For a Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialists!

WEEKLY

A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions

(The following is the text of a Statement on the Regroupment of Revolutionary-Socialist Forces in the Vol. XXI - No. 6 United States adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.)

The discussion now going on in the radical movement Fast Ends about a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces is a welcome development. It opens a hopeful new stage in a welcome development. It opens a hopeful new stage in the difficult task of constructing a party in the United States canable of guiding the struggle for socialism to States capable of guiding the struggle for socialism to success.

The discussion was precipitated by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where the monstrous crimes of Stalin were publicly admitted by his heirs and accomplices. These revelations marily to the Khrushchev revelaplunged the Communist Party of the United States into tions, novelist Howard Fast has a profound crisis. The upsurge of revolutionary socialist struggle in the Soviet orbit following the Twentieth Con- interview with the New York gress deepened the crisis. Revolutionary-minded members Times, the author of Freedom of the Communist Party began to draw the logical con- Road and other best selling works clusion to their bitter experience with Stalinism by seeking a regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces in I cannot work and write in the America.

Interest in the question of revolutionary regroupment, it has turned out, is not confined to Communist Party since the Thirties, and a Party members and sympathizers who have become aware party member for the past 15 of the nature of Stalinism. The question is also being discussed among the youth in the Social Democratic sphere. the Times interview. The Feb. This is due in part to interest aroused by the ferment Daily Worker, in announcing his in the Communist Party, but more importantly to opposi- break reported that it had veri tion to the recent reactionary shift in the Social Democracy toward the wing closest to the State Department and the Democratic Party, as signalized by the fusion of the SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

The Next Stage

In addition, thousands of former supporters of the indicated to the Times that he has Progressive Party, presently unaffiliated idealistic youth spent the period since that time and class-conscious workers are interested in building a reconsidering the question of his re-invigorated revolutionary-socialist movement in America.

The discussion has gone on somewhat haphazardly, Khrushchev speech and the reveremaining - properly so up to now - at the level of lations of Soviet anti-Semitism general consideration of the feasibility of regroupment. which were given international In the next stage of the discussion, two different ways of ish-language paper, Folksstimme proceeding are counterposed: (1) Shall we first attempt detailed the annihilation of leada general unification, leaving the discussion and clarifica- ing Jewish cultural figures in the tion of programmatic questions for a-later time? Or (2) shall we first explore the different views; clarify the vari- Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. ous positions, and try to reach agreement and unification on at least the minimum fundamentals? It seems speech, Fast said: "It was into us that the latter procedure is preferable and that the credible and unbelievable to me (Continued on page 2) speech with a promise of the re-

A Good Precedent

Attributing his decision pribroken his long association with the Communist Party. In a Feb. 1 said that he was "neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Communist, but

PUBLISHED

Communist movement." A supporter of the Communist fied the Times story in a telephone conversation with Fast.

Fast, who had been a regular contributor to the Daily Worker, discontinued his column last June at the time the Khrushchev speech was published in this country. He

The two principal factors causing him to break, he said, was the Soviet Union beginning with the liquidation of the leaders of the Discussing the Khrushchev that Khrushchev did not end his

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1957 267 PRICE 10c Senate Mail Runs 8 to 1 **Against Mid-East Plan** the CP

INTERESTS OF

THE

THE MULITANT

THE

IN



NEWS ITEM: Rejecting demands of Negro leaders that Eisenhower speak in the South against the present wave of racist violence, a presidential spokesman asked that they make available to the government any information that might indicate interference with civil rights.

Letters Convey Strong Protest Against Moves Toward a New Conflict

WORKING PEOPLE

By Fred Halstead

The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to the Eisenhower Doctrine according to mail being received by United States Senators. The doctrine, approved by the House of Representatives last 9-

month and now being considered determined to gain their indeby the Senate, grants authority pendence from imperialism and to the President to start a war they will resist any attempt by in the Middle East without con- U.S. capitalism to "fill the sulting Congress or notifying vacuum" created by the Britishthe American people. Office French defeat at Suez. The Eisstaffs of both Republican and enhower Doctrine threatens a Democratic Senators on the new Korean-type police action Foreign Relations Committee against this rising Arab national reported this week that mail was independence revolution. It is "eight or nine to this threat of war that is being running one" against the Eisenhower vigorously opposed in the letters proposals.

A HEAVY MAIL

The Senate office staffs agreed, according to the Feb. 2 New York Times, that there is "considerable public interest in

the issue," that the mail is running overwhelmingly against the doctrine, although there is no organization behind it. The volume of mail is large from all parts of the country, and is particularly heavy from the Middle and Far West.

Opposition is being expressed in other ways also. The Ham-Local 600-UAW Paper Hits Protest Ban mond Times of Hammond, Indiana took a poll of 1,000 readers which ran four to one against Probe of Unions by Congress Of Lawyer he doctrine, according Senatorial assistant. The Senate, however, is expected to flaunt the will of the people and approve Eisenhower's Mid - East proposals sometime this month. In addition to the war-making powers, the pro-FEB. 6-Legal arguments for posals grant the President an a hearing or for acquittal of Mor- additional \$200 million to be

of the American people to the Senate. As one New Yorker. wrote to a Senator: "A slip of

the foot and that brink is a point of no return." Freedom Rally



V. R. Dunne (left) of the Socialist Workers Party and Carl Ross, Minnesota chairman of the Communist Party, share platform at a Jan. 11 symposium in Minneapolis on problems of socialist regroupment. The turnout was the largest of any radical meeting held in the area during the past decade.

Kremlin Policy Favors Foster Faction in CP and Yugoslav CP'ers who are Soviet Russia, the Feb. 5 Daily acteristic of anything Senator

By Harry Ring

charged with favoring "national Worker declared that "American McCarthy has a hand in." NEW YORK, Feb. 5 - Comcommunism" and attempting to Communists will make up their "split the international Com- own minds" and that the DW Board of the United Auto Workmunist Party Chairman William Z. Foster has received another munist movement into two op- would not be prevented from ers at its Jan. 28 meeting major assist from the Kremlin posing groups: Stalinists and thinking independently. Such a adopted a resolution to ask the in his drive for control of the anti-Stalinists." Coming after the Kremlin sentiment of a large body of CP CIO to consider "urging Congress CP convention which convenes here this weekend. Moscow's attack of last November on the members. But they will have to to authorize an appropriate Conmove came in the form of a Feb. Daily Worker for daring to firmly insist that this time the gressional committee to conduct 3 article in the paper Soviet question its role in Hungary, Gates-wing leaders on the DW a thorough and exhaustive in-Russia, which devels a special the present crude Kremlin in- staff live up to their promise. vestigation . . . and to expose blast at what it and Foster has tervention on behalf of Foster branded as the "right wing" of underscores the fact that despite banner of independence from the in labor, in industry and all other sound in the control of the problem " the American CP - the Gates Khrushchev's promises at the Kremlin bureaucrats last April aspects of the problem." 20th Congress the prospect following admissions in Hungary tendency.

Charging the Gates wing with remains bleak for Moscow estab- that the trial and execution of charging the Gates wing the femalis blead to be the training and execution of the training and execution of the training a relationship of inde-theory under the pressure of pendent and equal relations be-the training and execution of the training and the "bourgois ideology," the Kremlin tween itself and the Communist "bourgois ideology," the Kremlin organ utilizes a typical old-fashioned Stalinist frame-up of the move to whip the Gates humping the Gates wing with tendency back into line is not lumping the Gates wing with tendency back into line is not "secret-session" speech at the John Foster Dulles, since both an isolated development but part 20th Congress of the CPSU. allegedly advocate "national of the campaign of the Kremlin high command to shut off the communism."

Singled out for special attack wave of criticism that broke is Daily Worker foreign editor out in the Communist parties ciated with the Gates tendency is Daily Worker foreign editor out in the communist parties denounced the war waged by the Joseph Clark, a leading figure internationally following the 20th Kadar government and the in the Gates faction. Included in Congress. the same broadside are Polish Answering the attack by

apital punishment, trial by jury, and habeas corpus. Without these reforms one can make neither sense nor reason of the speech itself."

forms needed to guarantee that

Stalin's crimes will not be re-

peated, reforms such as an end to

Soviet Union before the Khrushchev speech. That little troubled me, but I repressed my doubts. Then the article appeared in the Folksstimme last spring telling what actually happened. It was not an easy thing to live with."

