not do so when they are so oppressed."

The American people, according to Rony, are not oppressed now, and should "prove Marx wrong," by really going all-out to circulate a petition to keep the Hungarian situation before the public eye. The petition, she said, has already been approved by Senator William Knowland

and other such un-oppressed Americans.

Norman Thomas, in brief remarks, said that the U.N. was making some progress and is still the hope of the World.

Anna Kethly, emphasized the role of the Hungarian Workers Councils as she attacked the Kremlin's slander that the uprising was fascist-inspired. But in no way did she support the idea that political power in Hungary should have been vested in these councils. "The coalition government of Imre Nagy is the only legally constituted government of Hungary," she said.

In speaking of the future, she advocated only reliance on UN action, and in vague terms on aid from Western governments and officials and "public opinion." She emphasized that the Hungarian workers did not want a return to capitalism, but did not call upon workers in capitalist countries to defeat the restorationist aims of their own governments.

In reply to a question, she said she opposed U.S.-armed intervention in Hungary. But on Jan. 29, while testifying before a special UN commission, she advocated that a UN police force be sent to Hungary.

By Jean Blake

AFL-CIO Please Note

The outspoken editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, Ohio's largest Negro weekly, recently posed a good question to Negro trade unionists, one which we think should properly be placed before every white unionist as well.

In the issue of Dec. 29, 1956, William O. Walker wrote:

"The Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO has authorized Mr. Meany to send a letter to the presidents of all affiliated and international unions, calling on them to instruct their local unions to take into membership without payment of initiation fees, any Hungarian worker holding a union card in his native country.

"Every Negro labor union member should read this statement and ponder over it," Mr. Walker continues. "While American labor leaders' hearts are bleeding in sympathy for the Hungarian workers, these same labor leaders are right now denying to Negro workers with skills, the right to pay their full initiation fees and other assessments and become union members and have the right to be employed in American industry. . .

"I don't begrudge any consideration given to Hungarians who may flee tyranny. However, I do say that American union labor as well as American business should have equal concern for every other human being who shows the same courage in fleeing tyranny and persecution, wherever they live.

"To date, no one in America has shown the least sympathy for the millions of

South Africans who have been unmercifully persecuted and murdered by the Dutch whites of South Africa. And, again I say practically no sympathy has been shown to the millions of Negroes who have had to flee the South to escape the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and other bigoted groups. . ."

Then Mr. Walker makes a particularly emphatic point: "It is high time that Negro members of labor unions raise their voices in behalf of their own people as well as themselves, for tyranny is just as oppressive to Negroes as it is to whites. The sympathy and concern of the American people for the oppressed should not be based on the color of their skin, or the country from which they come. Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia are much closer to the office of President Meany than is Hungary, so why should this great labor leader overlook the oppressed in these states, is a question Negro labor members should demand an answer to.

"If labor rules and regulations can be suspended for white Hungarians, then why can't the application of the same laws be fairly applied to Negro workers who do not ask for a suspension of anything, but only the same opportunity of other workers to use their skills in the trades they are experienced in?"

That's a very good question. We would like to see George Meany, Walter Reuther, David J. McDonald, and all the rest of the bureaucrats who represent the State Department within the labor movement answer it.

Cal. Racists Repudiated; Negro Family Greeted

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 26—A small Orange County community this past week executed a sharp "about-face" and in a heart-warming demonstration welcomed a young Negro lieutenant and his wife.

Neighbors in the Lifetime Homes tract in exclusive Garden Grove formed a welcoming committee and as Annapolis graduate Lt. Harold Bauduit and his wife moved into the four-bedroom home they had just purchased, women from across the street and down the block came to make a friendly call. They brought home-made cakes and

jelly, coffee and soft drinks, and as the day wore on a home-cooked, nourishing meal.

MONDAY-NIGHT SWITCH

The Bauduits moved in last Friday. The stream of neighbors began immediately. On Saturday they brought more gifts, more hot food. On Sunday they were still providing hot meals for the first Negro couple in their midst.

The crowning demonstration of the switch in community attitude came on Monday night. Leading spokesman of the Homeowners Association, hastily formed to prevent the Bauduits from occupying their home, made a personal call on the new residents. He invited the lieutenant to join the association as an "honored member."

A week earlier this same man was addressing a meeting of 200 residents called for the purpose of raising \$3250 to "buy out" the lieutenant and reimburse him for the down payment he had made. An articulate minority at that meeting was drowned out when they accused the speakers of race prejudice. No prejudice at all, they replied, insisting that their main concern was that the presence of a Negro family would bring about a decline of property values.

