

An Editorial

In last week's issue we published the text of a statement adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Vol. XXI - No. 7 Workers Party entitled "On the Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialist Forces in the United States." The state-

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 Such a discussion, we believe is the prerequisite for unifying the revolutionary socialist forces in the United Bill Given Chance States.

tes. In addition to a clear posing of programmatic issues To Pass Congress involved, what is essential to a fruitful discussion is elimination of any effort to restrict it or to try to ban anyone's participation in it.

#### **DESIRE FOR JOINT ACTION**

The discussions of the past year have revealed a profound sentiment in the ranks of all tendencies for maximum unity in action on concrete issues such as civil view: liberties and civil rights. The SWP statement indicates the party's willingness to join in such united endeavors.

Unification of revolutionary socialist forces in the struggle against American capitalism is assuredly today's most vital need. A free, fraternal and constructive discussion is indispensable to the achievement of this goal. We its effect on the politicians. (2) look forward to comment on the SWP's proposals and open The politicians feel it is necesthe Militant's pages to the expression of all viewpoints on sary to try to pass some civil the issues involved.

THE REVIVAL OF GERMAN MILITARISM (See Page 3)

### Forgotten Promises



THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY THE INTERESTS THE WORKING PEOPLE IN OF

> 267 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1957

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# tionary Socialist Forces in the United States." The state-ment presents a series of programmatic points, which in the view of the SWP, will contribute to the further clari-fication of the present wide discussion in the radical move-ment on the prospect for socialist regroupment. Even prior to publication of the SWP statement on issue involved. On page two we publish two such letters. Throughout the country during the past year, well attended symposiums, debates and forums have been the arena for a new and welcome exchange of views among virtually all the radical tendencies in the United States. By

# **Token Civil Rights**

By John Thayer

sters there is a move afoot in Congress to pass a watered-down civil rights law this session. These rumors are noteworthy from the following points of

sure of the Negro people, particularly in the form of the bus boycott movements in the South and the open dissatisfaction with both capitalist parties, is having rights law-heretofore those concerned about the Negro and labor vote had considered it suf-

of really fighting for their passage. (3) The bill that will be pushed will not embody basic civil rights demands (anti-lynching, fair employment practices or school desegregation) but rather token or fringe conces-

It appears that the Senators behind the move favor a bill incorporating all or some of Eisenhower's recommendations of a year ago. These were a commission to investigate civil rights problems, a civil rights department in the Department of Justice, authority for Attorney General to prosecute those intimidating or coercing a voter in a Attorney General to go to court on behalf of one whose civil rights have been violated, direct Still Blocking Imperialists

According to Washington dope-

(1) They show that the presficient merely to introduce civil rights bills without any intention

federal election, authority for the



The 5,000-ton Egyptian LST, Akka, loaded with cement, was sunk in the Suez Canal 40 miles south of Port Said at the time of the unsuccessful British-French invasion to recapture control of the Egyptian canal. The Akka is presenting salvage crews now working to clear the canal with a major problem. Attempts to hoist the sunken ship failed last week and salvage ships began the work of towing it to a wider section of the canal where it can be by-passed.

Saud Visit Shows U. S. Gov't **Bolstering Arab Feudalists** 

#### By Fred Halstead | porter of Arab nationalism, 31 N.

# **Reflects Will of Members** To Win Right to Chart **Party's Political Course**

**By Harry Ring** 

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 - Reflecting the will of Communist Party members to win freedom from the political dictation of the Kremlin, the party's convention which ended here last night rebuffed <sup>D</sup> friendly advice of our French Kremlin efforts to decide the comrades and others."

convention's outcome. Moscow's The actual convention vote exintervention came, as it did in pressing independence from 1945, through the medium of a Kremlin domination came on the letter from French CP leader issue of whether the party Jacques Duclos which branded "Marxism-Leninism" or merely the stand of the Gates wing of apply it. The Fosterite viewpoint the party leadership as a was that the CP must limit "dangerous departure" from itself to applying the line laid 'Marxism-Leninism." down by the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Duclos letter followed an Presenting the majority view attack in the Feb. 3 issue of the of the resolutions committee, Moscow paper, Soviet Russia, Gates - supporter Max Weiss which charged the Gates forces called on the convention to apwith succumbing to the "pres- prove a clause stating that the sure of bourgois ideology" and American CP upholds Marxismlumped its views with those of Leninism "as interpreted" by the John Foster Dulles in typical party. The clause, he said, is an Stalinist frame-up style. "explicit declaration of the independent and equal status of our

DENNIS SHIFTS

party in relation to all other Apparently sensing a strong parties in the world Communist reaction by the delegates to the movement on matters of theory." Krembin-inspired inter- Such a step, he pointed out Duclos' vention, Party Secretary Dennis constituted a break with the past replied to the letter with the when "we tacitly assumed that declaration: "Our decisions will the interpretation of the prinbe our own, made by the col- ciples of Marxism-Leninism as lective judgment of this con-vention, and based on OUR of the Soviet Union was ipso Marxist understanding of Amer- facto valid and all that we had ican reality." Dennis, who, tried to do was to creatively apply not only in the internal conflict, had ap-ditions."

George Meany and Walter Reuther at the merger convention of the AFL and CIO in December 1955, pledged a big Southern organizing drive. Now, a little more than a year later, the AFL-CIO has quietly dropped the plan and has announced an organizing drive for white-collar workers.

recourse to federal courts by those whose civil rights have been

violated, and authority for the last month, King Ibn Saud of States, a modern capitalist coun- to develop a politically conscious the Foster wing. His stand Attorney General to proceed Saudi Arabia announced that the try, supporting the absolute middle class in the towns . . . against Duclos, however, put him ported that the stand of "inagainst conspiracies to violate Eisenhower Doctrine for the feudal monarch, Ibn Saud? The the Arabian-American Oil Comcivil rights. Hearings have been going on is entitled to consideration and U.S. capitalism are funda- develop political consciousness." in the House of Representatives appreciation" by the Arab gov- mentally opposed to the revolu-

on two bills (HR 1151 and 2145) ernments. The purpose of the tionary struggles of the Arab of this character. One was intro- Eisenhower Doctrine is to allow masses for economic and political duced by Rep. Celler (D-N.Y.) United States economic and mili- progress, for an end to economic the other by Rep. Keating (R- tary power to replace that of exploitation by foreigners, for N.Y.).

Civil Rights Test Is Due," John after the Suez fiasco. (Continued on page 4) Why is Saud, a self-styled sup-

# **AFL-CIO Tops Seen Giving Up Southern Organizing Campaign**

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Klan. And the AFL-CIO offi- Dixon line." FEB. 11—At the tail end of Rian. And the Arts of the White Citizens Councils, matter. the meeting of the Executive are-don't like to fight. They organized by the plantation ownami last week, plans were angle. nounced for a large-scale cam-

paign to organize 13 million white-collar workers. Plans include the placing of 120 organizers into the field. There are the decline. But the need to or- collect around \$2 million a year urgent. Millions of Negro work- opposed only by the Negro peo-AFL-CIO. ers are already engaged in a ple, they have established vir-

The organizing report was life and death struggle for their tually dictatorial power. made by John Livingston who civil rights. All logic would tell The WICC has even succeeded had to rush through to enable union organizers that the place in electing proponents of anti- tween the white people and the lutionary, anti-feudal movement Council members to catch their to begin is in the South. The labor bills like the "right to colored people as rapidly and in the Arab world that might planes for home. There was no militancy of the Negro people work" laws in heavily unionized completely as possible." time for discussion of the pro- would supply a ready-made basis districts. Benny Cash of Chataposal apparently considered the for an organizing campaign. On nooga, an open advocate of the least important made at the the other hand, if the labor move- "right to work" bill, was elected ford Mills sent a letter to the emmeeting. But it is clear the pro- ment permits this fight to be to the state legislature of Tenposal is a substitute for the defeated by the White Citizens nessee from such a district. much-talked-of Southern organ- Councils, the latter, in all their The companies are having a izing drive that was promised labor-hating fury, will dominate field day using the race issue took \$75,000 of the dues paid to most and against which they when the AFL and CIO merged the South. Union organization against efforts of employes to in December of 1955.

TOPS FEAR STRUGGLE

to come.

