

## Right to Strike Sanctioned in China

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# THE MILITANT

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## American Forum Goes Ahead

An Editorial

Below this editorial we publish the advertisement for the first public meeting of the American Forum — For Socialist Education.

Never in American history has the formation of a free-speech forum been greeted with such a barrage of intimidation and abuse from the powers-that-be as that which followed the birth of the American Forum.

The gutter press shouted for Congressional investigation and subversive-listing of the new organization. The more dignified capitalist papers, such as the New York Times, hurled editorial thunderbolts. Reactionary columnists and radio commentators howled like a wolf pack. The unspeakable Senator Eastland, eager to extend the civil-liberties standards of Mississippi to the rest of the country, summoned members of the forum before his committee, famous for its production of smears and contempt-of-Congress citations.

What is there about the American Forum that provoked this frontal attack from Big Business' spokesmen (and a stab in the back from the social democrats who are always eager to curry favor with the capitalists)?

The answer may be found in the American Forum's declaration of purpose — to afford a democratically-run discussion center for all socialist-minded people without the exclusion of anyone. This flies directly in the face of the central "achievement" of the ten-year witch hunt — prevention of free discussion with those holding officially forbidden political and social views.

Furthermore, a free and untrammelled discussion, considering the flux of ideas among socialists since the crisis of Stalinism, may eventually lead to the regroupment of radical forces in America in a large and effective party. This constitutes a real threat to the interests which the capitalist press and the Senate witch hunters represent. Hence the attempt to strangle the American Forum in its cradle.

But the infant is a born fighter. It has refused to be strangled or even intimidated. Its chairman, A. J. Muste, has flung down the defy to Senator Eastland in his open letter. Now the American Forum has called its first public meeting.

If you want to answer the capitalist press, Senator Eastland and their unappetizing crew of camp followers, you can do so by turning out to the meeting. Not only will you be performing a positive act in defense of free speech, but you are guaranteed an informative and stimulating evening.

## FIRST PUBLIC MEETING American Forum - For Socialist Education

- A TIME FOR QUESTIONS
- A SEARCH FOR SOCIALIST ANSWERS
- ALL VIEWPOINTS WILL BE CONSIDERED — DESPITE SENATOR EASTLAND

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE

Chairman, American Forum

DOROTHY DAY

Editor, the Catholic Worker

DR. STRINGFELLOW BARR

Educator

CONRAD LYNN

Civil Rights Attorney

### Panel to Answer Audience Questions:

American Forum National Committee Members: Dr. Albert Blumberg, Bert Cochran, David Dellinger, Farrell Dobbs, Clifford T. McAvoy, John T. McManus, Joseph Starobin, George Stryker, Doxey A. Wilkerson, others.

Wednesday, June 12, 8 P. M.

Community Church

35th Street at Park Avenue

Contribution \$1

## Hearing On Deportation Of Janosco

LOS ANGELES, May 29—The Immigration Service opened hearings this week in its effort to deport John Janosco, Western field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers, under the McCarran-Walter Act. The union leader is charged with belonging to the Socialist Workers Party in 1937-40.

Examining officer Richard L. Lay stated that the Janosco hearing was regarded as a national test by the government to determine whether membership in the SWP could be treated as a deportable offense under the McCarran-Walter Act. It will attempt to prove that the SWP taught and advocated forceful overthrow of the government. This is the first time the provisions of the Act have been applied to any political organization other than the Communist Party.

### UPWA PLEDGES AID

Janosco denies membership in the SWP. The United Packinghouse Workers Union has pledged assistance to his legal defense. Arthur E. Morrison, UPW regional director, told the press that the union is giving full support to Janosco "not only because of its desire to protect one of its officials, but also because it sees in the proceeding a serious breach of civil rights affecting members of labor unions." The union contended that if the government is successful, Janosco could be deported to Hungary, "where he would be in grave danger of imprisonment or execution, even though he has lived in the United States since he was one year old."

The government introduced five pieces of literature as evidence of its claim that the SWP stands for force and violence. These were the Communist Manifesto, Lenin's State and Revolution, the Founding Program of the Fourth International, the Declaration of Principles of the SWP adopted in 1938, and Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial, a pamphlet by James P. Cannon, SWP national chairman. The defense attorney entered Socialism On Trial, containing testimony by Cannon at the first Smith Act trial in Minneapolis in 1941.

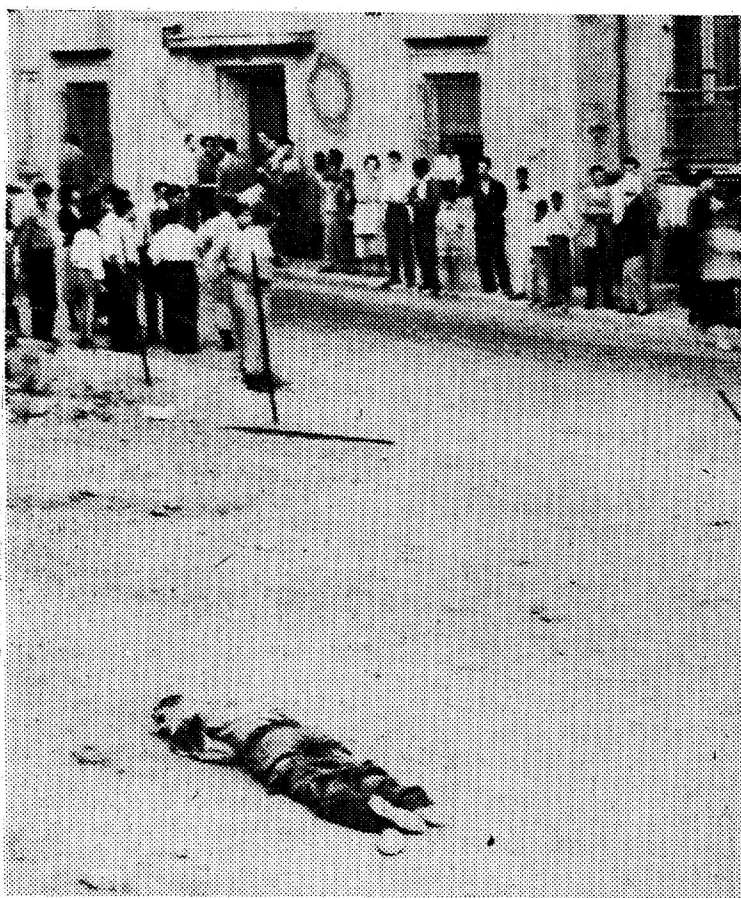
### BARTLETT A WITNESS

The first prosecution witness was James H. Bartlett, former Minneapolis Teamsters official, who had been a star prosecution witness in the 1941 cases. Bartlett admitted having been appointed to his post by Sidney Brennan, Minneapolis Teamsters official recently convicted of bribery, who had been named receiver of Local 544 by Dan Tobin.

Bartlett's testimony regarding Janosco's alleged membership in the SWP was meager. He said he had attended from ten to fourteen SWP meetings from

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## One of Thousands



An Algerian national-independence fighter lies slain by French police. He is one of thousands murdered by French imperialism. To escape French terror 20,000 Algerians have fled into neighboring Tunisia. (See story, this page.)

## Two Victories and a Defeat Scored for Civil Liberties

The past week saw a mixed trio of important civil liberties decisions handed down by the courts. Two of these, the Halperin case, involving the Fifth Amendment, and the Taft-Hartley affidavit case of Clinton E. Jencks registered limited victories in the fight against the witch hunt. The third, a contempt of Congress conviction of playwright Arthur Miller for refusing to be a political informer, is a defeat and will be appealed.

In the Halperin case, which involved tax investigation rather

### High Court Delays Lightfoot Decision

The Supreme Court on June 3 postponed a decision on the vital Lightfoot and Scales convictions under the Smith Act. These are test cases since the alleged crime is mere membership in the Communist Party. The high court ordered further argument before it would render a decision.

than civil liberties, the Supreme Court on May 30 unanimously made an unequivocal declaration that a person's use of the Fifth Amendment could in no way be the basis for assuming that he was guilty or was concealing some wrongdoing. "Recent re-examination of the history and meaning of the Fifth Amendment has emphasized anew that one of the basic functions of the privilege is to protect innocent

men," the unanimous opinion held. It then quoted Erwin N. Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School and author of "The Fifth Amendment Today," as follows: "Too many, even those who should be better advised, view this privilege [the Fifth Amendment] as a shelter for wrongdoers. They too readily assume that those who invoke it are either guilty of crime or commit perjury in claiming it."

On the contrary the high court held, citing a previous opinion, "the privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

### COURT VS. SIDNEY HOOK

The decision is a direct rebuke to the Dept. of Justice, almost all the politicians, Big Business newspapers, university administrations and myriad other forces who have campaigned to propagandize the public into believing that use of the Fifth Amendment was synonymous with guilt. This campaign was launched by McCarthy with his "Fifth Amendment Communist" slogan. The court's opinion is a doubly devastating rebuke to the social democrats' liberal brand of McCarthyism. One of their chief theoreticians, Sidney Hook recently published in book form a series of his articles which originally had appeared in the New

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## 2000 Scientists Demand Nuclear Tests Be Halted

### Warn That Every New Explosion Further Endangers Human Race

By Herman Chauka

JUNE 3. — A blow was dealt today to efforts of Washington politicians and brass hats to belittle the danger in involved in nuclear tests. Exposure of the "it's no worse than an X-ray" propaganda came with the announcement that 2,000 American scientists have signed a petition demanding an immediate end to the tests. In calling for the ban, the scientists declared it their obligation to speak out on the issue because, "As scientists, we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make these dangers known."

Initiated by a group of world-famed U.S. scientists, the call for the test ban was sparked by Dr. Linus Pauling, the chemist who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1954 for his discoveries in the field of molecular biology.

The petition warns that "each additional amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world. The urgency of the appeal is indicated by the fact that the 2,000 signatures, representing every major branch of science, were received by Dr. Pauling in a period of four days."

In a nation-wide TV interview yesterday, Dr. Pauling spelled out some of the horrifying results of the nuclear tests. Radioactive fallout from the tests, he said, would cause 200,000 children in each of the next 20 generations to be mentally or physically defective. He further predicted that one million people throughout the world would lose five to ten years of life expectancy if the tests were not stopped.

Last April 30, Dr. Pauling declared that 10,000 people throughout the world were dead or dying of leukemia because of the tests.

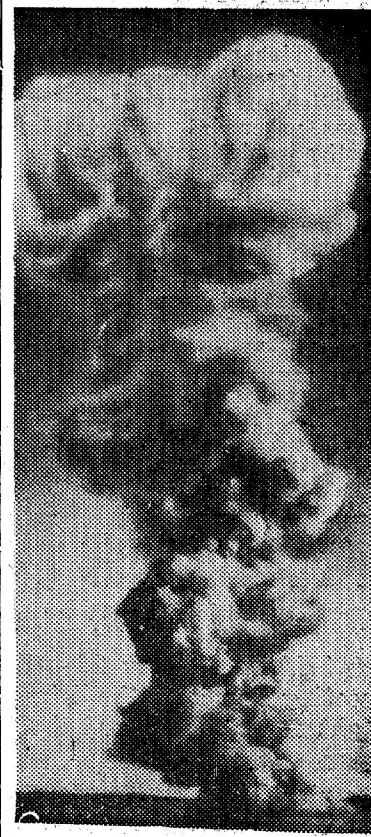
### TEXT OF APPEAL

Following is the text of the appeal of the 2,000 scientists: "We, the American scientists whose names are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now. "Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasma such as to lead to an increase in the number of serious defective children that will be born in future generations. "So long as these weapons are

in the hands of only three powers an agreement for their control is feasible. If testing continues, and the possession of these weapons spreads to additional governments, the danger of outbreak of cataclysmic nuclear war through the reckless action of some irresponsible national leader will be greatly increased.

"An international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs could now serve as a first step toward a more general disarmament and the ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity.

"We have in common with our fellow men a deep concern for the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility, to make these dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons."



The dread mushroom cloud of radiation poison from one of the atom bombs exploded at Nevada testing site.

## French Pursue Algerian Refugees Into Tunisia

By John Thayer

Savage fighting in Algeria reached new heights as the French capitalist and social-democratic politicians feverishly haggled about the composition and policy of a new coalition government to replace the fallen Mollet cabinet. News from Algeria made one thing plain—Mollet's policy of "pacification," i.e., trying to crush the Algerian independence movement by military force, was a proven failure. The victory which social-democratic Premier Mollet and his social-democratic gauleiter in Algeria, Robert Lacoste, had told Frenchmen over a year ago was just around the corner appeared further off than ever.

Moreover, French military operations against fleeing Algerian villagers has led to border clashes with newly-independent Tunisia, thus calling into question the independence-with-strings-attached which the right-wing leaders of

the Neo-Destour Party of Tunisia accepted from French imperialism several years ago. French military incursions into Tunisia in pursuit of fleeing Algerians and attacks upon Tunisian troops could bring the Tunisian people into war on the side of their Algerian brothers.

Algerian refugees in Tunisia are reported to number about 20,000. They have fled to escape the fighting zones in eastern Algeria and because in many cases the French have burned their villages. Since care for the refugees has become a major problem, the Tunisian government has decided to ask the International Refugee Organization of the UN for aid.

### A 'PACIFYING' MISSION

The Tunisian government reported that on the night of May 26 about 2,000 men, women and children fled into Tunisia under French mortar fire and air bombardment which followed them even after they had reached Tunisian soil. Smoke from burning houses could be seen for several miles on the Algerian side.

Newspapermen who interviewed a group of some 800 refugees were told the following tale by one from the Algerian village of Oued-el-Hout. Early in the morning French paratroopers surrounded the village with a barrage of mortar fire to prevent anyone from escaping. Then they entered the village and accused the people of giving food to rebel guerrillas. The village grocer was shot publicly as an example. The villagers, including women and children, were "questioned" and manhandled. Prisoners were taken away to an unknown fate. Five times the next day paratroopers returned and burned down houses.

On the evening of May 30 the Tunisian troops at Ain Draham took prisoner a French detachment of 80 which had crossed the border in pursuit of the refugees. Next morning the French detachment was released and put over the border back into Algeria. The

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## British Unionists Get Hit With Sellout by Leaders

By Peter Fryer

LONDON — Less than two months after the Right-wing leaders of the British Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union sabotaged a nation-wide pay strike at a moment of rising morale, they carried this betrayal to its logical conclusion this week.

Against the will of every militant in every British workshop they accepted the employers' offer of a pay rise of 11 shillings a week for skilled workers, nine shillings for unskilled and ten shillings for intermediate grades, a wage increase with a number of retrograde and ominous "strings" attached.

The most important of these conditions, to which 2,750,000 British workers are now "officially" committed, is a year's standstill on wage claims. This wage freeze, and still more the circumstances in which it has been put over on the rank and file, is not calculated to bring comfort and joy to the men in the workshops.

Nor are the other "strings." The executives of the unions banded together in the Confederation are pledged to stop prac-

tices such as "unofficial" strikes, which, according to the agreement, are "contrary to the well-being of the industry." They are pledged also to urge their members to stop and start work at the recognized times without interrupting work for union meetings without their managements' permission.

Now these pledges add up to a package deal which smells very fishy indeed in the nostrils of the men who fought so well, and with such high hopes, last month. True, they have got the 11 shillings—and there is an old English saying about a bird in the hand. Eleven shillings makes a noise in the frying pan. But the conditions attached to this gain do not spell "victory" but "sell-out"—and it is a sell-out no less acceptable for being sugar-coated with a sum of money that might well be wiped out within months by the rise in the cost of living.

The men in Britain's engineering factories are not fools. Experience over the past few years has taught them that the bosses are never content to accept a status quo, but will press hard every advantage.

Already there are disturbing signs of an offensive against conditions established over the years as a result of struggle.

A year's grace for the employers means a year in which to weed out or to try to weed out the active and prominent shop stewards. The Right-wingers seem totally unmoved by this prospect. And of course it would suit them very well if inroads were made into the "shadow" network of shop stewards' committees which duplicates official trade union machinery up and down Britain, which exercises enormous influence since it directly represents the men on the shop floor and responds to their needs and feelings without the mediation of any bureaucratic prism whatever—and which is therefore to the average British engineer one of the most precious parts of his class heritage.

Leaders not on the Right, such as boilermakers' secretary Ted Hill, have said outright that a twelvemonth wage freeze is "crazy" under a Tory Government. (It is of course crazy under a Labor government, but Hill's statement is no less true for being only half the truth.)

The rank and file will get their first fatter wage packets next pay-day. To have a little more money will no doubt take the keen edge off their frustration at their leaders' betrayal. But two lessons stand out—and will

certainly be pressed home by the militants. One is that this 11 shillings would certainly not have been conceded by the bosses without last month's strike action. The workers therefore should keep their powder dry, assimilate the experiences of the April strike, strengthen their workshop organizations, and, above all, wipe out every remaining pocket of non-unionism (a grand start was made in recruiting the unorganized during the strike).

And the second lesson is that they should turn their present suspicion and resentment against the Carrons into the channel of consistent voting for the replacement of the "statesmanlike" officials by leaders who are close to the members and their needs and are likely to remain so.

To sum up: the bosses and the Right-wing leaders between them have managed for the time being to dam the stream of working-class militancy in Britain. This is not the first time. It will not be the last. But the flood will be all the more powerful and cleansing later on. Of this we can be sure.



# SP Record on Socialism and Democracy — II

[The following is the second and concluding part of the speech by Murry Weiss in the May 24 debate with Max Shachtman on "What Road to Socialist Regroupment?" The two installments were based on the text of the opening presentation by Weiss in the debate. — Ed.]

Norman Thomas declared recently that anyone who wants to get cleared with him and be admitted into the SP-SDF must "repudiate Leninism." In the debate between Shachtman and Arne Swabek of the SWP in Los Angeles, the March 25 Labor Action reports: "Shachtman said that if Norman Thomas thinks Leninism means deceit and treachery, that he also rejects this conception, although he believes Thomas is mistaken." Shachtman thinks he can appease Thomas with some clever word-play. Thomas knows very well what Leninism is! He has fought it long enough. Leninism has nothing in common with deceit or treachery. Leninism means telling the workers the revolutionary truth; Leninism means the struggle for the highest form of democracy—the democracy of the working masses in a movement to free themselves from exploitation and tyranny. Leninism means unbounded faith in the creative revolutionary capacity of workers' democracy. And Leninism means the struggle against the social-democratic deceivers and "loathsome hypocrites" who defend imperialist "democracy" and the labor bureaucracy in the high name of socialism. That's what Shachtman used to teach

the youth before he became a "good-dog" for the right-wing social-democrats.

## A GENTLE REPROACH

The SP-SDF adopted a Memorandum of Understanding to provide the political platform for their merger. In the point of foreign policy the Memorandum says: "The free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of Communist dictators." The March 18 Labor Action gently chides the SP-SDF for going "far beyond anything even suggested by the statement of principles of the Socialist International" in their "approval of current United States policy."

Then the Shachtmanite authors have with the State-Department "Socialists" over foreign policy "are not decisive barriers to unity." And "the common tasks of democratic socialism now transcend these differences."

What common tasks? I thought the first and foremost task of a socialist is to stand opposed to the imperialist ruling class and its rapacious foreign policy.

How can you find "common tasks" with "socialists" who violate this first principle? And, above all, how can these "common tasks transcend" the differences between revolutionists and social-democratic supporters of American imperialism?

## THE SP-SDF STAND ON POLITICAL ACTION

The SP-SDF Memorandum gives the green light to the labor bureaucrats and their hangers-on

to continue their support to capitalist politicians while holding membership in the party. Labor Action's discussion on this, in the March 25 issue, is a priceless specimen of twisted logic.

The policy of supporting capitalist parties is not to the liking of the authors, H. W. Benson and Albert Gates. However, they tell us, one must bear in mind that there are thousands of militant unionists who believe in this policy and we can't "rule them out" of the party.

Furthermore, they explain, the Memorandum specifically states that support of capitalist politicians will occur only "in the absence of socialist candidates." And besides, the authors are careful to note, "The memorandum does not propose that the party or its official units, endorse Democrats or Republicans"; it only permits the party and its units to allow its members to do so, etc., etc.

## IT ALL WORKS OUT O.K. SAYS LABOR ACTION

Weaving and squirming their way through thousands of words, the authors wind up with the triumphant conclusion that the SP-SDF Memorandum on political action is actually very good! After all, they say, "To ensure the harmonious and healthy growth of a united movement, it is essential that no one view be imposed by rigid rule upon all others."

And since, you see, the political action clause only permits members to vote for capitalist candidates in the absence of socialist candidates—everything is really optional and "individuals

have autonomous rights to follow their own conscience."

And to this pathetic fraud they append a concluding sentence: "Let clarity come not by decree but from experience."

## GOLDBERG DISSENTS

What is overlooked in this dishonest reasoning is one simple fact which the Chairman of the SP-SDF, Louis P. Goldberg, emphatically explained at the merger convention:

"The expression of fear in some corners that a new socialist party would interfere with labor's political action [means capitalist politics—M.W.] is unfounded. Carrying out our document on political action, we will not nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement."

That's that! And the whole Labor Action "explanation" goes up in smoke.

Of course the SP-SDF won't support capitalist candidates when socialist candidates are on the ballot, for the simple reason that it has decided not to run socialist candidates in the first place against capitalist candidates in any major office.

So what purpose do our Shachtmanite authors serve if not to cover up this plain fact? Let Thomas take note of this kind of deceit and treachery, and let him show the slightest connection between such doubletalk and Leninism.

## THE SP'S DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

In the debate between Shachtman and Swabek, Labor Action

reports that Shachtman described the SP as "the only party which has always presented a broad, loosely defined program based on democratic socialism which had the respect of American workers, and in no way shares the disgrace of the Communist Party."

Further: "He [Shachtman] cited the factual democratic record of the SP and its democratic traditions in contrast with the lack of democracy in the SWP."

The factual record and tradition, indeed! What's either democratic or socialist about the record and tradition of social-democracy?

They're democratic all right in their dealings with capitalist power, but they never hesitate, starting with the Russian Mensheviks, through Noske and Sheideman in Germany to Mollet in France to call out police and troops to murder workers, anti-imperialist colonial peoples and their leaders.

Wasn't it the Russian right-wing social-democrats who were responsible in 1917 for jailing Trotsky, forcing Lenin into hiding, framing the bolsheviks as German spies, smashing the Bolshevik press, beating and hounding revolutionary workers? What was democratic or socialist about that, Shachtman.

Weren't the German social-democrats responsible for crushing the 1918 revolution in collusion with the Kaiser's generals? Weren't they responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg who used to be Shachtman's models? Doesn't the German social-democracy bear joint responsibility with Stalinism for the tragic betrayal of the German

## A YSL'er Seeks A Safe Haven

In a recent symposium on how the regroupment of socialist youth should take place, a spokesman for the Young Socialist League, B. Hendrick, upheld the Shachtman stand that it should take place in the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. This was his argument: "It is hard to recruit youth these days. They want a n t respectability." The SP-SDF "is clean and had a good reputation and has never been in trouble with the government." The symposium took place in Cleveland, May 27.

working class in 1932 which resulted in the triumph of Hitlerism? What was democratic or socialist about that?

## A JOINT SP AND CP BETRAYAL

Didn't the Spanish social-democrats, together with the Stalinists, open the road to Franco's victory with their class-collaborationist, people's front policy in the civil war? And when you and I, Shachtman, and all other left wingers in the SP, raised our voices against this betrayal, didn't the American social-democrats, headed by Thomas, impose a "democratic" gag on the left wing and then expel it from the party in order to prevent it from gaining a majority?

What's democratic or socialist

about the record and tradition of the American social democracy, Shachtman? Tell us!

## WHILE DEBS SAT IN PRISON

In the First World War, despite the democratically adopted anti-war resolution of the 1917 St. Louis Convention, didn't the right wing SP bureaucrats go ahead and support the imperialist war—right while Debs was in jail for his anti-war speeches?

That's some democracy and some socialism!

And when the overwhelming majority of the SP welcomed the Russian Revolution of October 1917, what did the right wing bureaucracy, headed by Morris Hillquit, do?

Here's how Theodore Draper, author of Roots of American Communism, describes these "democratic socialists" at work in 1919. A National Executive Committee meeting is called for May 24:

"On the first day, the entire Socialist Party of Michigan was expelled. . . This action cleared the decks of about 6,000 members. On the fourth day, the seven Left Wing foreign-language federations were cast out. . . This cleared the decks of over 20,000 more members. With this mopping up as a start, the Committee proceeded to hold up the tabulation of the vote for new officers and to agree on a national emergency convention on August 30. The Left wing had been vainly clamoring for months for an emergency convention. Now one was going to be held—without the Left Wing."

In this way, the right wing

with a maximum support of 40,000, expelled the left Wing which was supported by 70,000.

Is this part of the "factual democratic record" you spoke of, Shachtman?

## THE REAL RECORD

The bureaucratically rigged expulsion of the left wing in 1919, the gag law and expulsion drive against the left wing in 1937, support of American imperialism in World War II, support of American imperialism in the Korean war, support of the cold-war State Department policy, "critical" support of the witch-hunt security and loyalty program—that's your "democratic" and "socialist" record of the SP.

And what's democratic about the social-democracy's position on regroupment? Take your own experience, Shachtman. You want to join the SP-SDF. Clearly, you make no unreasonable conditions. On the contrary, you promise to fight for the exclusive right of the right wing's program and leadership to prevail.

Do they say, Fine! Come in and enjoy some of our democratic traditions that you recommend so highly. No! They say: Repent! Renounce! Repudiate! Then crawl! And if that's not enough—creep!

You want to capitulate to this? Very well! But revolutionary socialists will not go along with you. They will stand fast by their principles and join with others to rebuild and reunite the revolutionary socialist vanguard in a party that will be proud to hold aloft the banner of class-struggle socialism and workers democracy in America.

# Seattle Symposium on Smith Act Rallies New Support for Pettus

By Glen Jackson

SEATTLE, May 26—Seventy persons filled up the meeting room at the First Unitarian Church here tonight for a lively and fruitful panel discussion on the Smith Act. Sponsored by the Channing Club, a student discussion group associated with the church, the speakers were Jay Sykes, attorney and American Civil Liberties Union member, Clara Kaye, Seattle organizer for the Socialist Workers Party and Terry Pettus, Northwest editor of the People's World and a

Smith-Act victim. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Bartholomew of the Unitarian Church.

Opening the discussion, Sykes pointed out that the Smith Act could not be considered as a purely legal issue but one of political and philosophical importance. This is so, he explained, because it does not punish for overt

acts but rather for advocacy of a political program.

Sketching the historical trend of development of such "sedition" laws, he demonstrated that they have grown steadily more stringent and have been marked by increasing political oppression of minority groups.

Posing for discussion the question of whether or not passage of the act was the result of a conscious conspiracy to suppress political freedom, Sykes said that in his own view this was not the case but that the total effect was the same as if it were. He felt rather that the Smith Act reflected a growing tendency toward conformity by the population as a whole.

## POLICE STATE

Mrs. Kaye appraised the Smith Act and other similar repressive legislation as the product of the inherent drive of U.S. capitalism toward creation of a police state. Such a goal, she said, is essential to the Big Business need for world domination.

Urging the students present to organize and speak out in the fight against the Smith Act, Mrs. Kaye emphasized the need for a vigorous defense of individual victims of the act, such as Terry Pettus.

Recounting his own personal experience with the Smith Act, Pettus said the act was implemented by a campaign of intimidation, not only against its immediate targets, but also against those who spoke out in their behalf.

The worst feature of the Smith Act, Pettus continued, is that it has aided in stifling dissent on issues of grave concern to the entire American people. Among such issues, he pointed out, is the drive toward war inherent in the U.S. "defense" program and the danger to human safety springing from present nuclear tests. The fight for civil liberties, he stressed, is essential to the struggle for peace.

## SOURCE OF REACTION

Following the presentation, the three speakers exchanged views

directly. The discussion revealed unanimous belief that the Smith Act is part of a witch-hunt atmosphere destructive to civil liberties. They viewed somewhat differently, however, the source of the reactionary trend.

Jay Sykes contended that it was necessary to view the entire American people as responsible for the present situation. "It's not normal," he argued, "to want to listen to people who don't agree with you. We here must somehow be abnormal."

Both Clara Kaye and Terry Pettus disagreed with this, pointing out that the workers could accept conformist views in periods of reaction, but that in other periods they can and have taken the lead for progress because it is in their class interests to do so. The primary responsibility, they contended, must be placed on the capitalist class which inspires and benefits from reaction.

"We live in a period of reaction," said Mrs. Kaye, "but we must not be blinded by this to the past and future progressive role of the workers."

"The working class is not static," Pettus explained, "but a living growing thing. All classes learn by experience. The American working class, which is backward because it came on the scene late, will learn by its own experience."

The question and discussion period was a very lively one. The audience joined in the discussion of the differing views of the speakers and at the same time raised questions as to what they could do concretely in the fight for civil liberties. Both Pettus and Mrs. Kaye urged support for Morton Sobell as well as to Pettus.

Two noteworthy features of the meeting were the fact that it was the first in many years where CP and SWP representatives shared the platform. Very heartening was the fact that it was the first non-partisan forum to afford Pettus the opportunity to give his side of his case.

# Socialist Forum in S. F. Holds Its Largest Meet

SAN FRANCISCO, May 25—The future of American socialism was discussed here last night by spokesmen for five different radical tendencies. Vincent Hallinan, an independent socialist, William F. Warde, Socialist Workers Party, Al Richmond, Editor of the Peoples World and spokesman for the Communist Party, Charles Curtis, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and Ted Enright, Independent Socialist League, spoke under the auspices of the Independent Socialist Forum to the largest audience since the founding of the forum four months ago.

Vincent Hallinan said he was actively seeking out people of various points of view in the state, talking to them, and exploring the possibilities of starting a new political movement in time to get on the California ballot in 1958. He said that he knew that the Democratic Party in California was controlled by Ed Pauly, the southern California oil magnate and financiers of the Bank of America.

Labor support for this kind of a party, he said, will not bring any benefits to labor. He cited the Hawaiian Islands as a prime example of what labor can expect from their supposed capture of the Democratic Party. Over in the Islands they have always had a Republican administration. In 1953 the ILWU and the AFL got together on a political program of support of the Democratic Party. Part of that support was based on promises by the capitalist politicians that they would pass certain minimum leg-

islation desired by labor. The Democrats elected 18 out of 20 Senators and 18 out of 30 Representatives. What happened? Not one single piece of legislation promised by the supposed "friends" of labor had in fact become law.

## THE PAST AND FUTURE

William F. Warde, Socialist Workers Party, discussed the world perspective for capitalism and socialism. "Capitalism had its best days in the past; its worst days lie ahead," he said, "while socialism has its worst days behind it and the best days are ahead." Warde said that the best way to further unity at this stage was to act together on specific issues. He called for support of the committee to free Morton Sobell who is at present serving a life sentence on Alcatraz Island here in San Francisco Bay and support for the California Labor School in its fight against government persecution. The most recent blow against the Labor School was its padlocking, on May 3 by the Internal Revenue Department for taxes.

Al Richmond, spokesman for the Communist Party, set forth the general program and perspectives of the Communist Party while at the same time admitting certain "errors." He favored work in the Democratic Party and didn't think there was any ground for unity of the left at this time.

Ted Enright, Independent Socialist League, and Charles Curtis, SP-SDF, were in an unofficial bloc for what they called "democratic socialism." They branded not only the Communist Party but all others who supported the Soviet Union in any way as "dictatorial Socialists." Both speakers thought that the SP-SDF was the organization best suited to bring about unity in the left—provided, in effect, everyone would sign a loyalty oath specifying no sympathy for the "dictatorial socialists."

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## DP's in the Mideast



This group of Arab refugees from Israel symbolizes the plight of tens of thousands of displaced families throughout the Arab world. In recent months their numbers have been swelled by Algerians fleeing the murderous French troops.

# ... French Pursue Algerians

(Continued from page 1)

following day the French commander sent a force of 350 supported armored vehicles back into Tunisia where a Tunisian force of 100 was protecting the refugees at Ain Draham. The French attacked and the fighting went on for at least two hours. Seven Tunisian soldiers were killed and fourteen wounded. In addition a high Tunisian official, Khemals Hadjeri, Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry, who had been sent from the capital to survey the refugee situation, was gravely wounded in the head and stomach.

The funeral of the Tunisian soldier killed by the French became a great anti-imperialist demonstration. The crowd shouted for the evacuation of all French troops left in Tunisia under the compromise independence agreement. Even right-wing Premier Habib Bouguiba was forced to speak in extremely militant terms.

MELOUZA MASSACRE  
Another massacre in Algeria is as yet surrounded by some mystery. It was announced by the French who attributed it to the National Liberation Front (FLN), which operates with the backing of Egyptian Premier Nasser, and which has challenged the traditional Algerian independence movement, the Algerian National Movement (MNA), led by Messali Hadj. All the male inhabitants—about 300—in the village of Melouza were slaughtered on the evening of May 20. French reports accusing the FLN said the villagers had refused to support the FLN, being adherents instead of the MNA. FLN representatives in Tunis on June 2 de-

## NEW FRENCH SLAUGHTERS

Regardless of who perpetrated the Melouza massacre, it will be denounced by all champions of Algeria's national-independence revolution. But even if it turns out that the FLN is the guilty party, that would not clear the French of their continuing record of atrocities. Thus in a 48-hour period the killing of 169 Algerians. These are admitted killings and are but a 48-hour part of the steady slaughter that French imperialism has been committing in Algeria since the fighting began there in November 1954.

Despite the demonstrated failure of crushing the Algerian independence movement even with half a million troops and terror methods used by the Nazis in France, there is no indication

## WORKERS' DELEGATES

to the Geneva conference of the International Labor Organization, that begins its sessions on June 5, are preparing to raise the demand for a shorter work week. Although an ILO stand on such an issue has only moral effect, employers and most governments, including that of the United States object to this question being discussed. The Soviet Union is expected to support the fight to put the work-week issue on the agenda.

A HUNGARIAN TRUCK DRIVER, Sandor Kopolnasi, was sentenced to death, June 4, in Budapest for illegally hiding arms and ammunition. Police found 2 pistols, 4 cartridges and 131 rounds of ammunition in his home.

THE MAMATOLA TRIBE in South Africa has been ordered to vacate the fertile valley it has occupied for more than 100 years. The Minister of Native Affairs says the tribe of 410 families is ruining the valley with poor farm methods. Neighboring white farmers are valuing the rich land at \$300 an acre although the gov-

ernment has offered the Mamatolas only \$28 apiece for their holdings. Tribesmen reportedly begged to be allowed to stay, offering to kill their livestock and burn their plows, even if they should starve to death as a result, but the government insists that the tribe move.

THE BUS BOYCOTT in Johannesburg, South Africa, is approaching a new stage. The boycott began early this year in opposition to fare increases. It cost business and commerce an estimated six million dollars through absenteeism, lateness and exhaustion. The Chamber of Commerce then subsidized the buses by purchasing bus tickets at the increased price and selling them to employees at the old price. This arrangement ends on July 1, and the government is now considering a bill that would subsidize the buses to enable the transport company to operate them with the old fares. Such a government subsidy would make the victory scored by the bus-boycotters permanent.

LEADERS OF THE ELECTRICAL TRADES UNION in England were criticized by Communist delegates and others from the 232,000-member organization for failing to promptly denounce the Kremlin's brutality in Hungary. Delegates then passed a motion condemning "the brutal attack of the Soviet armed forces on the Hungarian people" and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Copies of the resolution were sent to the Soviet and Hungarian embassies in London.

A FLU EPIDEMIC has been sweeping through the countries of the Far East. In Bombay, India, 350,000 have been hit and 15 people have died. In Calcutta, a city of 3,500,000, nearly every family has been affected by the epidemic. In the Philippine Islands, 514 have died, and the peak of the epidemic has not yet been reached. A spokesman for the U.S. Health Department said it was likely the epidemic would spread to the U.S. if it has not done so already.

A 24-HOUR GENERAL STRIKE hit Athens and the Piraeus in Greece with the demand for a 30% wage increase according to Peter Fryer's Newsletter. A nation-wide strike will be called for June 18 unless the demand has been met before that date.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF ALBANIAN WRITERS AND ARTISTS heard the chairman, Mr. Shitriqi, say that it must be inspired by the example set by Soviet writers and artists, because Soviet literature and art is the best in the world.

THE NEW COURSE, By Leon Trotsky, 111 pages, 50 cents. English publication, 1956. Reviewed in the Militant, Jan. 28, 1957. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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Monday, June 10, 1957

**Eastland and Radiation Poison**

We have pointed out on many occasions that the aim of the government's witch hunt is to stifle every voice that speaks out in the interest of the people. This fact is being reiterated with alarming clarity by the red-baiting attack now launched against Dr. Linus Pauling and the 2,000 scientists who have joined with him in demanding an immediate halt to nuclear tests. Carrying the mud-bucket of the attack is the always reliable witch-hunter and racist Senator James O. Eastland.

The signal for the campaign was sounded in the New York Times story, June 4, on the announcement of the petition by the scientists. Prominent in the Times' story is the allegation that "Dr. Pauling's left-of-center political views have made him a figure of occasional earlier controversy."

On June 6 it was announced that Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee has subpoenaed Dr. Pauling and "indicated that it wants to quiz Pauling about his associates in the anti-bomb campaign which has been denounced in Congress as Communist-inspired."

The move to grill the world-famed scientist constitutes in its own ugly way an admission of the government's inability to refute his charge that the nuclear tests are a deadly menace. It also serves as a smokescreen for the Administration's utterly indefensible refusal to accept the Soviet proposal for an immediate international agreement to halt the tests.

Instead we have Eisenhower (who is apparently as well-informed about nuclear physics as he is of most other matters) grumbling that he notices that "scientists that seem to be getting out of their own field of competence are getting into the argument" about the radiation danger. This was directed at the geneticists, biologists and physicists who signed the Pauling petition. It did not, of course, include that scientific expert on hoof - in - mouth, Charles E. Wilson, who recently made the monumental observation that radioactive fallout is safer than cigarettes.

That the charges of the scientists cannot be seriously refuted is also being born out by the present Congressional hearing on the issue. Government witnesses have been compelled to restrict themselves to trying to discredit the mass of expert testimony on the menace of the tests without offering a shred of scientific evidence that the tests are really safe.

The growing knowledge of the danger of the tests has been paralleled by a rising popular opposition to them. This fact was hammered home when the Gallup Poll revealed that 63% of the American people now favor a halt to the tests as compared to 24% last November.

The move to try to crucify Dr. Pauling at the hands of the Eastland committee is not only aimed at a band of courageous scientists. It is also a nefarious effort to thwart the will of the people.

**The Wage Issue in the USSR**

By George Lavan

Khrushchev's great decentralization plan for Soviet industry contains only the vaguest promises for the Soviet workers. Under this new plan, workers, like the rest of the Soviet population, would presumably benefit to the extent that waste and duplication of labor were eliminated and that efficiency and greater utilization of the resources of the 92 regions, into which the country has been economically divided, resulted in a greater national product. This presumably would result in an increased quantity of much-needed consumers' goods too—though not at the expense of heavy industry or of the bureaucracy's huge yearly take from the economy. As for direct concessions to the workers—there is nothing specific in the Khrushchev decentralization thesis that the Soviet workers can put their fingers on.

Nevertheless, there are many indications that the Soviet working class will intervene and make of the new setup something that Khrushchev and the Kremlin oligarchy never visualized. The strongest indication that the factory workers of the Soviet Union are going to shape the industrial setup to the disadvantage of the bureaucracy both in Moscow and locally, can be seen in what they have just accomplished in the national wage and work quota revision. The piece-work wage system prevails throughout Soviet industry. It was bureaucratically imposed in the early days of industrialization to raise the abysmally low level of productivity of Russian workers. Instead of being presented as what it was—the use of the crudest capitalist method of wage payment—the Stalinist bureaucracy tried to pass it off as "socialist competition." They even changed the

classic definition of socialist economy where everyone will be paid "according to his need" to one based on payment "according to his ability," because in the official mythology the USSR was not an isolated workers' state, halfway between socialism and capitalism, but was full-fledged "socialism."

**STAKHANOVISM**

Piece work naturally divides the workers and always to the detriment of the unskilled and lower categories. The great differences that automatically ensued in the wage structure were artificially increased by the Kremlin's program of Stakhanovism which set tremendous premiums for unusual surpassing of production norms or quotas by individual or groups of workers. Stakhanovites earned 20 to 30 times as much as workers in the lower categories.

Stakhanovism was designed not only to encourage piece workers to exceed themselves but to create a privileged group in each factory loyal to the regime. The payment of some specialists in the factories 80 to 100 times the wage of unskilled workers was a similar part of the old divide-and-rule game. For the most part Stakhanovism was ballyhoo and costly. To permit the Stakhanovite to make his record, factory procedure had to be completely disrupted.

During the war a cost-of-living bonus had to be given to Soviet workers. This was pretty much an across-the-board increase and thus benefited low-paid workers most. The cost-of-living bonus has continued as part of the wage system.

For the last two years the bureaucracy has wanted to straighten out the wage system as well as the system of norms which is a patchwork based sometimes on the productivity of 20 years ago. To this end it inspired a campaign in the press for a general revision of production norms on

an up-to-date basis and for the ending of the cost-of-living bonus. A committee on wages, headed by Kaganovitch, was set up to make a lengthy study.

**STRIKE WAVE**

Then apparently a switch took place. The lowest wages were increased by Kremlin decree, and the heads of factories were asked to raise their workers' production quotas and set new wage scales. What resulted was a number of work stoppages. The two strikes, news of which went beyond the borders of USSR last winter, apparently were among these. The Soviet press spoke of "interruptions of work" that resulted from "errors" of factory heads, who were unable to persuade their workers to work harder for lower pay. Then the Soviet press suddenly clammed up on the subject though the revision was supposed to go on for a year throughout the country. Apparently the stories had given workers in other plants ideas and encouragement in their resistance to the new norms and wages scales. It would seem that in each factory, workers and management fought it out and reached results based on their relative strength or weakness.

Now Trud, the newspaper of the Soviet trade unions, has announced a government decree forbidding factory heads from making any sudden revisions "at the same time" of both wages and production norms. Instead it proposes "replacing the old norms, in cooperation with local union bodies . . . and with the active participation of the workers." Moreover, the by-passed committee on wages has been brought back to life by Trud's announcement that wage revision should proceed slowly and on the basis of directives from the forgotten committee.

**GAIN FOR WORKERS**

Jacques Michel, expert on Soviet economy for France-Observateur, independent socialist

weekly published in Paris, from which most of the information in this article comes, summarizes the directives so far indicated by the committee on wages as follows:

Workers at the low end of the scale will benefit more from the revision than those at the top. For "certain groups" the new norms should not entail lowering the remuneration. To achieve this, factory managers, before introducing the new norms, should reorganize the conditions in the factories to assure a sharp increase in productivity thanks to full use of new machinery. Stakhanovism—dead in fact for many years—is officially buried with the order: "liquidation of premium payments that are economically unprofitable."

Trud ends its article with, "All this shows . . . the access of the workers to true participation in the running of the state." This is making a propaganda virtue of bitter necessity. Soviet workers rejected the wage and norm revision the bureaucracy tried to force on them. Through self-organization, aggressive factory committees and, apparently in a large number of instances, by strike action they forced the bureaucracy to retreat.

Thus Soviet workers have not only won a victory that can be measured by their pay and mitigation of speedup, but have achieved at the same time a political victory of great significance. This bodes ill for the bureaucratic oligarchy's idea that it will decide how decentralized Soviet industry is to be managed. The Soviet workers will have their say here too: According to Jacques Michel (France-Observateur, April 4, 1957), "Some of the workers who victoriously resisted the increase of norms, are talking in the factories about 'workers' control.'"

**The "Decentralizers"**



Soviet party boss Khrushchev (left) is shown with ex-Premier Malenkov. They are now trying to revamp the management of Soviet industry, but with a sharp eye toward keeping full control of production in the hands of the bureaucrats despite pressure for workers' control.

**A New Question on Soviet Jews**

The Jewish-language daily, Freiheit, has long supported the Soviet political rulers. However, since the recent incontrovertible proofs of past and continuing anti-Jewish practices by the Kremlin, Freiheit has spoken out frequently in support of the demand that the Jews in the USSR be accorded the national rights which are supposed to be guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Their readers apparently will not settle for less.

In the May 15 issue of Freiheit, Moïse Katz raises a simple but searching question. He reports the news that a number of national minorities in the Soviet Union have regained some of the national rights they were brutally deprived of during World War II. These groups had been deported in mass from their homelands because Stalin charged that some of their members had collaborated with the Nazis.

The ban on the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars and several national groups in the North Caucasus have now been lifted. Those in exile have been permitted to return to their homelands and they are again allowed to publish newspapers in their own languages.

While welcoming this development, Katz poses this very pertinent question: What about the rights of a people that have done no wrong, never have been

suspected of collaborating with the Nazis, in fact were the worst sufferers of Nazism, a people that demonstrated outstanding heroism in the fight against Nazism. In short, what about the three million Jews who have been deprived of all national rights? How about an "amnesty" for them?

Noting that such requests have been made repeatedly to the Soviet leadership by foreign delegations both Jewish and non-Jewish and that they have in reality been ignored, Katz declares anew the urgent need for all those concerned with the fate of the Soviet Jews, and of the Soviet Union itself, to speak out in the strongest possible way.

We believe Katz is entirely correct about this and associate ourselves with the demand that the Soviet Jews be accorded "rights [which] belong to them by virtue of the Soviet constitution and the Leninist concept of politics."

We further believe it to be the obligation of all other working class and radical papers to speak out on this issue. In this regard it is necessary to note again that the Daily Worker, which has no less reason than the Freiheit to speak up, continues to maintain a shameful silence on the issue after making a solemn pledge to speak out until justice was accorded to the Soviet Jews.

**THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN CHINA**

By C. R. Hubbard

The development of working-class opposition in China has compelled the bureaucratic caste to go even further in making concessions to the democratic demands of the workers, than its Soviet counterpart. The recognition of the right to strike in China demonstrates the advanced character of the struggle to eliminate bureaucracy.

The May 29 New York Times, reported from London that Mao Tse-tung's as yet unpublished speech at the February-March Supreme State Conference expressed the view that "strikes, demonstrations and other manifestations of popular will, might sometimes be needed in attaining Socialist objectives within a Communist state."

**CONFIRMATION**

The May 30 Daily Worker, in an article by Alan Wilmington from Peking, confirms that account. Mao Tse-tung is reported as saying that "the right of the people to strike, demonstrate and take political action is an absolute right."

Of course behind the strike movement and the CCP's concessions to it is the problem of the bureaucratic abuse of the growing Chinese working class and of its revolutionary aspirations for freedom. Wage concessions have been made since the CCP's admission of "errors" on wage structures in the spring of 1956. But these concessions have been primarily in the field of over-coming inequities. For substantial gains, struggle is necessary to convert bureaucratic promises into improved working conditions.

At the Eighth National Congress of the CCP last September Chou En-lai said, "Taken as a whole, the rate of increase of the wages of the workers and employees in the past few years was in the main compatible with that of labor productivity. However, in a certain period of time, the rate of increase in wages lagged far behind that of labor productivity."

**SOMETHING MISSING**

But production increases in China have come primarily from increases in the duration and intensity of labor rather than from increases in productivity. When Chou relates wage increases only to productivity increases, he reveals in effect how greatly the Mao bureaucracy has subjected the Chinese working class to methods taken from capitalist exploitation. As against this abuse of their labor, the workers have the right to consider total production increases, and not merely productivity increases, as a just basis for wage raises.

The CCP grants recognition to the right to strike, because it is not able to crush the mounting

opposition of the Chinese working class. While conceding to some demands, the bureaucrats hope to maintain their special privileges and power by "persuading" the workers of the "nonantagonistic" nature of the contradictions between the bureaucracy and the masses.

The May 7 New China News Agency quoted Chen Shu-tung on contradictions in the ranks of the people. Chen, the Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, claimed that the class contradictions between workers and industrialists "had been basically solved since the socialist transformation."

Now, according to Chen, "the contradictions in ideology had come to the fore at this time. . . . But this did not arise from conflicts of class interests but from contradictions between correct and incorrect thinking." The solution, Chen explained, is for "industrialists and businessmen to realize the essence of this class contradiction. To solve this contradiction, as one within the ranks of the people, the industrialists and businessmen should make greater efforts in their re-education."

**FACT AND FANTASY**

Political struggle is here presented as a disembodied process floating above social forces and unrelated to the material interests involved. In this way it is hoped that a struggle over material interests can be dissolved into an argument between "nonantagonistic" social forces.

But the real struggle goes on, no matter how it is depicted. Class contradictions and contradictions within the working class are antagonistic and will not be removed by "persuasion." The Chinese Communist Party is facing a show-down struggle with the working class. And like the Communist Parties of East Europe it will be confronted with a split in its own ranks as the contradictions accumulate.

Incidentally contained in the Daily Worker's report by Wilmington is an admission that the Chinese state under the Communist Party is bureaucratically deformed. This is progress, for past criticism of the Chinese regime from a socialist point of view, which included the defense of China against the imperialist powers, was regarded by many Communist workers as Trotskyist slander, even after the Khrushchev admissions of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

However, an admission of bureaucratic deformation does not amount to a Marxist analysis of this bureaucracy and thereby to a correct program for destroying it. In the first place, as in the Soviet Union, the recognition of this deformation comes only

after the bureaucrats themselves have been compelled to admit their "errors." And then the evaluation of the problem of bureaucracy is limited to the evaluation made by the bureaucrats — who have material interests that preclude an objective analysis.

This is clearly seen in Wilmington's explanation of why bureaucratic deformations appeared in China. "Under Socialism," he says, "the people produce, but they don't directly govern. They are liable to see matters from a short-term, sectional, personal viewpoint." This is the classical Stalinist rationalization for bureaucratic rule. Marxists have always regarded the socialist society as the system of direct rule of the working class. The separation of a bureaucracy out of the working class that rules against the workers is not socialism but the bureaucratic deformation or degeneration of the workers' state.

The concrete experience of the workers' revolution in Russia confirmed this Marxist view of socialism. Under Lenin the working class did rule directly. The Soviets, the organs of struggle for power, became also the organs of rule. The Communist Party — then a revolutionary party — was the vanguard of the workers in their Soviets, but it was not a substitute for the workers' rule.

**CCP RECORD**

In the Soviet Union, a bureaucratic clique headed by Stalin captured the Communist Party and destroyed the Soviets as democratic mass organs of rule. The process in China was different but the result was essentially the same. The CCP was thoroughly Stalinized long before it took power. It never suppressed the Soviets of China because it never brought any into being in the first place — or allowed any to come into existence.

In the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Stalinists fought with a mass peasant base. Their policy was to exclude the city workers in the interests of a bloc with a section of the small capitalist class and as a demonstration to the capitalist world that the Chinese Communist Party had bourgeois-democratic rather than socialist objectives.

China paid a terrible price for aborting the Chinese workers' participation in the civil war. Utilization of the revolutionary capacities of the Chinese workers became an immediate and urgent need with the beginning of industrial planning and the defense of the revolution against the new imperialist thrust through Korea. The workers were called upon to make great sacrifices. The workers met the need, but the bureaucratic repressions became increasingly intolerable. And state-

protected profits to those hated capitalists that still remained made a mockery of proletarian sacrifice.

**ROLE OF WORKERS' SELF-INTEREST**

The bureaucratic notion expressed by Wilmington that the workers are "liable to see matters from a short-term, sectional, personal viewpoint," holds true only for a repressed working class concerned with defending the workers' welfare and lives against a parasitic and oppressive bureaucracy. As for the allegedly "long-term" view of the bureaucrats, it amounts solely to the long-term concern for keeping posts and privileges.

Once the working class gains control of production and productive planning the bureaucratic "errors" so copiously and belatedly admitted will be overcome. The workers can far more realistically estimate the rate of accumulation for expanded re-

production. They won't make the costly "mistake" of attempting to achieve accumulation primarily at the expense of the health and welfare of the people. They will understand far better than the bureaucrats the need for industrialization. Once the workers are confident that they, and not a growing caste of bureaucrats or capitalist "allies," will benefit, economic progress will be assured.

Thus the primary task of the political revolution in China is clearly to complete the social revolution that began with the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek. The working class must forge mass organs of power and take control of production and planning. "Under socialism the people produce," says Wilmington. But they do that under capitalism, too. Under socialism, we say, the people must also govern directly.

**Fryer's Newsletter Fills Important Socialist Need**

Four issues of The Newsletter, published weekly in London by Peter Fryer have now appeared. The first issue explains that the purpose of The Newsletter is "to provide socialists with news and documents which they will not find adequately treated elsewhere." This aim is being realized in an impressive fashion.

The Newsletter is jam-packed with world-wide reporting, with texts of important documents, with information on developments in the British and world Communist parties, with an excellent coverage on the thriving British socialist forum movement and with a wealth of material written by scientific and medical experts on the results of the nuclear weapons tests. In short, The Newsletter is invaluable for socialists in every country.

Among the documents made available thus far by The Newsletter is the complete text of "How to Build a Mass Communist Party," an important post-convention statement by the leadership of the British CP. Another issue of the Newsletter carries the text of the resolution on the Jewish question in the USSR adopted by the state convention of the Communist Party in New York.

Particularly informative is a report by The Newsletter's Polish correspondent, the first of a series.

The main points of the discussions in the British forum movement are presented with impressive compactness. These reports give insight into the present political thinking of such im-

— Harry Ring

**Workers' BOOKSHELF**

By Anne Chester  
 Manager, Pioneer Publishers  
 This week Pioneer Publishers is featuring pamphlets on Stalinism and the labor movement. These include:  
**STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM.** By Leon Trotsky. 32 pages. 15 cents.  
 This great essay lays bare the fraudulent contention that Stalinism and Bolshevism are the

same, or that Stalinism was inherent in Bolshevism.  
**THE KIROV ASSASSINATION.** By Leon Trotsky. 32 pages. 25 cents. (Pioneer Pocket Library No. 3).  
 This pamphlet, heretofore long out of print, is presented in a new edition. In this work, Trotsky nails down the Stalinist frame-up system several years before the Moscow Trials.  
**I STAKE MY LIFE.** By Leon

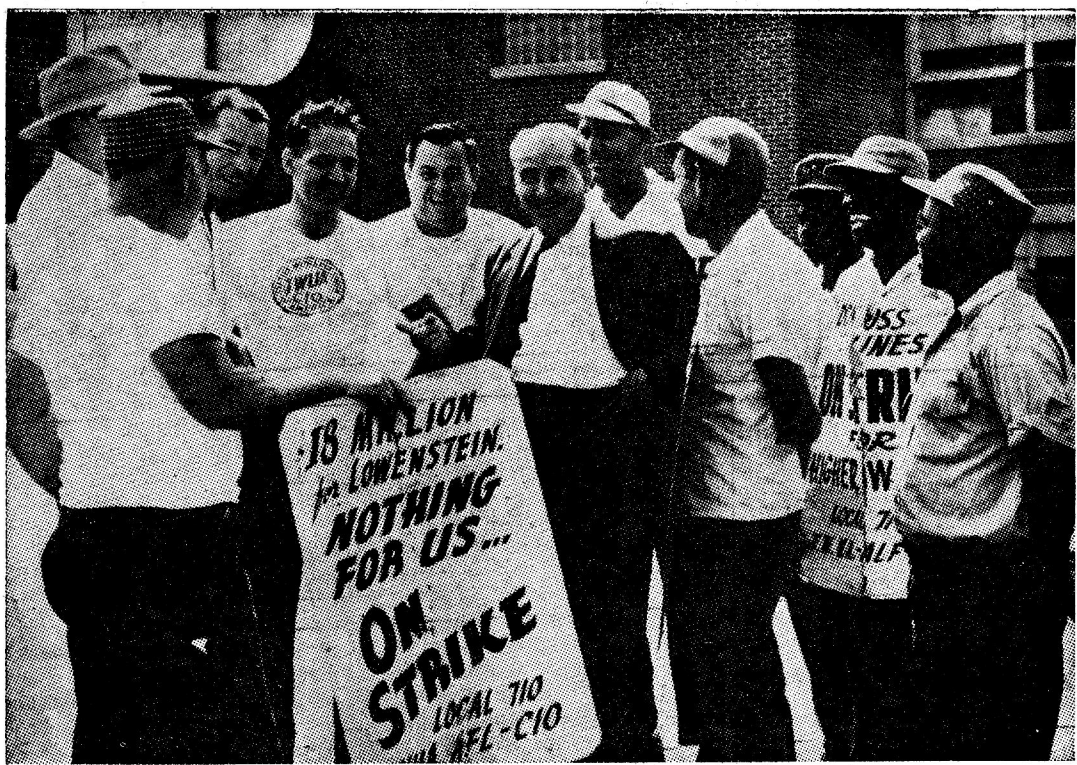
Trotsky. 20 pages. 15 cents. (Ceylon Edition.)  
 In this pamphlet, Trotsky answered Stalin's charges and offered to appear before an impartial investigation commission such as was subsequently set up under the chairmanship of Professor John Dewey. "If this commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree," Trotsky stated, "I pledge in advance to place myself in the hands of the executioners of the GPU."  
**AMERICAN STALINISM AND ANTI-STALINISM.** By James P. Cannon. 42 pages. 15 cents.  
 How to wage the struggle against Stalinism without aiding American imperialism and how to wage the struggle against Wall Street without conciliating Stalinism.  
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Order the above from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.





President William Pollock of the Textile Workers Union (wearing jacket, center) is shown with a group of pickets in the hard-fought strike at the Lowenstein plant in South Carolina. The textile workers have been among the hardest hit by savage employer use of the union-busting Taft-Hartley law.

## Textile Union President Describes T-H at Work

Ten years ago the Taft-Hartley Act was passed by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats. Some of the results of labor's failure to turn the reactionary tide which this law symbolizes is frankly described by William Pollock, General President of the Textile Workers Union of America, in an article in the Spring issue of the Digest of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. He writes:

### Matles Brings Suit For New Trial in Citizenship Case

James B. Matles, director of organization for the United Electrical Workers (Independent), who was stripped of his citizenship last March on grounds that he allegedly was a Communist Party member when naturalized, filed suit, June 5, for a new trial.

Matles based his motion for re-trial on the recent Supreme Court decisions in the case of Clinton Jencks, an official of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, convicted of falsely swearing to a Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavit. The court granted Jencks a new trial because the Justice Department refused to make available secret documents of its paid informers and thus denied him the opportunity to examine or refute them.

Matles' conviction was based largely on use of the same stable of government stool pigeons and by use of similar secret FBI files. Opening of these files would establish more firmly that government witnesses perjured themselves in the Matles hearing, as one of them did, for instance, when claiming to have seen Matles at CP meetings here when really Matles was only 15 years old and still in Rumania.

Hartley era with slightly more than one-third of the country's 1.3 million textile workers under contract. Today, ten years and some \$10 million later, we represent slightly less than one third of the million textile workers now in the mills. . . .

"Now let us see what it means to be a textile worker and to have no rights at all.

IN A TEXTILE TOWN  
"Our scene is almost any textile town in the South. That's where 70% of the textile industry is located—less than 15% of it organized. A typical textile town is just that—textile and nothing else. Often there is only a single mill; a worker who loses his job must turn to farming, if he can, or pull up roots and move far away. But even in isolated communities, workers grow restive under hardship and abuse. They know there's a better life to be had; they listen to the radio, look at television (though buying a set may mean long months of installment payments), go to the movies. And almost all of them have heard about the union.

"So one dark day, when conditions seem less tolerable than ever, a worker or a group of workers write to our Southern office. An organizer is assigned to investigate. He meets with the workers in deepest secrecy. . . . "Just what happens next, and when it happens, depends upon the employer's choice of techniques. Sometimes the organizer is stopped by company stooges or by police on his next visit to town and told that it would be "healthier" for him to go away. But more often than not the first few weeks are quiet.

"Let us assume, however, that leaflet distribution goes along peacefully; that interest among the workers continues to grow; that committees are formed and membership cards distributed. Let us even assume that no special resistance is encountered until the union asks for recognition and petitions for an election.

COMING AND GOING  
"It should be understood that the timing of the election is entirely up to the employer. If the union petition is filed when fewer than a majority have been signed—few more say than the legal minimum of 30 percent—the employer can consent to the election and thus have a vote before the union is ready. But if the union waits until a substantial

majority have been signed, the employer refuses to consent, insists upon a hearing, inserts all sorts of nonsensical objections and delays the vote for many months.

"How does the employer use these intervening months? First, he fires selected leaders of the union group. Did someone say this is illegal? Maybe so, but try to prove it. The present National Labor Relations Board doesn't think so. If there is any other reason the employer can advance for the firing, no matter how flimsy, the NLRB refuses to act.

"But firings are only a beginning. Broad-sides are flung at the other workers individually and collectively, not only by the employer, but by the local press, clergy, and merchants. "Workers are told that the mill will close if the union wins. Those who have joined the union find that they no longer have credit in the neighborhood stores. Often as not they are trailed to and from union meetings. As the election nears they are called in, one by one, to be subjected to promises or threats—or both—by supervisors. . . . "It should be noted for the record that no appeal to racial, national, or religious prejudice is too shocking and no lie is too great for inclusion. The material must be seen to be believed and even then it is unbelievable. . . .

STRIKEBREAKERS  
Pollock points out that even if the union is finally recognized in spite of these obstacles, the employer will refuse to "bargain in good faith." Then the workers are forced to strike. Pollock continues: "State injunctions will immediately prevent effective picketing. Strikers will be arrested on flimsy pretenses. Creditors will descend in droves, demanding immediate payment in full of all outstanding amounts, even though installments had been arranged. And because under-employment is still the curse of the South, droves of strike-breakers will be recruited from the marginal farms in the area surrounding the mill. The outcome may be that the strikers will lose their jobs for good—hardly a trade union objective."

"This deplorable social situation has an economic equivalent. Average hourly earnings in the textile industry as a whole are \$1.51, more than fifty cents an hour below the average for all industry. Even this figure is deceptively high, since it includes relatively well-organized and relatively well-paid workers in synthetic yarn plants, carpet mills, etc. The largest division of the industry, cotton rayon, with more than half the industry's workers, shows a wage average of only \$1.40 in the "better plants."

## Montgomery White Jury Acquits Racist Bombers

By Frances James

Two white men, Raymond C. Britt Jr. and Sonny Kyle Livingston Jr., charged with bombing a Negro church in Montgomery Ala. have been acquitted. A 12-man, all-white

jury declared the men innocent of the charge even after the prosecution introduced, through testimony of a police officer, evidence of signed confessions to the tossing of dynamite into the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church. An admitted Ku Klux Klan member and witness in the trial told of the plotting to throw bombs at Negro churches and Negro ministers' homes. Both Livingston and Britt, he said, were involved in the plot. Thus, as the prosecution attorney pointed out to the jury, the issue of the trial was not whether the accused were innocent or guilty as charged, but "whether you the jury . . . will find them guilty."

He went on to say, "If you turn these men loose under the evidence the state has presented, you say to the Ku Klux Klan, 'If you bomb a Negro church or home, it's all right!'"

The defense attorney spoke appealing to the racial hatred of the all-white jury. He called upon them to render a verdict "that will preserve our sacred traditions" and that "will determine our way of life in the South" and "go down in history as saying to the Negroes that 'you shall not pass.'" The verdict of innocent was thus handed

down on the basis of the defense appeal to racial animosity and implied justification of lawless violence.

### OTHER VIOLENT ACTS

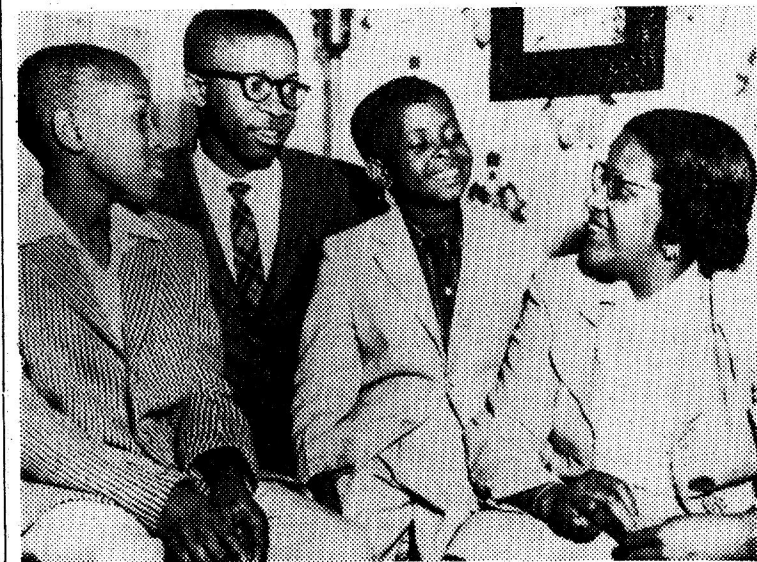
The bombings of the Hutchinson Street Church occurred on Jan. 10 during the wave of terrorist acts by white supremacists following the Supreme-Court victory of the bus desegregation movement in Montgomery. This wave of violence included six shootings of buses, attacks on the homes of two ministers, an attack on a Negro taxistand and on the home next to the stand. Raymond Britt, now acquitted in the case of the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church, is also charged with the attack on the taxistand.

Further criminal trials arising out of these terrorist acts are now pending, but the possibility of convictions seems remote at the present time. The "tradition" of Southern so-called "justice" is that whites shall never be convicted in cases of violence against Negroes. Only the solidarity, mass action and determination of the Negro people to defend their civil rights will change this situation and introduce real justice into Southern life.

## Stellato, Hill Aid In McPhaul Case

DETROIT, May 27 — Carl Stellato, president of Ford UAW Local 600 and Reverend Charles A. Hill, pastor of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, have assumed co-chairmanship of the McPhaul Defense Committee.

### Helped Kayo School Jim Crow



Mrs. Bertha Felder smiles at her three sons as they heard news last month of Supreme Court ruling which banned "white students only" practice of Girard College, a privately endowed Philadelphia school. Mrs. Felder filed the suit that resulted in this victory.

The committee describes itself as "a non-partisan committee to publicize the legal and moral issues in the case of Arthur McPhaul and to aid him in appealing his conviction to the higher courts."

McPhaul was sentenced to nine months imprisonment in January for contempt of Congress resulting from his failure to turn over records of the Civil Rights Congress to a Congressional investigating committee in 1952. He is appealing to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

In a recent issue of Ford Facts, Local 600 paper, Stellato, discussing the McPhaul case, wrote: "As far as I have been able to observe, these investigating committees have demanded membership lists, not to establish that crimes were committed, but for the purpose of publishing names so that the members will suffer public disgrace, humiliation and loss of their jobs. This practice is now being extended to the South where some states have passed laws to compel the NAACP to publish lists of its members so as to cripple that organization by subjecting its members to economic and physical reprisal. . . .

### MATTER OF CONSCIENCE

"McPhaul's refusal to turn over the [Civil Rights Congress] lists was a matter of conscience, which, I believe, is entitled to respect in a truly democratic society. And I believe we must continue to oppose the idea that our government should tighten the screws on such persons by increasing the penalties in order to beat down a man's conscience."

Reverend Hill said: "Mr. McPhaul did the right and honorable thing in refusing to cooperate in the smearing and victimization of innocent people. I think that all people of good will should support his appeal for a reversal by a higher court."

Literature about the case may be obtained by writing to the McPhaul Defense Committee, 143 Hazelwood, Detroit 2, Mich.

## Active Organizing in Philadelphia Won Good Turnout for Pilgrimage

By Pearl Spangler and Darrell Liss

PHILADELPHIA — An effective organizing job by the Prayer Pilgrimage Committee here turned out a contingent of between three and four thousand for the great May 17 Washington protest demonstration against Jim Crow.

The organizing committee included NAACP leaders, unionists, students and supporters of such organizations as Americans for Democratic Action, Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends Service Committee and others. Many of the participating groups really did a job in helping to make the Pilgrimage a success. For example, Miss Cecile Smith, a staff worker for Americans for Democratic Action, devoted full time to the organization of transportation and did it in first-rate fashion.

UNION AID  
Efforts of the committee to win union support met their best

response from Knitgoods Local 190 of the ILGWU, which subsidized enough workers to fill at least one car on the Freedom Train.

The organizing campaign, which was launched May 1, came to its climax with an impressive rally, May 15. The rally featured an address by Rosa Parks, whose arrest for refusing to accept Jim Crow humiliation on a Montgomery bus sparked the bus-protest movement in that city.

Mrs. Parks told the rally that when she defied the racists she had no idea she would receive the support she did. She pointed out that countless others had previously taken the same kind of stand and had simply been thrown in jail without any protest action resulting. The fact that her case helped arouse the Negro community, she said, made it worth whatever abuse and humiliation she suffered at the hands of the cops.

A particularly gratifying

aspect of the organizing work was the fine job done by students at Temple University.

The drive there was led mainly by David Pivar of the campus Three Arrows club which sponsored two rallies in support of the Pilgrimage, ran a cake sale to raise funds to subsidize a student delegation, and set up a table to sell tickets for the Freedom Train. In addition, a campaign was conducted for signatures on an "Enroll for Freedom" petition calling on the President to act in support of civil rights and civil liberties.

Also, the Jazz Club at Temple sponsored a benefit performance by local musicians to further publicize and rally support for the Pilgrimage.

When the Freedom Train rolled, May 17, it was filled with an inspiring contingent of freedom fighters completely bound together in a spirit of solidarity. On that train everyone really felt and acted like brothers.

## Janosco Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

1936 to 1938 and saw Janosco there several times. He was then president and business agent of the Warehouse Employees Union while Janosco was business agent for Minneapolis Local 1859 of the Furniture Workers Union. It was brought out that many Socialist Party members had continued to attend meetings of the group which was expelled from that organization and later founded the SWP in 1938.

Bartlett, at one time an admitted Communist Party member, said that he knew from the first that the CP advocated force and violence but that he did not know this about the SWP when he first joined. He learned only later that the SWP likewise advocated forceful overthrow. He stated that the SWP's Statement of Principles followed that of Trotsky's Fourth International. "Trotsky dominated the Fourth International while Stalin dominated the Third International," he said.

## Civil Liberties

(Continued from page 1)

Leader, the principal journal of social-democratic opinion, constituting a vicious attack upon those invoking the Fifth Amendment and upon Griswold's book. Considered as book reviewers, the nine high-court justices unanimously turned thumbs down on Hook's reactionary "Common-sense and the Fifth Amendment."

In the case of New Mexico union official Clinton E. Jencks, the Supreme Court by 7-1 ordered a retrial of his conviction on charges of filing a false T-H non-Communist affidavit. Jencks had been convicted on the testimony of paid FBI informers. The prosecution refused the defense the right to examine the written or oral reports of these informers. Subsequently one of the informers, Harvey Matusow, spilled the beans about his false testimony in the case. The decision should set a precedent for ending the Department of Justice practice of refusing the defense vital information on the grounds that such information are FBI "state secrets" and hence above the law.

Arthur Miller, author of "Death of a Salesman," and the "The Crucible," was found guilty of contempt of Congress in a Washington, D.C., district court on May 31. The alleged contempt took place before the House Un-American Activities Committee where he had testified freely about himself but refused to inform on fellow writers' political beliefs or associations. The court ruled out argument that would have shown that Miller had been called before the witch-hunting committee only because it wished to horn in on the publicity that attended his marriage to movie actress Marilyn Monroe.

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## Our Readers Take the Floor

### The Washington Pilgrimage

Editor:  
At the recent Washington Pilgrimage, everyone was responsive for proposals for action. They grabbed at the Militant's being sold to have something of meaning to read. Likewise their first response to the platform was to clap or shout approval. They felt now was the time for the people to tell the leadership what to do and do it now. This was soon taken in hand by the leaders. A Philip Randolph and the rest. All the clapping and shouting was reduced to hand waving and amens as requested by the platform. The masses were silenced.

But the enthusiasm of the crowd was such that by the time Adam C. Powell spoke, clapping and cheering had started again. He told the people that both parties had betrayed them and that a third force was needed to fight Jim Crow, but he wanted a third force led by the clergy. He received a big hand. He talked about sit-downs, walk-outs and boycotts. But will he help organize these?

Martin Luther King followed and demanded that the vote be given to the Negro people. Everyone present recognized the significance of a third force and of the vote.

In my opinion, it will not be a third force, so-called, but a Labor Party that can and will organize the Negro people for victories in the struggle for equality.

B. D. New York

### First Things First

Editor:  
After reading Albert Schweitzer's appeal in your April 29th issue, I cannot see how all your

plans for socialism will be realized, unless you approach problems first things first.

And the first problem, as far as I can see, is to help maintain human existence. With each day, the human body is absorbing more and more radioactive fallout to the detriment of further growth of blood cells, the reproductive process, etc. To what extent will the dangers of tomorrow be attributed to the lack of decision, displayed by the masses whose faith in governments has hitherto been so lavish?

Only an international decision to stop H-bomb tests, and summon a world congress of scientists to look into the necessity to find an anti-radioactive process (dietary) can give any meaning to whatever concepts you have as to the universe of tomorrow.

G. N. Winnipeg, Canada

### The Submit-or-Starve Formula

Editor:

At the present time the capitalist witch-hunt system is using the very effective method of simply starving people into submission. Heretofore, the method was to imprison people for thinking and talking, and of course, provide them with food, shelter, clothing, and medical care while they were in jail. Numerous people here in Baltimore have felt the force of the starve-out tactics, and some have been forced to leave Baltimore if they wanted to go on living. Some have chosen to "repent" and squeal on their former friends and associates in order to keep their jobs. One such man was a "friendly witness" at the recent hearings about Communist activity here in Baltimore. It is my understanding that he was given the ultimatum

to either "cooperate" or he would be unable to get any job whatsoever in this city. And he has a wife and five children to support!

The Communist Party through the "Smith Act Victims Committee" did much to aid a few, but nothing at all has been done on a sufficiently large scale to enable a man to be an active Socialist and to be able to go on living.

R. L. Baltimore

### Enjoys Fryer Articles

Editor:

There was a blackout on all news sources here about the March on Washington held by Negro community. There was nothing on the local TV or radio or in the press. We did hear one American station mention a huge march in Washington of the National Guard on May 18.

Peter Fryer makes good reading — a fine addition to your staff. Notes from France, Italy, Germany would strengthen news interest still more.

The boss loggers want to take on the IWA (International Woodworkers of America) here. The small operators are all preparing a long siege. Canadian famers are hard hit.

B. J. British Columbia Canada

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## Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Friday Night Socialist Forum. June 21, 8 P.M. "Government-Controlled Unions or Workers' Democracy?" 3737 Woodward.

New York

American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. June 11: a report on Socialist Youth in Michigan by guest speaker Bob Himmel.

### The Santana Case

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