

Economic Causes of Hungarian Uprising

(See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1957

Price 10 Cents

Racists in South Step Up Bombings

The Socialist Party Merger With the Social Democrats

An Editorial

The unity convention of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation, Jan. 18 and 19, has acquired importance for the entire American radical movement. It is taking place in the midst of a discussion on how to regroup radicals in a common organization designed to advance the struggle for socialism in the U.S.

The regroupment discussion arises out of the upsurge of the working class in the Soviet orbit and the consequent crisis of world Stalinism. In turn, the upsurge of the Soviet-orbit working class is closely related to the other gains of the world socialist revolution — especially from gains scored in anti-imperialist struggles by the peoples of Asia and the Middle East.

As a result of the crisis of Stalinism, bureaucratic barriers are being torn down that prevented a free discussion between revolutionary socialists and members of the largest working class party — the Communist Party — over political theories and over rich experiences of several decades of revolutionary struggles. The discussion is opened. There is no question that it will yield a new alignment of forces around a revolutionary socialist axis. This is the only way that the cause of socialism can be advanced in America.

What Is the Unity for?

The unification of the SP and SDF, however, proceeds around a diametrically opposite axis. Their unification is not designed to open the door for discussion of programmatic questions in order to facilitate regroupment along the line of socialist principles. It is a move by extreme right-wingers in the SP and SDF to join forces for war against revolutionary Marxism.

These right-wingers are determined to continue servile support to U.S. capitalism and to prevent anyone turning to the left under inspiration of gains scored by the world socialist revolution.

The program under which SP-SDF

unification is to take place (see story page one) has nothing whatever to do with the struggle for socialism, because it has nothing to do with the working-class struggle against capitalism. There is not a single word in criticism of capitalism in the entire disgraceful unification memorandum.

Alignment with Capitalism

The SP-SDF unity program devotes itself entirely to the struggle of "democracy" against Stalinist totalitarianism. Genuine socialists, it is true, hate and combat Stalinism, but they pursue the working-class struggle against this evil and fight against Stalinism within the framework of the struggle against capitalism. Unlike the SDF and SP leaders, they do not align themselves with U.S. imperialism in its drive for world domination nor do they misrepresent this drive as the fight for democracy.

The unification agreement is but an undisguised supplement to the foreign policy of American Big Business. Its point of departure and its perspectives are those of the cold-war needs of America's capitalist rulers. The unification agreement thus works against the cause of socialism.

The pro-capitalist character of the SDF-SP unification agreement is further underscored by its clause on political action. The SDFers, as is known, do not want a socialist party. They want to prevent independent working-class political action. Many right-wing SP leaders, notably Norman Thomas, are of a similar mind. Their political action program is the class-collaborationist one of support to the Democratic Party.

Finally, the engineers of SP-SDF unity propose to ban public discussions of their members with the Communist Party or Socialist Workers Party. They would ban appearance on a common platform even with the Independent Socialist League, because the ISL has not yet ex-

(Continued on page 3)

Repeat Performance



NEWS ITEM: James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) was renamed by the Senate majority last week to the key post of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Crisis of British Imperialism Deepens as Eden Resigns

By Fred Halstead

The resignation of Anthony Eden as British Prime Minister, Jan. 9, after only 21 months in office, points up the fact that the rule of the British capitalist class is in serious crisis and it also testifies to the growing leftward movement of the British workers. British imperialism proved too weak to stop the Arab national independence movement with the bloody Suez invasion which Eden sponsored, and "his health and his spirit both have broken," says the Jan. 10 N.Y. Times, "under the pressure aroused in Britain and abroad by his policy of intervention in Egypt."

His successor, Harold MacMillan, appointed by the Queen Jan. 10 on the advice of a few Tory millionaires, was Eden's strongest supporter on the Suez policy, and has maintained Eden's cabinet almost intact.

WORKERS' PRESSURE

One factor in Eden's downfall was the cold shoulder he got from the U.S. State Department which wants to dissociate itself from the Suez fiasco, while it prepares its own armed intervention under the "Eisenhower Doctrine." MacMillan's appointment is ap-

parently designed to satisfy the needs of relations with the U.S. as well as to pacify critical elements in the Tory Party. His appointment, however, does very little to quiet the most powerful factor in Eden's political demise — the reaction of the British working class to the imperialist adventure which Eden sponsored.

