

BRITISH REPORT ON CP CRISIS

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THE MILITANT

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Egypt Rights vs. Imperialism Is Issue at Suez

By William Bundy

Egypt's President Nasser agreed Aug. 28 to meet with a committee designated by the Big-Three-sponsored London Suez Conference. The committee will present to Egypt the Dulles Plan for "international control" of the Suez Canal. Just three days previously, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ruslan Abdalgani, reported that he discussed with Nasser the possibility of convening soon a conference of Africa-Asian nations similar to that held in April 1955 in Bandung. The new gathering would be called over the Suez Canal crisis.

Asian nations like India and Indonesia support Egypt's nationalization of the canal as do the overwhelming majority of the Arab masses. This support has forced the U.S., French and British governments to put emphasis on negotiations with Egypt rather than threats of violence in their attempts to reestablish imperialist sway over Suez.

CANAL OPEN

So far, the official Egyptian position has been that the canal is Egyptian property — as it lies entirely within Egypt's borders — and must be controlled by her.

Egypt has voluntarily pledged to keep the canal open to all nations. (Except for Israeli cargo which is restricted to non-strategic material — food, etc. — carried in foreign ships.) She has even left the door open to

creation of an international advisory board.

The imperialist diplomats and their apologists everywhere, call for "internationalization" of the canal on the plea that the economies of many nations are to one degree or another dependent on the canal.

It is true that no nation is self-sufficient. All are dependent for many vital necessities upon the internal economies of other nations. But this has not led Britain, for instance, to grant Egypt the right to control the British textile industry upon which Egypt depends for her major export, cotton. By what right then does the British government claim to control an Egyptian industry such as the Suez Canal?

In a capitalist world, what is called "international control" can only operate in favor of the most powerful members of the controlling board. These would be the British, French and U.S. governments, who would be able to milk an important Egyptian resource by setting rates and conditions in favor of the huge corporations in their own countries.

Short of a world socialist economy, "internationalization" is, and has always been nothing but a guise for imperialism. And as far as socialism is concerned, it would bring genuine international planning and control only by strictly observing the right of all nations to political and economic self-determination. Only on that basis would an international economic control board win the enthusiastic support of all peoples.

PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

Shall the right of Egypt to control waterway lies within her borders be recognized or shall the imperialist powers succeed in limiting or eliminating that right? That is the question at issue in the Suez crisis. It is a question of principle which is vital to the aspirations for national independence of the masses of the Middle-East, Africa, and Asia.

These people are sick and tired of working out their lives for the benefit of foreign exploiters, of having their countries' wealth mined and removed, leaving them still in backwardness and poverty. They want to develop their own lands. That is why they are striking and demonstrating and mobilizing in support of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez canal. The working class movement everywhere must support them in this principled stand.



Democratic Liberals at Work

Sen. Douglas of Ill. (left, resolution in mouth), Gov. Williams of Mich. (top left) and ex-President Truman were participants in the sham civil rights plank "battle" at the Democratic convention. Williams called the plank, which was designed to placate the Dixiecrats, "somewhat below our ideals." Truman urged its adoption. Douglas hoped there would be a roll-call vote on it but made no visible efforts to get one.



Alabama, Florida Racists Step Up Terror Drive

By Fred Talbot

New racist force and violence against bus boycotters in Tallahassee, Florida and Montgomery, Alabama has flared up this week. Police in Tallahassee began arresting carpool drivers August 22 and three days later, the home of one of the active participants in the Montgomery protest movement was bombed.

In Tallahassee, Ala., several Negroes were beaten up in the wake of a Ku Klux Klan rally Aug. 25. In Tallahassee, car pool drivers are being booked on the phony charge of operating "for hire" vehicles without a license. The action was ordered by the lily-white City Commission after the Democratic State Attorney General ruled that automobiles used in car pools are "for hire" vehicles, in spite of the fact that no fare is charged.

LEADERS ARRESTED

The car pool has provided free transportation to the city's Negro population of 14,000 since shortly after Negroes began boycotting Jim Crow busses last May 28. The "for hire" licenses are more expensive than others and may be limited in number by the City Commission.

Among the first arrested were Rev. C. K. Steele, president, and Dan Speed, transportation chairman of the Inter-Civic Council—the Tallahassee counterpart of the Montgomery Improvement Association—set up by Negroes to run their protest movement against segregated busses.

Rev. C. K. Steele declared that the police action, "instead of forcing us back on the buses... will have the opposite effect and make us more determined than ever to continue our efforts for equal treatment on the buses."

In Montgomery, in the early morning hours of Aug. 25 a dynamite bomb exploded in the home of Robert Graetz. The intended victim, his wife, and their three small children were fortunately not at home at the time. "But the bombers didn't know that," said Graetz. "For all they knew," he said, "the bomb might have killed the baby or any one else in the family."

Graetz, a 27-year old white man, is pastor of the all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church in Montgomery. He went to Alabama from Los Angeles in 1955 and has been prominent in the bus protest since it began last December.

"I've received many threats over the past few months," he said. "Most of them were brief, anonymous telephone calls. One threatened that I'd be hanged. Another said something might happen to my family."

Such threats are common fare for the leaders of the Montgomery protest movement. In addition, the homes of Rev. L. M. King and E. D. Nixon, president and treasurer respectively, of the Montgomery Improvement Association were the targets of previous racist bombs.

In each case their families narrowly escaped injury or death when the bombs were accidentally deflected from the windows toward which they had been thrown, and exploded in front of the houses.

In Tallahassee, Police Captain West was present at the Klan rally Aug. 25 where the Negroes were beaten. He doesn't plan to investigate the situation. He said, "I didn't see anything at all... By the time I got to where the trouble was there wasn't anybody there." West said that he had found one Negro who

had obviously been badly beaten, and added, "I asked him to come down to the police station and make a statement and sign a complaint, but he wouldn't do it."

Wellman Pension

Communist Party leader Saul Wellman filed suit against the Veterans Administration in Federal District Court in Washington Aug. 24 for arbitrarily cutting the \$60 a month pension he had been awarded after being wounded in the World War II Battle of the Bulge.

In 1954 Wellman was convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. The VA then decided to assume the power to pass judgment on his political views by depriving him of his pension on the basis of the Smith Act conviction.

SWP Candidates On Radio and TV

Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Candidates for President and Vice-President, will give their acceptance speeches over the following radio and TV national networks:

Farrell Dobbs Schedule

CBS-TV: Saturday, September 8 — 6:45 to 7 P.M.
CBS-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:45 to 11 P.M.
NBC-TV: Saturday, September 15 — 5 to 5:15 P.M.
NBC-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:15 to 10:30 P.M.

Farrell Dobbs and Myra T. Weiss Schedule

ABC-TV: Thursday, September 20 — 10 to 10:30 P.M.
ABC-Radio: Thursday, September 13 — 10:30 to 10:55 P.M.

— All times given are Eastern Daylight Time —

Check Station and time in your locality
Watch for announcements of other broadcasts

Dobbs Asks Negro Leader to Support SWP in Elections

Twin Cities Unit Challenges CP to Debate Myra Weiss

MINNEAPOLIS — The Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party has challenged the Communist Party to a public debate on any of the issues confronting American labor today. The SWP offered as its representative in such a debate the Party's candidate for Vice President, Myra Tanner Weiss. Mrs. Weiss will be campaigning in the Twin Cities in early September. She will address a public meeting in Minneapolis Sept. 5 and another in St. Paul Sept. 9.

In a letter to the Communist Party, the SWP said: "The free public forum is an essential part of the struggle for civil liberties. In the past few months we have viewed with approval a number of debates between representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and other sections of the radical movement in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit and San Francisco.

"With this favorable development at hand, we want to do our part to revive this democratic workers' tradition in the Twin Cities... We wish to offer Myra Tanner Weiss as our representative in a public debate... on any issue facing the American workers today." Suggested as a topic for debate was whether the American workers should support the Democratic Party or take the first steps toward building a labor party.

Appeal Sent to Dr. Jackson Who Denounced 2 Parties For Stand on Civil Rights

NEW YORK, Aug. 28 — Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, today addressed an appeal to Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, urging him to support the SWP ticket in the present campaign. In a letter to Jackson, Dobbs calls for such support on the basis of Dr. Jackson's statement of July 19 in which he declared that failure of both major parties to adopt a strong civil rights plank could spark a wholesale break-away from both parties. The president of the five-million-member Baptist organization predicted that by 1960 a coalition of labor and the Negro people could build a party strong enough to oust both parties from power.

In the July 19 interview Dr. Jackson pointed to the 75-year-old Congressional failure to adopt any civil rights laws and charged both parties had given only lip service to the struggle of the American Negroes for equality.

Following is the text of the letter from Farrell Dobbs to Dr. Jackson:

Dear Sir:

I think that you put your finger on the key to the solution of the problems of the Negro people at your July 19 press conference when you indicated the need for a new party based on a coalition of the Negro people with the labor movement.

