

Negroes Demand Eisenhower Act Now Southern Bomb Victims

CP Convention Paves Way For Discussion of Program

By Harry Ring

vention of the Communist Party gress, but it greatly facilitates is the fact that the delegates, by the possibility for the party a majority of itwo to one, blocked membership to come to grips with the efforts of party Chairman the political issues causing the William Z. Foster to force the crisis. organization back into its pre-

20th Congress bureaucratic DENNIS IN BETWEEN straightjacket. In taking this stand the delegates rejected the strong desire on the part of the declared views of the bureau- delegates to avert a split in the crats in the Kremlin. With this party. But within that framework adt of defiance a 30-year period a majority wanted to end the of political subservience to the political domination of the Mos-Soviet bureaucracy is now draw- cow hierarchy and to prevent reing to a close.

This action of the convention reaucratic "monolithic unity" was not sufficient to resolve the within the party. The convention

By Fred Halstead

The most significant feature political crisis which has wracked | further demonstrated that no of the recently concluded con- the party since the 20th Con- part of the top leadership enjoys the full confidence of the ranks. For almost a year a fierce factional struggle for control of the party has gone on between the Foster and Gates wings of the leadership, with Dennis attempt-

ing to play a balance-of-power role between them. In the election The convention revealed a of the 20 members-at-large to the national committee, the Foster group won the smallest number of places on the committee. The Gates forces won a larger number but did not get a majority. establishment of a regime of bu-

Almost half of those elected have not publicly committed themselves to definitive support

of either group but can be best described as more "anti-Foster" than "pro-Gates." While the failure of either wing to capture control permits Dennis to continue playing the middle of the road, there is no visible evidence of a crystalized Dennis "tendency" in

DIDN'T WORK THIS TIME The Stalinist-type efforts to influence the convention's outcome

received a crushing blow from the rank and file steelfrom abroad undoubtedly helped Feb. 12. Well over one-third of | trol of the election machinery ittip the scales against Foster. In the votes for the office of inter- self as well as the local and in-1945 a Moscow-inspired letter national president of the union ternational press and treasuries. from French OP leader Duclos The Big Business press, which was sufficient to bring about the Protest Committee, Donald Ra- has long hailed McDonald as a dumping of party leader Earl (Continued on page 4) Browder and an abrupt shift in

either the leadership or the



Mrs. Otis Flowers of Birmingham, Ala., holds up injured hand of her 12-year-old son Arthur for photographers. The Flowers' home in a primarily white section of the city was bombed New Year's Eve by racists. All three were at home when the bomb struck.



Senator James Eastland (D. - Miss.), head of the on the issue as presented by Max Internal Security Subcommittee, announced through coun- The old contract had expired files, shotguns and bombs, partic-

ILA Nears Settlement **In NY Strike**

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, FEB. 18-Leaders of the Independent International Longshoremen's Associa- about the white - supremacist agreement with the New York Shippers' Association for settlement of the dockers' strike on the eastern seaboard.

The proposed settlement has to be first ratified by the membership of the ILA. Then it would be used as a basis for contract settlements by other longshore locals up and down the eastern seaboard. It would further set Washington. the pattern for the contracts of allied waterfront crafts such as the checkers, dock carpenters etc. Then the ILA's strike would

be officially over. In the proposed settlement the longshoremen have won a 32cents an hour increase to be split into three installments. They would receive an immediate 18cents an hour raise, seven cents an hour more next year and another seven cents the following

year. For the first time they have won paid holidays. They have secured two paid holidays for this year, one more for the second year and an additional one for the third year of the contract.

STRIKE RENEWED

The property contract also provides additional welfare contributions and increased vacation allowance. For dockers on steady gangs, who have worked fairly regularly during the past five years, it can mean a three-weeks vacation. Others would get proportionally less.

This contract was offered after clared that "our people though a five-day walkout of all long- resolute and courageous, cannot a five-day walkout of all long- resolute and courageous, cannot shoremen from Main to Virginia. be expected to be targets for ri-Labor Must Build

March on Washington Promised if Southern Terror Is Not Halted

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 18-Ninety-seven Southern Negro leaders wired President Eisenhower, Feb. 14, that they would organize a mass march on Washington if he maintains his silence

tion have reached a tentative reign of terror in the South. The capitalists are silent, Dixie terror-97, who are spokesmen of Negro ists are on the rampage. The communities in 10 Southern president at his last press constates met in New Orleans last ference said he could not go week in a two-day Southern Ne- South for a statement against gro Leaders Conference. Refer- racist violence because of his ring to the telegram to Eisenhow- | crowded daily agenda. He is curer, Rev. Martin Luther King of rently in Thomasville, Georgia, Montgomery, Ala., told the press on a two week golfing-hunting that thousands of Negroes, joined vacation. Washington's indifferby thousands of whites in both ence to the heroic Southern Nethe North and South would go to groes whose very lives are in danger throughout the Dixie Terror Lashing out at the President's

Belt is being interpreted by racist mobsters as consent. silence the Negro spokesmen de-

A massive March On Washington is the answer of the embattled fighters for racial equality. "If you, our President, cannot come South to relieve our harassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital, to call the nation's attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children," said the Feb. 14 telegram sent by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference.

The wires drafted at the conclusion of a two-day session also unged Eisenhower to call a White House conference on the maintenance of law and order. In addition telegrams were sent to US Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, asking him to meet with Negro leaders and U.S. districts attornevs to discuss "continued violence in the South." Vice-President Nixon was asked to make a report on the South similar to the one he made on Hungary.

Key Steel Districts Vote Against McDonald's Rule ranks. FEB. 19 — The bureaucracy in the powerful United Steelworkers of America headed by David J. McDonald

was greater than had been expected by even the staunchest supporters of the protest movement.

workers in the union election,

went to the candidate of the Dues

rick. A majority of the votes

were cast for Rarick in several

major steel centers including two

The vote for McDonald's op-

ponent, a 37-year-old grievance

committeeman at the United

States Steel Irvin Works near

Pittsburgh who was unknown

outside his own Local 2227 until the dues-protest began last year,

Pittsburgh districts.

OFFICIALS BACK M'DONALD.

Total unofficial returns reported in Fittsburgh as of Feb. 18 gave McDonald 163,000 votes to Rarick's 84,000. The official victor will be McDonald who will retain his post, but the real victors are the rank-and-file who turned out a huge ground-swell vote in opposition to the McDonald machine in the first election for president in the history of the steetworkers union.

The large vote for the Dues Protest candidates in the major steel centers is even more impressive considering the fact that practically all the bureaucrats in the local unions and all the incumbent district directors lined up solidly behind McDonald. This gave the machine complete con-



Members of two Pittsburgh Steelworkers Locals last fall ples for us." turned thumbs down on David MEMBERSHIP'S DESIRE J. McDonald's demand for a In adopting the report, the dues increase. McDonald, the convention rejected Foster's view steel union's President has to that it should welcome the "sage scrape by on an income of only \$50,000 a year.

Sel, Robert Morris, the launching of a public hearing Feb. Sept. 30, and after fruitless ne-Hitting at the Duclos letter, 20 on the proceedings of the Communist Party Convention. Eastland says he wants to know if the Communist to strike only to be slapped down of these deadly weapons." Weiss declared: "We cannot agree with any position which Party is "independent" from Moscow.

implies that some other party will If a political party, a labor organization, a fraternal bring settlement of the dispute interpret for us what the pringroup or any other association doesn't have the right to but merely postponed the strike ciples of Marxism-Leninism are while all that we are called upon hold a closed convention without the prying nose of East- until five days ago. to do is apply as creatively as land butting into the proceedings, what democratic rights we can their interpretation." are left in this country? It is necessary, Weiss contin-

Eastland's committee has subpoenaed Communist Par- and material help that they could ued, "to declare clearly, unmistakably and publicly that it is ty leader Eugene Dennis to testify on convention proceed- rely on in a battle against a our party which must interpret ings and announced in addition that one of the impartial these principles as best we can, civil liberty observers who had been invited to sit in on ment-they faced an impressive that no other party in the interthe Convention, Carl Rachlin of the New York American and unbroken solidarity. The ILA national Communist movement Civil Liberties Union, would be the first witness. no matter in what esteem we hold it, should be assumed to have

Any political party or any other organization has a any authoritarian, ex cathedra right to confine its proceedings to members without the the ILA's other enemies, the loyright to interpret these princisurveillance of self-appointed thought-control cops or any- alty of the rank and file docker to

one else. This right becomes a mockery if witch-hunting his organization constitutes a forlegislative "investigators" are going to be allowed to grill the participants of a private meeting.