IN THIS ISSUE:

Portrait of Union 'Boss" James Hoffa

(See Page 3)

Again, in the middle of Novem-

ber, several CP leaders asso-

(Continued on page 2)

Regarding the persecution of FEB. 7 — Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600, FOR Sobel provided the correct answer to Congressional plans for little about anti-Semitism in the "investigating" labor racketeering in the Feb. 2 issue of Ford Facts published by the

By Myra Tanner Weiss

dividends announced by corpora- is fundamentally based on the

the cost of living jumped 21/2 his fellow man. per cent."

workers from their leaders." Stellato then concluded, "I am quite certain that labor can clean its own house. And labor certainly looks with a jaundiced eye when the enemies of labor try to do the job for us. We will be opposed to a 'labor investigating Roman Holiday' which is so char-

The International Executive

gives sanction to an anti-union

primary object to discredit,

movement.

declaration surely echoes the Executive Council of the AFL-

local. To the accusations of labor eteering is an integral part of racketeering, Stellato counter- American capitalist society. ton Sobell, now serving a 30-year used to buy off such Arab rulers posed the fabulous profits being "Angles" for getting rich grow term in Alcatraz on charges of as may be induced to serve the raked in by the capitalists. "Cash inevitably out of a system that "conspiracy to commit espionage" aims of U.S. imperialism in the were postponed today for the Middle East. An example of the tions hit a new high in 1956," he "right" of an individual to second time this week by three reactionary purposes to which judges in the U.S. Court of Ap- this money will be put is the pointed out. In that same year enrich himself at the expense of

peals. In the ruling class, there is

"While all of this is going on," little unselfish devotion to the granted on Feb. 4 at the re- and of the Hashemite Kings of 93rd anniversary of the Eman-Stellato said, "Senator McClellan common welfare. In the struggle quest of Sobell's lawyers who Jordan and Iraq. is conducting a 'probe' of alleged against the class that dominates reported that Dr. Louis Sanchez labor racketeering. . . His com- society, on the other hand, the Ponton, noted Mexican lawyer, cannot be bought off. They are see page 4.

panions in this probe are Senator working class places a high had been unable to obtain a visa McCarthy (Wisconsin) and Sen-McCarthy (Wisconsin) and Sen-ator Mundt — two anti-Union Senate leaders who have sud-be as today, the labor move-to aid the Sobell lawyers in the beharacteristic. denly decided to protect the ment' loses this characteristic preparations for argumentation. and takes on more and more of The judges granted the postthe qualities of the society in ponement until Feb. 6 in the hope which it operates. that Dr. Ponton would be per-An impartial investigation of mitted to enter.

"racketeering" would have to Interference with the entry of begin at the very pinnacles of Dr. Ponton, a professor of law society. When it begins with at the University of Mexico and labor it can only have one oba former Minister of Education, jective. That is to destroy the was protested Feb. 4 in a telelabor movement. gram sent to President Eisen-

Asks Justice



isolate and weaken the union HELEN SOBELL for six years has fought to free her The racketeering that exists husband, Morton, who she in the AFL-CIO will not be states was framed-up with the seriously affected by any Con-Rosenbergs during the atomgressional investigation. Rack-| spy hysteria.

FARRELL DOBBS. SWP National Secretary, shown addressing rally, last month, present wooing by Eisenhower organized by Negro community The first postponement was of King Saud of Saudi Arabia of Buffalo commemorating

> cipation Proclamation. For excerpts from Dobbs' speech The Arab masses, however,

Gov't Inaction on Terror

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 5 - Eisenhower's refusal to speak out for civil rights in the South, coupled with the Justice Department's rejection of an urgent request by Southern Negro leaders for a meeting concern-3

ing the Dixie reign of terror, was Department of Justice" concernblasted by Rev. Fred L. Shuttles- ing civil rights violence.

Dulles by Vera Rony, National worth, whose Birmingham home Secretary of the Workers Defense League. The protest was made on the basis of Sobell's aid and comfort to the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens right to counsel. (The WDL has Council." 'The Negro leader not taken a position on the merits asked: "Are American Negroes to be slaughtered like cattle be-

News of the delay in granting fore Washington acts?" Dr. Ponton a visa-if he will yet Rev. Martin Luther King, leadbe able to obtain one-was given er of the Montgomery bus boywidespread publicity in the press cott charged on Feb. 2, that both of Mexico. The New York cap-Democrats and Republicans had italist papers, however, informed "betraved" the Negroes. He last Saturday of this development lashed at the administration for and the protests of Helen Sobell, being indifferent to oppression in the prisoner's wife, have as yet the U.S. "Washington must discover that the problems in Birmingham are as important as the problems in Budapest."

granted at the government's re-PRESIDENT GOES GOLFING quest. However, the U.S. Attorney asked for postponement un-On Jan. 11, Negro leaders from til Monday, Feb. 11, which would ten Southern states called on

bring the Sobell motions before Eisenhower to speak out puba different panel of judges. This licly in the South against the request was denied and postpone- rampage of violence. They also ment granted only until Feb. 8, requested an interview with Atstill in the hope that Dr. Ponton torney General Herbert Browwill be granted entry. nell, on the "responsibility of the

On Feb. 1, the Justice Departwas dynamited, as giving "untold ment publicized the arrogant reply by Sherman Adams on behalf of Eisenhower, that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement a's you asked." The Associated Press reported, Feb. 4, that Eisenhower hopes to leave this' week end for Thomasville, Georgia, the visit may last up to two weeks-he will go quail hunting and golfing.

> Eisenhower is ready to ring the world with U.S. armed forces to support reaction in the name of democracy. With the victims of murder and bombings in Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama he cannot be bothered. "All we asked for was just a word from the President," said Rev. King. But neither Eisenhower, nor any other major Big Business politician, has that one word of encouragement for heroic human beings whose very lives are in

(Continued on page 4)

not carried a word of the visa denial. The second postponement was

of the Sobell case).

nower and Secretary of State



campaign that will have as its



Monday, February 11, 1957

... CP Convention Faces Queries Our Stand **Issue of Independence** Editor: ers in the factories, etc., they other hand real classes in history police terror, stifling of the Would you please explain these represented so desired. It was such as the feudal or capitalist slightest expression of opposi- in the Soviet Union. China and contradictions which appear in this form of government that could not be swept away without tion, no unions but one big com- the East European Countries it

(Continued from mage 1) garian Workers Councils.

Page 2

to independence from the politics Gates on the basic programmatic bility of a split. That there is a leaders. Since then, the Gatesites (co - existence, anti - monopoly As a result, the DW has not monolithic practices. uttered a word against the deathpenalty for strikers decreed by

Kadar. Browder-type "political associa- Bulletin No. 5, dated Jan. 15. tion." This served only to alienate many worker-members who wanted a new deal in the tive" and opens with the declaraparty but were not ready to pay tion that "many good Party com-

Bulletin

FEB. 8 - Today's Daily Worker reports a statement of the CP National Board which "takes note of a reggrettable story at large that some purported basis exists for a challenge . . . regarding the delegates elected at the New York State Convention. We view any rumor or act to challenge the delegates election outcome in New York as a serious and utterly illegal procedure which could only have a disruptive and all-sidedly damaging consequence to the unity, work and good conduct of the coming National convention."

Soviet troops against the Hun- ferences with Foster, served only down conceptions of Marxismas grist for Foster's mill. Al- Leninism. Such action does not Supporting Kremlin" in the That was the furthest advance though in full agreement with by any means imply the inevita- Militant of Feb. 4, 1957.

reached by any Gates-tendency proposal on "name and form" and must be avoided." have beat a retreat all along coalition, support to the Demo- talk, all of this boils down to the line on this question. Under crats), Foster has been able to a warning to the Gates group: struggle between the workers combined Foster - Kremlin present himself as the "defender" You have retreated on a number and this "caste" is "as real in with a new "compromise" ized on the issue of opportunism. To that degree the danger of society." statement that brought to an end in his drive to choke off criticism split has been reduced. You have pendent evaluation of the events. attempts to re-establish the old To that degree the danger of he compares to "fascist capitalsplit is still "obvious."

To bludgeon his opponents That unquestioned support for

crippled by its political line as tional Committee meeting, pub- New York State convention in your paper. expressed in the proposal for a lished in National Discussion George B. Charney, a Gatesite co-sponsored a resolution with The split threat is presented Ben Davis, a Fosterite, which gave Foster everything he could Dear Reader: in the form of a "unity perspecwant on the question of "name and form of the party." the price of liquidation for it. The ill-disguised opportunist rades ... fear that a serious But hard on the heels of this politics of Gates, combined with split is developing." But, Foster major "unity" offering came the assures them, while "obviously attack in Soviet Russia. It

there is a danger of a split, I declared in effect that agreement Russian Soviets were similar to believe that our Party will on such issues as "name and the Workers Councils which vention essentially united." What has got to be ended is the talk of Stalinism and anti- Soviets of workers, soldiers and Then follows a statement of a series of developments which, Stalinism. There must be no more enough, each development is one Foster Dulles. yielded to him. Or as he puts it: "The unifying trend in the

tendency. Where then is the remaining membership to decide all issues government to crumble.

into a political action association party.

danger of split? Foster explains: without ultimatums and split

of the Chinese CP's Manifesto days under Lenin and Trotsky. tion which destroys the old leader, etc. As Stalinism grew the Soviets economic and social base.

Again: The violence and terror

ism. Hitler."

The Soviet Union retains its

in that country. Soviet is the

Russian word for council. The

role in the Hungarian uprising.

completely into line and to put the Kremlin, over which Foster ist state (a workers' state) to tion and the land and means of pearances, however, they are a That does not imply an equating daining any thought of a return an end to the stormy discussion hurls "split" threats, is the car- fascist capitalism, to Hitler? It production were nationalized. Yet parasitic growth on the labor of such unions, as I tried to make to capitalism, they are striving The ability of the Gates group in the ranks, Foster is now using dinal issue is indicated by the seems to me that you cannot we see wage differences as great movement, not an organic, clear above, or their corrupt for a new, honest workers' to win independence from Krem-lin dictation and the "stand-pat" in this direction is contained in of the Gates faction has not is either one or the other. I capitalist countries. The privi-as long as their ill-gotten wealth or company owned sheriffs. Stalinism of Foster was further his speech to the December Na- brought peace. At the recent would like to see a reply to this leged bureaucrat lives in a large comes principally from the union Similar methods, but different cialism. luxurious apartment and has one movement they are not capital- social bases.

or more summer homes. He has ists but corrupt labor bureau A Regular Reader several cars, expensive clothing, crats. New York City the best of foods, servants, etc.