Speaking for myself and the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to convey to you our conviction that formation of such a party is the next indispensable step on the road to peace, security and brotherhood for both labor and the Negro people. We have long worked to help build such a party and advocacy of its formation is a major plank in our election platform, a copy of which I am enclosing.

SLAP IN THE FACE

The Republican and Democratic conventions are over and their stand on civil rights is a deliberate, contemptuous slap in the face to the aspirations of the Negro people. In reporting your views, the Chicago Defender on Aug. 11 correctly noted that they assume special significance in that they are a "reflection of the general dissatis-



FARRELL DOBBS

faction of Negroes over the failure of the politicians to come through with nothing more than the same trite lip service which is served up with monotonous regularity in an important election year." The question now is how that dissatisfaction can be effectively registered at the polls this November.

I firmly believe that a vote for the Socialist Workers ticket is the one effective way to register that protest. The SWP calls for unqualified support to the Negro people in their struggle for equality and has consistently lent its support to the fight. In this campaign it will spread the message of the need for creation of a new party of labor and the Negro people.

Every vote for the SWP will therefore be a protest against the Jim Crow policies of the major parties and will also help to crystallize the sentiment for the coming new party. It is for these considerations that I respectfully urge that you support the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 election.

Sincerely yours,
Farrell Dobbs

Do We Redbait in Criticizing CP?

DETROIT, Aug. 26 — Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Governor of Michigan, today made public an exchange of letters between herself and an auto worker of this city dealing with socialist policy in relation to the Soviet Union. The following are the texts of the letters:

Auto Worker's Letter:

Dear Madam:

Many workers would like to support the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the coming elections. However the Militant seems confusing to the extent that we find ourselves wondering who is exploiting us — the USSR or the American ruling class?

Much of the Militant is devoted to outright redbaiting. It seems that as the capitalists become weaker throughout the world, the more the SWP shouts everything anyone else does is wrong. Everything the SWP does is right.

As for the prison camp revolt: Prison conditions in Georgia and Florida are far from ideal.

As for the Poznan revolt: Naturally the Ford and Chrysler workers are free to march on Detroit police headquarters any time.

Now Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin are dead. Perhaps it is time we quit shadow-boxing with the

past and started trying to bring about the death of capitalism.

Sincerely,
M. T.

Auto Worker

P. S. Eliminate capitalism. Then we can devote all our energy toward eliminating bureaucracy. Please answer.

Rita Shaw's Reply:

Dear Brother T:

I am very glad to receive your letter of criticism, because only criticism and discussion can clarify questions that need to be answered if a mass socialist party is to be built in this country. I am sending a copy of both your letter and this reply to the Militant because if the Militant is "confusing" then its editors ought to know about it and do something to present the paper's ideas more simply and clearly.

I can't agree with you, however, that the Militant is in any way guilty of "redbaiting." When we criticize the Communist Party or the Socialist Party or similar groups, it's not because they express radical ideas but



RITA SHAW

because they stand for policies contrary to the interests of the working class.

When we condemn the American Communist Party for telling workers to vote for capitalist politicians, is that redbaiting? When we condemn the Socialist Party for supporting the imperialist intervention in the Korean war, is that redbaiting? When we condemn the Soviet bureaucracy for suppressing democracy in the Soviet Union, is that redbaiting?

If you think it is, then you must think that any criticism of

radical organizations, whether it comes from the right or the left, whether it is right or wrong, is redbaiting. And in that case you would have to conclude that your own letter criticizing the Socialist Workers Party is also redbaiting — which of course it isn't.

We agree with you that we are being exploited by the American ruling class, and not by the USSR. We agree with you also that the job facing us is to "eliminate capitalism." After that's done, you add, "we can devote all our energy toward eliminating bureaucracy." But it's not quite as simple as that.

In order to eliminate capitalism, we must build a mass party of revolutionary socialism. But in order to build such a party, we must combat the influence of all the forces, including the Meany and Reuther bureaucracies in the union movement, that act as an obstacle to winning the support of the workers for a fight to end capitalism. Fighting the bureaucracy now is an indispensable part of the struggle to abolish Capitalism, because the workers won't join that struggle until they are convinced that the policies of the union bureaucrats and of the Communist Party leaders are

wrong, that they are aimed at maintaining the "status quo" and not at eliminating capitalism.

In recent months the Militant has been giving a great deal of space to events in the Soviet Union. That's because those events are having big repercussions in the labor and radical movements right here in the U. S. It has produced a crisis in the Communist Party, which is still the largest of American radical groups. It has caused a lot of questioning and re-evaluation about the kind of socialist movement that we need here.

WHAT WORKERS FEAR

The Militant thinks this is the time for questioning and is trying to encourage it. The Militant also has answers to these questions, and wants workers to consider them. But it does all this from the standpoint of helping to build a party able and willing to eliminate capitalism in this country.

It would be foolish to think that such a party can be built without consideration of events in other countries. One reason why the American socialist movement is weak is that the workers have been convinced that if they make a revolution in this country it will produce the kind of

Goal Is Reached In Socialist Fund!

AUG. 29 — With two days left before the final deadline, the Socialist Campaign Fund has already been oversubscribed by \$40. Assurances that some \$200 in outstanding pledges will be in by Sept. 1 means that we can anticipate a final collection of \$16,413 on the original quota of \$16,175. The final scorecard of the drive will be published in our next issue.

The success of this fund drive makes possible a much greater opportunity to reach wider circles of the working class and radical public with our literature and program at a time when it is most imperative that we do so. All those who have contributed to the Socialist Campaign Fund may be assured that their contributions will do much to effectively spread our socialist message.

The splendid record of our supporters in this drive warrants the highest tribute. Needless to say the bulk of the money collected came from people with limited incomes for whom every dollar contributed meant a real sacrifice. The fact that we were compelled to appeal for these substantial contributions a short three months after completion of a similar drive certainly added to the sacrifice.

In addition, the fund appeal

had to be made at the very time that many of our supporters were actively engaged in the work of securing the independent nominating petitions necessary to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the various states. The added financial strain this added for many of the participants makes the final collection figure even more impressive.

Particularly gratifying in the present fund drive was the splendid participation of individual supporters of our movement throughout the country who sent their contributions directly to us here in New York. Such general contributions were substantially greater than those of previous fund appeals. And we extend special thanks to our very loyal group of worker-friends in Connecticut who kept sending in hard-earned dollars throughout the campaign.

IN THIS ISSUE

Labor Leaders Endorse
Democrats

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SWP Election News
Campaigning
for
Socialism

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager
During the next three months millions of Americans will tune in on radio and TV broadcasts by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. In workers' homes of every industrial center of the country, on the farms, in tens of thousands of after-work gathering places where there is radio and TV, the message of socialism will be heard.

Working people who are sick of the circus spectacles they viewed at the Democratic and Republican party conventions will get a chance to hear what the socialist candidates have to say about the danger of World War III, the freedom struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the fight against speed-up, unemployment and inflation, the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, the fraud of the two capitalist party system, the need for an independent Labor Party and the prospect of socialism in the United States and the world.

WON THE RIGHT

The story behind this remarkable opportunity to broadcast the program of socialist internationalism to such a vast audience will some day be told in full. It is only because, through years of struggle, the SWP has established its place as the foremost and most consistent socialist contender in elections that we have won the right to be heard.

This right was never handed to us on a silver platter. A devoted band of socialists all over the country spent endless hours gathering signatures to place the SWP on the ballot. Sheer grit and tenacity, born out of the deepest belief in a historically just cause, prevailed against seemingly insuperable obstacles, obstacles raised by the boss parties and their anti-minority-party legislation designed to exclude the socialists from the electoral arena.

The footsore socialists who tramped up and down major states of the country, in cities, towns and villages gathering signatures to place the party on the ballot have done their work

(Continued on page 4)

Cannon's The I.W.W. and The 'American Approach'

By Daniel Roberts

THE I. W. W. (On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding Convention). By James P. Cannon. New York: Pioneer Publishers. Pioneer Pocket Library No. 4. 44 pages. 25 cents.

The last few years in the American radical movement have been marked by a flight from anything associated even in name with Leninism. This trend became a headlong rush following the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the end of the Stalin cult.

Identifying Stalinism with Leninism, and proclaiming that the ideas of the Russian Revolution were alien to the American soil and never more than a "sectarian" importation, certain radical groups have openly declared war on the ideas of Bolshevism. In the past such formations sought to vitiate the Leninist content while pretending to honor the concepts of vanguard party, democratic centralism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But now the "Russian ideas" are attacked in form as in substance.

Pacesetters in the flight have been the Cochranes of the American Socialist and the editors of the Monthly Review. They have been joined by a substantial body of leaders in the Communist Party. All are in search of an "American approach" to socialism — of a purely "American" brand of socialist politics.

The conclusions that James P. Cannon draws from his examination of the IWW go in the opposite direction. They deserve the closest study by all radical workers concerned with the problem of the regroupment of the American "Left." On the basis of thorough research plus his own experiences as a participant, Cannon demonstrates how the indigenous American class-struggle movement that took the form in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World, needed the teachings of the Russians to achieve ideological completion. This was recognized by Big Bill Haywood, the fearless captain of the IWW, who referred to Russian Bolshevism as the "IWW all feathered out."