We protest this outrage against civil liberties, Sen- about the ILA leadership, but ator Eastland! Keep your hands off!

with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Government intervention did not 'Eisenhower that they are faced

It became obvious then that the shippers had to make some real concessions. Despite all the moral union that stood alone-an outlaw from the official labor movetion, also said they have made no arrests.

ment's contention.

has many enemies and its every **KASPER IN CLINTON** soft spot was probed. But to the

This is the eighth bombing frustration of the shippers and since Clinton's school integration last fall. Last week, John Kasper. rabid White Citizens Council agimidable obstacle. The union's tator broke ground for a new strength is not so much in any \$20,000 headquarters in Clinton, illusions that the docker has Tennessee, and addressed 188 racist followers in the county

courthouse with official permis-(Continued on page 4)

sion. A 14 year old interracial, religious communal farm, Koinonia in Americus, Georgia, has been dynamited, burned and shot at, destroying \$13,000 worth of property. Now attempts are being "states' rights," is the governmade on the lives of these Ne-

EISENHOWER

gro and white farmers. On Jan. The conduct of the oil monop- 29, a bullet was fired at the car olies has led Senator Matthew M. in which their watchman was sit-Nealy (D-W. Va.), a member of ting, narrowly missing his head. the anti-trust and public lands An overnight visitor was awak-Committee to charge that "The ened with a shot through his hat the now defunct Civil Rights Conny has the full power to regulate oil lobby appears to be more beside his bed. On Feb. 1, twelve powerful than the President, the blasts were fired into the main Congress, and the People." He cluster of residences by shotguns crease of oil production. The strongly implied that the major from two cars; some of the chil-

> On Feb. 9. just before midnight. What worries Nealy and a a wooden cross was burned in number of his colleagues is how front of a Negro worker's home. the oil companies' hold-up will af- In Georgia, the State Senate fect "national defense"-that is, adopted a resolution declaring U.S. Big Business' preparations the 14th and 15th Amendments for World War III. Higher gas- null and void. Copies of the resoline prices for working people olution were sent to Eisenhower, here or unemployment and strict the Chief Justice and Congressgas rationing for working people men. The amendments under rain Europe is not his concern. cist attack, forbid states to "de-Just the same Nealy's indict- prive any person of life, liberty

ment of the oil monopolies should or property except by due process of law" and assert that be heeded. The labor movement's no person shall be deprived of program to smash the "super "the right to vote because of government" of the oil corpora- race, color or previous condition of servitude." The Georgia legistions should be a demand for lature has a resolution requesting nationalization of the oil industry the impeachment of six U.S. Suunder control of the oil workers' preme Court justices.

As the Negro leaders wired Ford Local 600

with what appears to be an or- DETROIT, FEB. 16-Two imporganized campaign of terror and tant actions were voted almost violence," a dynamite explosion in unanimously last Sunday by the General Council of Ford Local the heart of the Negro section of Clinton, Tenn., injured a wo- 600, United Auto Workers. One man and baby and damaged 30 was the call for the formation homes. It wrecked a restaurant, of a new political party based on the labor movement; the other caving in its ceiling and walls. was the unequivocal backing of a Police, who said the blast shook prominent witch-hunt victim. most of the town's 4,000 popula-

The actions were proposed in a report on behalf of the local's officers presented to the General

Council by President Carl Stellato. The resolution on political action, after tracing the results of past support of the Democratic Party, called upon the coming international convention of the UAW to start the ball rolling toward formation of a farmerabor party in the United States.

The resolution further urged that in the interim the UAW take the leadership in undertaking, wherever feasible, in the various state, county and municipal elections to sponsor labor candidates, who will run independently of either the Republican or Democratic Parties."

In another part of his report, Stellato called the union's attention to the case of Arthur Mc-Phaul, former state secretary of gress, who was recently convicted of "contempt of Congress" and is now awaiting a prison term because he courageously refused to furnish CRC membership lists to a Congressional witch-hunt committee.

Defending McPhaul's right to refuse membership lists under such circumstances, Stellato declared it to be labor's duty to give support to all who are victimized for upholding the American people's democratic rights. He urged Local 600's unit chairmen to cooperate with McPhaul in the efforts to win a reversal of the conviction in the courts.

The witch-hunt victim was given the floor to address the meeting. McPhaul explained how the issues and principles at stake in his fight coincide with the interests of the labor movement as a whole.

The resolution for a Farmer-While Eisenhower and other (Continued on page 4)

Oil Cartels Cut Supply to Europe for Profit Grab

(Continued on page 2)

until last year. Throughout

his long career he was known

to the public as an unswerv-

ing defender of the Bill of

Rights. For his participation

in cases involving civil liber-

ties he never accepted any

By Vincent Copeland

It used to be said that Warren the 1920's was "soaked in oil." to the great resources of Texas But the modern oil lobby, the oil and to the controlled and drasbanks and their friends, have drenched the present administration in the stench of oil profits ing the valves. even more effectively (although so far without a Teapot Dome scandal) than they did the "Harding gang."

In those ancient days of 1920- companies to supply more oil. 21, it was merely a matter of Eisenhower says that this "is not stealing lush oil lands from the the American way of doing American people. Today, the things."

stealing of oil reserves goes on, to In the meantime, Oil producbe sure, But that is only petty tion in Texas was actually relarceny. For now a few giant oil duced instead of increased. What companies own so much, and did go up was prices. Europe is they are so brazen, that they crying for crude oil. It is receivarbitrarily close or open the oil ing only 65% of its needs. And valves of nearly the whole world besides paying the higher Amerdepending upon what's in it for ican price, it is forced to buy huge quantities of much higherthem. priced gasoline from American

"FREE ENTERPRISE"

suppliers in order to get any Only a few months ago, during crude at all. (Europe has its own the Suez crisis, but before the refineries which are now partial actual blockade of the canal, we ly closed with consequent unemwere told by sober and scientific ployment.) The American conauthorities that U.S. oil produc- sumer is high-jacked for a gaso-

G. Harding's administration in be closed. References were made by propagandized "shortage." the Eisenhower Administration tically reduced flow of oil in set up a Middle East Emergency Texas wells that could be stepped Committee. This committee is not up considerably, merely by turn- composed of any government rep-U.S. Departments of State, De- committee being set up. The com- companies have not even both-

tion could very easily take care line and fuel oil price increases chairman is Stewart Coleman, forced to produce on the grounds Company's action is to challenge of the needs of Europe for a few on grounds of the "Mideast vice-president of Standard Oil of the "emergency.") months in case the canal should crisis" and the artificial but high- Co. of New Jersey (largest of ditional legal personality to aid American oil companies, and Supposedly to meet the crisis, probably the biggest and wealthitheir stand besides the "committee" so obligingly set up by the est corporation in the world).

TEXAS RAILROAD CO.

Railroad Company. This compa-The government has of course, resentatives, and is in reality a politely asked the oil companies the flow of oil in Texas wells. But this has not happened. The barrier to any real government to increase production. But the It has refused to allow an infense and Interior, all immediate- mittee consists solely of the rep- ered to reply. (Were the oil work- Eisenhower Administration isn't oil companies were a "super gov- dren were sprinkled with shot. ly concerned in the matter, refuse resentatives of the 15 major oil ers to go on strike in the pres- doing anything about this, either, ernment," to put any pressure on the oil companies. The committee's ent crisis, they could legally be To challenge the Texas Railroad

Zacharias Chafee – Civil Liberties Defender

ties, died in Boston on Feb. 8 at the age of 71. Chafee joined the faculty of the sage of legislation limiting the Harvard Law School in 1916 political freedom of the Amerand was an active professor ican people.

Not unnaturally, he was long a target for the House Un-American Activities Committee and for Senator Mc-Carthy who in 1952 called him "dangerous" to the United States.

and pen were at the disposal of those fighting civil liberties cases or opposing the pas-

Since the last decade of his life coincided with the witch hunt, much of his writing consists of devastating analyses of the loyalty purge, the McCarran Act, and similar repressive laws. Of these he wrote: "To punish men drastically who have done nothing wrong

merely for fear they might do something wrong. Such a practice is wholly alien to the traditions of English-speaking freedom."

The oil companies have an ad-

government. This is the Texas

union.

Zechariah Chafee Jr., vetpayment. Moreover, his tongue eran champion of civil liberTHE MILITANT



(The following letter is in response to our invitation for comment on the statement of the National Committee of the Socialist, Workers Party on the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. which we published in our issue of Feb. 11. Further comment on the statement by organizations and individuals is invited. - Editor.)

Editor, the Militant:

SWP on "A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions" represents a serious and valuable contribution to the process of regroupment of the socialist left now underway full of such PEACETIME legin America. The 12 points listed call attention to the most islation on the statute books, important political problems facing American radicals, and some of which the trade union can serve as a focus for a fruitful and loyal discussion. However, there is a danger that unless concrete steps are soon taken to regroup the forces of American socialism in the field of real action, our discussions of the poli- legislation is pending. But we tics of regroupment, however interesting, will merely remain on paper. Specifically, I suggest that all the existing left-socialist groups and publications get together to form | since the Civil War? a Committee of United Action for Workers Democracy. (The title is just a suggestion.) The amount of political agreement required to form such a committee could be quite minimal — about the only political prerequisite I is only one of timing. They are only to such cases which the purwould like to see laid down is support of all freedom strug- justified in time of upheaval but gles of workers and oppressed peoples, whether in Hungary, Algeria or Montgomery, Alabama.

The benefits to our socialist cause from the formation that the laws are intended only of such a committee would be real, immediate, and tangi- for such "rebellious" emergen ble. For instance, during the past week the UN has been cies. discussing the "Algerian situation" (diplomatic doubletalk for the French genocidal murder of the Algerian freedom fighters). A united committee of the American left in the Daily Worker, Jan. 28, would have been able to organize a big demonstration of gives the lie to George Morris: solidarity with the Algerian people and condemnation of The truth is that the so-called French imperialism — a demonstration which could have mild and cautious compared to given tremendous encouragement to the genuine democra- that passed by the Presidential tic and socialist forces in France as well as to the people Council of Hungary for the Regof Algeria, at a moment when U.S. imperialism was lining uation of Summary Penal Proup 100% with its French brother. Many similar opportunities are sure to arise in the coming months. The Ameri- confront a powerful and undecan socialist movement can use these opportunities if it feated labor movement. is prepared to act unitedly, but will probably lose them if it remains split apart, no matter how much fine talk of "regroupment" is floating around.