The fact is that the Southern that is needed to organize the sent employes a letter during an wiping out of all racial segregaorganizing drive collapsed with- South, the labor movement not organizing drive. The letter in- tion, both in schools, manufacout ever really getting started. only fails to make progress, it cluded the following masterful turing plants and elsewhere." Why couldn't the top labor of- is losing ground. As H. L. Mitch- piece of hypocrisy: "All over the ficials deliver on their promise ell, head of the Agricultural South today there is deep conto organize the South? Not be- Workers Union said, "Unless a cern on the question of racause they lacked money, re- program initiated by the AFL- cial segregation versus integrasources or organizing personnel! CIO and the national and inter- tion. . . This company does not Of these things they have plenty. national unions is developed to consider that it is appropriate thus thrown at union organizers. "security" of his feudal regime But to organize the South would expose the White Citizens Coun- for the company to influence you Attempting to duck the segrega-is becoming increasingly difficult mean a fight—a fight against cils, future organizing campaigns one way or another on this deep tion issue, the labor bureaucrats for Saud. The extraction of oil the terrorism of the White Citi- planned by the AFL-CIO may and vital issue. But the unions

I zens Councils and the Ku Klux as well be stopped at the Mason-I have taken and are taking a very extreme position on this

WCC TACTICS

"You are entitled to know," the together with Iraq's Crown perialism. Council of the AFL-CIO in Mi- have no stomach for a real strug- ers, bankers, bosses and their letter continues, "and you should Prince Abdullah who together stooges in politics, send organ- understand, that the organizers with Lebanon's Foreign Minister

The white collar workers need izers up and down every state are misleading you and deceiving Jacob Malik had previously anunion organization. Their living in the South. Within a matter you when they pretend that the nounced support of the Eisenstandards, under constantly of a few years they have grown unions are neutral on this mat- hower Doctrine.

mounting inflation, have been on to the point where today they ter. The actual truth is that the U.S. diplomats prepared the unions are working day and Washington visit in hopes that only about three million white-collar workers at present in the urgent Millions of Negro work- only by the Negro workwhich they collect in dues, in an had more in common with King effort to eliminate segregation Faisal of Iraq, who is also rich and to bring about integration in oil, than with President

in the schools and elsewhere be- Nasser, who represents a revoone day bring down the Hashe-In a union election in Wilming- mites and the Sauds as well," ton, N.C., an official of the Spof- says the Jan. 31, N. Y. Times.

SAUD'S TROUBLES ployes: "You may have noticed

own benefit.

It is mass unrest in their own in the newspapers that the AFL-CIO at its recent convention countries which these rulers fear it by the people who are its mem- expect U.S. arms to protect them. will be blocked for a long time organize. As reported in the Wall bers and gave this money to the Part of the agreements concluded Street Journal, Feb. 6, a hosiery NAACP, which is the organiza- with Saud on his Washington Lacking the kind of campaign manufacturer at High Point, N.C., tion aggressively working for the trin was the five-year extension of the lease for the U.S. homber base at Dhahran. In return for the lease Saud'is to receive an estimated \$50 million in U.S. military equipment, services

The token aid the union move and training to maintain "inment has been compelled to give ternal security." to the civil rights struggle is

The maintenance of the (Continued on page 4) in Arabia, according to the Jan.

backing this plan? And why is made "Saudi Arabia's shelks and peared in the days prior to the During his visit in Washington the government of the United princes rich, but it has begun convention to be blocking with Middle East "is a good one which answer is that both Saud and pany workers have begun to

WORKER UNREST

Saud has been facing increasing unrest from these workers. "Last June," according to the

greeted him shouting of 'oppres-Saud's "nationalism" is based sion' by foreign imperialists. on hatred for Israel and a Saud's police beat several demondynastic feud with the Hashemite strators to death with palm rulers of Jordan and Iraq who stems." were put in power by the British.

This, plus the fact that he is a puppet of U.S. oil corporations finds support for the Eisenhower rather than British ones, ac- Doctrine from the Saud's and that all industrial workers would counts for his occasional opposi-Faisals, because these elements be paid solely by piece-work recent years. His class position, are least sensitive to the will of rates instead of fixed wages. To however, is proving stronger than the Arab masses who do not ure, plans are being laid for the his family feuds. At the Wash- want to exchange British-French creation of armed factory guards



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT NASSER. As part of its drive against the national independence movement which makes him a power, Wall Street is now wooing Middle East feudal leaders.

At a convention press conference, party spokesmen reterpreting" Marxism was adoptin opposition to that wing. Foster, who led the struggle ed by the convention by an apto keep the CP in the role of a proximate two-to-one majority. The convention elected 20 blind parrot for the Moscow line, members to a 60-member naasserted that "this convention (Continued on page 3) should welcome the sage and

# In an article entitled "Real in the Arab world is collapsing own national resources for their own national resources for their before Sourd and France whose power the opportunity to develop their workers struck at ARAMCO just Hungary Gov't Attacks **Worker, Student Gains**

FEB. 12 — The Kremlin's puppet regime of Janos Kadar in Hungary is continuing a savage totalitarian on-The U.S. State Department slaught against the workers and youth of that country.

The regime announced Feb. 102 enforce this reactionary measington talks Saud was brought domination for that of U.S. im- to "maintain order" among the workers. Coming on the heels of the recent Kadar decree establishing the death penalty for strikers, these moves mark a return to the vilest features of

> the Stalinist labor code. Trampling further on the national aspirations of the Hungarian people, the regime has also indicated its intention to reestablish compulsory Russian instruction in the school system.

According to the Feb. 11 New York Times, the Minister of Education explains that it will be necessary to "delay" carrying out the recent law abolishing such compulsory instruction because of a lack of teachers of

connected.

western languages. He did not a major Budapest high school indicate what way the two were the teachers have been summoned to a lecture by the police on the subject, "How to deal with

KADAR

'DANGER' OF CONCESSIONS the counter-revolutionary beha-Desperate efforts to crush vior of children."

mass revolutionary opposition is The over-all perspective of the apparently focusing on the na- regime was expressed in a pubtion's youth, A Feb. 8 Reuters lic speech of one of its members, dispatch reports that the offi- Gyula Kallai, in Budapest. He cial CP paper, Nepszabadsag, has declared: "The present state of suggested that children be raised emergency will continue until in special "children's towns" so we have finally crushed the that they could "grow up in a counter-revolution. . . The revohealthy way of thinking and be lutionary government has decidtaught socialist patriotism and ed that no concessions shall be discipline in a conformist at- made since concessions, however mosphere." small, would result in greater de-To bolster the drive against mands and lead to a new Oct. the youth, it is reported that in 23."



U. S. Target

# An Open Letter To My SP Friends

(The following letter was written Jan. 29, by a prominent former members of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles. - Ed.) **Dear Comrades:** 

I have read with regret the outcome of the Socialist Party-Social Demogratic Federation Unity Convention held in New York, January 18-21. The acceptance of the Statement of Understanding as the programmatic guide for the merged organization should smash any hopes of the SP's left-wing for a militant SP around which radical forces in the U.S. could regroup.

The Statement of Understanding avoids any clearcut stand against capitalism, but instead devotes itself to a tirade against communism. It limits the independent SP-SDF electoral activity, and makes it easier for the membership to openly support capitalist candidates. At the same time the statement makes more difficult, if not rival organization, but one that impossible, participation by the SP membership in discussion, debate or joint action with any organization not following the principles of the Second International.

Though I have been an active member of the SP for the past few years and have worked with the left-wing caucus, I left the Party when the Statement of Understanding was passed. Other members of the left-wing remained in the Party as a "loyal opposition." I feel that their loyalty is misplaced.

The very structure of the Unity Convention was highly detrimental to any left-wing. First, it was held in New York, the seat of the right-wing membership. Second, the delegates alloted to the SDF almost equaled the total membership they brought into the joint organization. The SP representation was on a delegate to membership ratio of less than one for 15.

More important, the small gains made by the leftwing at the more representative Socialist Party Convention held last June were negated by the Unity Convention. Resolutions passed at the June Convention on such important issues as foreign policy and civil rights were shelved in order to achieve unity with the SDF.

Such tactics, for the purpose of receiving recognition from the Second International, do not deserve the respect of the left-wing, let alone their loyalty. For twenty years the SP and SDF have been trying to get together. Doesn't it seem strange that now in scarcely twenty weeks since the left-wing raised its voice in the June convention, the SP-SDF unity is consummated?

The left-wing's program, however, deserves respect in that it has been consistently anti-capitalist and antiimperialist. It has fought for civil liberties for all and it has opposed the right-wing's position on limited academic freedom and support of 'necessary' government screening. The left-wing has always supported the colonial revolutions and worked hard to get its Algerian, anti-Mollet resolution on the books before the Unity Convention.

It is clear that the left-wing can make an effective contribution only in a revolutionary socialist organization where the main foe is capitalism and not the Party's reactionary leadership.

Only such an organization can successfully challenge the capitalist system in a day to day struggle, in the shops, schools, unions and neighborhood organizations as well as in the electoral field. I am planning to join the Socialist Workers Party, because I feel that the SWP is the only organization which today is capable and willing to work for socialism on such a day to day basis. I do not feel that there is any conflict in my joining the SWP and my working for a militant socialist regroupment. Unlike leaders of the SP-SDF, Farrell Dobbs, in his speech, 'Can the Left Unite?' (see the Jan. 28 Militant) has stated that the SWP will participate fully in debates and discussions now going on among the left forces. Furthermore he declared that the SWP will work with other radical organizations on such important issues as civil liberties and civil rights. This is a necessary first step toward regroupment. I do not expect other members of the SP to consider, at this time, a similar action. You have not had, as I have, Dictatorship," issued by the Chithe many hours of discussion with members of the Socialist Workers Party. These discussions convinced me of the party's internal democracy and have helped me to understand that organization, its program and ideas. I hope that others will avail themselves of any similar opportunity. I would like to state that my questions were always treated seriously and painstakingly answered, even cracy-and its immediate applicawhen I was considered a political opponent. To my friends in the SP, I can only add, do not take for truth, second-hand characterizations of movements or Stalin and Stalinism. ideas. Do not remove yourselves, because of right-wing pressure, from the vital discussions now taking place among socialists everywhere. Discuss with everyone, study all sides so that you may take your rightful place with other sincere militants in the struggle for a socialist future. gories:

#### THE MILITANT

# **Boston Radicals Present Their Views On Socialist Regroupment in the U.S.**

January 24, 1957 | gram is to be formed by the rank | towards a better thing, namely, | Nearing, Leo Huberman and Paul and file membership itself.