A CRUCIAL QUESTION

The IWW was supplanted as an organization of revolutionists by the Communist party. It was doomed by the arrival of the newcomer whose cadres were often inferior in their caliber but able to assimilate the lessons of World War I and the Russian Revolution. The crucial question was whether the professional revolutionaries that formed the backbone of the IWW would similarly rise to the new historic demands and fuse with the new party and the Communist International.

A small number of them — Cannon included — did. And Cannon describes how close he came to winning Vincent St. John for the CP. In the IWW "The Saint" was the real "organizer and leader of the cadres" — a man who comes back to life in all his giant stature in the pages of Cannon's pamphlet.

The CP lost immeasurably when St. John and the bulk of the IWW revolutionists failed to make

the turn. But this did not save the IWW. The revolutionary cadre drifted away from it, too, toward the sidelines. Second-raters took over. The organization became moribund, while the CP pushed forward on the revolutionary road, thanks to the program of Leninism, until derailed by Stalinism.

What was the IWW's beginning, its life, and its meaning for the revolutionary movement in the U. S.? Cannon calls the IWW "the great anticipation." One part of the anticipation has already been realized — the organization of the mass production workers in industrial unions.

"But... the CIO movement, at its present stage of development, is only a small down payment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way."

The IWW Founding Convention brought together a galaxy of rebels, headed by Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood and Daniel De Leon. They "regarded the organization of industrial unions as a means to an end; and the end they had in view was the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a new social order. This, the heart and soul of their program, still awaits its vindication in the revolution of the American workers."

'ONE BIG UNION'

Under the formula, One Big Union, the IWW strove to bring about the unity of the workers' revolutionary vanguard and the mass of the working class for the assault on the capitalist order. But experience enriched by theory showed that the unity of vanguard and mass could not be brought about that way. Revolutionary party and revolutionary unions have to exist separately in a division of labor. "The conception of an organization of revolutionists has to be completed and rounded out, and recognized as the most essential, the most powerful of all designs in the epoch of imperialist decline and decay, which can be brought to an end only by a victorious workers' revolution. The American revolution, more than any other, will require a separate, special organization of the revolutionary vanguard."

Debs, Haywood, De Leon and St. John will contribute much to the formation of class consciousness of the coming generation of revolutionary workers, who will glorify their names. But even more decisive will be the teachings of the Russian Bolsheviks, "Lenin and Trotsky in the first place." "And it is to them," Cannon concludes, "that the American workers will turn for guidance in the next stages of their evolving struggle for emancipation. The fusion of their 'Russian' ideas with the inheritance of the IWW is the American workers' prescription for victory."

Ranks Oppose Tops in English CP

By Jim Gray

LONDON — The British Communist Party like its co-parties internationally has not escaped the deep-going crisis of the world Stalinist movement triggered off by the Khrushchev Revelations at the 20th Congress in March this year.

Following the confessions of Stalin's heirs, a demand for an accounting has arisen from party rank and file here, aimed at the party's top brass.

The "Daily Worker" contented itself at first with the line that Stalin's "mistakes" must be measured against his contributions, hoping that this cover-up would suffice in appeasing the membership and all would remain as before. Their hopes were dashed however. Shortly after, came the full publication of Khrushchev's speech to the secret session, which unleashed a flood of criticism inside the party and within the letter columns of the "Workers" unprecedented in its history.

At aggregates held all over the country, one question dominated the discussion: "What were you, our leaders, doing when all this was going on?" Mainly as a result of this pressure Harry Pollitt, Party General Secretary for almost 30 years, "resigned" his post on account of "ill health" and was replaced by Johnny Gollan, former Assistant Editor of the Worker.

DISSENT BULLETIN

The discovery that Pollitt was a sick man and the despatching of him on a Mediterranean cruise, has perhaps cured Pollitt's ailment, but it has made little contribution to curing the party crisis.

The publication by a group of dissident intellectuals of an internal discussion bulletin — "The Reasoner" — further aggravates the already strained relationships existing between the rank and file and the tops. "Reasoner" reflects the confusion prevalent in intellectual Stalinist circles resulting from the effect of the Revelations on people who have received their education in the school of revisionism. "Reasoner's" first edition in July, concentrates its main fire on the leadership, but, tends to draw the con-

clusion, that, the lack of internal party democracy results from the organic weakness of democratic centralism. One contributor in particular, attempts to trace the origins of Stalinism to the Leninist conception of a party.

It would be mistaken however, to simply say that the tendency toward "Reasoner" is travelling in bloc to the social democracy. The fights developing inside the party over internal democracy are giving the serious intellectuals considerable experience and have opened the way forward to a serious study of CP history. Such a study can have a progressive outcome if it becomes a study of the fight begun by Lenin and continued by Trotsky and the Left Opposition against the growing bureaucratization of the Soviet state and the Bolshevik Party in the early 1920's. In this way the CP members will learn how Stalin and the bureaucracy found it necessary to destroy Lenin's party, thus removing the democratic rights of the membership before they could secure the grip of the privilege — seeking bureaucracy over the state and the party.

AX JOB THREATENED

Already, attempts are being made to suppress "Reasoner." Party Bookshops refuse to handle its sale and full-time officials have been attempting to impress upon the various district and area committees the need to proscribe the bulletin. Reliable sources state that the leadership has informed its publishers that they are for the "ax" if another edition appears.

Many struggles inside the party are taking place around policy, particularly following the big swing to the right after the 20th Congress. "The British Road to Socialism" — current party program is up for even further revision. It is in the discussions taking place inside the branches, around this document, that some of the sharpest internal fights are taking place.

Writing in "Challenge" organ of the Young Communist League two months ago, James Klugmann one of the Kremlin's professional apologists, quite barefacedly revised the Marxist conception of the state and

blatantly informed his young readers that the road to socialism in Britain lay through Parliament. Since then a number of letters have appeared in subsequent issues bringing him to task and defending Marxism against Klugmann's crude revisions.

It was Klugmann who wrote the slander piece "From Trotsky to Tito" (now placed discreetly under the counter in the party bookshops). Following his latest effort, one YCL'er wittily remarked that he understands that Klugmann's recent contributions on the state are going to be issued in bound volume form by the party under the name of "From Kautsky to Klugmann."

The National Committee of the Young Communist League is reported to be evenly split on the conscription issue. Some 50% of its members are against the official CP line of calling for a reduction in military service from two years to twelve months, and are demanding complete abolition of conscription. Among the rank and file the supporters of abolition are even more numerous.

Despite every bureaucratic trick in the book being used by the leadership and their paid functionaries, the criticism continues to swell and grow. For the first time many Communist Party members are reading the literature of the Trotskyist movement and are discussing its program of revolutionary socialism as opposed to the official handouts cooked up in the Kremlin and served from London's King St.

This crisis of Stalinism can only develop further. The growth of industrial struggle in Britain, the fight against war, and the sharpening conflict inside the trade union and labor movement between the rank and file and the labor fakers poses most urgently the need for a Marxist understanding and a socialist policy by the leadership of the working class. This the Stalinist leaders cannot offer.

UNITY WITH BUREAUCRATS

At a time when the British Police were demonstrating their "impartiality" toward the striking auto workers by using their houses and batons on the picket

lines, Klugmann and his buddies peddling "peaceful transition."

"Unity" — latest, and most popular slogan of Stalinism is rapidly showing itself for what it really means as far as the CP leaders are concerned. Unity to them, means unity between Stalinism and the labor and trade-union bureaucracy. Speaking at the ETU Conference — Frank Foulkes, Union President and prominent party member, referred to Frank Cousins — new boss of the Transport and General Workers' Union as "... a new shining light inside the Trade Union Movement." Cousins and his union are the main props of the right wing inside the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. It is invariably the mammoth block vote of the Transport Union that swings the issue against progressive resolutions at the Annual Conferences of both the Labor Party and the TUC.

RE-EXAMINE STAND

Ironically enough, in the Transport Union, CP members are prohibited from holding office. It was only three weeks after Foulkes' trumpet fanfare for Cousins that the Union's Rules Revision Conference slung out a resolution calling for the lifting of the ban. It was non other than "shining light" Cousins who led the platform's blast against the "anti-ban resolution."

Stalinists in Britain Dock In-

dustry have been the fiercest opponents of the breakaway of 10,000 provincial port workers to the militant Stevedore's Union. Originally members of the Transport Union, these men were urged by the Daily Worker to remain inside the "constitutional jailhouse" of the Transport Union and democratize it. The decision of the Rules Revision Conference has served to slap theory in the teeth and has set in motion in CP circles a process of re-examination of party policy to the breakaway. It is six years before the next Rules Revision Conference, unless of course the union bosses call a special one to raise the members' subscriptions.

The breast beating that took place at the 20th Congress, and which has been followed up here by the Kremlin's sycophants, sparked off a process of re-thinking inside the CP. No longer can the party tops hand down the line to an uncritical rank and file. Following the Khrushchev Revelations, CP militants are beginning to view party policy in Britain much more critically and are questioning the reformist road offered to them by the Gollan's, Klugmann's and Foulkes! Many of them are beginning to realize that the domestic policy of the British party flows from the same source that was responsible for the murders and frame-ups that have taken place in the Soviet Union.