The committee I propose could perform other important functions beside the central one of united action. It duced by the witch hunt in this could, for instance, publish a magazine in which the various tendencies could present their ideas. At present, the felony, punishable by a term in discussion of regroupment is hampered by the fact that the state prison for not more the adherents of each viewpoint tend to read only the than 20 years for any person, publications in which their own position is presented. But with the intent to injure the a common publication in which a free and honest discussion is conducted would eliminate this difficulty and erty used for national defense, to enormously facilitate a genuine interchange of ideas. This sabotage or destroy, or to atcommittee would be the natural sponsor for forums on political problems of socialist regroupment throughout the country. It would also co-ordinate political action in support of socialist candidates whenever election campaigns NI I WWW take place.

But most important for the achievement of genuine socialist regroupment: members of the dispersed and iso-ers to use the law against strikes newly-elected members-at-large strong opposition in the union sions in the Communist parties in 1945, and then something that happened last week. lated socialist groups of today have to work together to achieve their common aims before they will have real confidence in each other's integrity as socialists and willingness to learn-from each other and from shared experiences. And without this confidence, even a fruitful discussion of regroupment is virtually impossible.

Comments on SWP Kadar's Death Penalty for Striking

By Myra Tanner Weiss

George Morris undertook the shameful job in the Feb. 15 issue of the Daily Worker of defending the death penalty for strikers decreed by the Kadar regime in Hungary. His defense of the decree, as is usual in such matters. begins with an attempt to deny its real nature.

Morris states that the "decree has been falsely described in the Feb. 13, 1957

commercial press as providing a death penalty for 'strikers.'" He The statement of the National Committee of the calls attention to a translation of the text published in the Daily Worker and says it is "an antisabotage decree. We have a bushel leaders of America protested for fear that certain union activities could draw penalties up to death or long imprisonment. More such have no revolutionary situation or a state of armed rebellion, and we have had nothing of the sort

U.S. LAWS

Morris here implies that the crime of these laws in the U.S. not in time of PEACE. The labor-haters will quite agree with Morris and hasten to assure him

However, the text of the Hum-

garian decree as translated by Herbert Aptheker and published "sabotage" laws in the U.S. are cedure. The U.S. capitalists. as

yet, have to be careful for they First, let us look at the Tnucks

Act, passed in the Michigan legislature in 1952 which should serve as a good example of the also refused his demand for a

"sabotage" laws that were proin his declaration that the party was suffering from "a grave crisis of leadership" which "has of the law read: "It shall be a done more to disorient the party than the government attack on Thus the convention gave expression to the deep-seated desire United States, the state of Michof the membership to win the igan, or any facilities or propright to chart the political course of the party without external dic-

repression. Alt the same time the property, facility or service that delegates would not give conis being used in connection with trol of the party to any section national defense." of the leadenship. The convention The labor movement understood correctly that the vague

tempt to sabotage or destroy, any

closed with unity declarations by all of the top leaders, but the diformulation of "intent" was vision among them continues. The enough to enable the labor-hatof the National Committee estab- ranks to his bureaucratic ma- of the world as already demoneven though stril lished an eleven-member secrecifically named as an "injury" to tariat based solely on New York property, facilities, etc. The law was therefore attacked as a repressive anti-labor instrument in the hands of the bosses.

Sauce for the Goose



Pictured here are some of the 600,000 steel workers in the U.S. during their 1955 nation-wide strike. They were using their primary weapon for defense of their interests. Those who, recognize the working class as the only force capable of leading the march to socialism will uphold this basic right of the workers in every land, whether capitalist or non-capitalist.

eration of such plants by illegal entry or any other way, or inciting to the commission of such act; however all acts enumerated in this subsection are applicable nose sought was mass work interference (or stoppage).

"(g) Purposeful endangering of the public transportation sys tem "(h) Organizing against the

People's Republic or the democratic order "(i) Actual rebellion

"(i) disloyalty."

Thus we see that it is not nec ssary for the Kadar government to prove that an actual "mass work interference (or stoppage)" took place. It is enough that a strike was the "purpose."

a night to take measures in the midst of a life and death struggle while silently accepting such legislation in a capitalist land that faces mo internal threat?' Revolutionary socialists certainly do not accept silently "such

egislation" in a capitalist land whether it faces an internal 'threat" or not. They would not accept "such legislation" anywhere. The workers have a right to strike against any government.

death penalty for strikers be-

Morris asks, "How can anyone ernment is a "workers' and peasdeny the Hungarian government ants government." Is it so difficult for him to remember that he had been defending Stalin's executions of "traitors, spies and counter-revolutionists" on the same basis-only to learn about a year ago that these "counterrevolutionists" were innocent, frame-up victims of Stalin's murder machine? The science of Marxism may

be considered by many as very complex-and certainly is for beginners. But there is one very elementary aspect of Marxism that almost anyone in the working class can understand. That is

right because the workers, as a of automation in the United anti-working-class politics every-

history. That does not mean on the striking power of the laevery strike is automatically good bor movement.

and must be supported. A strike Soviet planned economy, won to prevent employment of Nein the Revolution of 1917, made possible the industrialization of groes by backward and prejudiced workers, for example, Russia. But the subsequent would be condemned. The workgrowth of the bureaucracy and ers have been and can be wrong. its repression of the Soviet workers resulted in the tendency But their right to strike is fundamental to freedom and prog to increase production through lengthening working hours, inress. Anyone, or any government tensification of the labor process that would deny this right only reveals its anti-working class (Stakhanovism), and low wages. In this way industrialization was character. actually slowed.

BASIC WEAPON

mental effect on the development

A great impulsion toward tech-

nological progress under capital-

ism has been and is still provided

of the planned economy.

The victory of the political The working class is the exrevolution in the Soviet orbit, the ploited class, the indispensable liberation of the working class, class, the productive class. Its will yield a great new leap in right to strike is a means for inproduction and ultimately in the tervening decisively in defense of productivity of labor. its living standards and its free-In defending the repression of

dom. If a "socialist" state gives the working class in Hungary, the workers reason to strike, then | Morris puts himself in such a posomething is wrong with that sition that he half-apologizes for state. And even George Morris anti-labor legislation in the should know by now, after being United States. He argues, would told by Khrushchev, that somelabor leaders "favor a union covthing is wrong in the Soviet orbit. | erup to wreckers and dynamiters The fact that the bureaucratic who infiltrate an American union caste in the Soviet Union de- and use it? It is well known how stroyed the right of the workers gangsters, racketeers and an asto strike not only enslaved the sortment of crooks use the Amerworkers; it also had a very detri- ican trade union movement."

The proponents of these antilabor laws used the same argument. Then Morris says "what's good for the goose should be good for the gander." The repressive laws of the capitalist class by the right of the workers to strike. When the workers can are used to justify the repressive laws in Hungary. Then doesn't protect their living standards, the capitalists are compelled to in- that also work backwards? Don't crease their rate of profit the repressive laws in Hungary through the more expensive justify the repression of the American workers? methods of improved mechaniza-

With this kind of logic it is tion rather than an increase in working hours, intensity of laeasy to see how the defense of the right of the workers to bor or a squeeze on wages. The the bureaucratic caste in the Sostrike, A Marxist defends that post-World War II development viet orbit leads inevitably to

CP Convention Paves Way "durable" era of peaceful co-ex-| shchev is very much alive, and (Continued from page 1)

advice" of the Duclos letter. It istence has little relation to re- reeking of anti-Semitism and Great-Russian chauvinism. ality. The party membership will purge of the leadership contained have to reconsider the draft res-WHAT LIES AHEAD

olution's rejection of the Leni-The Hungarian revolution for nist thesis as "obsolete." That national independence and workthesis maintains that the war-

ers' democracy was the flashmakers will be restrained and lightning of mass opposition to defeated only by the revolutioncontinuing Stalinist policies. Polary class struggle of the workers ish working-class struggle and

and colonial peoples of the world. resistiveness among Soviet work-Convention endorsement of support to the Democratic party ers and students, substantiate the and to the official leaders of the fact of a rising revolutionary opposition to the privileged bureau labor, liberal and Negro movetation or internal bureaucratic ment cannot serve the declared cracy. Stalinist oppression has intention of ending the party's given rise to the political revolution of the masses of the Soviet isolation from the advanced sec-Union and East Europe-a revotions of the ranks of labor or lution that will restore Soviet the Negro people.

democracy. The stunning setback suffered This irrepressible historic deby McDonald in the steel union elections dramatically reveals the



Boyhood memories are mostly about the time you fell through the ice at the skating pond, or the time you started to run away from home, and things like that.

Well I remember all those things, all right. But I also remember sitting on the front porch steps with the other fellows on summer evenings, and having long, exciting, although usually aimless talks. I can't for the life of me remember just what we said (although I'm sure we took. up all the problems from baseball to the universe) -except for once.