Despite such leadership the The unskilled worker lives in a union remains a union — just as crowded slum, no car, insuf- the USSR remains a workers' original name even though ficient and shoddy clothing and state. The workers' interests soviets were long ago destroyed a bare diet. To protect their high dictate not the destruction of the incomes and standard of living union and a return to open-shop the bureaucracy has expropriated conditions but a "political revo the workers politically. lution" inside the union that Does this make the bureaucracy sweeps the parasitic bureaucracy emerge from the coming con- form" are of little consequence, recently played such a leading a new ruling class as some out and leaves the union basis maintain under theories of state not only intact but better able capitalism, "managerial revolu- to function. Similarly with the peasants made the Russian Revo- tion," or "bureaucratic collectiv- Soviet Union.

according to Foster, have reduced critical and independent ap- lution of October 1917. The Bol- ism"? Trotsky (See the Revolu-Can the Stalinist regime the danger of split. Curiously praisals of what goes on in the shevik slogan was "All power to tion Betrayed) and other Marx- legitimately be compared to that Soviet orbit. Those who do so the Soviets" as opposed to sup- ists have said that while in many of Hitler? Yes, if one makes it in which the Gates wing has will be framed as allies of John port of the provisional par- ways the bureaucracy resembles clear that their social bases are liamentary government of Keren- a class, it is not. completely different: the former

Thus the issue is posed before sky. When the Bolshevik Party Classes in history have played being a workers' state - a his-Party ... has been running very the convention delegates: Either finally achieved a majority in an organic, necessary role in torically progressive stage, in strongly lately against the Right a fight for internal democracy - the Soviets, the latter took all their societies springing natur- history - and the latter capitalthat is, for the right of the state power causing the Kerensky ally, as it were, from the under- ism stripped bare of all demolying social relations. This the cratic or progressive pretense. Soviets, are the most demo- bureaucracy does not do - its In methods of rule these 'At the convention the main task threats. Or blind obedience to cratic form of workers' self-gov- role actually is that of a parasitic regimes, based on opposite social in overcoming this Right weak- Khrushchev and Co. - that is, ernment the world has seen. growth on Soviet social rela- systems, were symmetrical. Hitness will be to reject decisively a return to the days of Stalin- Delegates to them could be tions. It can be swept away with- ler's method of rule was that of

the proposal to turn the Party ist bureaucratic rule over the recalled and replaced at any out altering the economic or the police state - concentration moment a majority of the work- social basis of the USSR. On the camps, firing squads, secret-

To defend what is progressive the efforts to conciliate all dif- and to correct current watered- George Lavan's article "Meaning the Soviet Union had in its early a social revolution - a revolu- pany union, deification of the is not necessary to shrink from any of the facts, bitter though

It might also be asked, is it they may be, or to conceal anywere steadily undermined, shorn Perhaps a comparison with the permissible to compare the thing. In facing these facts and He writes of "USSR," "Soviet" of power and in the mid-Thirties, bureaucracies of the trade union brutality and violence used by drawing the necessary political of the Soviet bureaucratic caste premises from which stem the split danger is obvious, but it can Society and at the same time when the new Stalin constitution movement in the U.S. will shed labor-hating employers in the conclusions one is preparing the of the "extinction" of Soviets. was adopted, the facade of some light on the problem. In U.S. with methods used by cor-workers movement for the Stripped of diplomatic double- He says that bureaucracy is a Soviets was dropped in favor of corrupt unions such as the East rupt union bureaucracies? The regeneration of the Soviet orbit "caste" not a class and yet the a pseudo-parliamentary facade. Coast longshoremens' and the methods of Rockerfeller's thugs and giving support to the The Soviet Union is a con- teamsters' the leaders are often against the miners and their regenerating forces. This is totradictory society. It is not so- described as not being labor families in the Ludlow Massacre, day's most important form of attack, the Gates leaders caved of "Leninism." He has capital- of issues on which I oppose you. as class conflicts in capitalists state leaders but "capitalists" because the methods of company-owned defense of the Soviet Union and halfway between capitalism and of their fantastically high in- sheriffs in the South unfor- the guarantee of its future. socialism. This may explain why comes (most of which come tunately find their parallel in the Fortunately, as events in their initial efforts at an inde- of party bureaucracy and in his not yet done so on other issues. against the people by this caste descriptions of it themselves from selling out the workers and gangsterism employed by the Poland, Hungary and inside the seem contradictory. The old looting the union treasury). bureaucrats of some of the most capitalist and landlord classes They have their pent houses, degenerated American trade USSR itself show, these forces How can he compare a social- were expropriated by the revolu- limousines, etc., etc. Despite ap- unions against the rank and file. are now on the march and, dis-

George Lavan

Chinese CP Leader in Warsaw



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) is photographed with Gomulka during Warsaw visit last month. The visit was credited with contributing to Gomulka's election victory. The price of Chou's support was a pledge of Polish support to the Kremlin puppet regime of Kadar in Hungary.



(Continued from page 1) 11 11 that programmatic issues have to be considered and clarified before durable organizational conclusions can be reached.

The effort to determine what the programmatic aims of the regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should eventually agreed upon will most certainly shape the may be called to our attention. We think all programmatic rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it by work- result of the militant struggles of the past and the reading

serious elements taking part in the discussion will agree stage to try to focus the discussion of the proposed pro- any moment to sell their support to the imperialists in respect, too, is the opposite of the Social Democratic and gram for regroupment around a number of clearly stated exchange for a diplomatic agreement. A clean break with Stalinist parties. We think that a party that knows how key issues. We have definite opinions on these questions Stalinism and a repudiation of its crimes and betrayals to stick to principles, to guarantee the democratic rights and state them frankly as part of our contribution to the are a necessary part of the program of revolutionary so- of minority groupings among its members, and to partidiscussion.

This should not be taken to mean, however, that our support of the struggles of the workers in the Soviet bloc to the victory of socialism in America. be is not a matter of splitting hairs in a search for a new minds are closed to opposing views. We are open to ar- which are leading up to a political revolution. The aim dogma. It is a very real problem, for the program that is gument and persuasion and to the weight of facts that of this political revolution is to overthrow the reactionary position of the union movement in America today is a movement and ultimately determine its success or failure positions should be put on the table where they can be ers democracy on the basis of the nationalized industries ness of the rank and file workers to defend their organin the coming period when the American working class easily examined, and we hope other participants in the and planned economy.

Party is of the opinion that it would prove fruitful at this, change in their diplomatic maneuvers and are ready at, full internal democracy with unity in action and in this cialist regroupment in this country. This signifies also cipate in the class struggle as a cohesive force is essential

(10) Policy in the unions. We believe the strong, izations from attack. Nevertheless the years of prosperity again swings into action and turns toward socialist lead- discussion will take the same position. In our opinion, this (6) The struggle for peace. Many people believe that have softened up the unions. The top bureaucracy feels is the only realistic and principled way to proceed toward the slogan, "peaceful coexistence," simply advocates an free to boast of its class-collaborationist policies, although serious regroupment. Otherwise we do not see how a end to the cold war and to the threat of a third world war they undermine the hard-won gains of the past and block. fruitful discussion can be held and clashing views finally - an objective endorsed by all opponents of imperialist the struggle for new advances. The Social Democratic war. We believe, however, that this slogan as advanced leaders have long been part of this class-collaborationist We list below a number of issues which we think are by the Kremlin bureaucracy is deceptive and aims at bureaucracy; the Stalinist leaders give every evidence. maintaining the status quo in a world of irresistible of seeking to be accepted by it. Those who favor the rechange. It means the maintenance of capitalism and the groupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should, in our parasitic Soviet bureaucracy. It therefore undermines the opinion, oppose the policy of class-collaboration in the unions and stand for the policy of the class struggle. , (11) The Negro struggle. The struggle of the New gro people for full equality is by itself completely progressive, and the labor movement has a direct interest in its success. If the unions threw their weight into the win deferment of imperialist war while at the same time scale through financial help and militant action, the fight hastening the advent of socialism with its final guarantee to end segregation and discrimination in all its forms could be carried to victory in short order. This victory would at the same time be the best guarantee for successful organization of the South. Revolutionary socialists, we think, can play a vital role in mobilizing labor support for the Negro struggle and should put this problem high on the agenda for action.

ership.

Kind of Discussion That Is Needed

A vital stage in the process of regroupment is thus as we see it, the free exchange of views among those interested in the regroupment. This exchange, coupled with willingness to listen, to study and to learn from each other will greatly facilitate the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in America. It will at the same time constitute, we are convinced, invaluable preparation for the next great upsurge of radicalism in America when all the questions of program and theory that are now under examination will become the guiding lines for practical action on a mass scale. All positions and proposals should be considered without prejudice or preconceived notions as to their possible merit. Scientific objectivity in the discussion is the first requirement that must be met in establishing a solid foundation for a new advance of revolutionary socialism.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers

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resolved.

most important:

(1) International Outlook. Revolutionary socialism is, in our opinion, international by its very nature, for its aim is to free world technology not only from the limitations of class rule but from the barriers set up by artificial national frontiers. The international solidarity of the working class stands on the real foundation of this common socialist aim. Thus it would be wrong in principle and futile in practice to attempt to narrow the outlook of the regroupment to nothing but the "American" scene and its national politics. At a time when United States imperialism is reaching out into all parts of the world it is particularly unrealistic for the labor movement, above all its socialist sector, to put on the provincial blinders of a purely national outlook.