Letter from British Young Communists

[The Militant last week received the following letter from England. — Ed.]

Dear Comrade,

May I, on behalf of myself, and other members of the British Young Communist League extend fraternal greetings to the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party. Prior to the Khrushchev Revelations when Trotskyists attempted to explain to us the real nature of the Moscow Trials — Rajk's execution, etc. — we dismissed their charges, not believing it possible that such terrible things could take place under what we considered then was a socialist regime.

The disclosures of the 20th Congress came as a terrible blow. The admissions that poured forth from the Kremlin made us realize that a serious analysis was required of what were the conditions that had nurtured the growth of Stalinism. Our leadership's "explanation" about the "cult of the individual" seemed completely inadequate and designed to cover up, more than to explain. Their other attempt to get us to accept these crimes in the light of the "achievements" of Stalin reeked of "cooking the books." Surely, we asked, it is not necessary to murder thousands of loyal communists in order to build power stations.

More serious explanations were required than the ones our party leaders were offering. We found in discussions with Trotskyists, that they had a real explanation of what had taken place in the Soviet Union — an explanation that was thoroughly Marxist and scientific.

Furthermore it was through the works of Leon Trotsky that we were able to understand why our party in Britain finds itself saddled with a reformist programme. We are now able to see "peaceful transition," "peaceful co-existence" overtures to the "sincere right-wingers" and support for capitalist conscription in their true perspective — as pawns in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy with world imperialism.

We Young Communists joined our party because we wished to serve the true interests of the working class, interests that can only be served provided that we are able to win the class to a program of revolutionary socialism. Instead we have been offered jazz clubs and socials as an alternative to politics, "Challenge" — paper of the YCL had its front cover adorned with a photograph of Marilyn Monroe in its August issue, a poor substitute for socialism! It is our opinion, that youth can only be won to fight for socialism on the basis of an honest revolutionary programme. To offer them pin-ups is to display a cynicism towards youth and to basically accept the bourgeois conception of modern youth.

We feel sure that many American Party Comrades must be thinking as we are. May we therefore through the columns of your paper appeal to them to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, thus drawing on the great arsenal of Marxism so that they will equip themselves to understand how internationally the working class can overthrow capitalism.

A.S.

A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support Liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.

The Militant

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N. Y. Party Leaders Take New Look at Browder Line

By Herman Chauka

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party has decided to publish in its discussion bulletin a vigorous defense of Earl Browder and his period of leadership of the Communist Party.

The decision to make the document available to the membership marks a new stage in the struggle now taking place in the Communist Party and comes as fresh blow against National Chairman William Z. Foster.

Joseph Lash reported in the Aug. 23 New York Post that the State Committee had decided to publish the defense of Browder in its bulletin, Party Voice, despite vigorous protest from Foster. Written by "Chick Mason," an otherwise unidentified party member, the 15,000 word document, has been circulated among 200 CP leaders. Mason has prepared a 4,000 word abridgment for Party Voice.

The Post reports that Browder has read the Mason document and that he considers it "pretty sound, especially for one who's just had his eyes opened." Asked if he thought publication of the document foreshadowed overtures for his return to the party, Browder said he "would not predict that sort of thing."

Again according to the Post, Mason demands acceptance of the thesis that the "so-called Browder position was correct." Mason charges that with the expulsion of Browder in 1946 a "stampede back to isolation" took place and that the expulsion was seized on by Foster "to take over the 'theoretical' leadership of the Party."

DO ALL DISAGREE?

The editor of Party Voice, Sam Coleman, in a statement in the Aug. 24 Daily Worker, denies any conflict with Foster on publication of the Mason document and says that it will be circulated "in line with our policy of publishing all views submitted in good faith by party members."

Coleman also asserts that "While there are differing views in the N.Y. State Party leadership, all, however, are in direct disagreement with Mason's views." This assertion flies directly in the face of the printed record. The June and July issues of Party Voice are devoted mainly to expressions of state committee members on Eugene Dennis' report to the National Committee on party perspectives.

In the Aug. 26 Worker, Foster flays "those who are now so anxious to dissolve our party and to re-organize its forces on a neo-Browder basis." Despite Coleman's denials, Browder's ghost looms large over the present discussion.

Why Foster Confronts a Deeper Crisis Than Thorez or Togliatti

By Morris Stein and Harry Ring

The international crisis of Stalinism has assumed especially sharp form in the United States. Suspicion, distrust and even contempt for the Communist Party's

national leadership is apparently widespread in the ranks. It permeates the discussion, which has been raging for six months. The leadership itself is split into cliques warring among themselves but united on one point: fear of divulging their differences to the ranks and letting them act as the final court of decision.

The refusal of the leadership thus far to divulge its differences feeds rank and file discontent and serves to further aggregate the crisis. A typical reaction to the conduct of the leadership is expressed in a resolution of the East Harlem club published in the July issue of the New York State CP bulletin, Party Voice. The resolution declares: "Our club feels that in order for us, the membership, to fully participate in the present discussion, it is essential that we know all the divergent opinions of the leading bodies of our Party. We believe that it is the responsibility of the respective committees to make their opinions available to the membership."

The same view is sharply expressed in a letter to the Aug. 27 Daily Worker from a CP unit in Los Angeles, the 24th Congressional District Zetkin group. In a unanimously adopted resolution the group declares: "We voice our indignation and protest against the National Committee's failure to make public the nature and content of various views and positions taken by the individual members of the committee in its last several sessions."

"This failure, in our judgment, constitutes disdain and contempt for the Party membership."

A MORAL CRISIS

This sentiment has reached the stage where the Daily Worker must publicly state that its current fund drive is "far from its goal because of dissatisfaction and doubts among our readers regarding the present course of the Communist leadership in our country." Earlier in the July Party Voice, the N.Y. State Organizational Secretary reported the party to be in a "moral crisis."

With the membership reduced

Soviet Union or, more precisely, on the myth of Stalin's "infallibility." The explosion of this myth with Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's hideous crimes, turned this chief asset of the CP leadership into a terrible liability and, leaves them without a solid base of operations. They have no record of success in the mass movement to draw on as does a Togliatti or a Thorez. The only period of such "success" enjoyed by the American Party is associated not with the present leadership but with the era of Earl Browder.

It is not surprising therefore that a nostalgia for the "good old days" of the Browder period seeps through all the pores of the discussion, particularly among the members of the apparatus such as those who compose the New York State Committee.

These people, including those in the central leadership, turned against Browder in 1946, not voluntarily or out of principled considerations, but solely on order from Stalin as transmitted in the celebrated letter from Duclos. They nurse a special grievance against Stalin and against Foster who regained power with Browder's expulsion.

When Browder fell from grace, Foster openly boasted that he had maintained an opposition to him. The struggle between Foster and Browder actually dates back to the late Twenties when the Trotskyists were expelled and, after them, the Lovestones. Throughout the period in which Browder held the leadership, Foster was compelled to grudgingly carry out orders and wait sullenly for the inevitable day when Browder's head would roll.

CONCEALED RIVALRIES

In 1946 Foster became the head of the party but the victory was nominal. He had to work with a machine that had been fashioned by Browder. The distrust and conflict between this machine and the Foster clique continued throughout. But the differences, of course, were kept from the membership which always met a solid front of the bureaucracy and its stifling "unanimous" declarations.

Today, Dennis in his pamphlet, The Communists Take a New Look, confirms that "sharp po-

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Monday, September 3, 1956

1. Labor Tops Endorse Democrats

In rejecting the policy of official neutrality, Aug. 29, and recommending open support for the Democratic Party presidential ticket, the AFL-CIO Executive Council was acting entirely in accordance with the trend of the last few years, that is, the trend towards a deepening of the coalition between the labor officials and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

To deny that this trend is supported by the overwhelming majority of the organized American workers would be to deny reality. Confronted by the alternative of the Republican and Democratic parties, working people are determined to make their power felt in politics by voting as a cohesive bloc in the Democratic column. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the election return since 1953.

Of course, there is a reason why the workers feel the choice is only between the Democrats and Republicans at this time. Since the formation of the modern labor movement in the U.S. during the strike battles of the 1930's the labor officials have stifled every impulse toward an independent labor party. They have sidetracked all efforts from below to break with capitalist politics and build a class party of labor allied with the Negro people, the working farmers and all sections of the population that suffer from the rule of Big Business.

Through the years the present labor of-

ficials have become more entrenched in the unions and with this entrenchment their political policy has prevailed. The prolonged period of prosperity, although founded on the continuously increasing military character of the economy, has nevertheless served to conservatize a whole strata of trade unionists. The weight of this strata has been effectively used by the union bureaucracy to offset the pressure from the more militant and potentially radical sections of the working class. Large-scale class struggle battles, characterized by a maximum of mass participation and initiative, have given way in this period to a universal bureaucratization of the unions and the concentration of enormous power in the upper echelons of the officialdom.