It was around 1928 or 1929. And I'm sure I would have forgotten this conversation just like all the others, velopment will have its repercus- except for something that happened many years later ----

On the particular summer night in question one of the Reuthers and Dubinskys, who lution. The convention's assertion fellows told us about a remarkable story he had read in Popular Mechanics Magazine. "Did you know," he asked us, "that there is enough internal energy in a cubic inch of copper to drive a railroad train around the world without any coal?" We didn't. But it was certainly something to talk about. So we went on all evening, and figured how many cubic inches of copper it would take to power a space ship to the moon, and things like that. We weren't exactly statesmen of the arts of peace in those bloodthirsty boyhood days. But it didn't occur to any of us, any more than it occurred to Popular Mechanics Magazine at that time - that this wonderful energy would be anything but constructive and helpful to mankind. When they dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 I suddenly remembered that front porch conversation 16 years or so before. And I thought Popular Mechanics hadn't hit things exactly on the nose, but here it was, nevertheless, - enough energy to take a trainload of people to the moon. But it was being used to send a hundred thousand people to Kingdom Come instead. And I thought, - well, maybe this Uranium 235 was only good time espionage act of 1954 which for bombs, and they just hadn't got around to that copper cube idea. But I was wrong. Last week the submarine, "Nautilus" finished a trip equal to two and three quarters times around the world without refueling once. Do you know how much fuel oil she would have used in a regular engine? 720,000 gallons, 90 railway tank cars full. Instead, she used Uranium 235. The total amount of it for the whole trip was about the size of a golf ball. The scientists say that some of it was wasted, too. Of course a submarine isn't a pleasure boat. But the Nautilus' trip sure proves that non-military ships and trains could do the same thing. Good old Popular Mecha anics was right. Now, all those brainy scientists of thirty, forty and fifty years ago who started this atomic-energy business never intended it to blow up the human race. They were thinking like us kids were, of all the wonderful things you could do. But here the scientists are today, making atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, guided missiles and intercontinental atomic war-head rockets! If we can just defeat the Big Business war-makers, get all the world together and take those smart scientists Meanwhile defendant Jack So- off those jobs and put them on building things instead ble collapsed in his prison cell of blowing them up, we'll have it pretty wonderful. As the boys on the front porch would say nowadays, "Life would be a dreamboat."

Any government which seeks to keep itself in power by denying this right, only demonstrates its historic doom. George Morris defends the

cause he believes the Kadar gov- class, are the progressive force States was largely conditioned where.

Shane Mage

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS On the Theory and Practice Of Revolutionary Socialism

TATE	TTATAT	THE OTHER TREE	
кγ			
DI.	LEUN	TROTSKY	

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The IWW — The Great Anticipation	plains: "Hungari
The Road to Peace	here say the cor
The History of American Trotskyism	in the Western a
Paper 1.75	term 'anti-Commu
The Struggle for a Proletarian Party Cloth 2.75	all-inclusive descrive volutionary forces
Paper 2.00	truth, they say,
Cloth 2.75	vanguard and ma the rebellion were
	intellectuals and were more Marxis
OTHER	cialist than the men who were 're
Revolution in Hungary and the Crisis of Stalinism — By the National Committee of the SWP	ists' by and larg to accounts I hav
Negroes on the March - By Daniel Guerin 1.50	the revolution wa
Send for Complete Catalogue	men and women w day would elect to
PIONEER PUBLISHERS	socialist state — tionalized mines a
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.	ted lands - dem
and the second	a democratic right state for themsel

LAW INCLUDES STRIKERS. Now turning to the text of the same pattern of division will probably prevail. Kadar "anti-sabotage" law, as

Morris insists it should be called, The convention outcome means we see the following: First, the that the discussion in the party will continue. At the same time penalty: "Sentence in cases tried the prospects for the continuing under this decree may be death. The court, under given conditions exchange of views with other may mete out, instead of the radical tendencies remain good. death sentence, life sentence, or The party membership wants a sentence ranging from five to such a discussion and those in 15 years imprisonment." the leadership who would block such discussion are not in a posi-In Section 1 of the decree the following "crimes" are listed: tion to do so.

'(f) . . . the purposeful dam-ISSUES UNRESOLVED

aging of any water, gas and elec-The primary impetus for tric utility, or of any plant which deepening of the discussion stems furnishes vital supplies and which from the fact that all of the has been declared essential for basic political issues confronting bottom by Khrushchev's destrucpublic welfare, or the purposeful the party remain unresolved, in- tion of the Stalinist myth. But damaging of any plant essential cluding those issues which the the party leadership has avoided for the national defense; or the convention tried to resolve and any serious analysis of the real purposeful disturbance of the op-

those it avoided.

The adopted draft resolution will fare hadly against the test Hungarian Refugees of events. Its central thesis has already been shaken by world **Correct the Press** developments. The Suez crisis and Additional confirmation of he socialist content of the Hungarian revolution is conde dispatch sue of the N. Y. Militant Labor Kearney istortion of Forum refugees in ss and expresents an sources WALK ruption lies a film showing the magnificent buse of the fight against segregaiton connist' as an ducted by the Montgomery ption of re-Freedom Fighters. The clear Also Hear is that the NAT WEINSTEIN in body of formed of 'A Century of Struggle for vorkers who Equality, North and South" t. more So-Sun., Feb. 24 - 7:30 P.M. regime: of al Commune, according "The Eisenhower e gathered Doctrine" fought by ho even to-VINCE COPELAND keep their Staff Writer, the Militant with its na-Sun., March 3 - 7:30 P.M. nd distribuanding only 116 University Place to run the New York 3, N. Y.

chine. In the days ahead, the the election of the remaining 40 ilar opposition. The CP conven-

Crow

this inevitable process.

PROBLEM OF STALINISM The convention declared for

major campaign to win support in the ranks of the Negro movement. The recent presidential election demonstrates that CP support of the Democrats will be greeted with little sympathy by militant fighters against Jim

Equally decisive in the period ahead will be the great issues which the convention did not! even attempt to cope with. The equilibrium of the Communist Party was shattered from top to meaning and the social roots of

Stalinism. death. This question cannot be postponed. In whose interests did Stalin smash Soviet democracy? Why did he abandon Lenin's pothe declaration of the Eisenhower litical program? These are not doctrine underscore the fact that matters of academic historical the resolution's prognosis of a interest. Stalin is dead but Khru-



strated by the Hungarian revoresidence and did not even at- stand on the same basic program of political independence paves tempt to elect party officers. In as McDonald, will encounter sim- the road for a thoroughgoing discussion of these issues. Such a members of the national commit- tion resolution which pledges discussion will strengthen those tee by the state conventions, the them "cooperation" will not alter forces within the party which

seek a revolutionary socialist solution to the present crisis.

Three Indicted On Gov't Charges Of Soviet Espionage

The three persons arrested in the government's latest "Soviet spy" case were imprisoned with out bail, Feb. 13, after pleading not guilty to charges of conspiracv to violate the espionage law They are Jack Soble, his wife Myra and Jacob Albam, Arrested by FBI agents Jan. 25. they have been indicted under the peaceprovides a maximum penalty of

Presiding Federal Judge Noonan agreed to a defense request that no bail be set at this time. U.S. Attorney Williams requested that bail be set at \$100.000 each. Defense characterized the proposed bail as excessive and asked that it be given further time to study the government brief be-

fore making its own bail request. Commenting on the prosecution argument that such excessive bail was necessary to prevent the accused from fleeing to the Soviet Union, Judge Noonan observed that "if the USSR should be interested in their absconding, \$100,000 would not hinder or stand in the way.' The government charges that the defendants were paid by the Soviet Union to collect and transmit national security information A March 11 date has been set to hear further motions and set a trial date. Feb. 18, and prison officials announced he had suffered "a slight heart attack.'

Although the story of the "spies'" arrest was splashed across the front pages of most New York dailies, the story of the arraignment was buried in the back pages of all the papers.

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oription 68 per year figned articles by contrib-utors do not necessarily rep-resent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: #1.50 per year; \$230 for 6 Canadian: \$3.50 per ed Weekly in the Interests of the Working People rear; \$1.75 for 6 months. "Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York. N.Y., under the act of March THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Bundle Orders: 5 or more Phone: AL 5-746 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. copies 6c each in U.S., 7c Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS each in foreign countries. **Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES** Vol. XXI - No. 8 Monday, February 25, 1957

Two Views on CP Convention

The New York Times editors were pleased. Feb. 14. that a measure of independence from the Kremlin was shown by the Communist Party convention. They quoted the convention's declaration for the "right of friendly criticism of brother parties or the action of socialist governments" and accepted this as a shift toward independence - however "inadequate."

For a more "adequate" show of independence the Times editors recommend that the Communist Party renounce Marxism-Leninism. And although they have not said so explicitly as yet, they undoubtedly would also like the Communist Party to line up with U.S. imperialism's plans for world conquest.

Revolutionary socialists also welcomed a manifestation by the CP convention of independence from Kremlin dictation but for just the opposite reason. A break with the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy will allow Communist militants to elaborate a genuine Marxist-Leninist program.

For the Kremlin's ideology, though called "Marxist-Leninist" doesn't bear the faintest resemblance to the liberating theories of Marx and Lenin. The policies of the Kremlin stem from the needs of a privileged bureaucracy to repress the working class at home. They consist in attempts to bargain with the imperialist powers for preservation of the status-quo throughout the world.