MINORITY CAMPAIGNS

But the minority, overwhelmed at the meeting, was by no means defeated. They invited the lieutenant, dismayed at the hostility and prepared to look elsewhere for a home, to another meeting

the same night. They assured him that if he and his wife moved in they would have friends. This was on Sunday. The Bauduits had until Friday to decide whether to cancel their contract or to move in. The lieutenant was not available when members of the Homeowners Association tried to reach him.

Meanwhile the determined minority got busy on the telephone, in house meetings, in across-the-fence discussions. The local newspaper came out with a surprisingly good stand. A minister who supported the association was faced with a revolt in his own church. Other ministers were approached and the issue of race prejudice was placed squarely before them.

Garden Grove received nationwide adverse publicity a year ago when Dr. Sammy Lee, two-time Olympic diving champion, was denied a home because he was a Korean. The good people of the community did not want a reputation. Garden Grove, incidentally, is only a stone's throw from Vice President Nixon's stamping grounds in La Habra and Whittier.

A dozen Protestant ministers and a Catholic Priest took out an ad in the Garden Grove Daily News, chiding their flocks against the evils of race prejudice and urging them to welcome a stranger in their midst.

When the newspaper on Thursday carried a story that a dozen women in the Lifetime Homes tract had formed a welcoming committee for the Bauduits, the opposition collapsed.

On Friday the Bauduits moved in. They were greeted with a touching show of friendliness. They like their new home and their new neighbors.

The hard crust of prejudice in a small lily-white community in Orange County has been cracked. The struggle will continue.

SEATTLE Negro History Week Commemoration

"The Real Background Of Segregation" A Marxist refutation of the slanderous Life Magazine series on the origins of segregation.

Two Lectures By Richard Fraser Sat., Feb. 9 — 8 P.M. "From Slavery to Emancipation"

Wed., Feb. 13 — 8 P.M. "The Reconstruction and Jim Crow"

Refreshments Social Evening 655 MAIN STREET Donation 35 cents

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...Interview with Helen Sobell

(Continued from page 1)

intended concretely to charge against Sobell.

The indictment against him was the same as the one issued against the Rosenbergs. In that indictment eleven "overt acts" that constituted their "conspiracy" were listed. But not one of these "overt acts" involved Morton Sobell.

WHAT IS THE CHARGE?

As Phillips said in his opening remarks to the jury on March 7, 1951, "Any endeavor we made to find out, friendly asking, pleading for information, making motions for information and any other way, was thwarted on all sides, as we stand here before you as ignorant of what is really meant to be charged against Sobell as you 16 ladies and gentlemen are to whom I am talking now." (Record, p. 192)

The trial lasted three weeks. The case was referred to in the daily press sensationally as the "atom bomb spy trial." Yet one can search the charges against Sobell, the testimony against him, the entire record of the trial and one cannot find a single connection between Sobell and anything pertaining to atomic secrets.

As a matter of fact the prosecution couldn't come up with anything concrete that Sobell was supposed to have stolen from his job as an electronics engineer. The closest the prosecution could come to a concrete charge was the reference of Max Elitcher, prosecution witness, to what appeared to be a 35 millimeter film can that Sobell was supposed to have taken for delivery to Rosenberg.

No stolen secret of any kind was named by the prosecution against Sobell. But Morton Sobell knew the Rosenbergs. He had gone to college with Julius Rosenberg. They had taken the same courses in engineering. They had seen each other occasionally in the intervening years. And as Kaufman explained at the trial, "the law of conspiracy is this: that once you have joined in a conspiracy, the



Helen and Morton Sobell

acts of your co-conspirators are chargeable to you, even if you don't know exactly what they are doing. . ." (Record, p. 1444)

Thus the prosecution wasn't required to and didn't try to prove that Sobell even knew of the so-called "theft" of atomic secrets. Yet he was tried and convicted in a courtroom dominated completely by the hysteria of the alleged theft of nuclear secrets.

The government was able to connect Sobell up with the "conspiracy" solely on the testimony of one man. This was so clear that Judge Kaufman in his in-

structions to the jury was compelled to say, "If you do not believe the testimony of Max Elitcher as it pertains to Sobell, then you must acquit the defendant Sobell." (Record, p. 1560)

And who was this man on whom Sobell's freedom depended? Elitcher was Morton Sobell's close friend. They had gone to school together. They had shared an apartment in Washington, D. C. Elitcher was best man at Sobell's wedding. He testified that Sobell recruited him to the Communist Party after they first discussed the matter late in 1939.

Buffalo Area Steel Workers Deliver Setback to McDonald

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, January 20—Organized support by rank and file steel workers on the Niagara Frontier for Don Rarick, head of the Dues Protest Movement, has dealt the McDonald-Molony machine an important setback in the campaign for the powerful post of United Steel Workers International President.