Under these conditions the organic tendency of the bureaucratic caste dominating the labor movement has been to become increasingly identified with the Democratic political machines and to enmesh the political apparatus of the unions with these machines.

For their part the workers want to act in politics as a unified force, in the same way they acted to build their trade union organizations. Without a channel for expressing their independent class political interests, these interests nevertheless seek expression through the political form foisted upon them by the labor bureaucracy.

2. Does It Serve Workers' Aims?

The subordination of the greatest power in the U.S. — 15 million organized workers — to the capitalist-controlled Democratic party results in something more than a large and cohesive working class vote for the Democrats. The working class, and that includes the Negro people, vote in the elections in the hope of achieving certain political aims. These aims are in essence class aims, separate from and antagonistic to the aims of the capitalist ruling class and its two political parties.

The labor officials, particularly those of the Reuther type, tell the workers that the purpose of being in the Democratic party is to influence the selection of liberal candidates that would really represent the interests of the working people.

The trouble with this policy is that the liberals already endorsed by labor have without exception and without fail betrayed their election promises to labor. It seems the more the labor movement mobilizes behind the Democratic party and the more the labor officials prove their loyalty to the machine, the more liberals feel free to commit any foul betrayal in the name of the sacred unity of the Democratic party.

The Dixiecrats came to the Chicago convention full of bluster and threats of secession. Sure, a lot of this was bluff. But the point is the Southern Democrats know that all they need to do is bluster and they will get their way. As a result the civil rights plank that was adopted is a mockery and an insult to the Negro people. And the labor movement finds itself supporting a Stevenson who has publicly assured the Southern racists that he will not lift a finger to enforce the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation.

A question arises. Why don't the labor

officials display a more independent attitude even within the framework of their Democratic party policy. For example, why didn't labor mobilize a special conference before the Democratic convention and lay down a series of imperative demands to the Democrats, declaring that unless these demands were met labor would put up its own candidates. Isn't it clear that the modest demands of the labor officials would have been granted forthwith if they had proceeded that way? Then why didn't they do it?

The reason is simple. The labor officials fear, and not without cause, that even such a minimum display of independence would get out of hand. Once a political formation of labor's power took shape the "danger" of a really independent break with capitalist politics would be raised considerably.

The prospect is clear. Political reality, which is basically determined by the class struggle, will disclose the bankruptcy of the labor officials' political policy every step of the way. The struggles of the Negro people have already caused widespread dissatisfaction with the official policy. The increasing conflict of the trade unions with the anti-labor, racist Democratic rulers of the South will be sharpened as the labor movement is compelled to launch an organizing drive.

The time element is not the key question. Labor's break with capitalist politics may take a longer or shorter time depending in part on the evolution of the international situation or the economic situation in the U.S. What is important is that the advanced workers prepare for the inevitable explosion. This preparation requires above all a correct principled line in today's political situation and a realistic and effective tactical course.

3. CP Leaders Back the Coalition

The worst obstacle to the organization of the class conscious section of the American working class on a program of principled and effective struggle against the class collaboration line of the labor bureaucrats is the leadership of the Communist Party.

The fact is that the CP leaders are in full agreement with the opportunist, class-collaboration policy of Reuther. Witness the way the Daily Worker greeted the results of the Democratic convention in its Aug. 20 editorial. Reuther's stable of labor functionaries, who double as Democratic machine wheel horses in Michigan, were hailed as the heroes who made the allegedly wonderful results of the Democratic party convention possible.

And then the Daily Worker labor editor, George Morris, in his Aug. 29 column, gives the reasoning behind this line. After hailing the model of Reuther's Democratic machine in Michigan, he says, "What a different political picture we'd have in this country if labor in the other 47 states came up to the political level of Michigan's." According to Morris only then could labor even think of launching its own party.

This is the merest lip service to the labor-party idea. In reality, Morris is

100% in favor of Reuther's principle of class collaboration in politics. Morris' real concept is that the working class (or rather its bureaucratic tops, whom he accepts as the authentic representatives of the working class) should steer towards a unity with the "democratic" and "peace-loving" section of American monopoly capitalism.

He and the other CP leaders believe that this unity, or coalition, should be shaped right within the Democratic party. But even if labor had its own party, they would favor subordinating it to this coalition.

The whole history of such class-collaboration policies, first advocated by the reformist Social Democrats and later picked up by Stalin and foisted on every Communist Party in the world, has been disaster — for the workers. It was the prelude to fascism in Europe.

That's why the first task of the class conscious workers in the U.S. — and that means above all the workers in the Communist Party — is to reject the opportunist political policy of the CP leaders. Then it will become possible to conduct serious work among the rank and file of the unions, building the left-wing opposition to the labor bureaucrats and advancing the program of labor's political independence.

In 1826, no one could foresee that the U.S. would be transformed in such a brief historic period from a primarily agrarian into the most highly industrialized country in the world — and thereby into the most expansionist, imperialist power on the

planet. But from the last to the present century such a change took place in the development of the "Northern neighbor" that it repaid Columbia's kind invitation of 1826 by being instrumental in splitting Panama from Columbia. The U.S. did so because the Colombian Senate rejected the agreement to build the Canal through Colombian territory at Panama.

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Resistance in France to Algeria War

(The following is an account of demonstrations of French reservists called up for active duty in Algeria. It was given to George Lavan, staff writer of the Militant, as part of an interview with a French socialist and active trade unionist well acquainted with the Algerian movement for national independence both in France and in Algeria. — Ed.)

In the past two years there have been two big waves of troop demonstrations. The first wave, which began about six months after the outbreak of the fighting in Algeria, was a movement of the young soldiers alone without the assistance of the French proletariat. These demonstrations were scattered and took very special forms. For example, that at the Church of Saint Severin in Paris.

The soldiers gathered there because they figured the police would not dare use violence in a church. They made speeches declaring that their consciences would not permit them to kill Algerians fighting for freedom. They distributed a pamphlet to

this effect also. Many similar demonstrations took place. Many reservists declared themselves to be conscientious objectors. This is an individual protest against the Algerian war that has come about because of the betrayal of the anti-war struggle by the leadership of the mass parties of the left — the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

SP SLOGANS

The second wave of demonstrations took place after the Socialist Party government had taken office. Before the elections of Jan. 2, 1956 the SP had campaigned on two slogans: 1) End the Algerian war 2) Improve the living conditions of the workers. Some of the SP campaign slogans were: "The Young French Soldiers Will Not Be the Mercenaries of Colonialism" and "Stop the Algerian War — Schools, Old Age Pensions, Hospitals Instead." The Communist Party also engaged in anti-war propaganda but not as far to the left as that of the SP.

Instead of ending the Algerian war, of course, the SP govern-

ment intensified the military efforts to suppress the Algerian people. In this the Communist Party deputies voted for the SP war bill.

The second wave of troop demonstrations has taken place under the SP government and differs from the first wave in that the demonstrations are larger and more bitterly fought and principally in that in some parts of France the working class has come to the aid of the soldiers.

This has occurred sometimes spontaneously and sometimes on the initiative of local CP units acting contrary to the national line of the CP. These demonstrations have been more frequent in the provinces than in Paris because the apparatus of the CP is not as strong in the provinces as in the capital and therefore has not always been able to restrain the workers.

Another factor is that when the government ships troops from Paris it is by night so the people cannot see them. But in small cities and towns it is impossible, even under cover of night, to conceal the troop shipments.

Here are two examples of the demonstrations of the second wave.

(1) In Rouen soldiers in a barracks refused to get in trucks to begin the journey to Algeria. They took over the barracks, locked the officers in the latrines. One colonel suffered the indignity of spending three days in the latrine. The special strike-breaking police of the French government — the CRS — attacked the soldiers. The workers of Rouen spontaneously went to the aid of the besieged young reservists—they began to break holes in the barracks walls to aid the troops. For three days the workers of Rouen were fighting against the police in defense of the soldiers who refused to go to Algeria.

CP LEADERS HALT ACTION

The Communist Party leaders tried to prevent the workers from engaging in the fight and then tried to make them stop. By the third day CP leaders and CGT (Stalinists-dominated trade union federation) leaders were touring the battle area in cars equipped with loud speakers ordering the workers to leave. In the end they prevailed and the soldiers involved were flown to Algeria and, it is said, immediately put into the front lines as punishment.

(2) In the Department of Isere which has a famous resistance tradition from the days of World War II a train with several carloads of troops took three days to travel 50 miles.

In village after village the people—including old men and old women—stopped the train by sitting on the railroad tracks. Sympathetic railroad workers had shown the troops how to operate the air brakes so they stopped the train every few miles.

I might add that women have played a very prominent role in the demonstrations of support to the soldiers who resist being sent to Algeria. It is also noteworthy that young men of military age, not yet called up for service, have formed on their own initiative committees against the Algerian war. In some cases these have been able to force the local CP units to cooperate. There is tremendous popular

resistance in the ranks of both the CP and SP to the official lines of their parties on Algeria.