The capitalist class in the U.S. had no difficulty in collaborating with the Kremlin when Stalin was framing up and cussions for some kind of Euexecuting his revolutionary opponents in ropean economic unification prothe Soviet Union. They did not demand duce concrete results, any formal that the American CP be independent of the Kremlin then. Nor did they make the most religible and powerful capdemand during World War II, when at italist anchor in Europe. Stalin's orders the American CP became the noisiest jingoists in the labor movement.

In those days, propagandists for American imperialism even painted Stalin as a hero in the "war for democracy." The Kremlin's dictatorial practices became a target for condemnation only when Amer- markets in Switzerland, Belgium ican imperialism launched the cold war against the Soviet orbit.

Then the imperialist propagandists pro- and Spain in doubt. Britain face ceeded to lump together Stalinism and similar dim prospects. Marxism-Leninism in order to put the stigma of Stalin's crimes on genuine Marxists and Leninists. They hoped there-| German trusts by the victorious by, to discredit socialist opposition to Big allies which placed enormous cap-Business' exploitative rule.

The discussion that is now developing in the ranks of the Communist Party will the outright confiscation order not, in the long run, give any pleasure to the N. Y. Times editors or other proponents of capitalism. As they break with Kremlin domination, militant workers and youth in the CP have already begun to On the day of the forced sale the distinguish between Stalinism and Leninism. When that process is completed the opposition to U.S. imperialism will be strengthened.

Anti-Semitism in Poland

An exodus of Jews from Poland is taking place. It is reported that passport applications by Jewish Poles have already passed the 25,000 mark. The total Jewish population of the country is estimated at between 35,000 and 70,000. This is all that remains of the pre-war Jewish community of 3,500,000 after World War II and the bestiality of the Nazi conquerors.

The hatred of Hitlerism based on the Polish people's own experience with being treated as second-class human beings and the replacement of Polish capitalism and landlordism with an economic system similar to that in the Soviet Union has not prevented a resurgence of barbarous anti-Semitism. Why?

Anti-Semitism is a bitter legacy from Poland's past. The pre-war regime of capitalists and landlords had no quarrel with Hitler over anti-Semitism. They antedated Hitler on this score and anti-Semitism ran deep in the fabric of semi-feudal Polish capitalism. The change in Poland's social system was brought about not by a revolution but by the military-bureaucratic power of the Kremlin. This meant that the tremendous therapeutic and educational experience against anti-Semitism and every other form of reaction that a socialist revolution embodies was denied the Polish people. Instead Poland became a deformed workers' state carrying over from its past a much heavier load of backwardness than necessary. And piled on this were all the cynical vices of the puppets imposed by the bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state in the USSR. For the degeneration in the USSR had gone so far that anti-Semitism, almost eradicated by the Russian Revolution, was being nurtured by Stalin. Once again a bankrupt ruling stratum was employing the age-old historical trick of making the Jews a scapegoat for its own crimes. The anti-Semitism of the present ruling clique in the Kremlin and of the pro-Kremlin section of the Polish Communist Party is nakedly clear. During the October days when the Gomulka supporters

forced a measure of independence for Poland, Khrushchev lashed out at them as agents of U.S. imperialism and of Zionism, a reversion to the language of the Slansky quirements of NATO and the trial. So permeated with anti-semitism are favorable industrial and resource Stalin's heirs, that even in an inter- structure of the country itself, view with a Canadian Communist Party West Germany. Drastic post-war leader in which he was denying anti-Sem- | currency reforms wiped out small itism. Khrushchev betrays the crudest business competition internally anti-Semitism. Among his charges against and the heavy influx of refugees from former German-held ter Soviet Jews were the allegation that in ritories provided cheap labor. one section they had not promptly cleaned their streets, that they built too many

synagogues, etc. Direct incitement to violence against monopolists were ready to em-Jews is but another crime of the Natolin bark on the next stage in their clique in the Polish CP. This Stalinist or plans. Both Britain and France pro-Kremlin group tried by propaganda means to place the blame for Poland's low living standards on the Jews. It has covertly encouraged the current outbursts of terror which anti-Kremlin Communist leaders in Poland describe as "raving anti-Semitism."

ner of U.S. capitalism in a joint plan to achieve the same aims. To a very considerable extent the hegemony of German capital in Europe has already been achieved. Should the present displan would only underline this fact. West Germany is today the port field.

BASIS FOR COMEBACK

Hard hit by the phenomenal resurgence of the West German capitalists are the French and British industrialists. West Germany has out-produced, out-invested and out-exported them. Even the traditionally French and the Netherlands are being lost and an increasing struggle

places the French margin in Italy Paradoxically, it was the postwar policy of de-concentration and democratization of the West & Halske A.G., by 1951 had begun to export equipment and in-

stallations of considerable magital resources in the hands of the nitude to South America. Sister German magnates. U.S. high companies of this concern exist Commissioner McCloy rescinded in most South American countries today. The contract with the against German industrialist war nationalized Argentinian Telecriminals. This made it mandaphone company is one of the tory that the forced sale of cerlargest that country has signed tain branches of the trusts would with a foreign concern. Siemens be accompanied by full payment. has undertaken to build a manufacturing unit for telephone Krupps became the richest famequipment in Argentina that will ily in Europe and Friedrich Flick, make it independent of foreign another Hitler backer, received supply in that field. Huge con-\$31 million for some of his holdtracts for telephone installations ings. It was with the help of such and supplies in Venezuela folsums of ready cash that reconlowed thereafter. In Nicaragua, struction of the economic em Siemens secured the contract pire was made possible. with the War Ministry in com-U.S. policy and aid (\$9 billion petition with the U.S. General in W. Germany and only \$5 bil-

Electric Corporation, despite the lion in France), the coldwar fact that the country is domiagainst the Soviet bloc, the outnated by U.S. finance capital. break of the Korean war, the re-On Aug. 2, 1956 the Chilean Government signed a preliminary agreement with the Krupp interests for establishment of large contributed to the upsurge in shipbuilding and Diesel motor factories in Chile.

Siemens has also penetrated into Asia. Afghaniston has Siemens installations British interests in India have been pushed to the wall by it in the electrical manufacturing field. Siemens is part owner of the Japanese electrical manufacturing concern, Fuji Denki Seizo, K. K., and has other interests in that country. While President Sukarno of In-

have been seriously weakened donesia was sightseeing in the

German Capital Expands With U. S. Help By John Black

ital investment, management and

technical know-how. The same

delegation visited India, Pak-

istan, Burma, Japan and Thai-

politically in the wake of the Suez tion of West German industrial-The industrialists and finandebacle. Inversely, Germany ciers of West Germany, essenplays an increasingly vital role tially the same group of men in the NATO alliance. West Gerthat backed Hitler in his attempt many is now ready to step up its to organize the world for them, drive for the necessary world are now in the process of emergmarkets. The significantly new ing as chief ally and main partfeature is the open partnership with U.S. business in this venture. The German capitalists succeeded in the past few years in laying a solid groundwork.

land. MIDDLE EAST German airlines began opera-

Significant feature of this ecotions in April 1955. Since then, nomic penetration drive is the the Lufthansa has more than ability of the West Germans to doubled its air fleet and is today extend long-term credits and weaving a network to Latin and loans, to the under-developed North America, Japan and the countries. This, of course, means Middle East. It is now thrusting that these countries are not only into new markets in the air transcustomers and debtors but that Blohm & Voss Shipbuilding they become increasingly tied politically to the resurgent German

Works in Hamburg, partially disfinanciers. mantled as a war potential in the The Middle East has been the immedaite post-war period, is bigger than ever and is launchtarget of German capital for decing a record passenger, transport ades. During the recent Suez criand tanker fleet. Already in 1955 sis, West German politicians took the export of German-built ships full advantage of the fact that Germany was unrepresented in exceeded that of British. the United Nations. The Bonn Assistant Secretary of State Rob-Ever since the 1954 Latin government was able to avoid American tour by Ludwig Ehrtaking a formal position on the hard, Bonn's Minister of Eco-French-British assault on Egypt. nomic Affairs, penetration of this While unhappy over the nationalkey market has gone forward on ization plans of Nasser, they let a considerable scale. For examit be known that they condemned ple, Europe's largest producer their rivals' miltiary venture. On electrical equipment, Siemens

economically and compromised United States last Fall, a delega- | position. More than 350 West | Arab countries, are now to be-German concerns will take part. come the advance guard in a po-It is shaping up as the largest litical action of the Americans, ists negotiated in Indonesia for industrial exhibition ever to take who want to pacify the Middle participation in Indonesian inplace in the Arab world. dustry. The terms would give West Germany 40 to 50% of all * * * outstanding shares for their cap-

filled.

ert Murphy.

from the economic influence of the Soviet bloc." The German capitalists' desire to replace their British and * * * French counterparts as the main The economic alliance between

West German capitalists and U.S. U.S. partner in world capitalist hegemony is about to be fulcapitalists is viewed by both sides

as underpinning the political al-During the early days of this liance. While West Germany has year, a U.S. delegation of ecohad a continuous right-wing capitalist regime since the Occupanomic experts, including former U.S. Steel President Benjamin tion, a government headed by Fairless and Jesse Tapp, Chair-Adenauer and representing an man of the Board of the Bank of alliance of Big Business with America, visited West Germany. clerical reaction, there is at this On Jan. 3, the committee was en- moment serious doubt that Aldentertained by the top-ranking in- auer and his cohorts will be redustrialists and dinanciers of elected in the national election West Germany at the Industry due this Fall. Public opinion polls give the left-of-center Social Club in Duesseldorf. Subsequently the delegation made a special Democrats a majority of the trip to confer with Berthold voters.

The Social Democratic Party Beitz. spokesman for the Krupp family concern. Shortly before, leaders, while anxiously seeking Alfred Krupp had submitted a the advance approval of the U.S. plan for the joint exploitation of under-developed countries to U.S.

ADVANCE GUARD FOR U.S. The Jan. 16 issue of Spiegel eading West German news weekly, characterized the results of these discussions as follows: March 14 of this year there will "German. concerns, which until mented, are against any adverse take place in Cairo the opening now have acted predominantly in effect of a political upset in West of the West German Trade Ex- pursuit of private interests in Germany.

State Department (Ollenhauer, its national chairman is right now in Washington conferring with Secretary of State Dulles), are nonetheless regarded with distrust by finance capitalist circles. The close economic bonds between the capitalists of the two countries, which are now being so rapidly and assidously ce-

Dulles Runs Into Opposition



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, seen here conferring with Congressman Gordon and Admiral Radford, was rejected, Feb. 18, as proposed leader of forthcoming bi-partisan meeting on Israel's demands for guarantees on the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba. Democrats asked for Eisenhower's personal participation.

under. Not only did I want to see councils of Hungary demanded



East politically and keep it free

In the face of the resurgence of the Editor: dark and medieval passions of anti-Semitism the left-wing of Gomulka's support- studio. We print two photostats ers have demanded a vigorous campaign of each advertisement — a negagainst anti-Semitism. This must be done not only for the Jews but for the safety tion manager stopped me and and advancement of the Polish Revolution. said: "I have a joke. I don't There is no question but that the interests of the Polish Jews lies with the Polish people in their struggle for independence and workers' democracy. At the same time Jews in Poland who have witnessed too many massacres of their kinfolk have the right to judge for themselves whether they wish to stay in Poland or not. In contrast to Stalinist policy, the Gomulka re-

gime is freely granting exit visas. It is incumbent on Polish revolutionaries to fight anti-Semitism intransigently for the benefit of those Jews who choose to remain in Poland and so that those forced into exile may safely return at a later date if they so desire. This is an integral part of the struggle against the two hostile forces that confront the Polish revolution-the capitalist and landlord restorationists and the Kremlin bureaucracy and its puppets.



It Wasn't Funny

* *

By the beginning of this year

the triumphant West German

I work for a "public relations" ative and a positive.

One day last week my producthink you will get it, because it is subtle. If you get it I expect you to laugh." We had just finished a poster for a bank advertising travelers' checks. It showed American tourists ob-

serving picturesque scenes throughout the world. ican travelers are white. He jocularly showed me the negative Mississippi

Achieved Equality?"

Editor: The following are sections of **Detroit Fri. Night** several letters a friend in Mississippi sent to me **Socialist Forum** "Art, the Artist, Dear Friend and Society" Your letter received and en-Fri., March 1 - 8 P.M.

arthritis in my whole right side but am doing fine now. I was out working and got caught in a "Has the American Woman cold rain and was soaked for nearly two hours before I got

home. That was the first full day I had worked in 14 months Papers Back and was not able to go back Editor: again. I only made the one day. Greetings! Another Victory! There is nothing to do around No thanks to the Commandant here at all now and won't be un of the United States Coast Guard. til spring. No enterprise at all. I am grateful to Capt. Mulzac Only one business in town that and the Seamen's Defense Comemploys more than three Negroes. I have a hog to kill next mittee for their firm fight. Also to the Militant for backing them week. I hope to be able to farm my own land this next year and get another start at living in the while yet. country. Farming is about the F.P. easiest work a worn-out person Los Angeles had a few days in June. Not Reports On Visit to South Editor:

On Dec. 26, 1956, I took a trip down South to Alabama. The reason for the trip was to see worth passing along the paper for myself the condition the Neto. All too drunk around here. . groes in the South had to live

the conditions, but try to get all power to the Soviets, as the first hand the opinions of the workers in Russia did in October, Negroes on their recent strug-1917. However, the Kremlin bureaucrats, myopic with a dose

Unfortunately, I did not visit of neo-Stalinism, reversed Lenany of the larger cities. But I in's revolutionary idea. With did speak to many of the Negro tanks, guns, and artillery they families where I was. Some were battled the Hungarian workers receptive but a few were not. I in the streets of Budapest. How also spoke to a few liberal-mind- far to the counter-revolution ed whites. have they themselves gone? And While there, I distributed some who are they blaming now? Do

free literature and also sold they not realize that they hold \$2.35 worth of literature. One their seats of power not because of the books was Socialism on they are talented, but because Jim Crow. Advertising presents happening around us here. Even Trial. But most of the literature Soviet property forms enable was about Negro equality. I them to sit in power? And these sold and distributed 20 Militants. Soviet property forms were crea-

B.S. ted by the revolutionary prole-Cleveland tarians, led by Lenin! What does this augur for a

left regroupment? How much credence will anyone give to a person who utters shibboleths (left ones, mind you) and who does the exact opposite? Are the Trotskyists the only

All the necessary discussion on communists left in the world toleft regroupment around a Leninist program has been bogged day?

down by the Hungarian incident.

As Lenin taught, the workers'

Regroupment

And Hungary

Editor:

G.N. Winnipeg, Canada

Education of a Workingman

It was in a coal miner's shack, down on old Coos Bay, That my mother brought me forth, one cold December day. This is my story, I swear it is the Gospel truth,

She died of overwork, while still within her youth.

So bear with me if my rhyme does not follow every rule, As a lad, I went to work, while others went to school.

But life itself is a school, and some things I have learned. In the university of life, scholarships are dearly earned.

I've sailed upon the ocean, out on the bounding main, And harvested in the Dakotas, gathering in the grain, I've picked their hops and picked their prunes,

Walked the picket lines and battled with the goons.

I've tramped the highways, and slept out in the cold, And worked deep down in the earth, a-digging for gold.

In Washington's forests, mighty monarchs I have felled, And in Frisco's shipyards, they taught me how to weld,

In the foundry's heat and dust, my labor has been sold, Where men's blood, runs with molten metal, in the mold.

I've helped to bridge the chasms of rushing mountain streams, Hard work, was ever my companion, even in my dreams.

I've seen the terror, when racist rowdies raided in the night, And felt the handclasp of a brother, joined in a good fight. I've seen men stand together in the struggle - they did not fail; And I've seen working men and women carted off to jail.

Threescore years have come and gone, my youth it has flown, Long years I've labored, others have reaped where I have sown.

Life has taught some lessons, so take a tip from me, And build a labor party, be the masters of your destiny. Seattle J. B.



refused to respond, he asked oppression but can't see that 12 grouchily: "Don't you get it?" native born American Negroes go (On the negative the tourists ap- to school at Clinton. Where is peared black.) I got it all right the free America? but I didn't think there was anything funny. Behind what he thought was such a big joke was the grim and re-write in our minds to

truth that advertising is strictly | find out a part of what is really Americans exclusively as whites, except when the ads are directed specifically to the Negro market.

groes are in for comment... Enclosing some very interest B.D. New York ing editorials and letters on pure

for a Harlem Bank." When I 000 refugees from Communist

'Southernism." I just don't do well during damp weather and we are having lots of it now. A cold drizzle is falling now but am by a good fire and full. I killed a hog so I have meat and lard. I have five hens laying ... My paper is regular now ... I don't get any union papers so

Enclosed are some clippings.

Just enough to remind you the

type of news we have to screen

the radio has a way of fading

out when trade unions and Ne-

have to just scrap union news from local papers and the radio Union work is not so hot in Mississippi — only for the white man ... This whole state needs educating.

H.J._ Mississippi

Got Seamen's

Why? Got my sailing card today - but will railroad for a

can do. Labor is \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day. Some \$3.00 labor can be enough to live on.

Clinton, Tenn., and the Mont

gomery case still have the spot-

light. Also the Florida Flogging Trial about "Hello, honey." Haven't received a Militant in two weeks. I never did find a reader

R.L. Chicago joyed so much. Was in bed with



By John Black

Montgomery Students Speak

One of the most promising developments in the struggle against segregation in the South today is the educational effect of the struggle itself on the youth.

The whole world has read about the courage of the boys and girls and the young men and women who have bravely run the gauntlet of mobs incited by unbalanced tools of the white supremacists, like John Kasper. Everyone knows of the heroic determination of the students who have been willing to face physical violence, personal abuse and prejudiced school authorities to win the right to equal educational and job opportunities. The thinking of these young people has been clear from their actions. They are in rebellion against segregation in all its forms.

But the headline stories in the daily papers, while they report interviews with the public officials involved, the leaders of the mass movement, and sometimes the parents, seldom tell us the opinions of the youth themselves.

A very interesting article on this aspect of the struggle appeared in the February 2 issue of one of the most informative Negro weeklies published in Alabama, the Mobile Beacon.

Fred Jenkins, a Beacon writer, reported that the Alabama State College (for Negroes) at Montgomery had been warned by telephone calls that it was going to be bombed before dawn on Sunday, Feb. 6.