With a nation-wide committee Rev. Weston has proposed for of twenty financing members adoption a program of advocat-(undoubtedly much more by now. ing a Labor Party and supportas this was at last count) and ing working people everywhere many more contacts throughout against their oppressors no matcountry from National ter what label the oppressors go Guardian ads, the Rev. Hugh by; of supporting the AFL-CIO revolutionary party, that can en-Weston (31 Main St., Saugus, against the capitalist monopolies;

Mass.) as Temporary Organizing the rank and file union mem-Secretary and myself, a 22 year bers against the MacDonald and bers against the MacDonald and old industrial worker, as Tem-Meany hureaucrats; supporting porary Organizing Chairman, the Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslav hope to create a United Socialand other Eastern European ist Alliance as a medium that the working classes against Russian various Left groups can use for domination; the Soviet people regrouping towards the eventual against the Khrushchev and Molgoal of one single socialist party. otov bureaucrats; and so forth. The U.S.A. is not to be a new, At the same time the social gains in favor of the people of any will work with the different economic system should be degroups and be a bridge between fended. In essence, unreserved them support of democracy everywhere

the

What would be best initially and in every instance. However is if the different groups would this is no iron-bound dogma and affiliate with the USA organicit is up to the rank and file to ally and thus make it into a fed- decide.

to see various leaders of the Left The USA movement is neceseration. Our doors are open to on our national committee, such as Bert Cochran and Harry anyone of socialist persuasion sarily loosely formed by its very and we have no hide-bound pro- nature. We do not intend to be-Braverman of the "American Sogram and conceited leaders that come an entrenched institution cialist" magazine, Max Shachteveryone must bow to. The pro-| but rather a temporary medium | man and James P. Cannon, Scott

Two Irons in the Fire

a new party of the American Sweezy of the "Monthly Review," type, programmatically drawing Vincent Hallinan and Clifford upon the best features of the McAvoy, and so forth, although no doubt we have to grow bigpresent groups and rejecting the ger before these "names" will negative features. join. We urge the McAvoy and This country needs a broad the Koppersmith unity groups in Left movement, centered on a New York City to merge with each other and become the New ter the mainstream of the mass York section of the national labor movement. None of the

movement.

small groups representing the Another feature of a reinvigor-Left at present are adequate for ated, broad socialist movement the job. Almost all are too narwould be a single socialist party row, or if not that, are not soon the ballot, say, for example cialist at all, like the SP and for 1960, that could attract the SDF. We need a movement in over-a-million people that voted which all the present groups can for the Progressive and Socialist have free interplay with each parties in 1948 and the half-milother, work together on common lion-or-so people who have passed aims and discuss theoretical and in and out of the Communis practical differences in a friend-Party in the past. In other words ly and leisurely way, without the we need a party that can attract recriminations and bitterness all independent socialists presthat have marked the Left in ently dormant. Only this kind of

> message to new thousands and become dominant in the great movement of labor. Only a party that combines sterling revolutionary principles with a wide, broadminded outlook and the tactics of combining the basic program of Socialism with that of immediate demands can wrest the broad ranks of the American working class from the Meanys and Becks, replace the Democratthe job that is needed. Of course, this is no final "take it or leave it" doctrine but the opinion of an individual. As Hallinan said in his letter to the Militant, a call to all friends and supquoting Cromwell's "Apothegm porters to contribute to the ley as SWP mayoralty candidate special Party-Building Fund. to the British Parliament": "I beseech you, by the bowels of

arrabee thampton Rd , Mass.

MENT LET

The Statement of the Na tional Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the Regroupment of Revolution. ary Socialist Forces in the United States will soon appear in pamphlet form. It was initially published in the Feb. 11 issue of the Militant.

\$100 Pledge from South a party can bring the socialist By C. Farr Party-Building Fund Director Branches of the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country have pledged a total of over \$19,000 to the

Party Building Fund launched by the recent meeting of the SWP National Committee. Taking note of the marked growth | ready been published or are now of interest in the views and ac- in the process of publication. On the electoral field, the SWP tivities of the SWP manifested in the recent presidential elec- proposes to carry forward its ic Party with a Labor Party, do tion campaign and the increasing political campaign for indedemand for Trotskyist literature pendent working class political following the Khrushchev revela- action. Local Los Angeles is tions on the "Stalin cult," the running a mayoralty candidate, SWP National Committee issued Erroll Banks. Local New York recently nominated Joyce Cow-

> for the 1957 municipal elections. It is especially heartening to Other branches are now considerthat you may pledge to the Party Building tion in their localities.

Fund from a friend in the Deep CLEVELAND IN VAN

South. The many hundreds of All this stepped-up activity letters from that area received will be further accelerated by by The Militant during the the prompt fulfillment of the recent election campaign is tesimportant Party-Building timony to the growing support Fund. We are sure that readers of the SWP program of militant of the Militant will want to action to achieve full economic, make their contribution to the political and social equality for the Negro people. The Party building of a revolutionary socialist movement in this coun-Building Fund will aid in carrying forward the political and or- try by sending their donations ganizational activity in the field to the SWP Party Building Fund, 116 University Place, New of struggle for Negro equality. York 3, N. Y. The organization report sub-

mitted to the recent SWP Na-As the figures in the Fund tional Committee, meeting show- Scoreboard show, the campaign ed encouraging signs of growth is off to a good start, with 25% and expansion in all fields of of the pledges already paid by party activity. The Party Build- the SWP branches. Cleveland, ing Fund was launched to take with 60% of its quota in, is well full advantage of these promis- ahead of the 1/3 mark, with two ing new opportunities. To ful- months to go. This auspicious fill the growing demand for start indicates that the branch Marxist literature the SWP is campaign directors are pressing projecting an ambitious publica- for regular weekly payments, tion program to make available spaced through the three months many of the outstanding works of the campaign. This method

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) at the 1955 Bandung Conference with the Indonesian Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo. Chou is now touring the colonial countries in a new bid for political and diplomatic support to the Chinese government. Previously he visited the USSR, Poland and Hungary to help shore up the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy as it suffered heavy blows at the hands of the Hungarian and Polish workers who demand national independence and socialist democracy.

# **Chinese CP Balances Stalin's** "Achievements" and "Mictoka

Rev. Weston and I would like

the past.

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Ombto	D.:!J	Dentert
	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 420.00	250.00	60
Newark	240.00	100.00	42
Chicago	1,560.00	650.00	42
Detroit	1,000.00	407.00	41
Boston	600.00	205.00	34
Youngstown	300.00	100.00	33
Buffalo	2,100.00	600.00	29
New York	5,000.00	1,392.10	28
Milwaukee	250.00	70.00	28
Twin Cities	1,584.00	383.50	24
Philadelphia	480.00	79.00	17
St. Louis	80.00	10.00	13
Los Angeles	4,000.00	450.00	11
Allentown	102.00	10.00	10
Akron	140.00		
Oakland	240.00	·	
San Francisco	800.00 -		
Seattle	360.00		 
General		75.00	<u></u>
and which a set of the			· • ·
Totals through Feb. 13	19,256.00	4,781.60	25

**Party-Building Fund Gets** 



pc	hrist, to conceive f ossibly be wrong. is on my views.
	Sincerely,
	George La RFD Sout Westfield,
	REGROUPM PAMPHL

## "I Am a Stalinist' Says Khrushchev

A vivid, though vulgar outline of the latest Kremlin attitude toward Stalin was acted out by Khrushchev and Bulganin, rather in the style of a burlesque comedian and his straight man, at last month's Moscow reception for Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. An Associated Press dispatch, Jan. 17, reported it as follows:

"Mr. Khrushchev grabbed a microphone to declare that he is a Communist.

"But some people say you are a Stalinist,' Soviet Preimer Nikolai A. Bulganin interjected.

"'I am a Stalinist,' Mr. Khrushchev asserted, 'But I don't separate Stalinism and Stalin from communism. As a Communist fighting for the interest of the working class, Stalin was a model Communist. . .

We have criticized Stalin, he continued. 'We still criticize him, and if necessary we will do it again. But we do not criticize Stalin as a bad Communist as far as the interests of the working

classes are concerned. "'Stalin had his bad points. Lenin saw them before we did and pointed them out. They were borne out. The defects were bad. But in things that counted, that is, the interests of the working class, God grant that every Communist should fight for the interest of the working class as Stalin

did.' Mr. Khrushchev, flailing his arms while his listeners laughed and applauded, continued his defense of Stalin and rejected Stalinism

as a term of abuse. Marshal Bulganin tried to get him away from the microphone, but he kept speaking."