DESERTIONS GROW

Another indication of the hatred of the young soldiers for the Algerian war is the large number of desertions from the army while the troops are still in France. Many of these young men are hiding out on farms, in the forests, etc. I have heard some peasants refer to the "maquis" in their district. This was the term used for the resistance during the German occupation. However, this is not a real maquis today, for the young men are simply hiding out, there is no question of forming themselves into guerrilla bands.

I also know of cases where peasant families—of no particular political affiliation—summon big family conclaves to decide whether young men of the family, called up for duty in Algeria, should answer the army call or should hide out.

In addition to these struggles a whole series of struggles in defense of civil liberties has developed. These are not only against the terrible police repression against the 300,000 Algerians who live and work in France but also in defense of the freedom of speech and press of Frenchmen who oppose the Algerian war and of African students in French universities who raise their voices on behalf of Algerian independence.

FASCIST VIOLENCE

As an example of the latter, let me mention that at Montpellier, where there are many colonial students, the fascists used force to prevent their expression of support to the Algerian freedom-fighters. A protest meeting was called at the labor temple at which all tendencies in the workers' movement were present. This too was attacked by the fascists with the police helping them. For a whole day the fighting went on. The indignation among the workers at this outrage was so great that a huge outdoor protest meeting was called. Ten thousand attended.

Both the SP and CP were forced to send speakers so great was the pressure from the ranks,

Ships in the Suez Canal



The main technical problem facing the Egyptian government in the operation of the recently nationalized Suez Canal is that of maintaining an adequate staff of highly skilled pilots who navigate ships through the 100-mile waterway. The difficulty has been created by French and British governmental pressure on non-Egyptian pilots to quit their jobs.

Panama: 1826-1956

Latin American Notes and Comments

By Jose Gomez

We can start our comments by stating that the 1956 gathering of the presidents of the American nations in Panama last July, was nothing more nor less than a cynical fraud. Officially, its aim was to celebrate the 130th anniversary of the Congress of Panama which took place in 1826 under sponsorship of Simon Bolivar. One of the main aims of that Congress was to unite the newly-formed Latin American countries as the best means of assuring their recently acquired independence from the domination of Spain.

Bolivar wasn't a representative of the aspirations and needs of the masses but in his struggle for liberation from Spanish rule, he, more than any one else in his time properly felt and understood that only through unity could the small and weak newly established countries consolidate their position and confront the outside world.

In this respect, there is practically no relation or resemblance not only between the aims and purposes between the 1826 and 1956 gatherings but in the conditions under which they took place.

The Congress of 1826 took place under the condition of newly acquired national independence in Latin America. The 1956 gathering took place under the total domination of Latin America by its imperialist Northern neighbor, the United States. In 1826, Bolivar didn't find it necessary to invite the United States. It was Columbia, the host country, that invited the U.S. to attend the Panama Congress (Panama at the time still belonged to Columbia). The U.S. government sent only an observer.

A VAST CHANGE

But from the last to the present century such a change took place in the development of the "Northern neighbor" that it repaid Columbia's kind invitation of 1826 by being instrumental in splitting Panama from Columbia. The U.S. did so because the Colombian Senate rejected the agreement to build the Canal through Colombian territory at Panama.

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another large percentage of individuals in Latin America belongs to the working class. This class is badly underpaid and forced to struggle for existence under unbearable conditions. A committee that really wants to give a solution to the problem of improving the "welfare of the individual" in the case of the workers would have to come to the scientific conclusion that the only way is to nationalize all industrial enterprises and operate them for use instead of for private profit.

Here, too, such a proposal would so horrify Eisenhower that he would be the first to utilize all the material resources of U.S. imperialism to prevent that kind of solution from being put into effect.

The speeches of the Latin American presidents were hardly less cynical than Eisenhower's. That goes for all of them — from the brutal dictators to the so-called "democratic" and "enlightened" presidents. As a case in point there is the speech of Jose Figueres of Costa Rica — who even pretends to be socialist-minded. Although he began by lamenting Canada's and Puerto Rico's absence, he went on to justify U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico and to declare: "I know that Puerto Rico, of its own will, is worthily represented here through the Government of the United States by the noble figure of President Eisenhower."

A NEW FORCE

What have people like that — and the forces they represent — to do with celebrating the anniversary of a Congress whose guiding idea was unity of the weak Latin American countries against the forces of colonial domination? Nothing whatever!

But although in the 130 years since the 1826 Panama Congress the United States has become transformed into the prime imperialist power of the world and dominates Latin America with the help of native ruling elements subservient to it, this is not the only change that has taken place. A new force has arisen in Latin America — the working class. It is taking up leadership in the struggle for national and social emancipation of the Latin American countries and their unification against all oppressing and exploiting anti-social forces such as the ones that gathered at Panama in July 1956.

World Events

PIETRO NENNI, leader of the Left Wing Socialist Party of Italy, has confirmed reports that he is in the process of effecting a merger with the Right-Wing Socialist faction led by Giuseppe Saragat. Such unification could spell the end of the coalition between Nenni and the Italian Communist Party which has existed since 1947. The 1947 split between the two wings of the Socialist Party had been caused by the cold war. Nenni oriented toward the CP, while Saragat lined up with U.S. imperialism.

The moves toward reunification have been spurred by the developments since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Since the shattering of the Stalin cult at the Congress, the relations between Nenni and the CP have grown increasingly cool. Nenni's more outspoken criticism of the Soviet regime has compelled CP leader Thorez to go further than he apparently desired in the present international "re-evaluation" of Stalinism.

In recent elections, Nenni's party has been gaining votes at the expense of the CP. Nenni now says there has been "growing discomfort and coldness" in the relations between the two movements.

POLISH WORKERS do not have the right to strike, said Wiktor Klosiewicz, chief of Polish labor unions. His statement was widely published in Warsaw Aug. 21. Fearful of another Poznan revolt, Klosiewicz said that conflicts between labor and management which lay behind that uprising must never again be allowed to mature. He main-

tained that the function of labor unions was to remove such conflicts at the start.

SOVIET SCHOOL TEXTS now have the new line on Stalin. He is mentioned only a few times in a 280-page volume on the Bolsheviks and the Soviet state. An accompanying guide instructs teachers to "give Stalin credit" for his role as an organizer and theoretician but at the same time to "reveal his extremely serious blunders."

100,000 NON-WHITES are being evicted from their homes in the South African city of Johannesburg. This is a new application of the racist Afrikaners' Group Areas Act of 1950 which aims toward a society divided according to skin color. Opposition members of Parliament and other groups have called the move a "disastrous blow" to the property rights of non-whites and another manifestation of "the master race complex."

CRAMMED ONTO A CONVERTED CORVETTE called a "hell ship" with "penal ship conditions" by a U.S. Congressman, 500 Mexican "wet-back" nationals jumped ship at Tampico, Mexico, half-way to their destination of Vera Cruz. It was reported that five drowned in their escape attempt. The Mexican nationals work in the U.S., mostly in the Southwest, at sub-standard wages, and then when no longer needed are forced back to Mexico by U.S. immigration authorities.

On the Moscow Trials

By Leon Trotsky: "Stalin's Frame-up System and The Moscow Trials." "I Stake My Life"	144 pages 18 pages	\$1.00 .15
By F. Adler: "The Witchcraft Trial in Moscow" (Very few copies available) "Why Did They Confess?" (On the Radek-Piatkov Trial)	32 pages 30 pages	.25 .25
By M. Shachtman: "Behind the Moscow Trial"	142 pages Cloth Paper	1.00 .50
Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.		

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Memo to the Negro Press

Dear Editors:

For many months you have been trying conscientiously—with some exceptions—to provide intelligent leadership in political action to further the cause of equality for Negroes in the United States.

Most of you have urged colored Americans to register to vote, to demand that all candidates and all parties state clearly where they stand on civil rights and segregation.

More of you than in the past have refused to commit yourselves to support any party until the adoption of election platforms. You have tried to take a principled stand, to base your political allegiance on programs and issues, rather than men.

Now the party conventions are over. Disappointment with the platforms of both the Democrats and the Republicans is spread over your papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico.

What are you going to do? Are you going to swallow your disappointment, as in the past, and settle down for the usual election campaign compromise with your civil rights principles? Print the usual hogwash about how important it is to vote, no matter for whom? Tell your readers they must be patient, vote for the "lesser evil"—if there is such a thing between two parties dedicated to the proposition that men are created unequal and must be kept that way?

Some of you who are Democrats, said in recent months, that the party would have to choose between the white supremacists and the Negroes. Well, the Democrats chose the Dixiecrats. What are you going to do about it?

Some of you who are Republicans, like William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post and the first Negro elected to the state central committee of the

Ohio GOP, what are you going to do? Are you satisfied with the runaround you got from both the national and state organizations? Do you honestly believe that the Republicans, who have your support without having to fight for it, will do one bit more than the Democrats, if they are elected, to pass civil rights legislation, enforce anti-segregation court decisions, protect the right to vote or just protect the lives of Negroes in the South?

Isn't it time for the editors of the Negro press to show as much courage and independence as the Negro masses in the South?