DESPITE HELL AND BOMBS

Jenkins visited the campus, and interviewed a number of the students at random, asking each the question: If any buildings on the campus are bombed, will you withdraw from school? Here are the replies, as quoted:

Miss Georgia McFadden, of Mobile: "No. I shall continue to pursue my studies despite, hell, bombings, or the proverbial high water. Tomorrow, the job of obtaining equal citizenship will be my responsibility. The City of Montgomery furnishes the experience I need to succeed in the dark struggle which lies ahead." Adolph Meacham, of Tuscaloosa: "No

前时间的问题

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cal 600 read in part as follows:

movement in the recent presiden-

more money, manpower and time

"Whereas: the political voice

of labor has on a national scale

By Louise Manning

Celebrating Negro History

8, the Los Angeles branch of the

Socialist Workers Party hailed

victories scored by the Negro

At this meeting, Erroll Banks,

the only Negro candidate running

"Negroes and the Two Party Sys-

Socialist Workers Party, Mr.

Banks showed that no more than

of organized labor; and

1953 that:

equality.

you can't fight anything by running away. in this historic struggle for freedom."

Otis Andrews, of Plateau: "No. Education will play a major role in the freedom of Negroes everywhere, and he who runs tial election has poured forth away now should be banished from the than ever before in the history human race."

Marion Clarke, of Mobile: "No, because it would disgualify me from the ranks of those seeking first class citizenship." (Mr. | today; and Clarke is a Korean veteran and holder of tion.)

MUST STAY IN FIGHT

Harold Rice, of Birmingham: "No, I feel that I am a part of this fight for Local 600 as set forth in resoluequal citizenship, and should I run from tion No. 4, introduced at the 14th stronger position than we are; function of determining a prothe heat of battle it would constitute a breach of civic and moral duty."

people of Montgomery, many of whom are uneducated, have the courage and foresight to fight for equal citizenship, I feel that I must stay, and if possible, dedicate my life and work to them." (Mr. Truss is also a veteran of the Korean war.)

Carl L. Banks, of Woodstock: "No, because it would be playing into the hands of the lawless elements who are trying to terrorize the city. We must stand fast Week at a meeting held on Feb. and weather the crisis together."

John E. Jones, of Sumter, S.C.: "No, because the freedom of tomorrow's Ne- people in their struggle for groes depends upon our actions of today."

These comments indicate that the struggle is educating new leaders on a scale for mayor, spoke on the subject: the "gradual" methods of almost a century never could. It is educating them by tem." Running on a socialist the thousands, too many for the KKK platform, and endorsed by the and the White Citizens Councils to stop.

ty groups: and never been as ineffective as it is "Whereas: the record of the

'It has become obvious over the brothers and sisters who turned of a Farmer-Labor Party in the Leon Truss, of Cropwell: "No, if the last decade that neither of the away from the Democratic Par- United States."

Erroll Banks Addresses

Negro History Meeting

... Ford Local on Labor Party Adam C. Powell two major political parties, one ty in justifiable disgust; of Labor-Liberal party adopted by because of its inability to break such a party could break away Every available person is needed to aid the General Council of Ford Lo- with reactionary elements, the from the 'me-too-ism' of the other because of its direct ties to Democratic Party on the question "Whereas: the American labor the vested interests of Wall of foreign policy and win support Street, can solve the immediate from the millions of Americans problems of the American people; who voted for Eisenhower in the the problems of taxation, of high mistaken notion that they could cost of living, of job insecurity, thus register their opposition to of inadequate pensions, of inade-| the foreign policy of the Demo

quate medical care, of inadequate cratic Party. housing, of civil rights of minori-Therefore Be It Resolved: That

this 16th Convention of th "The basic problems of Amer- UAW-AFL-CIO, call upon the

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1957

ican society, the problems of war AFL-CIO to convene in the near the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in ac- Democratic Party is not an acci- and depression have not been future a Congress to which shall dental occurrence, but an inevita- solved within the present two- be invited delegates of all interble result of the nature of the party set-up; and . . . if the ested union bodies and represenparty. The outcome of the last UAW had in 1953 acted upon the tative farm groups and liberal election, and the reasons for that above-cited resolution and had elements, including those from outcome, prove the contention of begun to build a Labor Party, the Republican and Democratic Circle of Guilt." we would today be in a far Parties, and which shall have the

Dr. Wertham, who had been called by Santana's lawyers to Convention of the UAW-CIO in only such a party could win the gram and setting in motion the examine the youth, learned that votes of millions of our Negro mechanics for the establishment Santana had been threatened by

Will Intervene In Santana Case FEB. 19-N. Y. Congressman, | an anti-Puerto Rican gang and Adam Clayton Powell, according was in fear of attack when he

to El Diario, Feb. 7, will inter- was accosted by William Blankcede on behalf of Frank Santana, enship, the victim in the shoota Puerto Rican youth who is now ing. Dr. Wertham also expressed serving a life sentence in prison belief that the gun may have after being convicted on a sec- been fired accidentally.

Frank Santana never received ond-degree murder charge. Santana's trial and sentence have a fair trial. The newspapers been declared "unfair" by the called for a death sentence and prominent psychiatrist, Dr. Fred- for months campaigned in a erick Wertham, in the book "The lynch spirit against the "Puerto Rican hoodlum" who had shot a

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"model boy." The Federation of Hispanic Societies and the Council of **Hispanic American Organizations** in New York have interested themselves in the case of Frank Santana and are seeking a commutation of the sentence from Governor Harriman.

Frank Santana, who was only

17 at the time of the tragedy in

the Spring of 1955, was the vic-

tim of national prejudice in one

of New York's worst slum areas.

Dr. Wertham came to the con-

clusion that Santana's conviction

was more of a lynching than a

trial. And he explained, "There

was a social motive why the com-

munity did not want a trial. If it

had looked into this boy's mind,

it would have to look at itself...

It was easier to send the boy

things be as they are."

away without a trial and let

Dr. Wertham became so con-

vinced of young Santana's inno-

cence that he has offered to make

himself personally responsible for

the youth's future conduct if he

were to be released from prison.

The demand for commutation of

LEGAL LYNCHING



sentence is receiving wider support in New York City and nationally as the case becomes known.

ADAM C. POWELL



The following are excerpts for such things when we don't from a letter that the veteran seem to have enough money to railroad worker, C. R. Hedlund take care of our blind, sick and

of Minneapolis needy people here at home? We recently sent have one begging campaign after to two of his the other for nickels and dimes to finance our worthy and imfriends: "I have ar- portant social needs while the ranged to have administration at Washington is the Militant sent pouring out billions . . . to prop to your homes up bankrupt and reactionary rerimes abroad six-month "It would be a worthy objecperiod. I rate the Militant as the tive for every working man and best working- woman in this country to line up class publication in support of the socialist moveunofficial returns. The DPC can- bers. And the bureaucracy, as if in the United States, and I have ment-a movement which is abdidate for director of District 16, deliberately, defying the ranks, been a subscriber to that paper solutely necessary for the toil-Frank O'Brien, was ruled off the proceeded to raise the salaries of since its first issue in November ing masses of the world in order ballot just before the election, but the officers and point up even 1928. Please accept it and read to enable them to relegate rotting capitalism to the junk heap it with my compliments. "Do you boys stop to reflect of history and thereby make room on the social mess that this coun- for its logical successor, a sotry is in? We have armies, cialist society on a world scale. navies and air fields all over the The benefit and the reward that globe; we are spending billions humanity will reap from this proor equipment to kill and de- gressive social change is even stroy. The news commentator, beyond the full grasp of the most Edward R. Murrow said over the fertile mind . . . radio last night that 78 cents out of every tax dollar goes for war, rich experience in life. You, radio last night that 78 cents out past and present. And this in- Arthur, as a steel worker who sane waste and spending goes on has driven rivets in the construcwhen there isn't a single nation, tion of the Empire State Buildor group of nations, that have ing in New York and the bridge the slightest intention to attack over the Golden Gate of San or invade this country if we leave Francisco, plus your travels and experience in South America. them alone. "Eisenhower wants standby au. And you, Conrad, as a lifetime thority from Congress to rush farmer in North Dakota with American troops to the Middle your long and honorable strug-East on a moment's notice. What gle as member and organizer of for? Do you people know of any the Nonpartisan League to fight good reason why American sol- the robbery of the milling and diers should be sent there to kill elevator combines, the Internapoor Arabs and bomb and pulver- tional Harvester as well as the ize their cities and homes? Do crooked politicians in Bismarck. we want to repeat the outrage In the light of this experience, that the agents of Big Business both of you should be well equipat Washington committed against ped to reap a lot of enjoyment the people of Korea? Do we want and information by reading ... to spend billions of tax dollars the Militant."

McDonald Opponents Gain Majority in Buffalo Area Vote

By Charles Seaman

Unofficial results have made it side of the plant and a sound never made it clear that he opthear to David J. McDonald, in- truck booming out for McDonald posed McDonald up and down the

In contrast to this was the way | on the difficult and lower paying the distributors of the McDonald jobs.