### IIJLANCS

By George Lavan "great power chauvinism" is lim-The new line adopted by the ited to some instances and pre-Kremlin almost two months ago ceded by the assertion that he has been variously dubbed as "regenerally abided by international-"neo-Stalinism," Stalinization." ist principles. "a return to Stalinism," etc. This There is no hint here of Sta

line was launched in agreement with the leaders of the Chinese equal association of nationalities Communist Party. Indeed, the within the USSR that was estab-"theoretical" base for it appeared

on Dec. 29, in the lengthy statement entitled "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian nese CP Political Bureau.

The preceding Militant article (in the Feb. 4 issue) dealt with the basic premise of this document-the subordination of all conflicts in the Soviet bloc to plomatic pawns.

support of the Kremlin bureau-Stalin's violation of "socialist democracy" is attributed to a tion to Hungary and Yugoslavia. "misunderstanding" of Marxism Now to be considered is its as it applies in the period after evaluation or re-evaluation of

the disappearance of the old ruling classes. His arbitrariness is

explained by his becoming "iso-THE CATEGORIES lated from the masses." His mon-The document is liberally strous purge and frame-up syssprinkled with references to Statem under which millions were kin's "mistakes," and it places murdered or sent to concentration them in the following catecamps is passed off as "present-

ing unfounded accusations." and Violation of "socialist demoeven this is preceded by the cracy": Stalin mistakenly sharpapology that he justly liquidated ened the class struggle inside the 'counter-revolutionaries."

USSR after classes hostile to So-FURTHER EXCUSES cialism had ceased to be a threat.

whereas in that phase of Soviet development democratic methods softening the charges against of administration can grow, laws Stalin, the Chinese present nucan be "normalized" and bureaumerous general excuses for him. cratic tendencies overcome. For example: some of Stalin's

tionalities: Stalin tended toward tions in the USSR; others from "great power chauvinism and he the inexperience inevitable in the lacked the spirit of equality . . . first workers state; other leaders sometimes he even interfered incould have made the same errors correctly in the internal affairs since they had historic and social of some of the fraternal countries roots; despite errors, Stalin "creand fraternal parties with many atively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism . . . expresses grave consequences." Personal arbitrariness: He "prethe will of the people"; he was

sented unfounded accusations against many devoted Communists and good citizens and that resulted in grave damage." While the above categories covwhat he was doing was best for er most, but not all, of the charges brought against Stalin

Violation of the rights of na-

by Khrushchev in his famous speech to the 20th Congress, there is a tremendous difference in tone and emphasis. The "mistakes" are minimized and apolo-

gized for. Thus the item about | lin hold up under examination. | Nazi imperialism is no more jus-Conditions in the USSR and the tification of his rule than is the inexperience in the first workers' similar fact that, faced with a state also produced opponents of union-busting drive of the em-Stalin's "mistakes." His faction ployers, a corrupt, tyrannical laexpelled them from the party as bor bureaucrat in this country in the case of the Trotskyist will fight to preserve the union-

lin's criminal destruction of the Left Opposition and, when the the base of his power and privpower had been consolidated, ileges.

murdered, imprisoned or terror-In the opening paragraph of lished by the October 1917 Revized into silence all opponents this article the terms "re-Stalinolution; the mass deportations of of the "mistaken" policies. ization," "neo-Stalinism." etc., whole nationalities; the encour-The Chinese say that the errors were mentioned. They are not agement of anti-Semitism; the should be leniently viewed besuitable descriptions of what the ruling of the East European cause they had "social and his-Kremlin bureaucrats, with the

countries by puppets, whom he torical roots." But the policies help of the Chinese leaders, are set up and purged at will; nor of all dictators have "social and trying to do. They are not trying of the similar way in which he historical roots." This neither exto restore Stalin to the position converted the Communist Parties plains nor justifies them. What of demi-God that he previously of the capitalist nations into diwere these social and historical occupied in the propaganda fir-

roots? Were they progressive or mament. This they realize is imreactionary? By dodging a seripossible. Khrushchev's words at ous examination of the roots of the 20th Congress cannot be Stalinism, the Chinese document erased. Though the speech has serves only as a whitewash of never been released to the Soviet public its general content is

The Soviet Union certainly known. The most that can be made great progress-but despite, attempted is to tone down what not because of Stalin. The record has already been said and to shows that he bitterly resisted stop further revelations. Thus a planning and industrialization as more accurate description than "Trotskyism" until economic col-"re-Stalinization" would be - the lapse of Soviet economy forced attempt to stop de-Stalinization. him to undertake it. Soviet prog-

NO RETURN ress is half or less what it would

It is impossible to go back to have been had not the bureaucratic oligarchy, protected by the old Stalinism because the Stalin, plundered and misman- temper of the Soviet masses will aged. At the 20th Congress not tolerate it. Indeed it was the In addition to minimizing and Khrushchev cited examples of growing dissatisfaction of the disasters on the economic and people of the Soviet bloc that military fields brought about by led the bureaucracy to try to Stalin's gross ignorance and dissociate itself from Stalinism caprice. at the 20th Congress. But the

mistakes stemmed from condi-Rather than contributing to official downgrading of Stalin Marxism-Leninism, Stalin per- gave the masses a legal cover verted and prostituted it to op- for open expression of their opportunistic ends. Suppression of position to the regime. In their much of Lenin's writing and the daily talk, at factory meetings. crass, self-serving re-writing of in novels and on the stage popular pressure carried anti-Stalinhistory are examples of his attitude toward Marxism. ism far beyond the official formulations and in fact against PSYCHOLOGICAL JUDGMENT Khrushchev and the other offi-"a great and steadfast" Com-As for the Chinese leaders' cial "initiators" of revelations munist who led the Soviet Union psychological judgment that Staand reforms. The tempo with to great "accomplishments"; his lin meant well, there is ample which the process developed in tragedy was that even while makevidence to show that he meant Poland and Hungary threw Stahis "mistakes" he believed that ill-that he was a sadist. But | lin's heirs into a panic. With the this is a minor consideration. His aid of the Chinese CP leaders,

the working class. attitude towards the workers is they hope to slow down and stop Therefore, the Chinese conclude best measured by the number of the process by slowing down and Stalin and those who made simsecret police he put over them. choking off its verbal manifestailar "mistakes" must be treated That in defending his power and tion. The field of history is "as comrades not as enemies." the privileges of the bureaucrat- strewn with the wreckage of sim-None of these excuses for Sta- ic oligarchy he had to resist ilar attempts.

Leon Trotsky which have prevents a scrai been long out of print. In addi- the last minute.

Many of the branches report tion, a series of pamphlets on current and recent political that the prospects for increased events - The Revolution in membership and the many new Hungary and Poland, The Crisis friends of the Socialist Workers in the Middle East, the Regroup- Party assure that they will be ment Discussion, the Crisis of able to meet their quotas in full World Stalinism, etc. - have al- and on time.

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THE MILITANT



# Labor and the 5th Amendment

In opposing the projected Congressional "investigation" of labor "racketeering." Carl Stellato, president of the powerful Ford Local 600-UAW, has taken a stand that should be supported by every unionist and every defender of civil liberties.

In the Feb. 2 issue of Ford Facts, Stellato declared: "Senator McClellan is conducting a 'probe' of alleged labor racketeering. . . His companions in this probe are Senator McCarthy and Senator Mundt — two anti-Union Senate leaders who have suddenly decided to protect the workers from their leaders... If, as alleged, racketeering does exist in some levels of the labor movement, 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 characteristic of anything Senator McCarthy has a hand in."

Stellato's statement comes as a timely and proper answer to the stand of UAW President Walter Reuther and the top officialdom of the AFL-CIO in support of such a "labor investigating Roman Holiday." This stand was expressed in a resolution of the UAW International Executive Board calling on Congress to "authorize an appropriate Congressional committee to conduct an investigation . . . and expose . . . corruption in labor, in industry and all other aspects of the problem."

This invitation to the political represen-

tatives of Big Business to interfere in labor's affairs can only encourage a payoff to Adenauer for his in-McCarthy-type smear of all unions. It will troduction of the draft in the help lay the basis for further government position. The 350,000 young men attacks on the rights of labor. An even who will be raised for NATO more dangerous aspect of the AFL-CIO will replace French and British stand is its declaration that any union troops withdrawn from Europe official who utilizes the Fifth amendement for service in other areas-nameagainst the Congressional probers should be automatically dismissed from his WORKERS HOSTILE post. This stand must be characterized as a reactionary assault on Constitutional Germany and Adenauer's subrights and a major assist to the witch- by substantial sections of the

One of the principal aims of the Con- the hostility of the working class gressional probers is a new assault on the and especially the attitude of the Fifth Amendment. Just / as McCarthy's youth, Adenauer has had to reprevious "investigations" spread the period of army service was cur poisonous concept of "Fifth Amendment from 18 months to one year, and will carry on an insidious campaign half a million to 350,000. against "Fifth Amendement labor racketliberties will be extended from the political the recent period. In December to the trade union arena.