Local 2693 of the Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corporation in nearby Dunkirk, N.Y. and Local 2602, one of the four powerful locals of the Bethlehem Steel Co. in Lackawanna, held meetings addressed by Rarick and pledged their wholehearted support to aid him in his fight to unseat McDonald.

At the Local 2602 meeting, representing about 3,200 members, the ranks opposed the pleas of Staff Representative Julian Bruce, top Molony aide in charge of the Lackawanna area, and pledged \$1,500 out of their local treasury for the Rarick campaign. This came as a big surprise to the labor movement here.

MOLONY TONES DOWN

Joseph Molony, Regional Director of District 4 attacked Rarick as follows, according to the Jan. 23 Buffalo Evening News: "I cannot and will not support Mr. Rarick. He is without experience, and has not served his apprenticeship in our union."

One union member stated in answer to this: "If Molony means that Rarick hasn't McDonald's experience in budding around with the boss, that's the kind of inexperience I'm going to go for on February 12."

Molony's mild rebuke to Rarick was a far cry from the way the previously characterized Rarick's dues protest movement as "traitorous." This charge by Molony indicated that he fears that rank and file sentiment for Rarick is growing. The protest movement has also forced the McDonald-Molony forces to carry full-page ads in the Buffalo press depicting McDonald as responsible for the great gains that the steel workers have made since 1936.

At the Local 2693 Allegheny Ludlum meeting held in Dunkirk, which was attended by delegations of steel workers from Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Canada, one fact stood out. The men who attended this meeting were right from the steel mills. They knew firsthand what Rarick was talking about and when he attacked the evils of the McDonald machine he received a standing ovation from over 300 followers. Rarick charged that he had been subjected to threats of violence since the protest movement began and promised his campaign would develop around a fight for more democracy in the union.

LOS ANGELES Negro History Week Meeting

Hear GRACE BENNETT "Ride Integrated! — The Fight Against Bus Segregation"

and ERROLL BANKS Candidate for Mayor of L. A. "Negroes and the Two-Party System"

Fri., Feb. 8 — 8:15 P.M. 1702 E. Fourth St. Refreshments

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on "Prospects for Socialism In America"

Fri., Feb. 8 — 8 P.M. A Celebration of Negro History Week

Fri., Feb. 15 — 8 P.M. 1. See "Walk to Freedom," documentary movie on the Montgomery bus boycott.

2. Hear Jean Blake, Militant columnist, on "What Next in the Fight Against Segregation?" 3. A social affair after the meeting.

EUGENE V. DEBS HALL 3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

Elitcher's first encounter with spy business, according to his story, occurred in June 1944, when Julius Rosenberg visited him in Washington and proposed that Elitcher steal government secrets from his job in the Navy Department. (The Rosenbergs steadfastly denied all accusations of spy activity.) Elitcher knew Rosenberg only casually in college. At the trial Elitcher was asked, was Rosenberg only "a vague person in your mind . . . during your college days?" He replied, "yes."

After leaving school they hadn't seen each other for about six years except for an accidental encounter in a swimming pool when only greetings were exchanged. Yet in 1944 Rosenberg was supposed to have suddenly proposed that Elitcher "engage in espionage."

ELITCHER'S MOTIVE

Elitcher's reply wasn't either yes or no. But, according to him, for the next six years—1944-1950—he was repeatedly asked to give secrets though he gave none, he was treated as a full-fledged conspirator, told about the activity of others, as well as the problems and strategy of the so-called spy group.

This incredible story, without a single shred of material evidence or corroboration by other witnesses, was used by the prosecution to send Sobell to prison for 30 years.

The following facts indicate to me, after a thorough study of the Record and other material, what most really have happened with Elitcher. Sometime in 1947, Elitcher had to sign a loyalty oath to keep his government job. From that time on he was scared to death of a perjury charge. By 1948, he quit his government job and went to work at the Reeves Instrument Corp. where Sobell was employed. He moved his family into a house whose back yard joined that of the Sobell family. When the dreaded visit of the FBI finally occurred in June 1950, the FBI agents "told me [Elitcher] they had information to the effect that I had given material for purposes of espionage." (Record, p. 283)

Thus not only did Elitcher fear prosecution for perjury, but he feared being charged with espionage. Obviously the FBI had a pliant tool in their hands. He finally agreed to cooperate. He went over his story "on many occasions" with the FBI and with the U.S. Attorney Irving Saypol, Roy Cohn and others. And the story grew as it went along. In the end he won for himself no

indictment, no arrest on charges of either perjury or espionage. Even more, his attorney O. John Rogge promised to ask the Assistant U.S. Attorney General McNerny for assurances from the FBI to future employers that Elitcher's security standing was good. Today he is a free man reportedly working on a well-paid job.

Linking Sobell to the charges against the Rosenbergs, a task which Elitcher alone accomplished, was important to the prosecution because Sobell had taken a trip to Mexico and, because of this trip, evidence of "fleeing the country," could be brought into the trial.

The prosecution had to have Sobell kidnaped to prevent his planned return, which would have destroyed the "flight" story. But this story was important to the prosecution's case against the Rosenbergs, because sensible people would naturally wonder why the "spies" made no attempt to leave the country when the first arrest occurred in May 1950, if not sooner. An actual "escape" was just what was needed.

If Morton Sobell could be induced to say that Rosenberg had told him to escape to Mexico, the prosecution could be that much more certain of a conviction.

But Sobell was not made of the same stuff as Elitcher. He would not lie to suit the needs of the prosecution. Evidence obtained subsequent to the trial which is now before U.S. Court of Appeals to be considered sometime this week proves conclusively Sobell's account of the trip to Mexico.

FIGHT TO FREE SOBELL

So it comes to pass that more than six years later his wife Helen spends her days going from person to person, from group to group to plead her husband's cause and win help in the struggle to free him.

Helen Sobell is a physicist. But there is no more scientific study for her while her husband remains in prison. She has always liked to write poetry. Now her poems tell of the anguish of a wife and mother victimized by the witch hunt. Those who listen to her story and study the record of the trial will also suffer at the thought of Morton Sobell behind prison bars.

(Poems by Helen Sobell with Rockwell Kent illustrations can be obtained from the Committee To Secure Justice For Morton Sobell at 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. for \$1.00. All proceeds go to the work of the Committee.)

Seven Garment Workers Killed in New Haven Fire

By David Dreiser

NEW HAVEN, January 26—Fire struck an 80-year old structure in the old downtown section of this city two days ago leaving seven known dead and eight on critical

lists in local hospitals. Firemen are still digging through the rubble of fallen walls in search of two missing.

Over 100 women worked in little garment shops in the ancient four story building. The fire flashed up the elevator shaft and stairwells and completely enveloped the tinder dry trap in a few minutes.

Most of the known dead were women trapped on a side fire escape that had been pinned and would not lower to the ground. Before the pin was knocked out by onlookers, fire poured out of the windows around and under the escape.

The exact cause of the fire is uncertain but it is thought to have started in crates of trash piled in a lower hall. Regardless of origin, however, the condition of the building made loss of life almost inevitable.

FIRE LAWS

Not only had the escape been pinned, a condition apparently missed on a recent inspection, but the building was completely without a sprinkler system. How the state laws and building codes are rigged not to interfere with profits derived from renting such fire traps is indicated by the fact that the lack of a sprinkler system was not a violation of any regulation!

It is openly admitted that because of their age, "it is difficult to bring such factories up to present fire safety standards." The implication is that workers in sections of the country with large numbers of old buildings as in New England must wait until they collapse, or as in this case burn down, before replacement or simple installation of safety measures to protect their lives can be expected.

The prevalent character of the

problem was confirmed by Building Inspector Henry I. Faisey who said "this could happen in any city of ancient origin." In 1949, a Fire Safety Code was adopted in Connecticut providing minimum safety measures for hotels, restaurants and other public places. However, there is no code for factories.

The statement of Leo F. Alix of the State Labor Department that "Panic was the killer" represents a callous disregard of the facts. No panic occurred on the rear escape which functioned properly and on which a number of workers escaped in orderly fashion. Panic struck on the side escape when women were actually being incinerated.

OFFICIAL COVER UP

Alix further commented that the building itself was not unsafe. This fantastic contention was presumably based on official files which showed that inspection of the building had found no violations. Thus the lack of violations is used as grounds to absolve all of any blame rather than to prove the logical conclusion, namely the pitiful inadequacy of state building regulations and safety laws.

Adequate corrective legislation cannot even now be expected. Taking off on the same theme as Alix, Democratic Governor Abraham A. Ribicoff has proposed legislation requiring regular exit and fire drills to prevent panic. Nothing short of demolishing large sections of New England's older cities and rebuilding them with new, modern buildings fit for human beings to live and work in will prevent this kind of tragic and needless loss of life.

Introductory Offer! A Six-Month Subscription to the Militant Only \$1

The next six months promise to be even more eventful than the past six months. The radical movement will be absorbed in discussion about the regroupment question. In February, the Communist Party will hold its convention, at which it will seek to bring its internal crisis under control. The Negro struggle in the South is taking a huge step forward, as moves are under way to coordinate the struggle in many cities against bus segregation. The Middle East will feature ever more encouraging developments of the Arab national independence struggle, while Washington's moves will be evermore ominous. Despite attempts of the Kremlin to hold the line, the working-class struggle against bureaucratic despotism and for socialist democracy will continue to unfold in the Soviet orbit. To follow all these developments, take advantage of our introductory offer, good until March 31, of a six-month subscription for only \$1.

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



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