In Montgomery, Alabama, this month, the Segregation Party was formed by a group of white supremacists "to give Alabama voters a chance to express their feelings on segregation in a way not open to them thru the Democratic or Republican parties."

You, too, have an alternative. You can express your feelings on segregation in a way not open to you through the Democratic or Republican parties. Acquaint yourself and your readers with the program of the Socialist Workers Party. It is not a program of "moderation." It is for "full economic, political and social equality," for immediate enforcement and implementation of the decision against public school segregation, for legislation to abolish all forms of segregation.

Moreover, the Socialist Workers Party plank on Rights of Minorities is not something stuck on the platform to attract "Negro votes." It is part and parcel of an integrated program of foreign and domestic policies in the interest of working men and women and victims of oppression everywhere.

An SWP vote—writing in the names of the candidates where necessary—is your answer to the Democratic and Republican Parties.

'Chesty' Puller's Medals

The high point at the recent court-martial of Marine Sgt. Matthew C. McKeon was the appearance of a "living legend": Lt.-General Lewis B. Puller. It was fitting that the idol of the Marines should be the star witness, in a proceeding in which the Marine-Way-of-Life was on trial before the American public.

Puller strutted in the courtroom with eight rows of ribbons, representing 50 medals. He won his first decoration in Haiti just after the First World War, for attacking an encampment of revolutionaries.

The little island republic of Haiti which gained its independence from France in 1803, was placed under Yankee-dollar control by courtesy of U.S. marine bayonets in 1915. Under U.S. auspices, martial law was declared and a treaty signed under which the U.S. was to develop the resources of Haiti, name engineers whose advice was binding, administer the customs and select a financial adviser to direct the budget. The Haitian "treaty of amity" required force and violence to be effectuated. American troops slaughtered over 2,000 Haitians in the course of five years and force was used to hold them at roadbuilding labor.

'HEROES' ARE MADE

Since Haiti's old constitution hampered U.S. efforts to control the land, a new constitution was drafted in Washington and submitted to the Haitian assembly. The furor generated by this flaunting insult gave the assembly such jitters that it dared not accept the U.S. drafted constitution. American administrators thereupon dissolved the legislature and ordered the Marines to drive out recalcitrant members. The revised constitution was submitted to a "referendum" under American supervision. It was in the battle to oppress the people of Haiti that Puller first distinguished himself.

In the 1920's Puller won two Navy Crosses in Nicaragua, but the climax of his career, came

in Korea, where American forces engaged in the mass murder of a revolutionary people fighting for their land and freedom.

"Chesty" Puller told his troops before the Inchon, Korean landing: "We are the most fortunate of men. There was a time when a professional soldier had to wait 25 years or so before he ever got into a war. We only had to wait five years for this one."

"For all that time we have been sitting on our fat behinds drawing our pay. Now we are going to earn it. We are going to work at our trade. We have chosen to live by the sword. If necessary we will die by the sword."

NO CRIME

At the trial of Sgt. McKeon, a drill instructor who was charged with manslaughter, oppressing recruits, and drinking on duty, as an aftermath of six recruits drowning while on a disciplinary night march in the swamps, Puller roared that both he and General Pate, "agree and regret that this man was ever ordered to trial." (On his return to the U.S. in 1952, the "blood and guts" general had said there was no good reason why fighting men should not get beer or whiskey if it made them fight any better.)

Puller confided that being in the Marine Corps "means more than self preservation, or religion or patriotism" and added that he had felt that way ever since his recruit days in 1917.

Puller asserted that the night disciplinary march, far from being "oppression of troops," as charged, actually was "good." He testified from his experiences that "drill instructors had practically unlimited authority." He also said that he trained his troops his own way and to hell with any directives.

Puller represents the Marine Corps—composed of men trained to be professional killers to the marrow of their bones. Sgt. McKeon is a minor image of the "hero."

Mrs. Meeks, mother of Tom Hardeman, who drowned on the death march, said: "He (McKeon) should go to jail so

other officers will learn that these things can't be carried on by law. But he shouldn't go alone." Indeed he shouldn't. The Pullers and the McKeons are only the goon squad for a U.S. ruling class that uses force and violence to massacre or burn alive with napalm these peoples throughout the world who fight for their freedom.

During the past two weeks we have also received three Militant renewals, an ISR renewal and two introductory subscriptions to the paper from the Twin Cities Militant Army. One of the new subs we are told was obtained by a packing-house worker from a fellow-worker. The other came from a man who attended the Twin Cities meeting for Myra Tanner Weiss last June after seeing the meeting announced on a local TV station. He has since been coming back for socialist

By Lois Saunders
LOS ANGELES, Aug. 26 — Race hatred exploded into open violence last Monday in a lily-white housing tract in Placentia, Orange County, California.

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ESCAPE INJURY
In that bed were two young girls, one 15, the other 10. Miraculously, neither was injured. Members of the family grabbed every available bucket and pan, poured water on the flaming bed and dresser. They put out the fire.

Outside the Harrises heard the hum of voices. In the darkness they saw forms and faces. White faces.

Harris had been warned there would be trouble if he dared move into the home he had purchased. A cross had been burned in front of the house a week earlier. Some person or persons had forced entry into the house, poured dry cement into the kitchen sink, the toilet, the bathtub, then turned on the water. With a knife they had cut into ribbons the carpeting on the living room floor.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1956

NUMBER 36

Food and Rent Hikes Push Living Costs to Record High

By Fred Hart

THE MILITANT ARMY

The special subscription blanks for our introductory offer of a three-month subscription to the Militant for 50 cents have been distributed to the members of the Militant Army throughout the country, and the first returns point to a successful drive for new readers.

Our star salesman in St. Louis, Richard Clausen, who has over the years maintained a regular delivery route for the paper informed us this week that he expects to get subscriptions from more than half the people who have been buying single copies from him weekly. And his prediction is backed up with an enclosure of seven subs.

From Detroit comes four new subs to the Militant along with three one-year subscriptions to the International Socialist Review. Agent John Collins writes, "We have gotten off to a good start on the three-month subs, combining it with introducing our candidate, Rita Shaw, in workers' neighborhoods."

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literature and wants to be getting the Militant.

Twin Cities agent Winnifred Nelson also writes "Your Militant Army comments on our successful Minnesota Militant Month were appreciated—but you really gave us a very strong build-up which I am afraid we won't be able to live up to." She explains the branch is in the process of moving its headquarters this month and that at the same time it will have to conduct the drive to secure the independent nominating positions necessary to put the SWP on the ballot in Minnesota.

When we predicted that the Twin Cities would be out front in the present sub drive we were fully aware of these additional activities. We simply assumed they would constitute a sporting handicap for the rest of the country.

Seamen Score Against Screening

The U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco on Aug. 27 ordered the Coast Guard to issue sailing papers "forthwith" to seamen screened off ships under the "security" program, which was ruled unconstitutional last month. The Coast Guard had avoided compliance with the previous ruling.

In New York, the Seamen's Defense Committee, organized to protect the rights of seamen in the government screening program, will hold a dance Saturday night, Sept. 22, at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St., New York City.

American workers have again been belted right in the bread basket as living costs soared last month to a new record high. Between mid-June and mid-July, the government's cost-of-living index went up 0.7%. The index has climbed five months in a row and now stands at an all-time high. According to the conservative figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, living costs are now 17% higher than the already high 1947-49 average.

The immediate factor in the latest hike was again the one most basic for working people—the rise in the cost of food. While the small farmer's income has remained depressed, food prices have gone up steadily for the last six months. Another reason living costs have gone up is the lifting of rent controls or authorized rent increases in a number of industrial areas such as Northern New Jersey.

The main underlying causes for the continuing inflationary spiral are the huge government expenditures for armaments and pressure of the steadily expanding credit structure, including a peak consumer debts resulting from the need for wide-spread installment buying.

The prediction of Washington economists that food, rent, transportation and recreation costs will continue to rise confirms the analysis made by the Socialist Workers Party in its current election platform. The section of the platform on the "Prosperity Depression Cycle" says:

"The American economy is based primarily on arms expenditures. Boom conditions have prevailed consistently in industries central to war production but mere preparations for war have not been enough to sustain capitalist production as a whole. Despite the military build-up in the cold war a serious economic decline began in 1949. Overcome temporarily by American entry into the Korean war, the slump

sumers price index stands at the highest level on record and shows every sign of a continued climb. At the same time a chronic decline has hit industries like coal, textile and shipbuilding. Periodic slumps impair employment in such industries as auto. A sag in the farm equipment field reflects the fundamental decline in agriculture. Inflationary pressures and the threat of unemployment thus appear side by side, spelling out the danger of economic crisis as the alternative to war under capitalism."

Also underscored by the jump in living costs is the SWP platform's demand for "An escalator clause on all wages, unemployment compensation and other benefits, with taxes to be included in computing living costs."

Are Wage Raises to Blame When Prices Go Way Up?

By Frank Barbaria

(Excerpt from radio speech given Aug. 14, over KPFA-FM, Berkeley, Calif. Barbaria was SWP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco last year.)