It is necessary to restate that the purattack upon the unconditional right of working class registered a 73% every citizen to its protection is an assault opposition. In fact, by July only on the Constitution itself on the Constitution itself.

is a serious betrayal of the interests of rights in particular. Every conscious

Speidel was appointed to the post of commander of NATO ground forces in Central Europe. The Speidel appointment is the

Jan. 24, Lieutenant General Hans

The remilitarization of West servience to NATO are opposed hunting drive against the Bill of Rights. German population. Because of

Communists," so the present committee Germany's NATO quota from Emnid Institute, a public opin ion poll, proved that anti-militareers." In this way the curtailment of civil ist feeling is on the increase in 1955, 59% of the population op-

posed military service. By July 1956 the figure had risen to 65% pose of the Fifth Amendment is to defend In the age group of 25-30 opposithe rights of the innocent, and that every tion was 72%, and the industrial

The stand taken by labor's top hierarchy service. This growing opposition to remilitarization is fed by the suscivil liberties in general and of labor's picion harbored by many against the law. the men surrounding Chancellor

ly, Algeria and the Middle East.

German munitions king Alfred Krupp and his wife, at time his release after serving six years of a 12-year prison term as a war criminal. His vast industries were then restored to him. With Germany now playing a key NATO role, Krupp and his fellow German capitalists are amassing huge new profits.

istry was careless enough to keep tated as material for Adenauer a diary of his wartime exploits "democratic" army.

as Hitler's special emissary on The Social Democratic Party the mission of liquidating the has failed the trust placed in it Jews of Poland and the Ukraine. by the majority of the workers. Reprints of his diary, which re- The party program as ratified by veal that he was "glad to have Convention bound the party to been able to carry out his mis- oppose remilitarization. But in sion," have been available. Spring 1956, the rightwing lead-Adenauer's right-hand man and ership of the party assisted Adespecial assistant, Hans Globke, nauer in amending the Constitu-

was the man who codified Hit- tion and thus made conscription ler's notorious Nuremberg racial possible. The twenty left-wing laws. His accusers have produced parliamentary representatives pressed any desire in favor of photostats of his handwritten who broke party discipline to comments on the original draft vote against these amendments which indicate that he favored are the heroes of the party ranks. an even harsher interpretation of Support for them was strong enough to prevent threatened dis-

> ciplinary action. Undoubtedly there is deep dis-The position of the socialist

Adenauer. Dr. Otto Brautigam, comfort at the thought of servunionist should work for its repudiation. head of the key East-European ing under the command of for- youth organizations, the Falcons section of the Bonn Foreign Min- mer SS troops, recently rehabili- and the Socialist Student League,

in the unions. They number over 700,000. At their second national ler, Speidel and many other top convention in the summer of 1956, military men thought to save the 30,000 delegates vividly demonstrated their opposition to cap- orientation." These military exitalist militarism in a defiant rally and torchlight procession. The stronghold of this movement. is among the young miners from North Rhine Westphalia.

The left-wingers and the youth introduced many resolutions calling for mass actions against militarism at the Social Democratic Party Convention of 1956.

U.S. press comments on Speidel's appointment to a key post in the West European NATO setup stressed that he was cultured, CAPITALISTS COCKY educated and had been opposed to Hitler. This bears some further examination.

Entering the Kaiser's army in 1914, Speidel has not been out of the army since. When the imperial Reichswehr collapsed, he entered the republican Reichswher. The long years from 1918 to 1933 brought him painfully slow advancement to first lieutenant. Only with Hitler's seizure of

a spectacular upward turn. Speidel used the quiet years to take university courses in history and economics. His doctoral reactionary "dagger-in-the-back" legend. which holds that it was "sabotage" that led to the failure markets."



Page 3

The very first inkling of postwar remilitarization finds him in the thick of it and close to Adenauer.

The German capitalist class. riding high on a spectacular postwar economic boom is crowing about the Speidel appointment. French and British newspapers voiced dismay that their troops would have to serve under a German general. The cockiness of power did Speidel's career take the resurgent German capitalist class can be judged by this quote from the "General Anzeiger" of Bonn: "The British are astonthesis was an elaboration of the Germany, after two lost wars ished and indeed irritated that and incredible losses, has again the "machinations" of democratic prospered and is energetically politicians and working class pushing into traditional British



(Continued from page 1) liberal and Negro movements. tional committee, with the re- The hotly disputed Gates maining 40 to be added by state proposal to convert the party conventions during the next six into a "political association" weeks. While there is not suf- was withdrawn prior to the conficient information available for vention as a "unity" move, and a comprehensive evaluation of the convention reaffirmed conthe election results, a number tinued existence of the organizaof noteworthy features are ap- tion as a party. Gates was conceded the right of possible parent. A substantial number of future discussion of the issue in

delegates apparently did not con- the national committee. A resolution was adopted sider themselves committed to either the Gates or Foster wings embodying a conciliatory stand of the leadership and a large toward social democracy.

Both Foster and Dennismeasure of healthy suspicion was expressed against both. restated their stand that the Thus, the first four places went Hungarian revolution was an imto district party leaders includ-perialist-inspired "counter - revo-ing some virtually unknown na- lution." The Gates wing of the ing some virtually unknown nationally. Top vote getter was leadership, which had initially little-known Charlene Alexander criticized the Kremlin role in of Los Angeles, with 210 1/3 Hungary, in the Daily Worker, votes. (There were a reported dodged any confrontation of this 298 delegates at the conven- vital issue at the convention.

tion.) Seven of those elected are The convention also put its Negroes, indicating a desire of seal on the draft resolution's the convention for maximum rejection of authentic Marxisting than a Frenchman in France Negro representation regardless Leninist theory on imperialist war and the nature of the state. of factional viewnoint. Dennis found himself in sixth The resolution discards "as obposition with 174 votes. Foster solete the thesis that war is followed with 172. The most inevitable under imperialism . . . prominent leaders of the Gates (and) the concept of inevitable faction fared even worse than violent proletarian revolution." The first point is actually a Dennis and Foster in the number of votes received. Gates ran six- rejection of Lenin's insistence on teenth with 129 1/3 votes, while the need for a revolutionary, New York State Chairman class-struggle policy as the only George Blake Charney squeezed effective means to combat imthrough in last place with 115 perialist war. The second point is in effect a rejection of his 2/3 votes. thesis that 'the capitalist state REFORMIST PROGRAM machinery must be replaced by At the same time the convena democratically-organized worktion rejected by a vote of 140 ers and farmers government in to 80 a motion by Foster to order to begin the building of a suspend the rules to elect a socialist society. The convention twenty-first member who was resolution envisages instead a nosed out by Charney by one "people's anti-monopoly" governthird of a vote. ment, i.e., working through the As anticipated, the convention capitalist state for an indefinite endorsed the reformist political period in the hope of effecting a subsequent "transition" to socialism. All of this was also acceptable to Foster who, in the existence," support to the Demopre-convention discussion, had campaigned as a champion of official leadership of the labor,

# The Power to Declare War

The Eisenhower Doctrine, which would give the President authority to involve this country in war in the Middle East on his own decision, met a flurry of resistance in the combined Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. Senator J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), proposed to substitute for this authorization a resolution endorsing Administration policy in the Middle East, a resolution that would, however, lack the force of law. Fulbright's proposal was defeated, Feb. 12, by a vote of 17 to 10.

Objection was also raised to the second part of the Eisenhower Doctrine that would give the President up to \$200 million to spend for special projects in the Middle East. Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) led the fight against this section and

"naked executive power [to] rule the highest and most fateful interests of the nation." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Feb. 12.)

Senator Fullbright's appraisal of the constitutional problem involved in the Eisenhower Doctrine is correct. But we suspect it was made with an eye to the next elections for little concern has been

evinced in the past for the protection of the Senate's "constitutional duties." The sole power of Congress to declare war was forgotten when Truman took the the U.S. representative in the U.S. into the Korean civil war on his own, evading the constitutional obstacle by calling his move a "police action." Then, and against the Algerian freetwo years ago. Congress gave up its 168- dom-fighters. year-old war-making power to the President when Eisenhower asked for authority the New York Times stated in an enthusiastic, editorial of Feb. 18,

**U.S. Backing France in UN Debate on Algeria** 

By John Thayer

The U.S. government has revealed itself publicly as an en- Hammarskjold to assist in the standard of the Algerian people emy of the right of a people to negotiations and report back to is lower today than before the govern themselves. It did this on whatever progress had been rian lives on a diet of 1,500 calo-Feb. 6 when Henry Cabot Lodge, made

United Nations, acting on orders from Washington, declared U.S. support for French imperialism

Commenting on Lodge's action, the New York Times stated in an U.S. imperialism.

to use troops in the Formosa Straits that. "The United States has

This resolution was sponsored that normally needed by adults. by 18 Arab and Asian countries. Many Algerians support families Even its opponents and the hos- of six on a yearly income of \$47 tile capitalist press of the U.S. while the French colons - who admitted that it was conciliatory have taken all the best land from in tone and content. Yet it was the native people - on the aver-

anathema to French, British and age have a higher standard of liv-

to settle their differences and by the French settlers (colons) asked UN Secretary-General Dag and corporations. The living the 1957-58 session on the UN on French came. The average Algeries per day which is one-half

with a yearly income of \$21,000. Under French rule 50% of Al The French imperialists take gerian children die before the age

was defeated by a vote of 17 to 11.