Socialist Internationalism

(2) Foreign policy. The bi-partisan foreign policy of Big Business must be clearly recognized as imperialist. American capitalism inherently tends toward wars of in-Washington.

(3) Colonial revolutions. In our view the anti-imperialist movement of the colonial peoples is progressive and must be supported even where it is under the temporary leadership of Stalinist parties or bourgeois-nationalist figures. We hold at the same time that it would be a violation of socialist principles to place political confidence in such parties or individuals as they are invariably ready to sell out to imperialism.

(4) The defense of the economic and social conwe are convinced, despite the extreme distortions they the capitalist candidiates. have suffered under the Stalinist bureaucracy. We stand for the defense of these conquests against the imperialist What Type of Party? drive to liquidate them.

(5) The struggle against Stalinism. The parasitic

socialist struggle for peace and plays into the hands of the warmongers. Instead of the delusory slogan of "peaceful co-existence," or maintenance of the status quo, we advocate depending on the development of the class struggle. Deepening the class struggle can, as a by-product, of a world that will no longer know war or any of the other horrors of capitalism in its stage of decay.

(7) Independent political action. The class struggle is above all else a political struggle. For that reason we believe that it is a violation of socialist principles to support any candidate on the capitalist party slates, even though they are endorsed by the trade-union bureaucracy. The great task that confronts the American workers today is to break from the capitalist political machines and build their own party - a labor party based on the unions in alliance with the Negro people and the working farm creasingly destructive character. The struggle for peace ers. It is the job of revolutionary socialists to explain therefore requires as its starting point irreconcilable op- this patiently day in and day out. Above all they must position to the predatory foreign aims of Wall Street and set an example, refusing to cross the picket lines in politics, or support the parties of the class enemy in any way.

(8) Socialist electoral activity. The most consistent advocates of independent working-class political action, in our view, are revolutionary socialists. In fact for some years they have been the only candidates to urge formation of a Labor Party in the United States. We feel that every effort should be made to provide candidates running on a socialist program with the widest possible public forum and to give their campaigns maximum effectivequests in the Soviet bloc. The ending of capitalist rule, ness. As the movement toward regroupment proceeds, spethe abolition of capitalist private ownership of industry, cial attention must be paid, we think, to socialist electoral the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade activity to make sure that the voice of revolutionary soand the construction of planned economy are progressive, cialism is heard in election campaigns in opposition to

lin bureaucrats regard the Communist parties as small Stalinist bureaucracies. A Leninist-type party combines proposals in the press and on the platform.

United Action for Civil Liberties

(12) The defense of civil liberties. We are convinced that no exceptions can be made in the struggle to preserve civil liberties. The refusal of the trade unions to rally to the defense of members of the Communist Party who have been victimized by the witch hunt is a blot on the record of the labor movement, and it weakens labor's general defenses against reaction. To point to the crimes of Stalinism as an excuse for refusing to defend these victims of the witch hunt only plays the game of the witch hunters who deliberately selected this target as the most vulnerable in the labor movement. It is high time, we think, to once again popularize the old slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and the ones best equipped to take the initiative in this are the revolutionary socialists.

A unified front of common action for eivil liberties and civil rights need not wait for programmatic agreement. Common action on agreed-upon issues are essential for the defense of all victims of racism and reaction. United efforts in the arena of action can provide a helpful supplement to the programmatic discussion now in progress.

These twelve issues seem to us to be the central ones (9) Party organization. The general principles of in the discussion on the proposed regroupment of revolubureaucratic caste in the Soviet bloc has proved, next to Leninism are applicable, we think, to America. We favor tionary socialist forces; but this does not at all mean the world bourgeoisie itself, to be the worst obstacle to a Leninist-type party. By a Leninist-type party we mean that we feel other issues should not also be discussed. the advance of socialism. The police rule of this caste has a party that holds firmly to socialist principles, refusing We propose these twelve only in hope of helping to make been marked in the Soviet bloc by monstrous frame-ups, to compromise them for illusory passing gains. In this the discussion more concrete, thus facilitating the rethe murder of revolutionary socialists and mass purges respect a Leninist-type party is the diametrical opposite groupment. We invite all who are interested in a social of the working class. On the international field the Krem- of the parties dominated by the Social Democratic and ist regroupment to a free and critical discussion of our

THE MILITANT

Arabian Oil Workers



The SWP Stand on Regroupment

We believe the statement of the Socialist Workers Party on revolutionary socialist regroupment deserves the widest circulation throughout the radical movement, and we invite all groups and individuals to use our pages to comment on it.

The continuing exchange of views between the various radical tendencies during the past year has been a welcome. development. By presenting a series of concrete programmatic points for consideration, we feel that the statement of the Socialist Workers Party will help considerably to advance the discussion.

Such a discussion, we believe, is the prerequisite for unifying the revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S., today's most vital need in the struggle against capitalist reaction. In addition to a clear posing of programmatic issues involved, what is essential to a fruitful discussion is the elimination of any efforts to restrict the discussion itself or to try to ban anyone's participation in it.

While the ranks of all the radical tendencies are almost unanimously in favor of an unrestricted discussion, it must be noted that in the top leadership of some of the radical organizations there have been efforts to restrict the discussion. This has been particularly the case with the leadership of the Socialist Party (now merged with the Social Democratic Federation) and also with the Foster wing of the leadership of the Communist Party. Last December, Norman Thomas made

a last-minute withdrawal from a Detroit regroupment symposium. In doing so he said that he would not participate in a discussion which included a representative of the Communist Party. It was later learned that this was not simply Thomas' personal view but that the impetus for his decision came from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. It is now the position of the leadership of the merged SP-SDF that it will not participate in discussions which include spokesmen for the Communist Party.

In the Communist Party, that section of the leadership represented by John Gates has demonstrated a desire to participate in the current discussions between the various radical tendencies. In taking this stand, it has been confronted with strong opposing pressure from Foster, who while paying lip service to the need for such test against an increase in fares Feb. 5, as all except a handful of discussion, has done his best to dis- is spreading. The movement now shops in the main city of Al- understood. Hoffa began his courage Communist Party participation. In addition, there has been resistance in work from segregated compounds the leadership of the Communist Party outside Johannesburg and Pretogenerally to join in discussions which in- ria. Negroes were forced from clude representatives of the viewpoint of the SWP.

We are convinced, however, that the white. Meetings protesting this rank and file supporters of all tendencies recognize the need for and deeply desire a full, untrammeled discussion. This pro- tion. Police have been unable to gressive sentiment cannot be repressed and it will serve to further the process of other areas. A subtle industrial unification of all revolutionary socialists under a common banner.



Arab workers at the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey Ras Tanura refinery in Saudi Arabia where unions are outlawed by King Saud, chief U.S. puppet in the Mid East. The U.S. is supporting feudalists like Saud against the rising anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution of the Arab masses.

World Events

A GENERAL STRIKE BY AL-A SOUTH AFRICAN BUS GERIANS entered its ninth day, BOYCOTT begun, Jan. 7, in proinvolves over 60,000 Negroes who are walking the ten miles to was originally scheduled to last their homes inside Johannesburg only eight days. It began Jan. 28 bureaucratic machine until toat gun point in 1955 in a city

focusing attention on the United Nations debate on Algeria which drive to make residence mainly Jan. 30. On Jan. 29 the UN action were broken up as "subversive" as are all South African postponed the debate for one week at the request of the French meetings which oppose segregabreak the boycott movement, neau, who claimed he wanted more time to prepare his remarks. however, and it has spread to The extra time was used by French imperialist authorities to slowdown is taking place as attempt to break the strike, but workers arrive late and tired the Algerian people were still after the long walk. The main Negro refreshment hall in Johannesburg, run by the city, has

been boycotted since Jan. 28. It gerian workers in France, who used to serve 35,000 Negroes dai- are persecuted as members of an ly. Now it serves none.

IN CYPRUS, the British impe- geria, French imperialist authoriish minority which threatens ganized looting by Europeans of bate Pineau revealed that France ganization, Volcan, staged a 'night of terror" in Nicosa last month wrecking nearly 100 Greek

A Portrait of Teamsters Union "Boss" Hoffa Teamsters under the leadership, twelve per cent of the Teamster

By C. R. Hubbard of the socialists helped to or- locals - 105 out of 897 - were The Teamster's Union is an exganize many workers in allied ellent vehicle for studying some

CHANGES IN UNION

day, a success in the "labor

the powerful Dave Beck.