BUFFALO, Feb. 18.— The Un-literature were received. One Rarick's silence on these key Nagara Frontier poured out of member who accepted a leaflet issues deprived him of all-out Niagara Frontier poured out of the steel plants on February 12 to vote for the powerful post "You couldn't pay me \$60 an from McDonald's "arm-in-arm" of International President, the hour to hand out that poison." tactics with the companies. Many first election of its kind in the McDonald leaflets were crumpled Bethlehem workers stayed away twenty-year history of the union. and scattered all around the out- from the election because Rarick

(Continued from page 1)

ion into a position where he has

nor can they depend on Eisenhower, who was asked by the Negro leaders to place his prestige behind a forceful, public statement backing the Supreme Court

decision on desegregation, but who has failed to do so.

cater more to local unions on

Labor, could the Negro find an ally in either the Democratic or Republican Parties. They can not turn to the Democratic Party because it is dominated by Southern racists, explained Mr. Banks; ERROLL BANKS ment, as the only friend of the

cated the formation of a Labor tributed to further the Socialist Turning to the Labor move- Party which would represent the campaign of Erroll Banks.

Negro people, Mr. Banks advo- sion. A collection of \$46 was con-

STEEL UNION ELECTION

| liam Klug, is trailing McDonald! sary answer to the ever-present model "labor statesman" indi-cated by its comments the sig-nificance of the rank-and-file

gomery and Tallahassee, and told of their determination to settle for nothing less than complete equality. "The Negro people have found a new method of struggle, the

organized boycott," she said, and explained how this advanced the movement against segregation to a higher stage, how it infured new courage in the masses to defy the White Citizen's Councils, and how it led to decisive vic tories.

interests of the great mass of

working people and the oppressed

racial and national minorities in

their united struggle against the

Speaking on the subject, "The

Fight Against Bus Segregation,"

Grace Bennett related the story

of the Freedom Fighters in Mont-

common enemy-Big Business.

The audience participated in the discussion at the end of the meeting, and remained afterwards to partake of refresh-

ments and to continue the discus

and file in this area are fed up the ranks. with his "arm-in-arm" policies

with management. Although re-Another important feature of turns from thirty-five USW locals in and around Buffalo has the Lackawanna vote was the Rarick ahead 8,002 to McDonald's role Local 2602 played in support 6316, steel workers are convinced of Rarick, both organizationally that Rarick did not get a fair and financially. They won an imshake at the polls. Militan'ts had portant fight in Lackawanna, showed concern over the voting successfully bucking the prestige procedure of using unnumbered and power of District Director few months. This is the power of paper ballots rather than election Molony who had given his supmachines and they agreed with port to McDonald. This local, the Rarick who had requested watch- only one of the four in the Lackers at the polling areas for both awanna area to endorse Rarick candidates to insure an honest did an excellent job of getting election, a request which the out their members to vote. They McDonald machine denied. issued leaflets. hired their own

DOUBT MCDONALD VOTE

However, these miltiants quesfor Rarick was 1,563 to 47 in Lofloned Rarick's wisdom in appeal- | cal 2602.

ing to the U.S. Senate committee Unfortunately, they weakened "investigating" labor "racketeer- their cause by not seriously trying." They viewed this move as a ing to enlist the support of the slap at the rank and file who other three big locals and make have so splendidly supported his an up-and-down the line fight in movement, because it indicated a this important steel area. In the feeling on Rarick's part that they few locals on the Niagara Fronare incapable of handling their tier where Rarick received official 'own affairs. union support the vote was all

In the concentrated steel area Rarick. Symington Gould Local of Lackawanna, Rarick led Mc- 1630 went for Rarick 851 to 12 Denald 4,025 to 3,136 in the four and in Worthington Pump Local locals of the Bethlehem Steel 2017 the vote was 510 to 106 in Company, but shop talk among favor of Rarick. This clearly inthe men was devoted to wonder- dicates that when the rank and ing where McDonald got his sup- file were organized the McDonald forces were crushed. port.

Although the ranks were an gry and disappointed with the TOO MUCH SILENCE What saved McDonald from outcome, their morale and spirit 'an all-out defeat in this area was was high knowing that their protest vote had struck a heavy the fact that only 25 to 30% of blow at the hated McDonald ma- the members voted in the elecchine. This spirit had carried tion. The fault to a great extent over from the days prior to the lies in the fact that Rarick didn't election when the main topic of make an all-out fight. He made talk in the plant was strictly no attack on the steel companies union politics and the election. for their continuing speed-up and The ranks liked Rarick's pro- incentive abuses and stalling tacposal of a referendum vote on tics in the processing of grievall convention decisions (having ances, which continue to mount. in mind the dues increase and He expressed no opposition to McDonald's salary increase) and McDonald's policies in relation to especially the idea of rank and the steel companies, notably the file elections for international recent contract settlement that has saddled the steel workers officers.

This enthusiasm for Rarick and with a three-year no-strike the Dues Protest Movement pledge at a time when steel and stayed right up to election day, other price hikes have wiped out Feb. 12. Active supporters of what few gains were made, Rarick who handed out leaflets At his talk before Local 2602, were encouraged and praised 25% of those attending were Netime and time again by the mem- gro workers who hoped that bership. "Give the union back to Rarick would attack the steel the men," was the password of companies' nation-wide discrimithe rank and file as they entered natory practices in keeping the the union hall to cast their vote. majority of Negro steel workers

cumbent candidate, that the rank was received with hostility from line. **TURNOUT AT LOCAL 2602**

hall and supervised their own

elections. This paid off. The vote

protest vote. "Watching the vot-But one flact is clear and towing with some uneasiness, reports ers above all the others. The men the Feb. 12 Pittsburg Post-Gawho have swung behind Rarick and the Dues Protest Movement zette, "industry leaders believe are right from the mills. They that a sizeable vote by the rankhave catapulted him from obliv- and-file may cause McDonald to

contested the leadership of one plant grievances." The Feb. 25 Newsweek magaof the most powerful unions in the world, and all in less than a zine commented, "It looked as if the era of undisputed leadership the rank and file who have set which Murray and McDonald had their sights on cleaning out Mccreated (and which produced a Donald and Company. One union type of responsible union manmember put it on the line when agement that the steel industry in answer to a remark that itself liked) was drawing to a Rarick could become another Mc- close."

Donald, he said, "It could hap-DPC ELECTS pen, but right now a new broom Rarick won a substantial ma-

sweeps cleaner." Rarick has promised that he will keep the jority in the heart of the indus-Dues Protest Movement alive, try which is covered by Pitts-'win, lose, or draw." This means bungh area Districts 15 and 16, that an avenue of struggle has and in at least one other district, been opened up for the men to the Steubenville area of Ohio. continue to fight the hated Mc- Rarick is leading in the Lorain Donald machine. This vital elec- area of Ohio. though the Dues tion has put the men on that Protest candidate for interna-

road, shoulder to shoulder. tional secretary-treasurer, Wil-

Not So Happy Now



United Steel Workers' president McDonald (left) and U.S. Steel Corporation head Clifford S. Hook beamed happily at each other during last summer's contract negotiations. Neither have much to smile about now with the steel union election results which revealed strong rank-and-file opposition to Mc-Donald's leadership.

McDonald (see Buffalo report on page 4).

In addition the Dues Protest Committee has gained the direc- geles convention without regard torship of district 15 according to to the real feeling of the memis planning court action since the more sharply the great gap sep-DPC slate otherwise carried the arating the ranks from the supdistrict. Paul Hilbert, DPC can- posed leaders.

didate for district 15 director. said Feb. 18 that locals in the district had not yet mailed in the election returns and that he plans court action if returns are not sent in for the Feb. 22 deadline. Hilbert leads the McDonald candidate, John Sullivan, by two to

"There were threats," reports the Feb. 18 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "that if an attempt is made to give Sullivan the majority, they [the DPC] will picket and shut down every plant in the district."

In the New England district, McDonald is reported to have squeaked through by about 600 votes out of 18,000. In the whole New York State District, headed by Joseph Molony who formerly behind him against the dues protesters, McDonald's margin is reported as 3,000 votes out of 37,-000. The Cleveland reports give

McDonald 15,000 votes to 11,000 for Rarick. In the Gary, Indiana, area, controlled by a ruthless McDonald machine, the bureaucrats re-Ashton, is preparing court action midwest locals.

What were the causes of the resentment against the McDonald machine which produced this unprecedented and unexpected the steel corporations were raking in.

On top of this, the workers feel the ever-increasing cost of living and the ever-accumulating debts. There is a general feeling of insecurity among the workers, since they all understand that the auto industry, a user of a lot of steel, is not producing very steadily. And they are not satisfied that the union has the neces-

gant and calloused to the sentiments of the workers, had passed the dues increase at the Los An-



rather in his lack of illusions about his would-be saviors from gangster-domination such as the government agencies.

TUGBOAT STRIKE

Meanwhile, a former affiliate of the ILA, the tugboat workers in New York Harbor, who are now affiliated with the National Maritime Union AFL-CIO, are in the eighteenth day of their strike. Using the old slogan of the mineopposed McDonald, but lined up they closed down their craft withworkers, "no contract-no work," in minutes of their old contract's expiration.

The tugboatmen are asking for a 20% wage increase and the removal of many iniquities in

working conditions. Since an immediate effect of the strike is a drop in the supply of fuel which ported Rarick trailing by 35 to is brought into New York City one. Rarick's lawyer, James A. on barges, the employers are banking on city and Federal ofagainst alleged vote fraud in the ficials to come to their aid in the negotiations. To date the tugboatmen's negotiating committee

has refused to consider the picayune wage offer of the owners. The latter face a solid front of protest vote? The workers in the labor movement. The tug huge majority felt that the con- crews have the official backing tract was not satisfactory consid- of the AFL-CIO as well as the ering the tremendous profits that moral and physical support of the independent ILA.

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...New York (Continued from page 1)