In the course of the debate Secretary of State Dulles was sharply attacked. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) charged that "there is no more deceptive person in public life than John Foster Dulles."

Of most concern to the American people, however, is the Eisenhower demand for war-making power in the Middle East. Fulbright argued that granting the President the sole decision to make war would "strike down the Senate's rights and duties in the conduct of foreign affairs as defined by 168 years of constitutional practice." He also said it would permit

dispute any time he wanted to.

The Senate has given the American on the Algerian question in the people enough proof of its readiness to involve this country in war - without vention on Wednesday gave the even waiting to examine the concrete French everything they could decircumstances of the conflict. If the "con- sire."

stitutional practices" of 168 years are to CLEAR TO ALL

be changed, they should be changed in the Further confirmation of the all other direction. It should be made more out character of the White difficult to make war instead of easier. House's support of French co The people alone, through referendum lonialism is given by the Paris vote, should have the power to decide correspondent of the Times in when and where and for what purpose the "The statement of Henry Cabot American youth are to be asked to Lodge, Jr., spokesman for the sacrifice their lives.

PHONÝ CONTENTION now backed France to the hilt

the position that neither the UN of five. United Nations General Assemnor anybody else has even the right to discuss what they are WANT EQUALITY bly. Ambassador Lodge's interdoing in Algeria let alone make

speaker in the debate. the same issue, who reported: United States, in the [UN] Po-

litical Committee yesterday ex-The U.S. action was all the

to begin immédiate negotiations have been robbed and exploited

Spokesmen for the Arab-Asian recommendations about it. This countries thoroughly exploded all was stated by French Foreign the imperialist arguments and Minister Christian Pineau, first the claims that the French sought a peaceful solution in Algeria

Repeating the brazen argument They exposed the French "offer" that Algeria is not a colony but of cease-fire followed by elec-- geography, nationality and tions by pointing out that the language, to the contrary not- Algerians were ready for a ceasewithstanding - part of con- fire if France declared that it tinental France, he declared the recognized the right of the Alproceedings were an interference gerians to self-determination. As

with the domestic affairs of for elections, these should not be, France and therefore forbidden as the French proposed, mere muby the UN Charter. Keeping a nicipal elections or even the sending of some Algerians to the straight face, U.S. representative Lodge endorsed this by stat- French parliament but the elec-

ing: "We are also opposed to pro- tion with equal votes-heretofore posals which we believe constitute the vote of one colon was worth line of the Draft Resolution of intervention in matters essential- eight Algerian votes-of an Al- the National Committee. Its gerian government to negotiate main planks are "peaceful coas an equal with France.

L.

Sobell case.

A feature of the debate was cratic party and support to the ture of the marvellous plans the introduction of red-baiting.

This tactic, possibly worked out on French imperialism had for Algeria and its other African col- the advice of the U.S. State Deonies. It would bring "comfort partment, was to bamboozle the more flagrant because the pro- and riches" to the Algerians if it American public into believing Algerian resolution which Lodge was only left alone to carry out that the Algerian independence denounced was extremely mild its wonderful and unselfish aims. movement is secretly directed by A fitting rejoinder to these the Communist Party and that UN to recognize "the right of the pie-in-the-sky promises was made if the French imperialists were people of Algeria to self-determi- by the Syrian representative. He forced out then North Africa nation according to the principles recounted how in the 127 years would be taken over by the USSR.

> The fact is that the powerful French Communist Party does

not favor Algerian national independence. In parliament its members voted for the measure under which Mollet has sent 500,-000 troops to put down the Algerians. Only in recent months have the CP deputies been voting against the savage repressive measures.

In Algeria itself one of the big struggles on the independence movement was to build a trade union federation dedicated to the independence struggle. Existing unions were in the Stalinist-dominated OGT which was accordingly lukewarm about Algerian independence. The French rulers tried unsuccessfully to prevent the building of a pro-independence union movement by declaring all unions other than the CGI significant event. illegal.





## Bosses I Have Known (II)

By Ben Stone

### The Smoke Watcher

I walked up to the gates of the utility company and approached the uniformed watchman on duty. He was a roly-poly, jolly-looking man. "Can you direct me to the employment office?" I inquired.

"How old are you?" he asked.

"Sixteen," I answered.

"Do you have your working papers?"

"Yes, I do."

"Well, I'll let you in to fill out an application form."

He directed me to the employment office where I duly filled out the application. The personnel manager told me they just had an opening for a young man, whose sole function would be to watch the smoke coming out of the four huge smokestacks on the roof. "Your title will be 'Smoke Observer' and the salary is \$14 a week," he added.

Since this was an imposing title and the salary represented a \$6 increase over my last job. I considered myself an extremely fortunate young man and of course my family was elated when I told them about it.

The title was no longer so imposing when everybody just called me plain "Smoky" but the salary increase was really tangible and something I could hang on to.

The big plant was probably the largest supplier of electric power in the city. The power plant also transported its own coal into what is known as the "Hell's Gates" section of the East River and the giant cranes could be seen hoisting in huge quantities of coal every day.

My job specifically was to observe the smoke coming out of the smokestacks and if it was too black to press a button which flashed down to the boiler room and more coal would be thrown into the roaring

furnaces. greater than the man. If the After some weeks of performing my cause is just and worth living tasks very diligently I was given to un- for, then certainly it is worth dying for." This is the Rev. Fred derstand that I should not press the buttons so often. I finally got the idea and L. Shuttlesworth speaking. He is one of the dynamos behind found myself with nothing to do. Birmingham's Alabama Christian

VOLUME XXI

By Henry Gitano

justice to the South. The cause

"We are determined to bring

So I found myself more often than not Movement for Human Rights. playing checkers with the switchboard "My house was bombed and operator, a blond young man some years destroyed. The blast wasn't to operator, a blond young man some years my senior. We became quite friendly in more determined than ever in my spite of the fact that he found out I was efforts against segregation." Jewish, whereas his family had always Rev. Shuttlesworth's home was demolished last Christmas day been members of the Ku Klux Klan. by a dynamite blast.

I soon became aware that I was one of the very few Jews employed by this WAITED 'TOO LONG company. The anti-Semitism was flagrant. The 34-year old pastor whom 1 The friendly watchman who had directed interviewed at New York's Hotel me to the employment office told me founders. This organization was Theresa, was one of the ACMHR bluntly, "If I had known you were Jew- the bold reply of Birmingham's ish. I never would have let you in." A Negroes, three days after the subtler form of anti-Semitism was dis- NAACP was banned in Alabama played by a couple of fellows who kept tell-Eleven religious and civic leading me that they expected me to become ers called a mass meeting for a rich man some day. June 6.

The overflow assembly adopted One fine day I was playing checkers with my Klan "friend" when in walked the a declaration stating: "We express publicly our determination district supervisor and fired me on the to press forward persistently for spot. The perfect timing led me to suspect freedom and democracy, and that it as a frame-up. At any rate there the removal from our society of

years."



THE MILITANT

**Birmingham Integration Fight** 

MONDAY. FEBRUARY 18, 1957

REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH (left), leader of Birmingham bus desegregation battle is shown with unidentified friends after the Christmas Day bombing of his home by racists. He and his wife and children escaped with minor injuries. Their home was badly damaged by the bomb.

was one Jew less working for that outfit. any forms of second-class citizen- for a better world. He replied: part of something that is good! ship. We want a beginning now. "This should have been started There is a new sense of dignity. Montgomery and Tallahassee. We have already waited 100 years ago. Birmingham's 260,- It's a massive appeal for our Rev. Shuttlesworth explained 000 Negroes have arisen as one rights. Quit saying liberty and that it wasn't "fair" to penalize

Rev. Shuttlesworth related man - it's amazing. It's a justice for all but me." how a conservative Negro leader spontaneous struggle of a people To my question as to the racist law. It appears that There's no use getting mad, (Rev. G. W. Murray) objected who want their freedom; you ACMHR progress over the past whereas the mass meeting to a mass organization. "The can't drown out their cries. The seven months and what its next decided to stay off till the buses people wanted to throw him out. courage and devotion, the dignity steps would be, the minister were integrated, the leadership as when you're close to hell any-

Voices like his are few and far with which Negroes have waged replied: "We fight segregation, between. The average layman is this struggle is miraculous. There period, amen, that's right, all as ready as I am, to sacrifice. is a huge attendance at our over, anywhere. God is against The people getting into it, that's weekly Monday night mass meet- sin; we're against segregation. bus integration if you are the aspirations of the Southern what made the movement. Those ings. One Negro who suffered We sing: 'And before I'd be a who are not with us at the from a weak heart spoke at the slave, I'll be buried in my grave; beginning, they will catch up. mass meeting. His last words And go home to my Lord and be Meanwhile we're fighting. When were 'do it now.' He died later free.' Then we go out and fight." they do catch up, they can join that evening. These fighting The outspoken President of the parting words exemplify our ACMHR elaborated: "We're only seven months old, but we mean

new Southern Negro, struggling "The Negro is proud to be business. We have three lawsuits



(Continued from page 1) it—you have five minutes to de- and child knows what segrega-leave the workers unarmed for cide." Their bluff called, the tion means—until the WCC with the propaganda assault of the segregators caucused quickly and its trash is hooted and howled capitulated. They said, "Never out of existence. The United Rubber Workers mind. We'll keep the Negroes."

The white workers will begin But efforts like Christopher's to understand and they will learn to stem the progress of the WCC to take their place beside their by answering ultimatum with ul- Negro brothers and sisters in the Charleston, S.C., and an NLEB timatum are not enough to save fight for their common welfare. election was called. Then, ac- the existing AFL-CIO positions The militancy shown by white cording to Stan Opotowsky of the let alone organize the unorgan- workers, as w as Negro, in the

pending in the Alabama courts ACMHR filed suit last October for equal rights and equal op- against the Personnel Board for portunities." He discussed the the right of Negroes to take fight for first-class citizenship Civil Service examinations.

NUMBER 7

find loose dynamite, that there

are no arrests after bombings.

It's almost as if it were winked

at. Particularly when, hunting

for whiskey, they find it just like

that." The minister snapped his

fingers to demonstrate with

what rapidity local authorities

On Jan. 3, Asa Carter, WCC

leader declared himself in favor

of white supremacists taking the

law into their own bloody hands

by organizing "minute men" to

preserve segregation by throwing

Negroes off buses if they

attempted to ride in the "white"

"Dynamite and bombs," said

Rev. Shuttlesworth, "are be-

coming as popular as firecrack-

when there's a battle to fight.

Heaven never looked as beautiful

ers with the WCC and KKK.

locate bootleg whiskey.

KKK 'PASTIME'

sections.

way."

on city buses, in railroad stations Discussing the role of violence, and the right to take Civil the Negro leader expressed his Service examinations. people's lack of fear: "They'll

On Dec. 26, 1956, 21 persons have to bomb all our houses bewere arrested after a mass fore we'll stop, and then we violation of Birmingham's bus won't stop. The threats and segregation laws led by Rev. blastings are the convulsions of Shuttlesworth a few hours after a dying order, they express the his home was wrecked by frustrations on the part of dynamite. "Police expected us to whites caught between the devil ride Thursday, they had 50 extra and the deep blue sea. I've got police ready. Instead, 250 of us only one life and I'll gladly give rode on Wednesday. We didn't it for this fight." want trouble with the police. With bitter humor he asked:

The only ones arrested were "Isn't it strange that they can't those who kept riding four or five buses, by which time the police had arrived." [Their trial] is scheduled for Feb. 11.]

#### WHAT WAS PROVED

"We accomplished three things: (1) we proved our courage and determination to rebel against old traditions; (2) we made a test case of the law; and (3) we proved that when left alone we can ride together without violence."

After the Dec. 26 integrated riding of buses, Birmingham's Negroes reverted to riding on a segregated basis, pending a court ruling on the bus segregation ordinance. This is in contrast to the principle followed in

the bus company for obeying the overrode this mass sentiment.

Rev. Shuttlesworth said there At the Abyssinian Church, was no point in just fighting for Rev. Shuttlesworth expressed humiliated in a waiting room. freedom fighters: "We're not So Carl L. Baldwin and Alex- afraid and disgusted. If winter ander Baldwin filed suit in Dis- comes, spring is not far behind. trict Court asking an end to We've gone to the mountain top racial segregation in the Birm- and we don't choose to go back to the valley again. We want the ingham Terminal Station.

Rev. Shuttlesworth a 1 s o right to sit where men sit, to stressed the importance of job work where men work, including opportunities: "Our place is the right to sit in the drivers where everybody else's place is. seat. Give us not your stones We don't want to be the last forever. They can't kill us; they hired and first fired." The can't kill the truth."



#### By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 24 — Joan Jordan, spokesman



This is what a Brooklyn la- who see it." borer, interviewed in Life Magazine, had to say about the conlines that, in view of the sensa- the Most Rev. William Scully, has tional denunciations and publicity, aroused, but there are far more will show BABY DOLL with six suggestive scenes in dozens of scenes deleted. In Raleigh, N. C., run-of-the-mill Hollywood films. it is being picketed, and it has Baby Doll does not engage in any been banned in Memphis and Atextra-marital sex or for that lanta. matter, any marital sex either. So the attack on the picture is a ban is probably not due to Cathlittle puzzling. Just why does the olic influence. There is another Cardinal object?

#### VS. COMMUNISTS, TOO

His blast at BABY DOLL was ern life. Elia Kazan said that he only the third time that Cardinal made BABY DOLL "to get on Spellman spoke from the pulpit film what I feel about the South,

While the Cardinal's speech re- band warns his young wife not sulted in record-breaking busi- to go near the cotton gin when

In these Southern cities, the aspect of the picture which has

ness in New York City, the effect the "niggers" are around and troversial picture, BABY DOLL. has been different in other cities. refers to his Sicilian business I'll agree nothing happens along The Catholic Bishop in Albany, rival as a "greasy wop." When ordered a six-month boycott of timacy with his wife, he points movie houses showing the film. out that the "wop" hasn't got any he had been led to expect. There Ex-Ambassador Joseph Kennedy friends. But the husband has, and are a few moments when Baby has banned it in a chain of New he makes phone calls which alarm Doll breathes heavily and you England movie houses that he Baby Doll. She tells the Sicilian conclude that she is passionately owns. Providence, Rhode Island, to get away quickly because these

he suspects the Sicilian of infriends are "tough," and it is obviously suggested that he is planning to beat up or lynch his rival. When the husband is arrested

not been making headlines-it is

-after doing his best to shoot

the other man, and after the Sicilian produces a statement racists. signed by Baby Doll testifying that her husband is guilty of arson-the sheriff is friendly and apologetic, explaining that he has a grimly realistic view of Southto take him in for the night "for

appearances sake." I wonder if the widespread hos-

us in the fight." I asked the pastor about the struggle."

had signed up 80% of the Negro

and white workers in the Man-

hattan Raybestos plant in

of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In the which no one would have guessed first instance, it was to attack from the advertising or from communism and again, to de-"moral" appraisals of the film. nounce Hungarian Communists for the imprisonment of Cardinal SHOWS NEW NEGRO

Mindzenty. Baby Doll's labored But Bishop Water in Raleigh breathing hardly seems in a class | called it "insulting to our Southwith these subjects, yet he also ern region," and some of the captied it to the present Hungarian tions in Life's story on the piccrisis. He prefaced his remarks ture are quite revealing. "MEAN by condemning the "communists" WHITE-The film's whites are a in Hungary, then said that on the poor and prejudiced lot." "MOCKhome front, too, he was "an- ING NEGRO-answers the boss's guished by shocking news." "It snarls by laughing unfeelingly at is the moral and patriotic duty his troubles." It also refers to of every loyal citizen," he contin- "scorned and scornful Negroes." ued, "to defend America not only (My italics'-- scornful Negroes from dangers which threaten our are something new in the Misbeloved country from beyond our sissippi scene.)

boundaries, but also the dangers The bigotry of the white Southwhich confront us at home." He erner is depicted honestly. Baby concluded that BABY DOLL "is Doll herself, slovenly and infancertain to exert a corrupting and tile, is an uninspiring specimen

# More Deaths in Conn. **Factory Building Fire**

#### By David Dreiser

NEW HAVEN, Feb. 4 — The fifteenth victim of last week's Franklin Street factory fire died today. Nine people died in the building and on the fire escape on January PUBLIC MAY GAIN 24, the day of the holocaust. Six

more have suffered lingering emphatically denied by survideaths in hospitals from their vors. Anthony Lorico, a proprietor of one of the dress shops said hurns.

Referred to as "Tinder Box that they,"did not die because Alley," the Wooster Square area of panic, but because of a faulty of New Haven is filled with cen- fire escape.

"The girls were not panicky," tury-old structures. In the last fifteen years, 40 have died and he continued, "they used the over 70 have been injured in fires exits - in orderly fashion. Those in this one neighborhood. who left down the stairway made

Although the immediate cause the street easily. Those who used of the fire has not been deter- the fire escape were trapped. mined, the following facts have - The section of the fire escape been established: The building leading to the ground was was built in 1864 without a steel stuck."

beam in it. The aged bare wood Samuel Janis, an official of flooring and beams had become the International Ladies Garoil soaked from long factory use. ment Workers, Union has said There was no sprinkler system. "We will strike every garment The fire started in cartons of shop in the area that does not industrial trash piled carelessly go all out to protect the safety near the first floor elevator. The of its workers." This is a stand fire spread so rapidly that three that should be supported, but were dead before firemen ar- to make it effective, the union should clearly dissassociate itrived.

In the face of this description self from the official charge of of a virtual match box, State "panic" and make concrete de-Labor Department' officials, fire mands for stringent legislation officials, and other investigators including enforced replacement have brazenly declared that of buildings that cannot be made "panic" was the main cause of safe and fit for people to work the deaths. This charge has been in.

tility to the film has something N.Y. Post, the Citizens Counto do with its actual content. instead of its "immorality" which I was unable to perceive. Undoubtedly, another factor is

the recent liberalization of the motion picture industry's Production Code. It 'is something new for a picture condemned by the Catholic Legion of Decency to get the approval of the Production Code Administration, and the Catholic hierarchy apparently considers it a challenge. The Catholic censors hope to rally support in Hollywood itself against the new code. They may also hope that Warner Bros., defeat this system and those who distributors of the film, will uphold it. Opotowsky quoted one

make some concession and delete a few scenes. So far Warner Bros. have been

threatening to sue the theater in ton. There has been no direction, Providence which is showing a no leadership, in fighting the cut version of the film. They are Councils, even though we know backed by mounting public re- what they are doing to us. sentment of the Cardinal's attempt to regulate not only what on fighting them. They just don't Catholics should see, but appoint give us a green light, either himself guardian, of everybody's

morals, and his implication that cept a few passages in a few anyone seeing BABY DOLL is speeches made up North every not only sinful but unpatriotic, now and then. Why, I haven't even been asked for a report on

the election.

area.

The motion picture industry, never noted for its independence ISOLATED RESISTANCE

or courage, is concerned about Of course some resistance to profits which have fallen off the campaign of the WCC is sharply due to competition from made. Paul Christopher, Southtelevision. It is experimenting ern regional director of the AFLwith the idea that adult films CIO told of this incident, rewill attract more customers, and counted by Opotowsky in the N.Y. producers are watching the fate Post series on the WCC: The of BABY DOLL closely to see if leaders of one Southern local defying the Legion of Decency came to him and said: pays off. While the industry's

"We've decided to throw the motives are financial, it is a niggers out. If you interfere with struggle from which the public us, we'll secede." "Oh, you'll secede, eh?" re-

may benefit, both in the fight against censorship and in the plied Christopher. "Well, maybe quality of motion pictures. BABY we'll make it easy for you. May-DOLL is an interesting departure be we'll just revoke your charter. from the usual Hollywood prod- You say this is the biggest issue uct, 'and that's why I recommend before your union, so surely you seeing it. Your feelings about the can handle all the 'little' ones. Cardinal's campaign against it may be an added inducement.

Introductory Offer A Six Month Subscription to THE MILITANT Only \$1 116 University Pl. N.Y. 3, N.Y.

is a "crash program" to flood cil distributed a single piece of literature: it listed the the South with serious, intelligent literature on how the names of the Negro union mem-

bosses profit from segregation bers who had signed a desegregaand how the white workers suftion petition given the school fer from living standards way board. "Do you want to belong below the level of the nation as to the same union as these Nea result of it. groes who want their children

in school with yours?" asked the WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WCC pamphlet. The union lost What is needed are radio and

television broadcasts throughout The AFL-CIO has issued fine the Southern states, exposing statements condemning the rotthese racist, hoodlums in the ten system of segregation in the WCC. Hundreds of devoted union South. But the union bureaucra's organizers are needed in every are doing practically nothing to major Southern city to counter the moves of the WCC. Independent political action, at least union leader in the South who on a local level, should be organsaid bitterly, "I am frankly dis-

ized to oust the racist from conappointed-even shocked-at our standing firm; in fact, they are AFL-CIO leadership in Washingtrol of City and State governments.

"They don't give us a red light

They don't give us anything, ex-

Council anti-union activity in my

"battles" staged by the liberals has shown liberal Democrats and the attempt that he sees that their old shell game no coming. "Periodic drives for en- longer suffices. On the other hand actment of bills to enforce the Republican politicians, who had Constitutional rights of Negroes begun to consider their newly and other minorities have in the acquired Negro vote as permapast been discounted by knowl- nent, are now terrified by the edgeable analysts, for the most storm of anger that swept every mission provided for in the

The widely held suspicion has speech against Jim-Crow terrorbeen that a desire to make po- ism requested by the Southern litical capital was the pervading Negro leaders.

motivation and failure to legislate was a foregone conclusion." Reviewing the bills introduced by the liberal Democrats in the an understanding with the Demo-Senate and Eisenhower's recommendations of last year, both of including Lyndon B. Johnson of which were "too late" for any Texas [Senate Majority leader] chance of passage but just in that a real opportunity to break members. Well, we lost the job, time to furnish campaign mate- the filibuster and pass a bill will boys, but at least we don't have rial, Morris concludes: "It seemed be afforded them early in the "And you can negotiate your servers that all of this wear down the opposing orators own contract, and then tell your was a sham battle, aimed solely by holding the Senate in contin-

members, 'Well, no pay raise, at making a record for one party boys, but at least we don't have or the other or one candidate or or the other to win support of of debate. They believe this can any Negroes in the local.'

for the Socialist Workers Party, appeared before the ized in the South. What is needed railroad and telephone strikes of Supervisor's Committee on County, State and National 1955 will then realize its great Affairs here yesterday in sup-9port of the demand for a fair ordinance. (3) Selection of FEP potential.

employment practices ordinance commissioners by a conference Instead of fighting on the basis of such a program, the AFL-CIO with teeth in it. collapses in the face of the WCC

fire. It has not issued a single pamphlet or made a single broadcast in the South to explain favor of FEP. Starting Feb. 13, minority peoples of San Franand defend its anti-segregation stand. As Franz Daniels, AFL-CIO organizer in Washington against the city ordinance. said, the problem is being left "pretty much to the local peo-

The organizing of white-collar prospect was strengthened when could best protect their demoworkers is a very important job. Leo Halley, chairman of the cratic rights and thus further But is it likely that the AFL-CIO committee, denied the request of the purposes of the ordinance." will undertake that job with any FEP opponents for a six-month In asking for prison penalities, more zeal than the Southern delay to duplicate (in their favor, she pointed out that wrist-slapdrive? If George Meany's Coun- of course), a previous six-month ping token fines would not cil is unable to come to the aid study made by the Council For deter giant corporations such as of those who are already fighting Civic Unity. This study demon- the largest petroleum company a powerful anti-labor force like strated that discrimination not in the west which still refuses

be spent on literature and broad- it likely they will try to seriously but was wide spread.

Halley, however, has insisted ployees.

that two crippling amendments be added to the already weak ordinance. One would prohibit Introduction Dance organizations from lodging complaints with the commission, and the other would give the em- Slated by Socialist ployer the right to require United States citizenship and local residence as conditions of employment.

Joan Jordan proposed three major points for strengthening the ordinance: (1) Increase of penalty provisions to include jail A full program of entertainof the seven-man unpaid com- ments committee.



"The Socialist Workers Party Yesterday's action concluded a believes that the ordinance should three-week hearing where pro- provide for a meeting of all ponents presented arguments in major organizations of the

of minority peoples.

the opponents will be allowed cisco, which would select the equal time to present their case members of the commission," Mrs. Jordan said "We believe Indications are, however, that the commissioners selected by the ordinance will pass. This the minority peoples themselves

A few million dollars should the White Citizens Councils, is only existed in San Francisco to hire minority peoples even as building-service (janitorial) em-

**Youth Group** 

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 - The American Youth for Socialism will hold its first party, Saturday evening, Feb. 23, at 116 University Place.

sentences. (2) Establishment of ment, dancing and singing is a small, paid commission instead being planned by the arrange-

> According to Bert Deck, chairman of the newly formed group, the AYS intends to cooperate with other youth organizations in struggles of the day.

"For example we are now supporting the movement to free Frank Santana, the Puerto Rican youth now serving a twenty-five year to life sentence for the socalled 'murder of the model boy,'" said Deck.

Details concerning this and other projected activities' will be announced at the Feb. 23 social.

The AYS holds regular meetings every Tuesday evening at 8 P.M., at its headquarters, 116 University Place. The public is invited. All inquiries should be sent to the above address.

"So you can handle your own grievances, and then tell your any Negroes in the local.'

"If that's what you want, take Negro voters in the 1956 Presi- be done."

casts until every man, woman rouse others to battle? **.Civil Rights Legislation** 

(Continued from page 1) | dential and Congressional elec-D. Morris, a Washington cor- tions."

The wholesale switch of large respondent of the New York Times (Feb. 10) describes the dif- numbers of Negro voters to the

ferences between past civil rights Republican column as a protest SWP PROPOSALS

part, as insincere gestures to- Negro community after Eisenward a powerful bloc of voters. hower's refusal to make the

> Already, according to the N.Y. Times article cited, a bi-partisan group of Northern Senators "have cratic leaders [of the Senate],