Dobbs, all Trotskyists."

industries. He also tells how the union, "under Farrell Dobbs, TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM of the problems of the modern American labor movement. This had begun the formation of a According to Jacobs, in the union today is as bureaucratized District Drivers Council, co- Thirties, Hoffa "watched the sucas any; as dominated by classordinating Teamster locals cesses of the Minneapolis Trotcollaborationist policies as any; throughout the Northwest: they skyists with great interest." The and as subject to the prey of later set up an eleven-state area latter, however, were interested racketeers as any. For this reason committee in the Mississippi in strengthening the bargaining the portrait of James Hoffa, one These achievements, position of the workers. They Valley." of the "bosses" of the Teamster's Jacobs said, "fundamentally af- held to the Marxist view, says union, by Paul Jacobs, Reporter fected the nature of the entire Jacobs, "that unions were inmagazine, Jan. 24 and Feb. 7, is struments of the class struggle." union.' of interest. Hoffa was interested in getting

THE / CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE rich, as was Beck. Both operated In the 1930's the union movement burst out of the restric-The big difference however under the concept of "business tions of the old craft unions in between the Teamsters' union the AFL. In militant, hard-fought

then and now can be seen in the Jacobs did not note it, but the fact that the expansion of Local second big change in the strike struggles the workers established themselves as an or-574 under the leadership of the Teamsters' union came in 1941 ganized force of considerable Dunne Brothers and Dobbs was when the leaders of the Minpower. The power that was born at the expense of the employers. neapolis union together with the then exists to this day. But now With Hoffa, expansion takes leaders of the Socialist Workit is used primarily for the place often with the collusion ers Party were indicted by the enrichment and prestige of the of the employers. Federal government in the first labor bureaucracy and racketeers When Hoffa takes in workers Smith Act trial. Government who moved in for their share of in other industries, it is for in- intervention then had a twofold the "take."

creasing the "take" and extend- purpose: first, to stifle opposiing his power. The Minneapolis tion to World War II, and second. union in the 1930's intervened to to oblige Tobin by eliminating

unionism."

Page 3

under such trusteeships."

In this context the rise to help other workers get organized the most powerful opposition to power of men like Hoffa can be and when success was won, as his bureaucratic domination of Jacobs pointed out, "turned them the Teamsters' Union. giers remained closed in spite of career back in 1937 as president a strike-breaking reign of terror of the Detroit Truck Drivers over to appropriate AFL unions." With the smashing of the by French security police and Local 299 although "he never Local 574, later known as Local

militant and democratic section Foreign Legionares. The strike drove a truck." From there he 544, wasn't interested in engag- of the Teamsters' Union by Fedclimbed steadily up in the ing in jurisdictional fights with eral intervention, the road was the rest of the labor movement. cleared for Tobin and his two In addition, that section of the most powerful lieutenants, Beck business." as Hoffa likes to call Teamsters union led by the and Hoffa, to dominate the union was originally scheduled to begin it, he stands as heir apparent to Dunne brothers and Dobbs was completely. The role of the witch a thoroughly democratic organ- hunt in the growth and corrup-The first major change in the ization. All matters of basic old Teamsters' union of Daniel policy were discussed and decided tion of the labor bureaucracy Foreign Minister, Christian Pi- Tobin, Jacobs points out, came by the union members. But to- thus became clear from the between 1933 and 1935 in the day, virtually all parts of the moment of its inception. Today Minneapolis local. Among the union are run by dictatorship. this witch hunt continues to be a leaders of that local, 574, were Dave Beck, head of the union major weapon in the hands of the "Dunne brothers — Vincent, Miles and Grant — and Farrell local under receivership. And he uses that power. At the end of of the props that keep them in Jacobs described how the 1955, Jacobs points out, "Almost power.

McDonald's Detroit Machine **Disrupts Dues Protest Rally**

By James Campbell

DETROIT, Feb. 1 - Don will continue its brutal attempts Rarick, campaigning to replace drowned out the boos and cat- to say to the steel workers on to repress Algerian independence David J. McDonald as President, calls of Shane's supporters. because French capitalism cannot of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO-AFL, the USW of Algeria and the African coll Presidency in the Feb. 12 naonies to which Algeria is the tional referendum election, Greek Cypriote majority replied gateway. The strike was called wound up a three-week campaign Braden's house. Judge Curtis upheld Greek Cypriote majority replied gateway. The Solution Front tour at a stormy meeting here with an Island-wide general-strike by the National Liberation Front tour at a stormy meeting here Rhine's right to use the Fifth Amend- beginning Jan. 25, which contin- and was supported by the other last night. While in the Buffalo beginning Jan. 25, which contin-ued in spite of back-to-work ap-major Algerian independence reals by most Greek Cypriote movement, the National Algerian the Dues Protest Committee the the Dues Protest Committee. locals in order to end the innu-merable local bureaucracies. he Dues Protest Committee, th organization sponsoring Rarick, met with a friendly response, with one local at the Lackawanna Bethlehem plant voting ties their names against the stitution at last year's Los Anthem \$1,500. But they collided nead-on with the McDonald machine both at Gary, Indiana and to them. here in Detroit, when the District Directors and their paid

| by the membership. The stormy| However, the Dues Protest

WHY RANKS BACK DPC Detroit indicates a widespread struggle against the steel cominterest among the steelworkers panies in a period of rampant here in his campaign and con-profiteering; how to democratize siderable rank-and-file support the union structure clear into the

applause from the members Committee has not had anything these important questions: equal job and hiring rights for Negro

members: what to do about the This first visit of Rarick to present weak contract; how to

New Louisville Persecution

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV, a Negro couple bought a home in a suburb of Louisville, Kentucky, with the help of a white couple in the spring of 1954. From that time on there has been a long series of legal actions against the Wades, the Bradens and almost everyone who knew them — and it is not over yet.

The persecution of these opponents of Jim Crow in Kentucky included a foreclosure on the house that had been purchased, the burning of a cross, the dynamiting of the Wade home, the arrest of friends who volunteered to defend the Wades on charges of conspiring to destroy the house, the arrest of friends on the charge of teaching or advocating sedition or criminal syndicalism, and imprisonment for many months under excessive bail for Carl Braden and others.

asked many questions including possible acquaintance with the Bradens, the

Wades, possible membership in the Communist Party, and most sinister of all, rialists have organized a terrorwhether or not he had ever been an ist group from among the Turkespionage agent for the Soviet Union.

Rhine invoked his constitutional rights of our British brothers" is killed under the Fifth Amendment and refused by a Greek Cypriote fighting to answer these questions. Criminal Court British oppression. The new or-Judge L. R. Curtis heard two of the questions asked: Did Rhine know if Carl Braden was a Communist and did he ever Cypriote shops without interferattend a Communist Party meeting in ence from British police. The ment.

* * * mass reprisals every time "one

peals by

mayors

holding out as the debate finally got under way, Feb. 4. Al-

oppressed nationality, also struck successfully in spite of arrests and clubbings by police. In Alties are "recruiting" workers at bayonet point, and allowing or-Algerian shops which have remained closed. In the UN de-

survive without the exploitation

¹In November 1956, all these charges were dropped without trial by the Jefferson Circuit Court.

However the persecutions have not ceased. Kentucky's Attorney for Jefferson County, A. Scott Hamilton, is not content with all the misery, loss of jobs, expensive court costs and unjust imprisonment that his office has caused.

The latest object of the persecution is Henry Rhine, for many years active in the Furniture Workers Union and more recently employed as a bartender in Louisville. Rhine was called before a grand jury hearing last October. He was

The prosecutor is now appealing Judge Curtis' ruling to the Kentucky Court of Appeals. The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union has filed a brief as a friend of be upheld in protection of Rhine's constitutional rights.

The Kentucky combination of witchhunt persecution and harassment of opponents of Jim Crow is a violation of the most elementary democratic rights of the people of that state. The real culprits in the bombing of the Wade home are still at liberty. Instead of apprehending these Jim Crow terrorists Kentucky "justice," as administered by state's attorney A. Scott Hamilton, hounds those who would not be cowed by the terrorists. How long will this persecution last?

Answer to a Critic

In the Militant of Feb. 4 we advocates support for the Demo- | plain language that means suppublished a letter from David cratic party. McReynolds in which he charged

that in criticizing the recent merger of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation, the Militant and Farrell Dobbs had found it "necessary to invent and fabricate facts" regarding the stand of the Socialist Party on a series of questions.

McReynolds was the leader italist candidates." of the opposition within the SP Did Dobbs perhaps misunderto the unification until, on Jan. stand this section of the SP-SDF 9. he declared his reconsideration agreement? Not according to of the issue and came out for Louis Goldberg, former chairman support to the merger. He had of the SDF and vice chairman of previously characterized the unifthe merged SP-SDF. In a formal ication with the SDF as meanaddress at the unification coning "full support for the worst, vention, Jan. 19, Goldberg demost shameful policies of the clared: "We are organizing a State Department and John Fosnew political party which is ter Dulles.

WHAT DOBBS SAID

In reply to McReynolds' charge toral field . . . The expression of as a whole." of "fabrication" we cited the fear in some corners that a new written record of the unification party would interfere with la-Carrying out our document on that each point of our criticism was based upon that record. For nate for public office candidates lack of space we left over until this week McReynolds statement that he was "very curious to the legitimate labor movement." know the basis for Comrade Dobbs statement appearing in committed the unions to support basic socialist principle. the Jan. 28 issue [of the Mili- of Democrats and Republicans, tant] that the Socialist Party we repeat what Dobbs said: "In

port of capitalist candidates."