Last week the Westinghouse Electric Company announced it would increase the wholesale prices of all major home appliances an average of 5% because of the higher prices they must pay for steel. In accordance with what is considered good business practice, this 5% increase in wholesale prices will be boosted by an extra 40% mark-up (40% of the 5%) before reaching the ultimate buyer.

Since hefty price increases like this will be deluging the working people and companies are already blaming it on the steel workers, I'd like to say a word or two in defense of these workers. Let's take a look behind the curtain and see if what the industry says is true.

PROFITS SOARING
I claim another fraudulent profit-steal is being perpetrated upon the American people. Tremendously increased company profits are being realized with the meager wage boost serving as an excuse to gouge the public. Last year they did a little gouging without being able to blame it on a strike. Profits for the first quarter of 1956 were \$312 millions, almost 50% above the profits for the same period in 1955. This was accomplished through a boost of \$7.35 a ton for steel, and through speed-up and increasing productivity, among other factors.

The New York Times of Aug. 7 reports the findings of an industrial statistician on what the boost in the price of steel should add to various items.



FRANK BARBARIA

A \$300 refrigerator: \$1.21
A \$160 washing machine: .06
A \$25 toaster: .06
A \$225 gas range: \$1.17

Let's go back to that \$300 refrigerator. Westinghouse raises the wholesale price by \$9.00, then the mark-up raises it 40% more or another \$4.00, thus boosting the final price \$13.00 to pay for a \$1.21 increase for steel.

The \$225 gas range will go up to \$235.50, a \$10.50 rise, all blamed on the steel workers, to pay \$1.17 extra for steel, of which the workers get only 41 cents.

I notice from this morning's paper that the price of a small loaf of bread jumped from 20 cents to 22 cents. That's 10%! I wonder if they will blame this on the steel workers, too, because of the iron in bread.

We'll Defend You, Say White Neighbors

By Lois Saunders

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of the house on the night of the attack. But the racists apparently crept around to the rear. The girls' bedroom faced toward the back.

The bomb that exploded on the front lawn aroused the neighborhood. Men, women and children poured out of their homes, milled about in the street. Some of them were armed.

But they were not hostile to the new family. They were incensed that the Harris home had been bombed. They offered aid and shelter to the stricken family. One of the men held out his pistol to Harris with the comment: "You might need this."

One woman said: "It's not safe

for you to stay here. Bring your children to my house. And if they want to bomb me out, then let them!"

The next day Harris was digging up the Bermuda grass that grew wild in front of his house. He had no intention of yielding to the intimidation and of pulling up stakes. He had come to Placentia to stay.

First to come to his assistance was the Orange County Committee for Equal Opportunity. They organized guards to stand by during the night.

WHITE MEN HELP

On Saturday a group of men, about 10, Negro and white, came to help Harris put in his lawn.

They brought tools, fertilizer, plants.

Police continue to patrol the area. The situation is still tense. Many of the neighbors are friendly, but some are not. A second Negro family has bought a home in the same tract and is expected to move in within a week. No one knows when or if another attack may occur.

The bombing of the Harris home points up the racial conflict that erupts every time a Negro family buys a home outside ghetto areas. But a new element has emerged in the Placentia situation. For the first time, a number of the people living in nearby homes have refused to be stampeded into racial hostility.

... SWP Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

well. It is because of them that at least a small segment of the time allotted to political candidates will be used by socialists on the radio and TV networks.

The SWP has kept aloft the banner of socialist electioneering and independent working class politics since 1948. This is our third Presidential campaign. The years of 1948 to 1956 have been tough, uphill years for radicalism in the U.S. Yet, it is precisely in the tough years that the indestructible party of socialism is tempered and tested.

A good example of the kind of spirit that animates our 1956 election campaign is found in Michigan. Readers of the Militant will note the vigorous and effective campaign being waged by Rita Shaw, SWP candidate for Governor of Michigan. (To obtain a special folder publishing Rita Shaw's eloquent speech to Ford Local 600 in Detroit write to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.)

The vigor of our Michigan campaign is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that the Democratic Party state administration, by a sneaky, last-minute technical pretext, robbed the SWP and other minority parties, of their official ballot rights. Instead of dampening the socialist campaign, this move seems to have produced a redoubled effort by our Michigan comrades. There is a good reason for this.

The SWP was on the ballot in Michigan in 1948. Again in 1954 it qualified for the ballot. At that time the administration knocked the party off the ballot

by invoking the notorious Michigan Trucks Act. This was a law that virtually illegalized all dissident political opinion. At one point the law provided the death penalty for activity in "wartime strikes."

In 1954 the SWP won back its right to be on the ballot in Michigan. Together with a number of civil liberties organizations and sections of the labor movement it waged a battle against the Trucks law. In a court test the state administration was forced to back down and permit the party's name a place on the ballot.

Now the Michigan state administration again hopes to silence the SWP—this time by a technical subterfuge. But the SWP refuses to be silenced and will continue the fight until it has defeated all challenges to its political rights.

Meanwhile, our two national candidates are launching speaking tours for the final months of the campaign. Earlier this year, Myra Tanner Weiss completed a coast-to-coast tour. She is now scheduled to begin her concluding tour in the Twin Cities Friday, Sept. 5. Farrell Dobbs will begin his tour in Los Angeles, Sept. 14. Last March Dobbs opened his presidential campaign by covering the trial of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott leaders as a correspondent for the Militant. In April he toured Mid-Western and Eastern cities appealing to the labor movement to give immediate and substantial aid to the heroic freedom fight in Montgomery.

... Rita Shaw Explains

(Continued from page 1)

regime that exists in the Soviet Union. We say that this is wrong. We have to show them that that's not true if we want to convert them to socialism.

And to do that we have to answer the lies and distortions of all groups about the Soviet Union—not only those of the capitalists but those of the Stalinists. That's what the Militant is trying to do, and that's why it's trying to do it. If your complaint is that it's not doing it successfully, that's another story. But somebody has to do this job, and the Militant in my opinion is doing it better than any one else.

I agree with you that prison conditions in Georgia and Florida are far from ideal. But do bad prison conditions in a capitalist country justify the existence of bad prison conditions in a workers' state whose rulers claim to have achieved socialism? Does the witch hunt of radicals in the U.S. justify the suppression of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and the imprisonment of millions of people because they dare to voice criticism of the rulers?

MUST WE DENY FACTS?

I agree that Ford and Chrysler workers marching on Detroit police headquarters would be shot down and arrested. Nothing else could be expected under capitalism. But does that justify the shooting and arrest of workers in Poznan, who were unable to get attention paid to their just grievances in any other way

than by going on strike and organizing a demonstration against the bureaucrats who prohibit strikes and demonstrations?

Capitalist propagandists say that the political persecution and low living standards in the USSR and Eastern Europe are the result of socialism. Are we to answer this charge by denying the fact that Polish workers were shot down while demanding redress for their grievances or the fact that concentration camps for political prisoners exist in the USSR?

Denying the facts is not an answer. Any serious socialist must afford to deny facts or to keep quiet about them. The truth of the matter is that the terrible oppression in the "socialist" countries is NOT the logical outcome of socialism but that it results from a degenerate bureaucratic rulership which must be removed by the working class of those countries.

Finally, I don't think you're accurate in saying that the SWP thinks everything anyone else does is wrong. As you know from reading the Militant, we hail all movements such as the Montgomery bus boycott where workers and Negroes engaged in struggle against their enemies, even though we may disagree with the policies of their leaders. We don't think the steel workers did wrong in striking against the steel barons, even though we condemn the McDonald leadership for the way it conducted the strike and the agreement that it signed. We support Egypt

in the Suez crisis despite our opposition to Nasser's politics.

I don't think the Militant has ever claimed that everything the SWP does is right. I personally would never make such a claim. But I do contend that the policies the SWP advocates are those that can advance the struggle for socialism in the U.S., and that they are more correct than those of other parties and groups active in politics. If there is a question about that claim, we are willing and eager to engage in discussion or debate with anyone about any of our policies that may be questioned or challenged. I would be glad to meet with you to discuss this and other questions at your convenience.

Sincerely,
Rita Shaw

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Hear

MITA SHAW

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan present

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON SOCIALISM

Fri., Sept. 7, 8:00 P.M.

TWIN CITIES ELECTION RALLIES

Hear
Myra Tanner Weiss
SWP CANDIDATE FOR
VICE-PRESIDENT

Minneapolis
"The American People Must
Build a Labor Party"

Wed., Sept. 5, 8:00 P.M.
10 South Fourth St.
St. Paul

"The Elections and the Fight
Against Segregation"

Sun., Sept. 9, 3:00 P.M.
American House, 444 Rice St.
Questions and Discussion
invited at both meetings

THE SUEZ CRISIS

An examination of the
revolution in Egypt today
Fri., Sept. 14, 8:00 P.M.

Los Angeles Election Rally

FARRELL DOBBS
SWP Candidate for
President

Will speak on:
"Labor in the 1956 Elections"

Fri., Sept. 14, 8:15 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium,
North Hall
839 South Grand Ave.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION