Pro-Gomulka Vote Masks Continued **Conflicts in Poland**

By George Lavan

JAN. 22 - The Polish people went to the polls on Jan. 20 and gave Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka what he had asked for — an overwhelming show of support.

Between 90 and 96% of eligi->ble Poles voluntarily cast bal- the proposition: For or against lots. This participation compares Gomulka?

There were no opposition parfavorably, or even exceeds, the turnouts achieved in the 1952 and ties or candidates on the ballot.

regime, had brought election-eve ment. The voter could choose pleas by Gomulka and his follow- among them by crossing off pleas were effective is demonstrated by the results.

This atmosphere, plus the mechanics of the voting itself, made the election a plebiscite on



GOMULKA

the ballot was not widespread enough to defeat any of the 459 -10%, the remainder being uncandidates favored by Gomulka. affiliated. The election differed The specter of mass deletions of from the usual single slate afnames from the ballot, constitut-ing lukewarm support, or even a didate from the ballot for the ballot and the state ar-tional Front put forth 720 canrepudiation, of the new Polish didates for 459 seats in parlia-

ers that crossing out on the bal-lat lot was tantamount to crossing entitled to four seats, there might Poland off the map. That these appear on the ballot the names of seven candidates. Crossing out the names of the top three would

give the votes to the last four candidates. An unmarked ballot would be a vote for the first four names.

While the amount of crossing out varied from district to district, apparently it was nowhere heavy or concerted enough to defeat any of the top two-thirds of the slate. Thus Gomulka has been given his popular "vote of confidence," a coalition in the exact proportions he asked and hand-picked parliament.

'GOMULKA OR TANKS"

The overrriding issue of the campaign was that of relations with the USSR. How to safeguard the concessions forced from the Kremlin since the beginning of the political revolution in October and to extend them without bringing on a massive intervention by the Russian army preoccupies the minds of the Polish people. Gomulka claims that he alone can walk the tight rope and that the choice in (Continued on page 2)

Eisenhower Pushes Biggest previous elections when police measures were employed to get out the vote. Secondly, crossing names of formunist Party candidates off the ballot was not widespread enough to defeat any of the 459 - 10%, the remainder being un-affiliated. The election differed

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1957

THE MILITANT

A "Fifty-Fifty" Break

WEEKLY

267

PUBLISHED

Vol. XXI - No. 4



By The Editors

Arms Inflation Hikes Tax Steal

To Record \$86 Billion a Year

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

For the second year in a row, President Eisenhower has proposed the largest peacetime military budget in history. Forty-five billion dollars, or roughly two thirds of the entire budget for the fiscal year beginning next July, will be spent in the United States and abroad to prepare for nuclear war. Another ten percent or \$7.4 billion will go directly into the coffers of big corporations, banks and insurance companies as "interest" on the national debt.

The spending budget is given as \$71.9 oillion, or a \$2.9 billion increase over the current year. The amount of taxes taken out of the economy, however will be \$85.9 billion, since special taxes on highways, social security, etc. are not listed in the budget, and since there will be a \$1.8 billion surplus for "retirement" of the national debt. This means that more than 25% of the national income will go in taxes to the federal government alone.

Big business spokesmen are decrying Eisenhower's failure to curb the federal government's tax bite, and even Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, said that if the trend continues the country will have Labor's Duty The Jan. 17 Wall Street Journal, in agreeing with Humphrey, suggests cuts in school building funds, medical care and research, veterans nospitals, and soil and water conservation projects. Neither the

NEW YORK, Jan. 20-Enter- Journal, nor Humphrey, nor any other ing the 1957 New York City elec- spokesmen for Big Business, propose any lear call real cuts in military spending. Yet it is political action, the New York precisely that section of the budget which Local of the Socialist Workers is inflationary and which accounts for Party nominated Joyce Cowley over \$2 billion of the increase in the party. His increasingly concilia- for Mayor at a convention last proposed budget over that of the current

tion plus veterans' medical care and hospitals.

PRICE 10c

According to the budget message, these "vastly superior weapons have a profound impact on the size and composition of the military budget." New "Atomic Support Commands" are being formed to "provide nuclear fire power support for our allies in Europe, the Middle East, and perhaps the Far East," says the Jan. 20 New York Times.

The new budget reveals the meaning of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the Middle East. By replacing Great Britain and France in that area, U.S. capitalism is more and more revealing its true nature as the chief organizer of imperialist counter-revolution. It confronts the Arab revolution for national independence as an irreconcilable foe. The "Doctrine" gives the Big Business rulers of this country the power to order armed intervention against the colonial revolution without consulting Congress or the people. The budget makes it unmistakably clear that full-scale, cold-blooded preparations for the use of atom and hydrogen weapons in such intervention is now underway.

It is the duty of the American labor movement to oppose the atomic war budget with all its strength. In the first place the budget provides only a pittance for social welfare; it robs the American people of its right to use the country's resources to build a better life for all; it fails to provide for the burning needs of

education, housing, health and public con-

struction. Secondly, the budget proposes

to utilize the wealth produced by Ameri-

can workers and farmers to deliver atomic

death and destruction to the insurgent

colonial peoples who are rightfully fight-

The fact that both Big Business parties,

the Republicans and the Democrats, are

uniting behind the Eisenhower budget,

is a bitter reminder that American labor

ing for their freedom.

The CP Faction Fight On Feb. 9-12, the Communist Party of the U.S. will meet in Reserved shear at the analytic of the bill of the bill of the member-party of the U.S. will meet in

the initial impression of throw-| democratic rights of the member-| Lenin. He did so in large meas

convention. The gathering will pressed shock at the revelations employed a different strategy. It Gates faction was rapidly demonbe dominated by a faction fight of Stalin's crimes. It apologized consisted essentially of letting strating that whatever it had to between the Gates and Foster her the the state of these crimes, the adversary get out on a limb, offer on the side of party depledging that henceforth it would then trying to saw the limb off. mocracy was outweighed by its

speak out unequivocally against For a month after the Khrush- steady rightward evolution. The tendencies. The Khruschev revelations at such monstrous deeds as frame-

the CP into a Browder-type "po-

'. Mavor

THERE IT IS!

SWP to Run **Cowley** for

the 20th Congress of the Com- up trials and persecution of the party was in a seething turmoil munist Party of the Soviet Jewish people. Union last year not only pro-

duced a crisis in the ranks of the American CP, but served to end a decade of uneasy "coexistence" between the Party's Nat'l Committee and its National Chairman, William Z. Foster. When Earl Browder was booted out in 1946, Foster assumed the titular leadership of the party but the decisive control rested with those who had previously comprised Browder's machine in the leadership. Supported by a few old-time associates, Foster remained in conflict with the rest of the committee for full control of the party's completely bureaucratized apparatus.

With the post-20th Congress Unified in N. Y. Convention developments, these power-seeking cliques emerged before the membership as the Gates and Foster tendencies. Meanwhile, many in the ranks, now recognizing that Stalinism and Leninand part of the Social Democratic scheduled convention, will be government required that Gaitism were differing and conflicting conceptions, were trying to Federation merged into one or- called the Socialist Party-Social skell, as head of her majesty's the city elections are still ten find the way back to the authen- ganization at a national conven- Democratic Federation. tic Leninism as the solution to tion held in New York City Jan. GAITSKELL ABSENT 18 and 19. The Jewish Socialist the Party crisis.

Verband, largest section of the turn to Lenihist criteria were put SDF, remained outside of the right wingers in the SDF who left without its dignitaries. The in the position of having to de- unification. In addition, the Cen- snubbed the unity convention, the mayor of Milwaukee, Frank in the position of naving to de-trai Committee of the New York leadership of the small 'left-wing' Zeidler, was there to deliver the ship could advance the party in City SDF voted 41-9 in opposition to the merger with the SP also opposed the merger capi- also elected National Chairman the direction of Leninism. and announced that the conven- tulated, entered the unity con- of the new organization with

BOTH FEAR RANKS

tion was "irregular, unauthoriz- vention, even compromising its Darlington Hoopes and Louis Both Foster and Gates revealed the indelible stamp of long ed and invalid." The convention was attended new organization call itself the years of Stalinist politics. Neither by fewer than a hundred who Socialist Party. was willing to make a full and

honest appraisal of the past. claimed delegate's status, with Neither would clearly spell out the SDF bringing to the SP a the British Labor Party, had of our turbulent era — profoundly the political platform on which national membership of less than been scheduled to address the he stood. Neither tendency dared centrust resolution of the party crisis to democratic process in

the organization. Through the mechanics of presenting a compromise draft resolution for the convention, both tendencies sought to avoid having the disputed question settled by the democratic decision of the membership. They feared that

such a precedent would encourage the formation of independent groupings in the ranks advancing platforms opposed to that of both factions in the leadership.

The Gates tendency, with control of the Daily Worker, was the first to appear before the membership. It gave CP ranks

and his factional opponents were litical association" was recogtaking a stand, Foster maintained nized by worker-militants as liq-The Daily Worker hailed the ascendancy of Gomulka to power a public silence.

Finally, in the March 16 Daily in Poland and came to deplore Worker, he emerged to declare: Kremlin intervention in Hungary. "Our task is neither to rush in-It declared for an end to bureaucratic misrule in the CP although dignantly to the defense of Stait was helping to prop it up. lin nor to tear him to political Thus, the Gates faction sought shreds, as some in our ranks are to recommend itself to the party inclined to do."

Right Wing Socialist Groups

By Myra Tanner Weiss | a hundred. The new organiza-| convention. However, the cabined

JAN. 23 - The Socialist Party tion, until the next regularly crisis, of England's imperialist

Unlike the ultra-conservative

Hugh Gaitskell, Chairman of

in the Socialist Party that had keynote address. The mayor was

last and final demand, that the Goldberg as Vice Chairmen.

Foster was able to win the ranks for such Leninist attributes support of many of those memas independent thinking, speaking the truth and supporting the bers who sought a road back to

State Department "Socialism"

of Understanding" arrived at between the Socialist

Party and the Social Democratic Federation prior to

illusion that peace can be achieved by appeasement of

the Communist imperialism that threatens the world's

peace and freedom. . . We realize that until universal,

enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free

world and its democratically established military agen-

cies must be constantly on guard against the military

drive of the Communist dictators."

their Jan. 18-19 unity convention in New York:

The following is an excerpt from the "Memorandum

"[The point program] must not be based on the

inist concept of a revolutionary tory attitude toward the Social Democracy and the union bureaucracy clearly revealed a high ator in the 1956 elections. sensitivity to the pressure of capshe presented the party's proitalist public opinion.

uidating any vestige of the Len-

Gates lost further ground when it became apparent that he was (Continued from page 2)

in haste for consultations with

the queen of the British empire.

Still, the convention was not

In a statement issued by the

Unity Convention, the merger is

described as "primarily the result

changed social, economic and in-

as the original split between the

(Continued on page 3)

During her campaign last fall, All for Destruction

gram at many many forums, Ne-This whopping increase is entirely gro churches, radio debates and devoted to the procurement of ghastly symposiums, TV appearances and interviews. She plans a similarly energetic campaign for the maynuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs and

orality race. Mrs. Cowley is an active par money to be spent on guided missiles ticipant in the struggle to inte-grate New York city schools. (See story page four.) She has alone is more than the entire amount earmarked for public education, plus also written articles exposing the public health, plus soil and water conserva-

Santana frame-up (a case in which a Puerto Rican youth was railroaded to prison on a 25-year sentence) and spoke against the injustice over TV.

In announcing Mrs. Cowley's candidacy, Tom Kerry, New York SWP Chairman stated: "Although official opposition party, return months off, we believe now is the time for radical and union organizations to make plans for

By Vincent Grey

a genuine "break-through."

Negro and white that can finally, page four.)

presenting working class candidates. It is for this reason that we have nominated Mrs. Cowley at this time. We are ready, however, to discuss any other proposal for advancing independent against Big-Business domination buses.

of New York City. "We strongly recommend Joyce protest rally against segregation Cowley to the socialist-minded workers and youth of New York their cars were smashed by white as well as to the city's entire hoodlums while the meeting was working class. She will be camgoing on. A day or two later, six

perialism's war plans, of support tion rules on the buses. These pel them to come to the aid of that. struggle of working people lawing bus segregation.

Introductory Offer A Six-Month Subscription significance" of the merger. The TO THE MILITANT "events of twenty years ago" Only \$1 that led to the split actually consisted of an upsurge of the 116 University Place American working class that New York 3, N. Y.

is still without its own political party to missiles, and devices to utilize them. The represent its own political interests. Without such a party the billionaire monopolists continue to call the tune in Washington and the working people cannot have an effective means of opposing them. White Students Joining **Negro-Bus Boycotters**

| succeed in breaking down the | Students very often move Almost buried in the capitalist racial barriers erected by an op- faster in changing their opinions press last week was the report pressive ruling class. The strug- that do the workers. Thereby of the historic act of twenty gle of the Negro people has won white Florida State University the admiration of all class-conwhite Florida State University students in Tallahassee joining ficent fight is directed not only the Negro Inter-Civic Council's grainst the representation of all class-con-movements of the working class. In this case, the students of Florida State who joined in defyworking-class political action drive for full integration on city of a ruling class, but against the coming unity of white and

They attended the ICC mass the prejudices of white victims Negro workers in the South. of this class oppression. It is True, the students' action may on Jan. 17. Windows on two of a fight for white allies by the at first antagonize the majority very nature of the fight. of whites. But it is such a

MILLIONS WILL AID

courageous act that it will make it easier for the next step of

ternational developments - just paigning on a socialist platform Negro and white students were The self-interest of a majority white solidarity to be taken, and arrested for violating segrega- of whites must eventually com- still easier for the next step after

> to the Negro people in the South rules are still imposed despite the embattled Negro people. This The Jim Crow system of the a Supreme Court decision out- force is made up of millions of South does not rest only upon the white workers - especially cruel and reactionary legal Afterward, defying threats of those who belong, alongside their system, but more immediately expulsion from the college, the Negro union brothers and sisters upon social pressure and upon group signed a letter in the to the organized labor move- terror. Any time a whole group student newspaper calling upon ment. White workers cannot ef- of whites defies this social presthe student body to support the fectively force the capitalists sure and the threats of the KKK, to pay them higher wages while the ugly system itself is thereby integration movement. Up to now, there have been they are divided by Jim Crow weakened.

only individual cases of solidarity from Negro workers. This In this sense, the students' by whites in the South for the lesson has already been learned action not only anticipates, but anti-segregation struggle. The to a substantial degree in the begins a new phase of the Negro student action is a real "first," North and will be assimilated by struggle, — that of winning workers in the South. (See It is only the joint action of "Good News From Texas" on Southern whites as active participants in it.

Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation itself grew out of events of twenty and the North, for support to the years ago. . . events and circumstances have made unity between the SP and the SDF not only possible but imperative." of a labor party." **REAL STORY OF SPLIT** This was apparently as close as the convention could come to an explanation of the "historic

of opposition to American im-

ard wages, and for the building



THE MILITANT

The historic tragedy was that, with the failure of revolution if

Events Refute Draft Resolution Of CP on "Co-Existence"

By Harry Ring

While sharply divided on other issues, the Seadership of the Communist Party stands united on the main political line of the draft resolution which it has presented for adoption at the Party's forthcoming convention. Throughout the pre-convention discussion both the Foster and Gates wings of the National Committee has studiously avoided the fact that their draft resolution, written only four months ago, has already failed the test of events.

Page 2

The central thesis of the resolution is that World War III can be averted by "peaceful co-existence" between imperialism and the noncapitalist world. The resolution contends that the perspective of such co-existence is now realizable because a decisive change allegedly occurred in the world situation in 1955 when "the Eisenhower administration was compelled to drop its opposition to great power negotiations, meet with the Soviet Union at Geneva, and formally renounce the use of force to resolve differences."

The resolution adds that "the pressures that brought Eisenhower to the Summit meeting are today stronger then ever. They are producing an 'agonizing reappraisal' on the part of Big Business and of various political circles. It is widely recognized that the bankrupt and dangerous Dulles' diplomacy of 'massive retaliation' and 'brink of war' has brought American prestige to a new low," etc.

IS LENIN OUTMODED?

From this flows the resolution's main conclusion: "The prospect has opened up of bringing the cold war to an end and ushering in a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems." For the authors of the resolution, Geneva proved that Lenin's theory of war being inevitable under capitalism and being effectively fought only by the working class struggle for socialism was outmoded.

Unfortunately for the authors, the "spirit of Geneva" was already rapidly evaporating when they wrote the resolution. The declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine now brings this "spirit" virtually to the vanishing point. The present schemes of the Administration to contain the Arab independence movement and to establish the domination of Wall Street in the Middle East brings us closer to the "brink" than did previous bellicose moves by Dulles.

Far from "bringing the cold war to an end," Eisenhower's saber-rattling inaugural address and the staggering new military budget mark an acceleration of the cold war against the colonial revolution. While Wall Street might execute yet another Geneva-type tactical shift, it shoud be clear that the trend of development does not resemble in the slightest anything projected in the draft resolution.

REJECT CLASS-STRUGGLE THEORY

The discrepancy between the analysis and the reality is not simply a matter of a faulty estimate of a particular stage in a complex world situation. The resolution fails to anticipate and cannot satisfactorily explain the present international developments because it deliberately avoids a scientific examination of the class forces which shape them.

The authors of the resolution cannot acknowledge that abiding international class struggle is the basic factor making for cold war, because such an approach would shatter

warranted conclusion that the pressure of the. Soviet orbit, the colonial world and the American people can compel the big trusts and corporations to abandon their aim of world domination and accept the need to dwell in peaceful co-existence with the non-capitalist world.

The post-Geneva events have served to torpedo this illusory theory that a durable "era" of peaceful co-existence is possible. The aim of U.S. imperialism to rule the globe is not simply the subjective aspiration of powerdrunk tycoons. Far more decisive is the fact that such global domination is an organic need of U.S. imperialism in the era of the disintegration of world capitalism.

GRIM CHOICES

With the rest of the capitalist world already in advanced state of decay, American imperialism's ultimate hope of survival is to smash the colonial revolution and to restore capitalism where it has been abolished. Wall Street knows it may not survive another war. But it also knows that it is doomed if it fails to stem the rising anti-capitalist tide. As history has already demonstrated, when their backs are to the wall, the capitalists will risk war as the alternative to final loss of power.

The "Geneva spirit" can be correctly understood only within the context of these choices confronting American imperialism. Wall Street did not go to Geneva to negotiate a settlement of "differences." The aim of imperialism at Geneva was to explore the possibility of a partial truce in the cold war in order to improve its position for the hot war which the surge of the colonial peoples had forced it to postpone.

Geneva did not mean - as the resolution contends - that U.S. Big Business was beginning to accept the idea that World War III had to be called off for good. If that had really been the meaning of Geneva then new pressures would have forced the American capitalist rulers even further down the road of "coexistence."

Instead, when the Arab revolution for national independence struck with such force at Suez, the imperialist demonstrated they could not and would not negotiate the Arab demand for a further measure of national independence. That is why the British and French, aided by the Israeli government, took the desperate plunge of a Korean-type "police action." And that is why Washington intervened with the Eisenhower Doctrine aimed at replacing British and French imperialism with what it hopes will be a more effective show of strength.

Geneva certainly demonstrated that the world relationship of forces has turned steadily against imperialism. But it is a pernicious distortion of reality to portray this development as proof that it is possible to gradually dispose of imperialist rule through "a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems."

RETURN TO LENIN'S TEACHINGS!

The false Kremlin "theory" that the war drive against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples is no longer inherent in imperialism and the political line of the draft resolution which flows from this "theory" - can neither predict the course of imperialist development or aid the workers and colonial people of the world in their struggle for emancipation and lasting world peace. In opposition to the Kremlin theory of "coexistence" with imperialism stands Lenin's characterization of the present epoch as one of 'imperialist wars, colonial uprisings and proletarian revolutions." This characterization has been confirmed by events. It accurately portrays the reality and it provides the basis for defeating the war plans of imperialism through the indispensable policy of revolutionary struggle against it.

Trotsky's 'The New Course'

THE NEW COURSE. By Leon Trotsky. London: New Park Publi cations, 1956, 111 pp., 50 cents. (Distributed in the U. S. by become strong enough to exile ment throughout the world was Pioneer Publishers).

Revelations of Stalin's bloody, capricious and ignor- bers of the Left Opposition. Anant tyranny, made by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress other decade witnessed the full of the Soviet Communist Party, evoked from millions the development of the bureaucratic Communist Party of a resolution cracy the social base to destroy

questions: "Why didn't you do something to stop him?" and value today in answering the questions which the 20th Con-"How could such a monstrous situation come about?" To the first question Khrush USSR and abroad have left un- Kremlin.

chev and Kremlin apologists answered. throughout the world have plead

BEGINNING OF FIGHT ed the better part of valor -

merely to have looked at Stalin "The New Course" shows that Trotsky was to extend and deepoddly, let alone oppose him, valiant efforts to stop Stalin en his analysis of the Stalin rewould have cost Khrushchev or were made and that part of that gime with the unfolding of events. anyone else his head, they say. effort was an explanation of the Yet for a complete understanding The latter question they try to answer with pseudo-psychologi would unfortunately culminate in study its beginnings as well as cal talk: as Stalin got older his the monstrous situation described its maturity. This is why this vanity grew until it was an al- by Khrushchev to the 20th Con- book is so useful for readers tomost psychopathic obsession. gress.

Such beggaring of the question Written in 1923, this book was is the cult of the individual stood Trotsky's opening move to lance writing The New Course for hison its head. In Stalin's lifetime the tumor of bureaucracy which torians and students. It was a he was pictured as a demi-god, had developed within the party broadside fired at the degenerasince his death he is pictured as and was changing it from the tive elements that had gained the an arch-fiend. This is about as en- spirited, democratic organization upper hand in the Bolshevik Parlightening as the "wisdom" of the built by Lenin into an unthinking, ty. It was the first organized peasant elders of a century ago docile tool of the apparatus. attempt to stop what has become who explained Russian history in Trotsky and his supporters, who known to history as Stalinism. terms of "good" czars and "bad" came to be known as the Left Thus the book is the record of czars. Opposition, continued this inner the opening phase of a battle in

reprinting of Trotsky's party fight until 1928 by which which the future of the Soviet The 'New Course" is of particular time the Stalin apparatus had Union and the Communist move mified bureaucrats with fresh ele-

Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, shown reviewing the Red Army. During the last year of his life Lenin opened a struggle against the growth of a bureaucratic machine in the Soviets and a bureaucratic faction in the party headed by Stalin. Lenin proposed to Trotsky that they collaborate in the fight against the bureaucracy and steer a new course towards the revival and strengthening of workers' democracy.



the great revolutionary leader at stake.

and expel and imprison the memregime in the nightmarish "confession" trials, anti-Semitism and party: a struggle against the democracy. In a short time, howconversion of the Communist gress raised but which the Com- Party into a privileged but termunist Party leaders both in the rorized body of yesmen for the

When Trotsky wrote "The New Course" this process was in its resolution with tongue in cheek, in Stalinism. Yet the changed early stages and still reversible. process, then taking place, that of a social phenomenon one must it.

Trotsky, on the other hand, wished to take the issue to the Trotsky, however, was no

party.

letters he wrote analyzing for the membership not only what was going on but what should be done to remedy the situation. For example, his first letter to the party meetings said: "The renovation of the party apparatus - naturally within the clearcut framework of the statutes must aim at replacing the mum-

The occasion for the opening of any of the advanced industrial the struggle was the unanimous countries, Russia's economic

adoption by the leadership of the backwardness gave the bureaucalling for "a new course" in the the Left Opposition and workers' growing bureaucracy and a re- ever, economic collapse forced the generation of party democracy. bureaucracy against its will to The ruling "troika" (trio) of the embrace economic planning. This party - Stalin, Zinoviev and it did with all the terrible over-Kamenev, however, voted for the head cost and brutality inherent Their control of the party was social conditions that 28 years of

based on the growing bureaucrat- planned economy have brought ization and while they could be about have now placed on the forced publicly to deplore it they agenda of history a political revohad no intention of acting against lution that will overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and restore workers' democracy. CLEAR OUT BUREAUCRATS

Because it aids in understanding the present Soviet reality, "The New Course" is an invaluaranks of the party. "The New ble addition to the library of Course" consists of articles and every Marxist.

-George Lavan



(Continued from page 1) ments closely linked with the life no more capable of resisting of the collectivity, or capable of Foster's Kremlin-type pressure assuring such a link. And before than of resisting the pressure of anything else, the leading posts U.S. imperialism. After an initial must be cleared out of those who, posture of independence on Hunat the first word of criticism. gary, he caved in with a mumbled of objection, or of protest, brand-'qualified" support of the secish the thunderbolts of penalties ond treacherous invasion. Debefore the critic. The "new clared opponents of capital puncourse" must begin by making ishment, the DW editors have yet everyone feel that from now on to express themselves on the Kanobody will dare terrorize the dar decree invoking the death penalty for strikers.

"It is entirely insufficient for The pledge to speak out our youth to repeat our formulae. against any further manifesta-It must conquer the revolutiontion of Soviet anti-Semitism ary formulae, it must assimilate proved equally hollow. The Daily them, work out its own opinions, Worker failed to print a line of its own physiognomy; it must be the recent interview of the Canacapable of fighting for its views dian CP leader, J. B. Salzberg, with the courage which' arises with Khrushchev where Stalin's out of depths of conviction and heir insisted that the Soviet Jews independence of character. Out of were doing fine, that even his the party with passive obedience, son was married to one, and that with mechanical leveling by the the only problem was that Jews authorities, with suppression of didn't clean their streets, were personality, with servility, with continually starting synagogues careerism! A Bolshevik is not and in general weren't very remerely a disciplined man; he is liable citizens. a man who in each case and on

In opposition to Gates' proeach question forges a firm opingram and record, Foster offers one thing; the preservation of courageously and independently, the OP as a party and continued lip service to Marxism-Leninism. But tied in the Foster package deal is the old Stalinism. Criticism is in order only on sanction from the Kremlin. The Kremlin vilification of the Hungarian po-He will submit, because it is his litical revolution as a fascist upparty. But this does not always signify that he is in the wrong. rising is to be accepted rising is to be accepted without

They Showed New Course Against Stalin

their central plank of a "people's struggle to unfold the new era of peaceful co-existence and end the cold war altogether." This derives from an "analysis" which holds that "the danger of war has considerably subsided. This is the main feature of the present situation."

The resolution attempts to balance off this "main feature" of the situation by also noting that "the big trusts and corporations (have not) given up their aim of world domination." Here we have a correct statement of fact. But from it the resolution tries to draw the un-

The Real Position of Hungarian Communists

|racks; Goldstein, who command-| into exile in Moscow, and police By John Thayer Was the revolution in Hun- ed at recs; and manded at Gyor. ed at Pecs; and Silo, who com- head Farkas, who was expelled.

But the CP militants, who were "anti-Communist" as so The fact of the matter is that starting a revolution, were not mulka by the Catholic Church. garv many American newspapers put only a minority of the Hun- to be so easily appeased. They if. John MacCormac, the New garian Communist Party sup- wanted to get rid of the whole York Times correspondent in ported the Kremlin. The ma- Kremlin system, and the October Budapest describes (Jan. 13) jority were in the ranks of the events in Poland was the signal "what has happened in Hungary" freedom-fighters. These were the for Communist Party students, as "a Communist-led revolution people who made public bonfires intellectuals and workers from of the workers, peasants and in- of their party membership cards "Red Csepel" to stage the tellectuals against communism." after they had pulled down the demonstrations which led directly

Bela Kovacs, leader of the monstrous statue of Stalin to the insurrection. Smallholders Party, who joined They were not burning their Csepel, the Detroit of Hungary, the Nagy cabinet which was belief in true communism (as an industrial complex built on deposed by Russian tanks, told MacCormac of the New York an island on the edge of Budaa correspondent for Reporter Times believes), but expressing pest, got its adjective "Red" bemagazine (Dec. 13, 1956): "This their hatred of the betrayal of cause of the long Communist was a revolution from the in- communism that the Kremlin tradition of its 38,000 workers. side, led by Communists. There bureaucrats and their Hungarian From the beginning of the is not a shred of evidence that it stooges represented. revolution to this day it remains was otherwise." As in Poland, the revolutionary the principal seat of resistance

A mere going over of the news movement in Hungary began in- to Kremlin rule.

accounts show that not only in side the Communist Party over Before the revolution the Nagy's government but in the a year ago. Courageous workers, Hungarian CP had 800,000 memfighting groups, workers' coun- students and intellectuals secretly bers. After Oct. 23 almost all cils, student and intellectual ororganized and spoke out in ever save a few thousand irrevocably ganizations of men and women, bolder terms of criticism and compromised bureaucrats and the dition to the measure of indewho but a few weeks before had condemnation. The news of the highly-paid secret police (pribeen members of the Hungarian June 28 uprising in Poznan, vates got three times the pay Communist Party, occupied lead- Poland, immediately inspired of the average worker, officers USSR, the return from the Soing positions. them to action in Hungary. They ten times) left the party by

To take but one example. A organized great mass meetings joining the revolution. The new Kremlin - controlled leading role both in bringing at which the most daring denunthe Hungarian army over to the ciations of the regime were CP that Kadar is attempting to Fromises were made in the form people and in the subsequent uttered. CP leaders who tried to build under a new name has of an order to review 4,823 prisfighting against the Russian defend the regime were shouted proven a miserable fiasco. It has troops was played by Communist down. The slogans, "the party the hopelessly compromised Stal- military courts during the Stalin Party army officers, par- leaders must go" and "bring back inist bureaucrats and the secret era and the dismissal of eight ticularly those who were vet-erans of the Spatish Civil War. Inter Nagy," were launched. This agitation within the CP others are for the most part agreement with the USSR for The Polish Revolution is sti Among these were Col. Pal frightened the leadership into weaklings who have been co-Maleter (recently condemned to offering up as scapegoats erced into joining by threats Poles was announced. death by Kadar), who led the Premier Matyas Rakosi, Hun- that otherwise they will be fired In addition to these, specific been achieved. It has been stop-land and will not be mastered but heroic defense of the Kilian Bar- gary's "little Stalin," who went from their jobs.

(Continued from page 1) streets of Warsaw.

the election was between his policy and Russian tanks on the there was a stressing of recent various elements of the popula- render his party a service, help- itics is not only his defense of Gomulka received important the price of coal would not be Thus an election on the issue of armed or carry out the necessary the Soviet-orbit working class. pre-election support for this increased this winter, an an- "Gomulka or Russian tanks" turn without organic upheavals, claim from Chinese Premier Chou

En-lai who visited Warsaw in the ly-needed buses would be built, tending toward revolutionary last week of the campaign and etc. For the urban petty bourgeoisie signed a declaration of Polish-Chinese friendship. A price was there was the announcement that polls.

paid for the Chinese support, private wholesale business would however. This was a pledge of be licensed. For the peasants support to the Kadar regime in denunciations of forced collectivi-Hungary. This puppet regime zation and resumption of the cowas installed by the Kremlin operatives destroyed during the after its bloody suppression of a Stalin era. For the Catholics revolution similar in origin to the church-state settlement was religion. The militant workers "bad" men. It was a social phe- even of monopoly itself" as capa-

power in Poland. The Kadar re-INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE gime is as detested by the Polish The aura of "national savior"

people as the Hungarian people. gained by Gomulka in the Oc-A notable feature of the election was the support given Gotober days has not yet worn thin, though first signs of this have begun to appear. The election Cardinal Wyszynski seconded the get-out-the-vote campaign with victory more than ever makes a pastoral letter calling on all him appear a leader above Catholics to vote. The letter also elasses and parties. For the fact en the equilibrium holding up Godirected that church services on is that Gomulka does not conelection day be arranged to fa- trol the Communist Party. cilitate voting.

Wyszynski's support is in reminority in the United Workers turn for concessions made to his Party, as the CP of Poland nationalist pressure from within church. Among these are restora- is officially called. The party and Poland.

tion of Catholic religious instruc- government bureaucracy is still GOMULKA CURBS WORKERS tion in the public schools, re- in the hands of the old Stalinist opening of Catholic newspapers gang headed by the Natolin and magazines, legalization of clique. (Natolin is the swank sub-Catholic political organizations urb of Warsaw where many top and acceptance of some Catholic bureaucrats live.) It is believed or on the bureaucracy. Loss of candidates on the slate of the that Gomulka will now try to take over control of the party National Front. using his popularity and control

PROMISES FOR ALL

of parliament as levers. Appar-Gomulka's supporters cam- ently he excluded his factional paigned on the achievements of opponents from the slate of can- restrain the workers' committees the regime that appeal to all didates-only 83 of 425 outgoing which had put him in power and sections of the population. In ad- members of parliament stood for had decisively backed him against re-election. (In the elections, those the Kremlin. He protested their pendence won from the Kremlin, Natolinists who were elected in- militancy in taking over managethe better trade terms with the variably polled the lowest votes.) ment of the factories and mines. However, Gomulka's future is Their eagerness to smash the viet Union of many Poles long fraught with uncertainty. He is bureaucracy, he dubbed a witch held there, and the curbing of held aloft by the pressures of hunt. He depends on them, yet the secret police were stressed. contrary forces. A change in is trying to confine them within the strength of any of these the limits of revolution marked forces may upset the whole un- out by that section of the bu-

on sentences passed by the high stable equilibrium and bring him reaucracy he represents. It is a and his policy tumbling down. more liberal, democratic and pro-Poland section of the bureaucracy, there is no doubt. But it still The Polish Revolution is still stands in contradiction to the the return of more imprisoned in its opening national stage. proletarian mass. But this mass

appeals were made to the mate- ped mid-way. The incompleted will master.

will persistently raise the ques-

ion of his own and defends it

not only against his enemies,

"Today perhaps he will be in

the minority in his organization.

but inside his own party.

SOCIAL FORMATION

rial interests of the various tasks of the national phase of tion a second, a third, a tenth classes. Thus for the workers the revolution tend to keep the time, if need be. Thereby he will wage increases, a promise that tion together behind Gomulka. ing it meet the new task fully nouncement that a thousand bad- united workers and intellectuals without factional convulsions." Though much of the struggle with the capitalist class.

clics and petty bourgeois at the ty democracy and the right of cils that sprang up in Hungary

sire for self-rule for Poland there did not limit his articles to these the same Foster, the capitalist lie diverse and contradictory sole issues. The bureaucratization Democratic Party in this country class aims. Restorationist ele- of the party and consequent de- is an instrument for social proments envisage a capitalist Pol- cline of democratic procedure did gress. He even sees "important and with Catholicism the state not stem from the activities of sections of the bourgeoisie and and students envisage a socialist nomenon and Trotsky goes into ble of being drawn into an ef-Poland following its own course. the social conditions from which fective peace movement. (Polit-The peasantry doubtlessly contains both these views and shad. This immediately brought up In this perspective of political ings in between.

Moreover, day-to-day struggles between workers, bureaucracy, church and peasantry, even the struggle within the party, threatmulka. Each pressure on him is also his support. Indeed, the very His faction remains as yet a pressure of the Kremlin is as essential to his regime as is the

Loss of church support by Go-

mulka would make him that much

more dependent on the workers

the workers' support would throw

him into the arms of the restora-

In the months following the

October days Gomulka tried to

tionists or of the bureaucracy.

Marxism with conservative Cathcentered about restoration of par-But beneath the unifying de- members to full rights, Trotsky crushed by Kremlin tanks. For

these ugly manifestations sprang. ical Affairs, Oct. 1955).

the USSR's stagnating economy course, in full accord with the by the introduction of economic Gates faction. It is this joint deplanning. Planning has become votion to class-collaboration and such an unquestioned and pri- joint opposition to an authentic mary basis of the Soviet econ- socialist program of class strugomy that it is hard for many gle that makes it impossible for today to believe that Trotsky either Gates or Foster to lead the was assailed from all sides and ranks of the Communist Party ridiculed for agitating for it. back to Lenin.



The distinguishing characteris-Basic to his Stalinist line is a program favoring collaboration

For Foster, the Workers Counthe young generation of party were fascist agencies to be

the need drastically to change class collaboration, Foster is, of

13



THE - MILITANT

Dobbs Talk on Socialist Unity principle the ISL seeks to ob-| moving to the right. The contra-| revolutionary-socialist direction

Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 70 each in foreign countries.

Resistance to the witch hunt in Amer-

ica has undoubtedly increased. Yet para-

doxically one of the principal weapons of

this witch hunt, the "subversive" list,

continues to grow, like a cancerous tumor

still untouched by therapy. The House

Committee on Un-American Activities,

Jan. 19, added 137 new organizations and

publications to its proscribed list publish-

ed in 1951, reaching a grand total of

In the new listing are such organiza-

tions as the Committee to Secure Justice

for Morton Sobell and the Emergency

Civil Liberties Committee. To include

these organizations built to defend the

victims of the witch hunt is to compound

the crime of the witch hunters. Defense

committees have the limited objective of

presenting the case for the witch-hunt

victims to the American people, and of

trying with its aid to undue judicial

To threaten and intimidate such organ-

izations is flagrantly to obstruct justice.

The highest court of appeal in the judi-

cial structure of this country is the Amer-

ican people. It was the labor movement

in organized struggle that finally exposed

the judicial frame-ups in such famous

cases as that of Mooney-and-Billings and

in attempting to cut off the avenue of

public appeal to those who are persecuted

by the witch hunt, the House Committee

reveals its fear to have their cases ex-

amined too closely in the open court of

Morton Sobell, for example, worked for

over a year to obtain proof that the prose-

cution in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial lied

when it told the jury that Sobell had been

deported from Mexico. Clearly, the House

Un-American Activities Committee aims

to prevent the American people from

hearing this new evidence. Else why the

The Committee to Secure Justice for

wrongs.

Sacco-and-Vanzetti.

popular discussion.

listing?

733 that are pronounced "verboten."

cription \$5 per year 1.50 for 6 months. Foreign #1.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian · \$3.50 per

year; \$1.75 for 6 months

Vol. XXI - No. 4

ators do not necessarily rep-esent The Militant's policies. Chese are expressed in its Veskly in the Interests of the Working Peopl "Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Phone: AL 5-7468 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES Monday, January 28, 1957

Are Civil Liberties 'Subversive'?

(Text of speech made by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at symposium, Jan. 18, on the topic 'Can the Left Unite?" Also see story, this page.)

> We are gathered tonight to discuss the question: can the socialist movement unite? It seems pertinent to the subject to mark

The prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sothe absence from the platform of bell trial had the daily presentation of spokesmen for the Communist their side of the case with the help of Party and the Socialist Party. the entire capitalist press. Is not the de-fendant, Morton Sobell, his wife and those tives and that both declined to who have taken the trouble to study the participate.

Their absence tonight would inat settled positions on the question of regroupment. From their

Go back and read the press at the time, press one can readily perceive of the trial in 1951. How many readers the political line on which these of these daily papers in that period of parties take their stand. The Sointense hysteria would understand the cialist Party supports imperialfollowing facts: Sobell was never accused lonial revolutions abroad. The of committing atomic espionage. No evi- Communist Party supports the dence was ever introduced that he com- Kremlin bureaucracy against the mitted any kind of espionage. He was political revolution of the workconvicted of "conspiring" to commit es- ers in the Boviet spiler with depionage solely on the testimony of one mocracy within the framework man, an admitted perjurer, who gave "ac- of the workers' states.

complice testimony" and escaped arrest. How many people believe that Sobell was tried and convicted by the Government of Mexico in deportation proceedings as the prosecution intimated? How many know that the Government of Mexico, instead, protested to U.S. authorities in both Laredo, Texas, and Washington, D.C. for a violation of the Extradition Treaty between these two countries

ilv? its lies against the witch-hunt victims is a thousand times greater than the power of the defense to publicize the truth. By the crisis of Stalinism, They want clude "various Trotskyist outcharacterizing a defense committee as to find an accommodation with outgrowths or split-offs (Max

All the more reason, then, for the labor existence" within the framework ist.)" He scorns "the self-apmovement to examine the facts in the of Democratic Party politics. pointed supporters of unity [who] Morton Sobell case to determine the truth. When this is done, we are sure that the name and form of the party in next convention in February 1957 demand for a new hearing for this man, order to facilitate their class- the reformers . . . would be who has already spent more than six years in prison, will be supported by all who care for justice.

Mayor Wagner's Medals

That "great liberal Democrat," Mayor "Wagner of New York, who was the "Democratic candidate for Senator, has recently accepted medals from two dictators: Franco of Spain and Batista of Cuba. Batista's troops and police are currently engaged in killing and jailing young people throughout Cuba who oppose his bloody regime. While Franco's ambassador was pinning the Grand Cross of Civil Merit of Spain on Wagner's chest and two. of his aides, the Fascist police were arresting and beating strikers and streetcar boycotters in Barcelona and other cities. The labor movement in New York tried hard to dissuade Wagner from accepting Franco's medal. Delegates representing a half-million union workers protested. Especially eloquent were spokesmen for Puerto Rican unionists, who declared that Wagner's acceptance "tended to cover up ball the reactionary, fascist and anti-labor deeds of the Franco regime and the Falangist movement."

entire case to have the right, without fear and intimidation, to present the ar- dicate these parties are arriving guments of the defense? ism against the socialist and coers in the Soviet sphere who are

FOSTER-GATES DIVISION

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, each for their own reasons, advocate support of ties reject revolutionary socialist principles. Neither party will revolutionary socialists. Each taken an ultimatistic attitude toward regroupment. in the kidnapping of Sobell and his fam-

The power of the prosecution to spread "subversive," the witch-hunters seek to the social democrats, the union reinforce the side of the lie.

bureaucrats and the liberal capcollaborationist maneuvers.

Post. Wagner persisted in accepting the dictators' decorations. His weak excuse was that he could not refuse an award offered by a government friendly to the United States. This hypocrisy is exposed by asking oneself what Wagner would do if offered a medal by the Soviet Union or by Egypt since both these governments is the only basis for the support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those days. These leftward moving ele-days. The opposition of Zinoviev and now stand Stalin's heirs.



to allow room for local political machines like that of Mayor Zeidler in Milwaukee whose campaigns have nothing in common campaigns.

The fundamental SP-SDF electoral policy is spelled out in a the Democratic Party. Both par- provision allowing support of candidates "endorsed by labor and liberal groups." In plain language enter into public discussion with that means support of capitalist candidates.

Looking more deeply into the situation we find a division within the bureaucracy of the Communist Party between the Foster and Gates wings. The Gates wing manifests motion to sympathizers. He berates talk the right under the pressure of italists. They seek "peaceful co- Bert Cochran's American Social-

They want to loosen the CP ties seem to believe" that "If the with the Kremlin and change the Insofar as the Gates wing of zation . . . of which they dream." the CP may break away from

expected to move toward social- scribes "a period of probation to democratic positions, not toward put the sincerity of Communist revolutionary-socialist policies. The Foster wing represents the test, he stipulates, "we must the hard Stalinist core of the insist that reformed Communists,

Communist Party. They agree Stalinists and Trotskyists, must Party because this happens to co-| Lenin." incide with the Kremlin's foreign

credited Communist Party.

SP-SDF FUSION

with actual socialist election radical movement.

DEMAND BRAINWASH

An article by Norman Thomas in the December Call proclaims that the SP-SDF can have "neither organic union nor a formal united front" with Soviet about a unity which would in-Schachtman's Independent Socialist League and the group around

Communist Party splits at its welcome part of the new organi-For those who wish to regroup Kremlin domination, they can be around the SP-SDF Thomas prereformers to the test." As part of

Thus the political line of the

scure by setting aside the funda- dictions between these opposite mental issue of class struggle trends cannot be embraced withagainst imperialism and hinging in a single all-inclusive forma- gram, the Socialist Workers Partheir position on the question: tion founded on virtually no pro- ty poses the following: Defense democratic socialism or Stalin-| gram. They cannot be held to-| of the workers' states and the ism? From this premise they gether through empty formulas colonial revolution against imurge the importance of Socialist about "socialist Party participation in any re- which have been stripped bare of ers' political revolution against groupment to allay fears it might working class principles. Such an the Stalinist bureaucracy in the have a "Stalinoid tinge." On this organizational hodgepodge would Soviet sphere. Formation of an road they arrive at the concept at best fly apart at the first independent labor party in oppoof a loose federation of social- shock of events. Even worse, sition to the capitalist parties. In democratic groups which would however, it would actually be a 1957, run socialist candidates be bound to have a pro-imperial- trap for the ensnarement of wherever possible. A class strugist coloration. Such a policy is radicals into support of capital- gle policy in the unions and a the opposite of a program for a ist politicians and their imperevolutionary-socialist regroup- rialist foreign policy. ment.

NEW TRENDS

The motion to the right of the Independent Socialist League, the Socialist Party and of the Gates be clearly determined and an aswing of the Communist Party is ent adverse political climate in this country. All these tendencies are bending under the pro-

war-created prosperity and the consequent weight of capitalist reaction which bears down upon all radicals. But these manifestations are not the basic features of the present shakeup in the

The primary impulse toward a socialist regroupment arises from the crisis of Stalinism. That crisis stems from the developing political revolution in the Soviet sphere where the workers are fighting

to depose the Stalinist bureaucrats from power. The aim of the workers' revolutionary intervention in Soviet political life is to establish the democratic rule of the working class on the basis of the socialist property forms. A tion. It will give fresh impetus to the world revolution as a whole, adding fuel to the already whitehot fires of colonial revolution and leading toward social revolutions by the working class in the

imperialist countries. Stalinist crisis are revealed Lenin and Stalin in the earliest as only luke-warm supporter, through the polarization of the days of the Russian Revolution. Foster and Gates wings, centered When Lenin returned to Russia within the Communist Party bu- from exile in April of 1917 he Stalin's heirs. But to further found the Bolsheviks, under the reaucracy. On the positive side, a section of the CP ranks and leadership of Stalin, among periphery are striving toward a others, deeply committed to the revolutionary-socialist position, policy of supporting the capitalseeking to regroup themselves ist Provisional Government together with the Mensheviks. around'a Leninist program. Lenin, in his famous April Thesis, Even within the social-democratic milieu some resistance to castigated this line and called for the rightward trend has appeared struggle around the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets." among younger elements. They with the Gates group on the pol- repudiate the doctrines and prac- are repelled by the idea of beicy of supporting the Democratic tices set up not by Stalin but by coming captives-in the name of this important period of struggle progressive fight after Lenin's

a crusade for so-called "social- to orient the Party toward the death; and that Trotsky's writist democracy"- to a policy conquest of power by referring ings are the principal guide for policy aims. But the Fosterites CALL and the "sincerity test" which is in reality pro-imperial-falsely to the "Leninist-Stalinist Marxist-Leninist opposition to remain firmly tied to the Soviet set down by Thomas amount to ist in its political implications. course" developed in the April the despotic rule of the privileg-

On the order of the day for a

Among the positions basic to a revolutionary-socialist prodemocracy" perialism. Support to the workworking class policy in support of the Negro struggle for civil

rights. Defense of civil liberties socialist regroupment is a for all, including members of the thorough political discussion. On- Communist Party. Build a revoly in this way can the concrete lutionary-socialist party based on motion of the various tendencies class struggle principles.

The Socialist Workers Party sessment made of those issues will welcome discussion of these in each case caused by the pres- that are basic to a principled and other issues basic to a prinrevolutionary position. A full dis- cipled socialist program and will cussion is necessary to bring pro_{σ} participate in such discussion to grammatic clarity to those ele- the fullest extent through all longed pressures of the artificial, ments who are now groping in a available means.

Kremlin Again Confesses Real Stalin Role in 1917

By C. R. Hubbard

The task of correcting the falsification of history under Stalin - a task set down by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — has now been under-»-

taken by Kommunist, leading Kamenev to Lenin's policy of "theoretical" organ in the USSR. preparing the October insurrec-As expected, however, the "cor- tion was represented by Stalinist rection of history" is to be con- historians as a crime committed fined to admitting the opposition by Zinoviev and Kamenev alone. new era has been opened with the developing political revoluplayed by Trotsky in the Rus-- previously struck from Stalinsian Revolution and, even more ist histories - that Stalin was significantly, in the struggle editor of the central Bolshevik against Stalin and the bureau- paper, when it carried the attack cracy he represented will con- on Lenin's October policy. To reduce Stalin from the

tinue to be suppressed. position of Lenin's "chief col-Kommunist acknowledges the laborator" to his rightful place

and possibly cautious opponent of Lenin within the Bolshevik movement suits the needs of admit that Trotsky was co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and the builder of the Red Army — that the bureaucracy will not do. For this would compel it to make further admissions - namely, that Trotsky joined with Lenin to launch the fight against the bureau-

cracy headed by Stalin; that Stalinist historians distorted Trotsky continued this highly ed bureaucrats at whose head

Page 3

Despite the big labor protest and the opposition of liberals manifested by an anti-medal campaign in the New York

have ambassadors in Washington which, continued existence of the disby diplomatic definition, makes them friendly to the U.S.

Politician Wagner accepted the medals because Cardinal Spellman and other elements in New York, who admire Franco have more influence over him than do aim to perpetuate the role of the nounced its readiness to support the labor leaders and liberals. Labor's Communist Party as a Stalinist rank and file should remember that when agency within the labor movetheir leaders ask them next year to endorse and finance Wagner's campaign for re-election.

The New York local of the Socialist Workers Party has already nominated Joyce Cowley as its candidate for mayor. If she were elected there is no likelihood that Franco or Batista would proffer medals to New York's mayor. They reserve such "honors" for America's capitalist politicians.

UN Emergency Force.

appropriate "loyalty" screening in the tradition of the witch hunt. These are the circumstance

Five Speakers Discuss The Fosterites, who are under which the Jan. 14 issue of against any regroupment that Labor Action reported, "Recent-**Left-Wing Regroupment** would displace the CP, attack the ly, the Political Committee of the Gates wing as liquidators. They Independent Socialist League anthe consolidation of a democratic socialist movement in the United ment, an aim that can have noth-States by uniting with the Socialing in common with a revolution- ist Party. The Young Socialist League has a similar position on arv-socialist regroupment.

Turning to the social-demo- the question."

cratic sphere we note that a FOR "DEMOCRACY" merger convention is now in ses-The Independent Socialist sion through which the Social-League seeks unity with the Soist Party is uniting with the Social Democratic Federation. Cen- cialist Party as that party ca-Party to the SDF line of all-out Democratic Federation. The ISL support to imperialism, as mani-support to imperialism, as mani-fested in the Decombon 1956 in the Section 1956 in the SP as that date for President in the 1956 cialism on the basis of the ex-support to imperialism. tral to the unification is the tosupport to imperialism, as mani-fested in the December 1956 is-party demands the repudiation of the Socialist Call a wholesome socialist movement fested in the Socialist Call a structure of the Socialized property rela-tors.

Lenin as a test for admission to General Manager of the National tions. sue of the Socialist Call. social-democratic circles. These Guardian, a weekly newspaper; In an editorial on the unification the Call states: "Socialists hard political facts the ISL in this country need unity in or- leadership tries to hide behind an der to continue their own efforts assertion that socialist unity man of the Independent Socialist cialism' 'inside the Socialist to assist their comrades abroad should be based simply on the ... who occupy seats of political "principle of democracy."

power in the free nations." By Revolutionary socialists fight Forum, chaired the meeting. pool their forces to stem grow- of the Social Democratic Party this they clearly mean such "so- to defend workers' democracy cialists" as Premier Mollet of against bureaucratic usurpation, Franco-British-Israeli military crats in the Soviet sphere or by participate in the symposium, Socialist Party in 1918 [over the constitute the program for unity invasion of Egypt in an effort to the union bureaucrats in the but each declined.

The Social Democrats have overturn the nationalization of United States. But the abstract

This class void the ISL unof the Social Democratic Party of dertakes to fill with the proposi- Socialist Workers Party, Farrell socialism. Above all they must Soviet Union. jected by imperialist "police closely with Anna Kethly, leader

In a joint "Memorandum of Un- against the workers states in the ment.

By Daniel Roberts NEW YORK, Jan. 20 - Dif- repudiation by the working peo- State Department's foreign fering views on the problem of ple of this war drive. Defense of policy. Despite the pro-American regroupment in the American the workers' states also includes imperialist nature of the SPradical movement were presented sympathy for such uprisings in SDF merger, he still held out the

sponsored by the Socialist Unity Hungarian working class against tion for socialist regroupment. Forum. The topic of the meeting the Kremlin, said Dobbs, because was "Can the Left Unite?" The these revolutionary movements speakers included Farrell Dobbs, aim at freeing these states from perialist policy of the Social National Secretary of the So- bureaucratic tyranny in order to Guardian are favorable to a

|launch and campaigning for | cratic Federation to the U.S here last night at a symposium the Soviet orbit as that of the Socialist party as the organiza-

John T. McManus said the 50,-000 readers of the National gle. They are not ready to write

The program advanced by Max off 38 years of the Soviet Union, A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Shachtman of the ISL envisaged he said. They have been tem-Fellowship of Reconciliation; and unity of the radical movement on pered in the Korean War and in Max Shachtman, National Chair- the program of "democratic so- the fight around the Rosenberg man of the Independent Socialist claims" 'inside the Socialist case. They are against red-League. Clifford T. McAvoy, Party. "What is the reason for baiters. And they will not go into Chairman of the Socialist Unity the fragmentation of the radical the Democratic Party.

movement since 1917?" Shacht-The viewpoint of the Socialist The Socialist Party and the man said. "It is the Russian Communist Party were invited to question, so-called. It split the Unity Forum on what should issue of support to the Russian was presented from the floor Clifford McAvoy said that the Revolution - D. R.] then the by George Clarke. He berated caught the war mood emanating the Suez Canal. They clearly "principle of democracy" as posed Socialist Unity Forum was Communist Party, then the Dobbs for taking a "rigid" stand The program on which the from Washington. They are mean the same Mollet who has by the ISL is essentially a lib-

answered the question: What kind entirely possible for the five or views on the Russian question a and advocate change to greater The Call also reports that "the of democracy, capitalist or work- six or seven groups to unite on precondition for unity. Political democratization?" agreement is possible for all pleaded with Shachtman to be a socialist program." Presenting the position of the groups on the basis of democratic less "rigid" in his enmity to the

Communist Party and other propagand blasts as "the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary, who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at "the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary, who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should basts at the latest icance of the lat United Nations Emergency Force include "all who consider them- discussion of basic issues to Union. The only condition neces- not enthusiastic about a simple Finally, the new organization to be dispatched to Hungary." selves socialists." But simple op- bring clarity to those groping sary for unity is agreement that merger of the existing groups Party. The SP-SDF represents problems more fearsome than is opposed to running independent Called by its right name this is position to capitalism on a pre-the unification of a pre-the problems of a pre-the unification of a pre-the unification of a pre-the unification of a pre-the problems of a pre-the problem of a problem of a pre-the problem of a problem of a problem of a pre-the problem of a problem of a problem of a problem of a prob the unification after two decades before," containing independent lis opposed to running independent lis opposed to runni - except in cases like Milwaukee bary intervention which would full test of revolutionary-social- speech, this page.) He outlined ment cannot be committed to the cialist Party. Such a merger where SP candidates when elect- aim to restore capitalism in Hun- ist principles. The Russian revo- the stand the SWP takes on key proposition that the Soviet Union would lack a foundation in prin-The healing of the 20-year The role that the SP-SDF will where SP candidates when elect-and to restore capitalism in run-ed go on to back the Democrats. gary, not to establish workers' lution ended that era of primi-issues confronting the radical is a workers' state of any kind ciples. Any unification should be breach takes place in a period of play in the labor movement is Like the Communist Party lead- democracy on a socialist basis tive class struggle. Socialists movement and presented it as or represents socialism to any based on thorough discussion of tion on the imperialist assault discussion of Socialist regroup- Shachtman indicated that dif- presented by Farrell Dobbs. Every ferences over such questions as group, the Communist and Sothe "events and circumstances" York City not to protest U.S. Party. It should be clear that derstanding" the SP-SDF has Soviet sphere. They must take Asked by A. J. Muste in the whether or not to support capitalthat brings unity today in the imperialism's war plans in the this unity convention has nothing made clear that the unified group an unambiguous position on the course of the discussion what he ist candidates should be no bar cluded in a genuine discussion

dates of their own. An excep- and on the class nature of the that it meant exposing politically meeting did Shachtman condemn attract new forces in the labor the character of the war that the support given by the So- movement to the radical movepaigns where candidates have These questions of socialist U.S. imperialism is preparing to cialist Party and Social Demo-ment.

Social Democrats Merge | communism." Right wing social-| cialist Party has cooperated (Continued from page 1)

brought into existence a powerful left wing and scared the right wing, composed largely of labor into walking out in 1936.

The workers and youth in the Socialist Party at that time in FIRST ACTION

addition to other issues were outraged at the betrayal of the merger takes place is service is service in the index on the same Mollet who has by the ISL is essentially a lib created to achieve the unit attent if ready to do their part in heating undertaken in the service of eral-capitalist concept which de- of the American Left. This "is possible if now all groups freeze "Ten't it enough" he said "that German working class. The Ger-support to the U.S. State De-man section of the Social Demo-working class. The Ger-support to the U.S. State De-up the cold war. In the guise of French imperialism to drown in liberately conceals the realities of the greatest necessity in Ameri-their positions on the Russian their positions on the Russian the greatest necessity in Ameri-their positions on the Russian the greatest necessity in Ameri-their positions on the Russian the greatest necessity in Ameri-their positions on the Russian the greatest necessity in Ameriman section of the Social Demo-partment and its preparations helping the Hungarian workers blood the independence struggle. It leaves un-crats nermitted Hitler to walk for World War III Sneedbas crats permitted Hitler to walk for World War III. Speeches in their struggle against the of the Algerian people. into power without a single blow about "human decency" and the Kremlin, the SP-SDF point to to prevent it. By 1938 this left "moral strength of Socialism" Hungary as an area to be sub- Socialist Party will cooperate ing class? wing together with Trotskyists were made to give a "socialist" who had been expelled from the ring to such State Department action." That is the real signifmilitant forces, joined together shifts in Soviet foreign policy to form the Socialist Workers confronts the free world with of two sections of the right wing Statement issued by the convenof the Socialist Party. tion.

conservatism in American labor expressed in its first official ers, the SP-SDF endorse the as the Hungarian Workers Coun- must take an unambiguous posi- the party's contribution to a degree." and marks a further turn to the public action. On Jan. 25 it is policy of the labor bureaucrats cils have set as their goal. right. The most "imperative" of sponsoring a meeting in 'New in support of the Democratic desire of the Second Interna-desire of the Second Interna-tional "socialists" to have an American section to support of-others speak on Hungary. The ficially the capitalist West in December issue of the Socialist ers and youth on a revolutionary tion is allowed for local cam- Chinese revolution. struggle against "world Call, pointing out that the "So- socialist program.

ists, in addition, feel the need to closely with Anna Kethly, leader ing interest in regroupment of of Hungary," reports that Miss American radicals on a revolu- Kethly "will call for a United bureaucrats and their stooges, tionary basis as a result of the Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary.' crisis of Stalinism.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Good News from Texas

When Southern whites take a public stand against segregation, that's news; when a Southern organization, representing thousands of white and colored workers, lines up against the white supremacists, that's particularly good news and should be spread far and wide.

The Texas State CIO Council last month adopted a resolution calling on its members to co-operate in abolishing discrimination in public schools and public agencies, according to the January issue of Southern School News.

The Council also recommended that the legislature pass a law "prohibiting use of symbols, religious or otherwise, for the purpose of intimidation and/or coercion" - a measure aimed at outlawing the Klan's burning cross, no doubt.

The Texas CIO's Committee on Human Rights reported to the state convention: "We wish to commend the more than 100 local school districts that are now in their second year of compliance with the ruling of the Supreme Court. More than 300,000 school children are now studying in integrated schools without one single serious incident being recorded in schools actually integrated. We also commend the public school districts which have taken steps to integrate their faculties as well. These gains have been made despite the interference and opposition of our Governor and Attorney General who have used every means of advancing their

motives by appealing to the prejudices of some of our people. . .

"We are aware of the recent rise of hate organizations in the state of Texas. We recognize them for what they are and for the denial of human rights and resistance to government by law upon which they thrive. . . We recommend that the Texas State CIO Council and all of our affiliates give every possible assistance and support to those organizations and community forces seeking to combat the program of the 'hate' organizations. ..."

The stand taken by the Texas CIO is City. The hearing lasted almost significant because close to a million Ne- six hours and there were 87 groes live in that state, whose population speakers representing major sois eight million. Moreover, according to official census figures, no other state has seen a greater growth of its city populations' in recent years. In the decade from ing the Negro people and other 1930 to 1940, ten Texas metropolitan minorities, backed up by the areas (population over 50,000) increased determination and hard the parents themselves. in size from 40 to 95 per cent.

If the Texas CIO now suits action to during this fight were incorwords, the fight against segregation will porated in two reports of Subrise to a new height ... and so will union organization in that Southern state. When the workers - black and white - in spread organizational support Southern industrial centers and large had been mobilized to put presmetropolitan areas, unite in their own sure on the Board that approval class organization to consciously and publicly oppose the Jim Crow policies of the state, then the main highway to in- ers' organizations. Almost without tegration and union organization in the exception, they spoke against the South will be open.

N. Y. Negro Mothers Debate Racists at School Brd. Meet

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1957

and the dilapidated old buildings ably never had Mrs. Concetta Roy of the High (which always seem to be lo- attending an integrated school." School Teachers Association, who cated in "difficult" neighboropposed the recommendations on hoods), the overcrowded class- who objected to the use of buses integration, to take from ten to fooms, the lack of lunchroom and to take Negro children from fifteen minutes.

But Rose Kussell of the Teachof the Chair, because she represented the only teachers' organization fully supporting the recommendations, while all those op-

posing it had received extended time. Although she was finally forced to leave the platform, the audience applauded ner entnusiastically for several minutes. An hour later, a ruling suddenly came through granting her an additional five minutes.

NEGRO MOTHERS SPEAK A representative of the Socialist Party took this opportunity,

not to ascuss school integration, but to differentiate herself from 'communist-type" organizations like the Socialist Workers Party whose stand favoring integration I had presented. [See excerpts from Joyce Cowley statement, this page - Ed.] The SP

ers. Miss Ella Rose of the hood because they spoke the to make anti-communist propanever unhappy or considered

May Healy, of the Joint Committee of Teacher Organizations, said: "Such localities (i.e. ghetto neighborhoods) are natural. They are the result of origin, pride, etc. . . They cater to the social of the people. 'Like' people want right to do so." She concluded that it was also their right to move out of such a neighborhood if they wished. One of the Negro mothers, rep-

resenting a Brooklyn P.T.A., Mrs. Mallory, representing P.S. pointed out that if it was possi-10 in Manhattan, spoke of the ble for Negroes to move to other prejudiced attitude of the teachneighborhoods, there would be no ers and their indifference to the need for this hearing on integrachildren's academic progress. On tion in New York City schools. one occasion, her son's only home-The Board of Education is prework assignment had been count-A young man describing himself sumably impartial. However, in ing the pipes under his kitchen as a "citizen of Queens" backed spite of announcing a five-min- sink. Even the physical safety

ers Union was cut off after five boy was killed at lunchtime-hit borhoods, it was pointed out that minutes. She protested the ruling by a truck. He was playing in buses had been used for years

> lunch-hour supervision. EFFECT ON TEACHERS Parents booed and laughed when speakers said that people in that the recommendations, if carthe ghetto neighborhoods were "happy" and it was "natural" for them to want to live together.

They reprimanded teachers for their unwillingness to transfer to Negro neighborhoods. "When they thought there was

a crime problem in Harlem," one of them said, "they sent in extra cops. No one asked these cops i they wanted to work in Harlem." "The unfortunate effects of segregated schools are obvious." another said, "when you see what it did to these teachers who prob- | hearing.

full equality; we oppose and com-

bat all forms of segregation in

education, in housing, in em-

"Almost three years have

regated education was not ex-

olovment. . . .

In answer to Concetta Roy recreational facilities. Just the over-crowded schools to halfweek before, she said, a small empty schools in white neighthe street because there is no for the opposite purpose - to playground at P.S. 10 and no take white children out of mixed neighborhoods to all-white schools. When Mrs. May Healy de-

NUMBER 4

clared: "We are very much afraid ried out to the letter, will produce new hostilities, conflicts, resentments and separations of peoples," Rose Shapiro, chairman of the zoning commission, advised her to "learn courage from the teachers of Clinton, Tennessee.'

Well-organized and determined, these parents are confident that they can carry the fight to a successful conclusion regardless of the outcome of this particular

Cowley Statement At School Hearing

(The following are excerpts from a statement favoring school integration made by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, at the public hearing, Jan. 17, of the Board of Education. See Joyce Cowley's story on the hearing, this page.) "On behalf of the Socialist[®]

Workers Party, I would like to exists because it is economically make a statement about the prob- profitable. Landlords in Harlem lem of desegregating New York and Bedford-Stuyvesant make a City schools. The present hearing magnificent profit on their miserable firetraps. North or South. is the result of a three-year fight Negro and other minority youth on the part of various organizaprovide employers with cheap, untions representing the Negro skilled labor, a fact which is people and other minority closely related to the problem of groups, backed up by the determiinferior schools and inadequate nation and hard work of the par academic programs for minority ents themselves. The Socialist children. Workers Party supports this

struggle, as it supports every INFERIOR TEACHING struggle of the Negro people for

"It explains why they are shunted off to vocational high schools and discouraged from try ing for the special academic schools. Dr. Kenneth Clark, in his original report to the first passed since the Intergroup Com- Inter-group Conference, pointed mittee first charged that seg- out that only two-tenths of one percent of high school students the meet basic colle

My First Boss

By Ben Stone

My first job was that of errand boy at the tender age of 15, and like all good young Americans, I was determined to make good. Spurred on by the American dream of Success, I was certain of becoming the President of United States or a millionaire. Inspired by the movies, the thought also recurred intermittently that I would somehow rescue a rich man's daughter from certain death and marry into her fortune.

My first boss was a man by the name of Wolf, which in retrospect I think was appropriate enough. He and his wife, who served as his assistant, looked at me with the tender solicitude of a couple of wolves about to devour a young lamb. "Young man," Mr. Wolf said to me in our first interview, the memory of which I will always cherish, "You're a clean-cut chap and if you're honest and ambitious, you'll go far."

He didn't say how far, but I soon found out when I carried his heavy packages around town. Every day the packages kept getting heavier and heavier and even one

block began to seem too far. I started for a horse.

Each day I felt like cutting short my promising career with the Wolfs, but how could I go home and tell my mother I had quit my job? Especially since I was bringing home \$8 a week.

Finally, in desperation, just when my arms seemed ready to fall off, I quit. The Wolfs were terribly disappointed in me. "Why didn't you let us know the packages were too heavy for you?" they cried, "All right, son, we'll give you lighter packages from now on."

But by this time I hated the sight of the sanctimonious pair, and I felt a great weight lifted from me as I left.

On the way home to tell my mother the sad news, I felt determined to find a new and better job which would be easier and would pay more. Little did I know how many more jobs and bosses I was to have. My next employer was the subsidiary

of a big public utility. But that's another story and another column. . .

that they might be assigned to "difficult" schools. (They consistently referred to schools attended by large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children as "difficult." A Negro veteran, representing the 369th Veterans Association, pointed out that the atwondering if the boss hadn't mistaken me titude of the teachers may create much of the difficulty.)

almost certain. But opposition

developed from numerous teach-

integration proposals. Their op-

position was mainly due to fear

WCC MATERIAL

VOLUME XXI

By Joyce Cowley

people crowded into the Board of

On Jan. 17, several hundred

Support for anti-integration teachers came from William Pfeffer of the Cambria Heights Association, claiming to represent 200 Queens home owners. customs and recreational habits He denied that segregation actually existed in New York and to live together and it is their said that children in some schools were "difficult" because of improper home training. He felt that any change would bring "hardship" to white parents and children by disproportionately favoring Negroes. "Why," he asked, "should we be subjected

to a sociological experiment? ... After all, many of the great Negro leaders came from the segregated schools in the south."



JOYCE COWLEY was the "communists" who favored school integration. If Pfeffer and his friends sound like good material for White Citizens Councils in the North, so did many of the teach-

Teachers Alliance said that immigrants who came to this country lived in the same neighborsame language and "they were

themselves segregated." Mrs. izations and the Queens "home owners," and the red-baiting of the Socialist Party, was the militancy of Negro mothers who patiently waited many hours for their turn to talk. They told how they had gone to Jim Crow schools themselves and were determined their children should not suffer the humiliation of inferior, segregated education. They movingly described their children's experiences in the Jim

Crow schools of New York. up Pfeffer and declared that it ute time limit, it permitted of the children is jeopardized in

Sit-Down Strike Wins

representative attacked "communists" for "selling the Negro down the river" and seemed to think the most important reason for integrating the schools was ganda abroad "more effective." An inspiring contrast to the chauvinism of the teacher organ-



large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans move into an area, the academic standards are automatically lowered, since it is assumed 'in advance that these children are of inferior ability, Although they may not admit it, this is what many teachers and educational directors really believe. In Brooklyn, for example, when parents demanded advanced classes for bright children, school principals frequently claimed that there were no bright children. The parents themselves had the children tested and proved that the principals were wrong "The recommendations on zoning, if adopted by the Board of Education, are supposed to go into effect next September. Next November, we will be electing a Mayor and many other city officials, and it will be a good time to give them notice that we are tired of interminable delays and

excuses. We can do this most effectively by running independent: labor candidates next fall."

ON THE

Struggle

Order from

New York 3, N. Y.

MARCH

\$1.50

NEGROES A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro By Daniel Guerin 192 pages **PIONEER PUBLISHERS** 116 University Place

ments are Negroes. "Educational authorities have told me that the reason there are so few Negroes in the special schools is because they do not

most cases, they never take the tests. If they do take them, they may fail because the segregated schools which they attend have given them inadequate academic preparation for advanced

work. . . "Dr. Clark charged that when