We might add that while Dobbs Again we refer McReynolds to did not say, as McReynolds asthe written record. Dobbs actualserts, that the SP itself had suply said the following: "The funported the Democrats, we see litdamental SP-SDF policy is tle ground for McReynolds takspelled out in a provision [of its ing exception to such a statejoint "Memorandum of Understanding"] allowing support of candidates 'endorsed by labor and ment. McReynolds was the secretary of the Committee for a Socialist Program, a group formed liberal groups.' In plain lanwithin the SP to oppose the right guage that means support of capwing policies of the party lead-

ership. In its initial programmatic statement, the CFSP charged:

"The Party leadership does not today hold the position of vigorous opposition to war and it has compromised on civil liberties. toward labor's bureaucracy rather pledged by our unity agreement liberal wing of the Democratic not to rush rashly into the elec- party rather than to the people

land is busy pushing the Inter-Again on the basis of the rec- national Socialist Review. She all week!" ord, we would suggest that Mc- writes: "Do you have additional proceedings and demonstrated bor's political action is unfounded. Reynolds should direct his fire subscription blanks for the magnot against those who have con- azine? I want to slip them into political action, we will not nomi- sistently defended the principle magazines that I am placing at of independent working class po- the University of California corin opposition to those endorsed by litical action, but against those in ner newsstand. Am also sending his own party who, by his own ISRs on consignment to a new Since the labor officialdom has admission, are betraying that Forum organized in San Francisco." The Los Angeles litera-

ture agent writes that he is as-- The Editors sembling a committee for dis-

Movement of Messali Hadj.



During the 1956 election cam-| tributing the International Sopaign the Militant received over cialist Review, with an immediate 500 subscriptions from people goal of obtaining 85 subs in the

who had heard area. Militant sales at meetings were the Socialist reported good in Cleveland. Man-Workers Party

500 ATTEND nuel Stone writes: "We had a

program for the very successful sale of the Milifirst time. Now, tant at an NAACP meeting. Two we are receiving of us sold 18 papers in less than many, renewals half an hour. The Militant sold from these new itself-the headline read 'Racists readers. From in South Step Up Bombings.' The Washington a letinteresting point is that the ter arrived say-

ing: "We enjoy very much reading the Militant. wish we could join the party degrees.' your paper represents. I suppose there are many, many, others like ourselves. Our thoughts lie with you. I.am renewing my subscription." From Ohio, another subscriber writes:

"I am enclosing \$1.50 for renewal of The Militant. It is the most enlightening newspaper on world affairs and social problems that I have read. ... I think too much has been said on the Hungarian situation by the capitalist press and not enough on Egypt and the Middle East. I want to commend the Militant for giving attention to Egypt and the Middle East. . . .

"I am fully aware, as I know the Socialist Workers Party is of the crimes of Stalinism in Hungary, etc. I deplore that the

same as I am sure you people do. But I am sure that the working people properly organized will destroy Stalinism and set The Party orients increasingly up true Socialism themselves given time and with no help or than toward labor, toward the interference from capitalism or world Catholicism.'

The literature agent in Oak-

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Dues Protest meetings.

and upgrading practices of the

The target of the Dues Protesters in the Michigan area hand in hand. was the votes of the 10,000-

night.

BOOKS

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member Local 1299 at the Great Lakes Steel plant in Ecorse, a ance system, which ties up chine into every undemocratic Detroit suburb. On Jan. 30, Wil- grievances in endless red-tape and violent act it can use against liam Smiddy, a Great Lakes over which the International Of- Rarick. worker, resigned his chairman- ficers in the districts have too weather warmed up just enough ship of the local Dues Protest much control, is an important to be able to sell-a few hours group with the claim that "in- factor, especially at Great Lakes. later the temperature dropped 15

vestigation of Rarick's platform Since McDonald's September 1955 Winifred Nelson, from Twin shows it tends to weaken the Cities, has sent in 18 renewals union.'

already and writes: "We have 62 Nevertheless, over 500 steelsubscribers yet to visit for reworkers from five local plants newals. We will keep sending turned out last night to hear in the names as soon as the Rarick speak, jamming the renewals are obtained. We went American Legion Hall in Ecorse to a St. Paul NAACP meeting across the street from the Great and to a Minnesota FEPC meet-Lakes Steel Plant gates.

ing last week with The Militant. Tom Shane, USW Director of As a result, many people were District 29 here, and Wallace Bowdrie, President of Local 1299, brought their paid supporters to the meeting. Their crowd that we were completely attempts to interrupt Nicholas swamped in our efforts to do Mamula, Dues Protest Campaign chairman, met with angry protests from the rank-and-file audience, whose shouts for ice at which he spoke was in Shane to "sit down" and "let's a rather snooty white neighborhear Rarick" brought Rarick to hood in St. Paul. Everyone presthe mike. ent came almost an hour early.

Rarick told the Rally in a 40-There were already a thousand minute speech that the McDonald people present when we arrived machine has been guilty of with The Militant. In addition violating the union's constitution to these distributions, Larry sold in this campaign by ignoring 5 copies of the paper and 1 copy nominations and concealing of the International Socialist Rerecords of local decisions, and view last week on the college campus, despite the bitterly cold would use every means to prevent weather-it didn't get above zero an honest vote on Feb. 12. He

called on the members to be alert, election day, to any tampering with the ballots. He quoted from Philip Murray's memorandum at the January 1952 emergency Convention that a danger existed to the union in the formation of cliques and local bureaucracies using the union for personal gain. He then declared his aim to be to return the Union to democratic control

The Dues Protest Committee's resentment of the rank-and-file against the weak contract settle- six-point program aims at ment last July, especially as it undoing the undemocratic changes ties their hands against the made in the International Condangerously inflationary period, geles convention and also calls with no recourse of strike open for election of all International staff officers. An attempt to in-The meeting also revealed the clude the return of the strikeconsiderable support Rarick has vote in the DPC's program was disruptive tactics to break up the among Negro steel workers, who defeated by the Committee lead-

are discriminated against in the ers at their campaign organizasteel mills by Jim-Crow hiring tion meeting, Dec. 30. Nevertheless, the wedge the companies, with whom the offi- Dues Protest Committee's camcialdom in the USW locals work paign opens for the rank and file to express its real opinions has Failure of the lengthy griev- frightened the McDonald ma-

N. Y. Militant Labor visit there banning further Forum work-stoppages, Shane has been building a following of paid "The Communist Party henchmen in Local 1299 to carry Convention" out McDonald's program. It is Will its decisions resolve the this gang with which he tried crisis which grips the party? to disrupt the Rarick rally last How will the convention's outcome affect the prospects for socialist regroupment? Speaker: Harry Ring **AND PAMPHLETS** Staff Writer, The Militant Sun., Feb. 17 - 8 P.M. by JAMES P. CANNON **Contributions 25c** Questions and Discussion The History of American 268 pp Paper \$1.75 116 University Place Cloth 2.75 (near Union Square) The Struggle for a Proletarian Party 302 pp Paper \$2.00 Cloth 2.50 PHILADELPHIA American Stalinism and \$.15 The Road to Peace, 48 pp \$.25 Valentine 32 pp \$.10 Social 80 pp \$.35 and 111 pp \$.50 Dance The I.W.W. - The Great Anticipation 44 pp \$.25 Fri., Feb. 15, 9 till? PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place Militant Labor Forum Catalogue on Request 1303 W. Girard Avenue

sitting around reading the paper. Martin Luther King spoke at a Minister's Conference here last week. He drew such an overflow anything with The Militant -1,400 persons! The church serv-

Socialism Is the Issue, Says Candidate for Mayor of L.A.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 8 -- "We live in a period when even local issues must be given a socialist answer," declares Erroll Banks, candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles. Banks is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. He calls on all socialists and on working people generally to support his campaign.

"We live in a world where international issues have a direct local impact. You can't really separate them, and in the final analysis they boil down to the issue of capitalism versus socialism.

"For instance, Eisenhower's scheme for another Korea, in the Middle East this time, can affect every youth of draft age in Los Angeles. And war preparations whack about \$20 out of the average workers' weekly pay check.'

Mr. Banks says that the "witch-hunt investigations that

we have known since 1947" have alleged to be been staged by the present rulers dominated," but that their ultiof this country to gag any serious criticism of their war movement.

against the colonial people.

and in other areas throughout the South have courageously fought against segregation, both Demo-ERROLL BANKS cratic and Republican leaders have looked the other way. The answer for the Negro people on "Communistthe political field is to work with

the labor movement to build a mate target is the entire labor labor party." Banks calls for the defense

Della Rossa is Erroll Banks' of all victims of the witch hunt, campaign manager. All persons CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL no matter what their political interested in furthering Banks' He warns that the witch- views, because the defense of socialist campaign are urged to ly where there is a relatively hunters "have cunningly select- democratic rights and civil liber- contact Della Rossa at campaign small colored population. Action ed the weakest sectors of the ties is the defense of the labor headquarters, 1702 E. Fourth has been endlessly delayed labor movement for their initial movement itself. St. Every bit of help will be assaults," such as organizations "I believe that the future lies greatly appreciated,

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Historical Significance of the Montgomery Boycott

ly, hoped for the best, but ex-

nority. The state courts and leg-

But the bus boycott was not

cle, but one of the elements of

That was the one new element

that neither white supremacists

nor those who look to courts

be divided into two main parts: the lies of the history books and revival.

before Montgomery and after other propaganda outlets of the

Montgomery. It will attempt to white supremacists to the effect

bellion against Jim Crow was or- some put it: "The odds are

ganized, we can begin an appre- against them. They are in a mi-

note some of the effects the bus islatures are against them. There

boycott movement has already are too many 'handkerchief

had in the brief period since it heads' who will sell out to pro-

started. But, as partisans with tect their jobs or influence. It

a stake in the outcome, we can- will be a miracle if they're not

ognize the alternatives the course crushed. And it was not a mira-

and consciously follow and ad- a revolutionary situation that

vocate the path that leads to vic- appeared on the scene: the con-

tory in the struggle for Negro scious intervention of the masses.

What was new in the Mont- and politicians for emancipation

not "wait for history to re- crushed in short order."

cott of segregated buses, in order only to inferior ones.

to understand the profound ef-

fects of Montgomery on the whole

future course of the Negro strug-

ciation of its significance. We can

solve the conflict." We must rec-

of history may take at this point

BOYCOTTS NOT NEW

gle.

equality.

the SWP-endorsed candidate. "I've entered the Los Angeles elections, because I'm convinced that only through independent working class political action can workers and oppressed minorities meet their needs. The of Big Business, and you can't them

bilizing national support.

ored

gle.

MARCH

\$1.50

Struggle

Order from

the working class," says

tion and the formation of a gro History Week. - Ed.] Labor Party as a step toward a socialist America." On the civil rights question,

Banks states: "While the Negroes of Montgomery and Tallahassee for racial equality.

Yet experience has proven the 1954 ruling to be far from selfenforcing. The Supreme Court

itself stalled for a year before issuing an ambiguous implementing decision. As a rule, school desegregation has taken place onthrough judicial red tape. Open defiance of the court ruling has been proclaimed by white su-

premacists operating through the infamous White Citizens Councils. Little or nothing has been done by Congress or the President to enforce Negro rights, to protect Negro lives and property.

WHY HIGH COURT RULED

These conditions prove once again that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will voluntarily and effectively use the power of government to guarantee the Negro people the constitutional protection to which they

sure.

to the 1954 decision came from the colonial revolts throughout Africa and Asia. The crime of racial discrimination in America is a scandal to colored peoples

policy implies a white supremacist attitude in foreign policy. The court decision was in this sense a diplomatic gesture

unionists played an important role. So did the young veterans, rights of the Negro people.

mechanics, and lawyers. The cumulative experience of the school desegregation order the Negro masses in the South was the self-sacrificing struggle has made them ready to act now. of the united Negro freedom This was evidenced by the fact fighters. Their heroic battle for that the Montgomery example civil rights has brought heavy has already been followed to one pressure against white supremadegree or another by the colist policies on the American p communities of Birminglitical scene. The capitalist poham, Mobile and other Alabama liticians hoped, however, to ease cities, and in Tallahassee and the mass pressure simply by inelsewhere. terpreting the court decision as The general features of these a promise of future action and without doing much to make demovements are first, their mass segregation a living reality on the character: second, their militancy and clearcut purpose of opposi-, social scene.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1957

By Farrell Dobbs

[Excerpts from speech given in Lackawanna, N. Y., Jan. 13, on Republican and Democratic par- the occasion of Negro Emancipaties are the political machines tion Day. Dobbs was principal speaker at a rally at Mount find a genuine friend of labor in Olive Baptist Church held under the auspices of the Buffalo Civil

OLUME XXI

"A vote for Erroll Banks is a Rights League. We print the vote for independent political ac- excerpts on the occasion of Ne-

The 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation represented a major victory for the Negro freedom fighters. The hated "separate but equal" doctrine was declared inherently unequal and unconstitutional. A tactical foundation was thus laid for a new, advance in the struggle

wave of solidarity with the wit- Councils was working toward the nesses surged forward from the same end politically.

colored people backed into the courtroom. The trial was turned into a counter-attack on the against terrorists assaulting the

white supremacists.

tremendous staying power in a

policy aims than to protect the No less a factor in compelling

The Road to Negro Equality this white supremacist setup is interests of all working people. This political task cannot be anti-labor, as well as anti-Negro. One of its chief spokesmen, Sencarried out through support of ator Eastland, is a big planter. the Democratic Party which

He typifies the banking, indus- caves in to white supremacist trial and planting interests who pressure at every critical stage. use the White Citizens Councils Nor can the job be done through to deliberately whip up racial an- the Republican Party which retagonisms. Their aim is to split fuses to use the tremendous powlabor along color lines and in that ers of the Presidency to protect way preserve the open shop with the rights and interests of the low wages and bad working con- minority peoples and the toilers ditions. of the land. The situation plainly calls for To the workers of the/North the Negro people to form a po-

these open-shop conditions mean the danger of runaway plants and the drag of the wage differential, which are costly to their employment and their Only on this road can full ecoearning power. Unionization of the South is therefore vital to labor nationally. But as form of discrimination be abolthe experience in building the CIO taught, unions can't be organized without the aid of the

Consequently, the unions have a direct stake in the civil rights fight. It is a matter of self-interest to white workers everywhere to accord Negro workers full membership rights within the unions and to support the Negro people as a whole in their struggle for racial equality.

Organized labor should be in the vanguard of the civil rights struggle. It should support the mass actions of the Negro peo-The Democratic Party officeple. Labor should fight for an holders have been slow to act FEPC with teeth in it, for antilynch laws, for an end to the colored people. Yet they have poll tax, for the full protection been quick to arrest Negro bus of the voting rights of the colored people.

POLITICAL ACTION

Among other issues, the Atlanta meeting of Southern Negro leaders discussed the "relation of . . . voting to all efforts

Undaunted by these vicious for justice." Implied is a growing power remains in the hands of

the white supremacists. Today There is no serious move on

ical position that he can do noth- violence against people defending

On Terror

danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt.

litical alliance with organized la-

bor to launch an independent la-

bor party based on the unions.

nomic, political and social equali-

ty be guaranteed to all and every

Montgomery is "a city that it is dangerous to live in-it is no longer safe." These words were spoken after a week-end of white-supremacist violence. It included another attempt to explode Rev. King's home (the bomb whose lighted fuse flicked out, contained twelve sticks of dynamite thrown on the porch); bombing of a Negro-operated gas station; injuring, three taxi drivers and wrecking the living room of a Negro home; an attempted shooting of a white TV newscaster who "tried to be fair with white and Negro" (two high caliber bullets struck his car); the arrest of two Negroes who accused city police of doing nothing to halt the violence.

A NATIONAL DISGRACE Montgomery's terror is typical of the desperate attempts by de fenders of the white-supremacy system to smash the struggle of the Southern freedom fighters. the horizon to change Senate In Beaumont, Texas, the WCC on Rule 22. That means continued Jan. 30 warned of more violence filibusters to prevent any sig- after three separate bombings nificant civil rights legislation in in one day against whites whom Congress, provided any bill the segregationists opposed should get by the Senate Judi- There have been two bombings ciary Committee at the head of of Negro homes recently. From which the Democrats have placed Texas to Florida, the bombers Senator Eastland, a White Citi- are running wild, but the miszens Council leader. The Presi- named Justice Dep't does not dent piously takes the hypocrit- deem it "appropriate" to discuss

New York Amsterdam News,

United States is written, it will was only because they believed clude the movement is a religious They should look more closely at the movement. The churches analyze the causes, the conditions that Southern Negroes did not are traditionally the meeting and events that led to the boy- object to separate institutions, places, as a rule the only meeting places, for Negroes in the Even many Northern Negro | South. Where else would Negroes leaders viewed the start of the meet? The Montgomery Improve-Montgomery boycott incredulous- ment Association not only organized a complete boycott, but

Fifteen months after the re- pected the worst, because, as an independent car-pool system cf transportation, as well; a legal

defense, a relief system, and a public relations set-up for mo-Such an organization can only be built on the basis of mass participation and with the help of

gro struggle for equality in the Jim Crow, was new. But that trained as ministers, and con-

Part of the pressure leading

When the history of the Ne-| Negroes were protesting against | in the leadership happened to be

are entitled. The capitalist po-

liticians in government will act only insofar as they are compelled to do so under mass pres-

abroad. A Jim-Crow domestic MIA immediately acted to enforce

leaders experienced in mass or ganization. The Negro strade intended more to serve foreign



Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King

ished. ...Inaction colored workers.

(Continued from page 1)

Rev. King said on Jan. 27, that



NUMBER 6

At the same time the MIIA riders who crossed the color line launched an attack on the Alain Birmingham or Atlanta. And bama bus-segregation law in the the capitalist politicians in govfederal courts. They kept the ernment have been very freeboycott pressure on throughout

handed in issuing decrees outthe court deliberations, showing lawing the NAACP in Southern states.

white supremacist attacks, the realization that the fight for ra-Southern Negro leaders recently cial equality is gravely handimet at Atlanta to coordinate and capped so long as the political

also come from among these lead- these anti - Negro, anti - labor ers that attention will be turned forces have the upper hand politto the school desegregation fight ically in Washington as well as tion law unconstitutional, the in the deep South. They have in the state governments.

the decision. The Negro people struggle will be carried on until have been abolished. The heroic mass actions in the South have produced some

changes in Negro leadership, of which the Montgomery Improvement Association provides an example. The MIA leaders are generally young, from 25 to 32 years

old. Rev. King, the chief spokesman for the movement, is around

27. Attorney Fred D. Gray, who ing to enforce Negro rights until their dignity and self respect. shows brilliant legal talent, is Congress has first acted. Thus the

year-long siege. This mass pressure served to speed up the judragged on for years. BOYCOTT SPREADS

When the Supreme Court order came through last December de-

dicial proceedings which otherwise would most likely have

further spur the bus integration campaign. Announcements have claring the Alabama bus-segrega-

asserted that the civil rights all forms of racial discrimination

began to ride the buses on a

gomery bus boycott? Not the counted on.

use of the boycott tactic itself. Fifty thousand Negroes in and "Don't Buy Where You Can't around Montgomery, expressing Work" campaigns have been used the bitter hostility to oppression to break down discrimination in and discrimination which exists the hiring of clerks and sales- throughout the country, organpeople for many years. Most of ized to show the world how these campaigns were conducted united, militant and purposeful in the North, it is true, but in Southern colored people can be the South, in Baton Rouge, La., when they decide to act in their in the summer of 1953 a bus boyown interests.

cott was organized; and there THE KEY have been numerous cases of in-Reformers and religionists, dividuals or small groups refusing to observe Southern segwho deny the revolutionary capacity of the masses, still try regation rules.

For many whites, both North to explain the "miracle" of Montgomery by incidental features of and South, the fact that Southern the movement. Some look at the

fact that the mass meetings were **Detroit Fri. Night** held in churches and that some of the most articulate young men Socialist Forum **NEGROES** A Celebration of **Negro History Week ON THE** Fri., Feb. 15 - 8 P.M. 1. See "Walk to Freedom," documentary movie on the Montgomery bus boycott. A Frenchman's Report 2. Hear Jean Blake, Militant on the American Negro columnist, on "What Next in the Fight Against Segregation?" By Daniel Guerin 3. A social affair after the 192 pages meeting. **PIONEER PUBLISHERS** EUGENE V. DEBS HALL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. 3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor



Action to enforce desegrega tion to segregation; third, the tion, as it was fully implied in prominent part played by a new, the 1954 decision, didn't really youthful leadership; fourth, their get under way until the Montemphasis on mass action rather

than courts; and fifth, their congomery Improvement Association took a hand, right in the they had demanded when the boyscious efforts to avoid isolation by seeking allies in their strug-"Cradle of the Confederacy." The cott started. embattled Negro people of Mont-

The experience of the new period of Negro history opened up to end all forms of racial segreby Montgomery confirms the correctness of the analysis and perstrongest initial tactical advanspective of revolutionary socialtage-the bus boycott. They hit ists that the Negro struggle in hard with their full economic America must take the road of power, acting with firm mass Florida. Birmingham followed uncompromising mass opposition solidarity. to Jim Crow and follow through

to an attack on the economic sys-MIA TRIAL

tem which profits by segrega-The Democratic Party politition in order to-uproot it. cians in local government hit The only force capable of acback through a mass trial of the complishing this task is the workboycott leaders. Although the acing class, which, also, has no tual court proceedings centered stake in the profit system. Sion the trial of Rev. M. L. King, multaneously with organizing its Jr., the president of tre MIA, own forces, the Negro movement it is important to remember that should be directed to the labor 90 people were indicted. Included efforts on raising the consciousin the 90 were the MIA offiness of labor, white and colored, cials, drivers and dispatchers in to their common class interests. the car pool and many others Appeals for support and aid playing key roles in the protest should be directed to the labor movement rather than to the capbehead the boycott movement and terrorize the rank and file into

submission. I had the privilege to be pres-**NEW YORK** ent at that trial where a proud, determined people came to do "Introduction Frolic" battle with the white supremacists right in their own court-Join the room. As a unionist I have been in some bitter strike struggles. **American Youth** As a socialist I have met some **For Socialism** In a lively evening of Folk Songs and Dances Refreshments Entertainment

italist politicians.



E. D. NIXON

first-come, first-served basis, as

Meanwhile, as you know, the gomery, Alabama, have set out boycott movement had spread tween the older freedom fightto Tallahassee, Florida. When ers and the youth of today. He gation and discrimination. They the Montgomery decision came is a seasoned veteran, a product started where they had the through, Tallahassee Negroes be- of long training in the hard gan to ride the local buses on an school of union battles and civil integrated basis, thus deepening rights struggles in the deep the attack on white supremacy in South.

suit with a test demonstration, of mass action are today becom

cal laws. Action then spread to terrelated. Common problems the South.

integrated riding as an accomplished fact, whatever their per-

sonal feelings in the matter action. The obvious aim was to might be. Not one sign appeared of spontaneous mass protest action among the white people. The White Citizens Councils therefore set out to manufacture a so-called "state of emergency."

Crosses were burned. A 15-year old Negro girl was beaten. Snipers fired into buses from ambush, wounding occupants. Bombs were hurled at Negro churches and at the homes of Negro lead-

brave anti-fascist fighters. But ers. in that Montgomery courtroom I saw the equal in courage and refused to be intimidated. Rev. darity among the workers apheroism of anything I have ever C. K. Steele, leader of the Talwitnessed. lahassee movement, seemed to ex-

The colored people of the city press the universal sentiment from colored workers that they turned out in mass to show their among Negroes, when he said. solidarity with the victimized "Segregation on the buses is dead. And all the rock-throwing, zenship in the union movement leaders of their movement. The shotguns and cross-burning in the defense fought skillfully in the trial. As the chief defendant, world won't revive it." While the Ku Klux Klan wing Rev. King conducted himself like

NORTHERN LABOR'S STAKE a true leader. Defense witnesses of the White Citizens Councils The White / Citizens Councils was reversed. poured out the grievances of a was unleashing a terror campaign long-suffering people for the against the Negro people, the aim to prevent unionization of The Socialist' Workers Party, opinion.

whole world to hear. Wave upon Democratic Party wing of the the South. In the last analysis, which I represent, opposes eco-

about 25. Mrs. King, whose conduct has splendidly symbolized the powerful role of the women freedom fighters, is in her early twenties.

LINK WITH UNIONS

The MIA is further strengthened by young trade unionists who are able to make important contributions to the struggle from their collective experience in the

labor movement. Mr. E. D. Nixon, a symbol of those young militants of the Thirties who still

retain the courage of their convictions, serves as a key link be-

These partially distinct fields

seeking a means to challenge loing more and more directly in-

Atlanta as the movement kept confront the union and civil gathering strength throughout rights movements due to basic process of social change now tak-The White Citizens Councils had ing place in the South. The

long been claiming that mass op- mechanization of agriculture and position among whites to bus in- the growth of industry in the which was made in reference to tegration would bring violence cities are acting to transform and bloodshed. Actually the white the Southern population from a people generally tended to accept predominantly agricultural into an industrial people.

White and colored alike are affected, being drawn into a new all workers, regardless of polirelationship as industrial work- tical considerations. The ruling, ers. They face common class which in this case applies to the problems that tend to cut across Communist Party as an emcolor lines and make racial preju- ployer, readily leads to placing dice more and more expensive to political qualifications on the the white worker. Resentment claimants as well. To discriminate against open-shop conditions in against an unemployed worker industry leads to a mutual desire because of his political opinions, among colored and white workers or those of his employer, is a

for union protection. right. It therefore jeopardizes the The militant mood demonright of American citizens to strated by the Southern workers freedom of opinion and political in the recent strike wave gave affiliation. solid evidence of this trend. Fresh

But the Negro freedom fighters signs of colored and white solipeared. To this I can add that while in Montgomery I learned are eager to use the civil rights benefit. struggle to gain first-class citi-

as well as in the community as a whole.

outhern Democrats are left in an editorial entitled firmly in the saddle to block civil tional Disgrace," summarizes the rights legislation and to push reaction of the Negro press: "We anti-labor laws through Congress. have Federal Troops for South

Clearly the unions and the Ne- Koreans but not even the FBI for gro movement have a common po- the bombed babies of Montgomlitical problem. They need to ery. Our naval fleet commands break the Southern Democrats' the straits of Formosa but we grip on the governmental ap- can't protect Negro citizens in paratus not only to win racial the bayous of the Mississippi equality but also to defend the River.

Cowley Hits Jobless Pay Ban for CP Employees

(The following is the text of a letter sent by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for New York City Mayor, to Isadore Lubin, State Industrial Commissioner of New York.)

Dear Mr. Lubin:

I urge you to reject the ruling of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz that employees of the Communist Party are not entitled to receive unemployment insurance. Since this ruling, the unemployment claim of William Albertson, is advisory in character, I hope you will disregard it and carry out the law. This law was enacted to benefit



JOYCE COWLEY

The Communist Party has nomic sanctions against any regularly made payments into worker because of his political the jobless insurance fund, and beliefs. William Albertson has this ruling would illegally with- met all the requirements which hold such funds from the very legally qualify him to receive employees the law is designed to unemployment benefits. He has already waited six months for a Last year Federal Social decision. Since the final decision Security officials made a similar rests with you, I again urge attempt to withhold benefits that you set aside a ruling which from the families of Communist deprives him of these benefits Party members, but their decision and reaffirm the right of every American to freedom of political

Joyce Cowley