With unprecedented speed, the British workers demonstrated their fierce opposition to the Suez invasion only a few days after it was announced and before the British-French troops had landed. This mass sentiment forced the right-wing leaders of the British Labor Party to reverse their previous stand (in support of British imperialism in the Suez dispute), and to oppose the British government in wartime for the first time in history. The largest demonstration ever organized by the Labor Party in opposition to government policy was held Nov. 4 (the day before troops landed in Suez), in London's Trafalgar Square with Aneurin Bevan, leader of the party's left wing as the speaker.

When the unconditional withdrawal of the imperialist troops was announced in Parliament the opposition Labor Party benches responded with "howls of meritment." The Labor MP's correctly interpreted the defeat of the imperialist armies as a defeat for the Conservatives. All observers agree if a general election were held now, Labor would win it.

The Tories, who gained control of Parliament with a minority vote in the last election due to gerrymandered districts, are not required by law to call a new election until 1960. However, the crisis of British capitalism is so acute that the capitalist class may not be able to rule in its own name much longer. "Many economic advisers to the government," says a London dispatch in the Jan. 10 N.Y. Times, "see a period of maximum economic strain ahead and believe that a period of recurrent crises can only be surmounted by a national administration representing the entire nation."

In other words, a coalition or Labor Party government will be necessary, according to these experts, to get the English workers to bear the burden of the privations ahead for British capitalism. Such a development would expose the reformist wing of the labor party to the advantage of the left wing, which has come out of the Suez crisis with a tremendously heightened reputation.

Kadar and Kremlin top-dog Khrushchev, but brazenly to underline its "tough" line. Next the puppet leaders of East Germany were summoned to Moscow for a week of negotiations on relations between that satellite nation and the USSR. Throughout this period the press of the USSR was making the most of the Chinese Communist Party's support. The Politburo of the Chinese CP had rallied to the Kremlin's support on Dec. 29 with the release of a long report backing up the Kadar regime, the new "tough" line and condemning the Yugoslav thesis of "different roads to socialism."

The Chinese endorsement was quickly followed up with a visit to Moscow by Premier Chou En-lai. There he was wined and dined, toured and honored by the grateful Kremlin bureaucrats. The East German puppets were called in to hear his views at first hand and Premier Kadar of Hungary was hurriedly ordered to Moscow to render Chou

Integration Fight Grows In Several States Despite WCC Terrorism

By John Thayer

JAN. 16 — As Negro leaders from nine Southern states gathered in a strategy conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on the bus desegregation fight, white supremacists throughout the South went on a rampage of violence.

Four Negro churches and the homes of two ministers active in the bus boycott movement were bombed in Montgomery, Alabama. A shotgun blast fired at a bus afforded the Mayor and City Commissioners, all of whom are admitted members of the White Citizens Councils, an excuse to suspend all bus service in the city indefinitely.

TERROR MOVES

In Mobile, Ala., three bombing attempts, one of them successful, were made against the homes of Negro leaders. In addition three crosses were burned. In Chattanooga, Tenn., two Molotov cocktails (gasoline bombs) were thrown against a bus because the company, following the Supreme Court decision against segregation, had removed the "white" and "colored" signs.

In Tallahassee, Fla., where a bus boycott, patterned after that in Montgomery, lasted from May 1956 until the recent high court decision against bus segregation, a grocery store belonging to a Negro active in the boycott movement was attacked by racists. (On Jan. 17, the home of Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Council, was bombed.

—Ed.) Near Columbus, Georgia, a bomb destroyed the roadside store of Koinonia Farms, a 15-year-old, religious, interracial farming project. This farm, operated cooperatively by about fifty Negro and white farmers has suffered previous damage from white supremacist attackers. The damage in the recent bombing is estimated at \$5,000. Such losses plus boycotts of its products have endangered the continued existence of the farm.

Despite the wave of terror, the Negro people of the South are holding firm in their aim to end Jim Crow bus seating. In Atlanta five Negro ministers conducted a campaign of riding up front in buses. The tactic employed by the bus company was immediately to declare the buses which they boarded "out of service" and to order all passengers off. However, the day ended with the outcome the Negro leaders sought — namely, their arrest, which now furnishes the basis for a court action specifically ordering desegregation of buses in Atlanta.

The vicious, racist governor of Georgia, Marvin Griffin, alerted the Georgia National Guard for possible duty in Atlanta. Griffin's

statements as well as record make it plain that he would order the Guard not to enforce the law, which is now against bus Jim Crow, but to uphold bus segregation.

The Atlanta conference of Negro leaders from nine states heard the advice of veteran boycott leaders Rev. Martin L. King of Montgomery and Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee. Among the actions of the conference was an appeal to President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon to speak out publicly against the wave of anti-Negro violence. (Continued on page 3)

Sobell Freedom Sought on Basis Of New Evidence

JAN. 16 — The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell announces that the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York City has before it two new motions to grant Sobell, who is now serving a thirty-year term in Alcatraz, a hearing or a judgement of acquittal.

The defense in its briefs to the Appeals Court maintains that the prosecution "knowingly, willfully, and intentionally introduced false and perjured evidence to establish that appellant [Morton Sobell] was deported by the Government of Mexico or its agencies." The prosecution also suppressed evidence vital to the defense.

The second motion points out that the U.S. courts have no jurisdiction over the defendant Morton Sobell because all judicial proceedings were in violation of the Extradition Treaty of this government with Mexico — a treaty that is regarded by the Supreme Court as taking priority to national judicial action.

There can be no question that the prosecution maintained at the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell that the latter had been deported from Mexico. It is also clear that the prosecution failed to prove its deportation contention.

Newly obtained evidence proves conclusively that Sobell was not deported. To obtain this evidence the defense worked for more than a year. Field investigations into Mexico were made where documents were secured and witnesses interviewed.

SP and SDF Schedule Unification Convention

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Jan. 16 — The 20-year split between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation is slated to end at a unification convention of the two organizations to be held here Jan. 18 and 19. Unification agreement was reached after extended negotiations. Several previous efforts at unification by the two groups had failed.

The SDF was organized in 1936 by the extreme right-wing "Old Guard" of the SP under the leadership of Louis Waldman and others. Based primarily on highly conservatized union officials in the ILGWU and other unions, the "Old Guard" lost its long-time control of the SP in 1934 to a grouping headed by Norman Thomas. They walked out of the party at the 1936 convention, finding the Thomas group too radical for their taste.

MERGER OPPOSED

The present unification plans have been arrived at despite opposition within both organizations. In the SP, a group opposed the merger as a capitulation to the pro-capitalist politics of the SDF. However, in a nation-wide referendum, the SP membership is reported to have voted two to one in favor of the unification.

Within the SDF the strongest opposition to unity came from the organization's largest affiliate, the Jewish Socialist Verband. At a recent convention the Verband voted by a large majority against unity. It is also

reported that the SDF's New York organization is opposed to the merger.

In combating its left-wing opposition to the merger, the SP leadership is compelled to rewrite its own history. An editorial in the December 1956 Socialist Call explains that "in the confusion of a world in economic depression and heading toward World War II, Socialists had lost a unity of attitude on immediate issues and tactics."

The reality of that division was substantially different than that indicated by the editors of the Call. During the early thirties there was a steady growth of radicalization in America. In Europe social democracy was demonstrating its bankruptcy as it caved in before the march of fascism. The combination of national and international developments crystallized a left wing in the SP which demanded an end to the reformist politics of the "Old Guard" leadership.

Lacking a clear cut Marxist program the left wing fell in large part under the leadership of Norman Thomas who at that time espoused an anti-war program based on pacifism. Although their voice was muffled by the Thomas leadership, the rank and file militants began to voice their opposition to the "Old Guard's" snug relationship with the AFL officialdom, its support of capitalist politicians and general reformist line. It was this

opposition from the left that drove the "Old Guard" out of the party.

But in subsequent years, Thomas and his associates in the SP leadership moved steadily to the right and have now reached the point of full acceptance of the SDF program of support to the cold war. This is illustrated by the recently arrived at SP-SDF "Memorandum of Understanding" which declares that the joint program "must not be based on the illusion that peace can be achieved by appeasement of the Communist imperialism that threatens the world's peace and freedom... We realize that until universal, enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of the Communist dictators."

The joint statement of understanding puts an end to the SP's independent electoral activity on a national basis and declares that in the absence of socialist or labor candidates "it shall be the privilege of individual state and local organizations to allow their individual members to support candidates... who have been endorsed by liberal and labor groups." The SDF supported Stevenson in the last election.

According to the Socialist Call, the united organization will be recognized as an official section of the Second International. The name of the new organization has not yet been agreed upon.

Kremlin in New Stand Against Workers

By George Lavan

In an effort to stem the tide of popular opposition rising throughout the Soviet orbit, and which reached the heights of political revolution in Poland and Hungary a few months ago, the Kremlin bureaucracy has enunciated a new "tough" line. It is this line which is being variously described in the world press as "neo-Stalinism," a "return to Stalinism," or a "halt to de-Stalinization."

The build-up for the new line has included new repressions in Hungary and an unprecedented number of top-level, Soviet-orbit conferences. Thus in the first two weeks of January three major conferences were staged. First was the five-nation confab in Budapest. The Kremlin chose this ravaged capital as the meeting place not only for the leaders of Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, invited there to meet with Hungarian puppet

a personal report. Afterwards, Chou went to Poland to shore up Kremlin positions there.

At first glance the "tough" line would appear to be meeting with success in Hungary. Thanks to Russian tanks and troops, the Kadar regime has now been able to consolidate some power. It has reconstituted the secret police and some army units to the point that these, rather than Soviet forces, do most of the dirty work of breaking up crowds and making arrests. Apparently it has finally gained the upper hand over the Workers Councils. Regional and city-wide Workers Councils were outlawed on the eve of the last general strike (Dec. 10).

To temper this blow, Kadar announced that factory councils were recognized as legal. The recent trouble at Csepel, chief industrial area of Hungary, resulted from the fact that the regime had begun reducing these factory councils to mere "advisory" groups. In protest the

Csepel council resigned on Jan. 9 declaring that it refused to become a mere tool of the regime, that factory directors dismissed by it had been reinstated by Kadar and that it was being allowed no voice in the layoffs scheduled because of lack of coal.

Calling the resignations of the Workers Council a provocative act, the Kadar regime sent Soviet and Hungarian troops to occupy several of the Csepel factories next day. On Jan. 11 fighting broke out between striking workers and the troops. Strikes and clashes also broke out in factories in other sections of Budapest. At least two workers were killed by gunfire. On Jan. 12 Kadar's police prevented the holding of a conference of university students by arresting eight leaders of the organization.

On Jan. 13 a decree was issued providing death penalties within 24 hours for foments of strikes, for strikers, and for

(Continued on page 2)

The Shachtmanite Regroupment Line

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The Independent Socialist League, led by Max Shachtman, has declared in the recent period that the choice before the American radical movement is "democratic socialism, or Stalinism." An expression of this viewpoint can be found in the Jan. 7 Labor Action article by H. W. Benson which is devoted to the subject of the internal struggle within the Communist Party of the U.S. "These are the two main poles," says Benson. "The (Communist) Party must ultimately choose between them. That and nothing less is at stake."

"Democratic socialism" sounds very good. But just what does the ISL mean by this term? It could mean the class struggle for workers' power as conceived by Marx and as it existed in the form of Soviet rule under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. And it could mean the internal democracy necessary for the revolutionary party that is fighting for socialism.

But Benson's article, and the entire recent political course of the ISL, make it amply clear that by "democratic socialism" the ISL means reformist Social Democracy. This is the concrete content they give to the abstract formula "democratic socialism."

In his analysis of the crisis in the American Communist Party Benson greets John Gates, editor of the "Daily Worker," as the leader of the tendency moving "toward democratic socialism." This offers us a concrete test of what the ISL means by "democratic socialism."

The Gates group exploits the revulsion of the Communist rank and file workers against Stalinism. But how does it exploit this revulsion? What does it offer in place of Stalinism? In place of Stalinism — the politics of betrayal of the class struggle of the workers in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy — the Gates group offers Social Democratic reformism — the politics of betrayal of the class interests of the workers in the interests of the labor bureaucracy of capitalist countries.

By proposing to substitute Social Democracy for Stalinism, or rather a combination of Stalinism and Social Democracy for crude and direct Stalinism, Gates is motivated above all by a desire for finding a way to collaboration with the American labor bureaucracy, a servile tool of U.S. imperialism.

Only those who think it is more "progressive" to serve the political interests of American imperialism than to serve the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy can hail the evolution of the Gates group. For our part we see nothing progressive whatsoever in the politics of the Social Democratic and labor bureaucracy. Both Stalinism and Social Democracy have saddled the international labor movement with a program and a leadership that has led to tragic defeats and betrayal of socialism.

POINT OF NO RETURN

The test that shows best of all what the ISL means by "democratic socialism" is their attitude to the current merger of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation. (See article on page one.) The terms of this merger are crystal clear. They are the terms of the program and politics of the Social Democrats. The left wing of the Socialist Party had been waging a struggle in which they denounced these terms as capitulation to Dulles and American imperialism. The ISL, instead of supporting the SP left wing in this struggle, urged them to accept these terms wholeheartedly and did everything in its power to facilitate the capitulation of the left wing leadership. The ISL has declared that it favors the SP-SDF merger since, it takes place, they say, on the program of "democracy."

The word "democracy," as every worker experienced in the class struggle knows, can have different meanings according to who says it and under what circumstances. During a strike, club-wielding cops always claim to be defending the democratic principle of "the right to work." The striking workers, on the other hand, have their own conception of democracy as the organized struggle of the workers against the employers.

"Democracy" to the Social Democrats means capitalist democracy, support of U.S. imperialism in its drive toward World War III, support of the anti-Communist witch hunt, support of the dictatorial rule of the unions by the labor bureaucrats.

When Max Shachtman and the ISL accept this kind of socialism they have passed the point of no return from revolutionary Marxism to reformism. The ISL proposes to join this Social Democratic merger. It represents this move as a contribution to regroupment of American radicals. Nothing of the sort! It is only the regroupment of the Social Democrats, who propose to set themselves up as a "screening committee" to purge the radical movement of all "Leninist and quasi-Leninist" taint, that is, of all its revolutionary character. This is the very opposite of a process of genuine revolutionary socialist regroupment, a regroupment which must place high on its programmatic banner the struggle against not only Stalinism but perfidious Social Democracy as well.

Just Published

EUGENE V. DEBS

The Socialist Movement Of His Time — Its Meaning for Today

by James P. Cannon

Order From: PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, New York

Price: 25c

Debs and U. S. Socialism Today

EUGENE V. DEBS (The Socialist Movement of His Time—Its Meaning for Today.) By James P. Cannon. New York: Pioneer Publishers, Pioneer Pocket Library No. 5, 40 pages, 25 cents.

The 1956 centennial of the birth of Eugene V. Debs was marked by numerous articles, meetings and general discussion by all the tendencies of the American radical movement. The discussion assumed far more than a commemorative character. Coinciding with the present process of political re-evaluation, the Debs centennial became the occasion for many to take a "new look" at the man and his party with a view to finding there the solution to the problems of the American left. These problems include the isolation of all radical currents from the broad workers' movement and the special crisis of the Communist Party.

THE WHOLE DEBS

Debs was the great pioneer of American socialism and he made enduring contributions. There can be no question about that. An understanding of his role and that of the early Socialist Party provides rich lessons for today. But to draw the full benefit of that pioneering experience it is essential to present the whole Debs.

In this respect the centennial



V. I. LENIN

study of Debs by James P. Cannon is invaluable. For the whole Debs emerges from the pages of this splendid pamphlet. The reader is provided with a moving portrait of a revolutionary socialist whose name shall always be revered. And because the portrait is a faithful reflection of reality, it not only stands as an important contribution to the history of American socialism but also as a work that is especially timely for today's discussion.

The Debs centennial, Cannon writes, "should be an occasion, not for moping and sighing for the return of the good old days beyond recall, but for a thoroughgoing examination and critical evaluation of the early socialist movement. It should be seen as a stage of development, not a pattern to copy. The aim should be to study its defeats as well as its victories, in order to learn something from the whole experience. The first rule for such an inquiry should be to dig out the truth and to tell it. Debs deserves this and he can stand it too. Even his mistakes were the mistakes of a giant and a pioneer."

CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM

From Cannon's pen comes the picture of a socialist leader worthy of tribute and emulation: "The Marxist theory of the class struggle was the central theme of all his agitation... he would have no truck with the delusive theory that capitalism would grow into socialism through a series of reforms. Debs campaigned for the overthrow of



EUGENE V. DEBS on the platform. "Debs never deviated from the class-struggle line in his own public agitation... His stand against the war was magnificent. He supported the Russian Revolution and proclaimed himself a Bolshevik." — EUGENE V. DEBS, by James P. Cannon.

capitalism by workers revolution, and he refused to settle for anything less."

But this is not the side of Debs that claims the allegiance of the present "back-to-Debs" advocates. It is his shortcomings and mistakes that are drawn upon as the magic key to the solution of contemporary socialist problems.

Debs was crystal clear on the need for revolutionary class struggle. His political weakness lay in his failure to understand that the workers can be organized for socialist victory only by building a party which is based upon a class-struggle program and perspective.

When the Socialist Party was launched in 1901 it included every shade of conflicting socialist and pseudo-socialist ideology. From

the start the Party's revolutionary and reformist wings were in sharp, continuous struggle. Debs consistently based himself on the program of the left wing. But his mistaken conception that all socialists, regardless of program, must remain in a single party prevented him from throwing his weight behind the left wing in its struggle against the "sewer socialists." His deliberate abstention from the internal clash over party program served only to strengthen the right wing whose program he so bitterly opposed.

AN EXPERIMENT

Discussing the question of the nature and role of a socialist party, Cannon observes that the early all-inclusive Socialist Party

was made possible and perhaps historically justified as an experimental starting point by the conditions of the time. The socialist movements such as it was, was new in this country. In its experiences, as well as in its thinking, it lagged far behind the European movement. The different groupings and tendencies espousing socialism had yet to test out the possibility of working out a common policy by working together in a single organization. The new Socialist Party provided the arena for the experiment."

Those who today assert that it is necessary to bring "under one roof" socialists of every stripe base themselves primarily on the thesis that the present small and isolated socialist movement is pretty much back where it started in the formative days and that the same kind of a start must be made to at least keep alive the socialist message.

The need for effective socialist unity is certainly urgent today. But it cannot be achieved by ignoring the verdict of previous history. The rapid growth of the early Socialist Party appeared to vindicate the theory of the "all-inclusive" party. But the fact is that from 1912 on, when the municipal reformers captured control of the party, its decline was steady and irreversible.

Two historic events served to shatter the idea that Marxists and reformists could remain in permanent union. These were the first world war and the Russian Revolution. The outbreak of the war brought mass desertions from the party by the middle class reformist elements. And the Russian Revolution sparked a re-invigorated struggle by the left wing for a revolutionary program.

The answer of the reformist leadership was to drive out the

left wing by wholesale expulsions, leading to the formation in 1919 of the Communist Party by the expelled left wing. Since then, emergence of the Stalinist brand of reformism created a new fundamental division in the radical movement in an epoch that continues to be dominated by war and revolution.

Thus, a major lesson of the history of the Socialist Party is that unity cannot be achieved in an "all-inclusive" party. Meaningful socialist unity can be accomplished only on a programmatic basis. The positive side of this historical lesson is provided by Lenin's Bolshevik Party. A study of the real history of that party dispels the poisonous smog of distortion and misrepresentation by means of which both Stalinism and Social Democracy have long concealed Lenin's theory of the party.

Like Debs, Lenin was an intransigent champion of a class-struggle program. But Lenin took the next necessary step of building a party to carry out that program. He was certainly irreconcilable in his struggle against the reformist politics of the Mensheviks and he clearly understood that people marching in opposite directions could not do so in the same organization.

But at the same time, the record reveals, Lenin displayed vast flexibility in unifying the many revolutionary tendencies in the Russian movement. In each case unity was gained by thrashing out and clarifying the main programmatic issues. And the unifications won on this basis remained solid and enduring. They stand as a guidepost for the regroupment process in this country today.

—Harry Ring

Twin Cities Meet Hears CP, SWP Views on Regroupment

By Sam Jordan

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 11 — Almost 200 persons attended the Twin Cities Labor Forum here tonight to hear four left-wing spokesmen discuss "What Next for the American Left."

The speakers were V. R. Dunne of the Socialist Workers Party, Carl Ross of the Communist Party, Michael Baker of the Minnesota Committee for Independent Progressive Political Action, and Mulford Q. Sibley of the Liberation Group.

After accepting an invitation to speak, the Socialist Labor Party later withdrew with the explanation that their policy is to remain independent from all other groupings.

The symposium had a moderate tone which made it a huge success as a preliminary step in the Twin Cities area towards beginning a full, free and un-

restricted discussion of the many differences between socialists striving for a new regroupment of the left.

V. R. Dunne welcomed "a thoroughgoing discussion leading toward regroupment of revolutionary forces in this country as well as on an international scale" and defended a class-struggle program against American capitalism.

While the discussion proceeds, Dunne proposed united action in defense of civil liberties of all witch-hunt victims and in support of the Negro struggle.

Emphasizing that the discussion was made possible by the crisis in the world communist movement, Dunne called for an international program in defense of workers' states and of the colonial revolution as against the war drive of American imperialism.

Confidently predicting that the American workers would build a labor party in the same dynamic way they built the CIO, Dunne favored a Leninist-type revolutionary socialist party to lead the workers when they become radical.

Carl Ross said he was in favor of left-wing action which would promote "maximum independent labor action" with the goal of an "anti-monopoly people's coalition." In making monopoly, not capitalism, the main enemy of labor, Ross echoed the liberals of the Democratic Party.

Reflecting the crisis of the American CP, Ross admitted considerable error in an uncritical acceptance of phases of life in the Soviet Union. He was deliberately vague about proposals for continuing the discussion or about what issues should be discussed.

Michael Baker, representing a group centered around the former Progressive Party, called for a re-examination of how socialists became separated one from another and also called for a new regroupment in which all socialists could unite their efforts.

"In a political and educational movement based on democratic methods and practices," Baker said socialists must aim "to teach peace, competitive co-existence and human understanding for the common good."

Mulford Q. Sibley, a contributing editor to the Liberation magazine, maintained that the Left had been diverted from its goals by supporting war and chasing "the false gods of New Dealism and the Democratic Party."

"Sibley called upon the Left to sever its connections with both power blocs and say to the United States and the Soviet Union 'This would mean "the repudiation of violence and working out of Gandhi-like techniques."'

After the meeting the Twin Cities Labor Forum committee managed a literature table around which the audience crowded to buy literature of the four groups.



V. R. DUNNE

The Colonial Revolution Vs. Mollet and 2nd Int'l

By George Lavan

Before their merger, neither the Socialist Party nor the Social Democratic Federation could qualify as the fully recognized U.S. affiliate of the Second International. Their coming merger will solve that jurisdictional conflict and this appears to have been an important factor in the thinking of some of the SP elements who favored merger. Actually such affiliation will strengthen the rightward, SP imperialist tendencies of the SP on the cold war and colonialism.

The small, weak American Socialist Party (or whatever the name of the merged organizations will be) will have to pay for the privilege of associating at international congresses with the leaders of the mass reformist parties of Western Europe which have large blocs in their parliaments and, in fact, a number of prime ministers. The glue holding the social democratic parties together in the Second International is a "gentleman's agreement" not to criticize each other's crimes against the principles of socialism.

RULES OF GAME

Socialist leaders of Belgium and Holland, for example, refrain from dwelling on the crimes of Socialist Premier of France, Guy Mollet, against the Algerian people, because they get in return similar immunity for their own support of colonial rule in the Belgian Congo or Dutch colonies. Busy holding capitalism and colonialism together in their own countries, they would find it intolerable for the American SP, which is neither wealthy nor influential in Washington, to berate or even criticize their deeds.

Thus the American SP will be faced with the alternative of toning down its mild remonstrances to imperialism or of being as welcome at Second International gatherings as the proverbial skunk at a lawn party.

The record would indicate that, the SDF and right-wing SP leaders will accommodate themselves to the social-imperialism of the Second International rather than choose the unpopular role of principled critics. For example, in the past year the SP demonstrated great reluctance to adopt a resolution criticizing Premier Mollet of France for the war he is conducting against the independence-seeking Algerian people. Only the pressure of the SP's left wing—which will be in a still smaller minority after such a resolution brought about such a resolution after many months delay.

A further example is the SP stand on the Suez Canal. Instead of supporting the Egyptian people's right to full control of their national territory including Suez, the SP National Action Com-

mittee advances the slogan of UN internationalization of the Suez Canal. This is, of course, unacceptable to the Egyptian people but it is acceptable to "Socialist" Premier Mollet of France and "Socialist" Premier Ben Gurion of Israel.

BROKEN PLEDGES

Nothing could better illustrate the betrayal of socialism condoned by the Second International than the current policies of "socialist" Premier of France, Guy Mollet.

Campaigning for the January 1956 elections, Mollet and the French Socialist Party promised an end to the colonial war in Algeria, where 200,000 French troops were engaged in brutal repression of the native people, and an improvement of the French workers' standard of living. Mollet and the Socialist Party ministers have sold out on both promises. Today there are half a million French soldiers engaged in the bloody repressions. Not only has Mollet stepped up the "dirty war" against the Algerians despite an almost unanimous desire of the French working class against the war, he catapulted France into another colonialist war. This was the ill-fated blitzkrieg against Egypt in the robber deal with Israel and the British Tories.

Instead of an improvement in the French workers' standard of living, Mollet's policy has brought an inflation, which hits the workers hardest, and a financial program that enriches the bankers. He has used special strikebreaking police—the ORS—to smash demonstrations by draftees and workers against troop shipments to France. Civil liberties violations have become the order of the day under the "socialist" government of France. Journalists, ranging from conservative Catholics, through SP members themselves and particularly the Trotskyists, who dare tell the truth about what is going on in Algeria, have been fined and imprisoned and the newspapers carrying their articles have been seized and destroyed by Mollet's police. At the present moment writers for the Trotskyist newspaper, La Verite, are on trial both before civil and military courts in France for supporting the Algerians' demand for independence.

In Algeria itself Mollet's government is carrying on a bloody reign of terror against 90% of the population—that is against the Algerians. The shooting of prisoners is a commonplace. Similarly with the old Nazi practice of "collective punishments" of whole villages suspected of giving food to the guerrilla bands of the resistance movement. The French police in Algeria employ all the inhuman practices of Hit-

ler's Gestapo on suspected members of the independence movement. The tortures include electric shock, repeated immersion in water to the point of unconsciousness, forcing of large quantities of water internally into the prisoners and other acts too sadistic to describe. All of this is done under the regime of Jacques La Coste, the Socialist Governor General of Algeria, appointed by Mollet, the Socialist premier. Such people do not deserve the title "comrade" from any genuine socialist. Their deserved title is that of "war criminals."

NO REFORM POSSIBLE

The French Socialist Party is so degenerated, so bureaucratized with thousands of government officials and opportunists who are members solely to latch onto government jobs, that Mollet and his gang cannot be unseated. The recent national council meeting of the party saw Mollet's bureaucratic machine roll up a twelve-to-one victory over opponents. This weakening of the party's left wing is attributed to the fact that in those sections where the party formerly had a working class base, members have simply been dropping out because they consider renovation of the party a hopeless task.

Los Angeles

The School of International Socialism Fall and Winter Session 1956-57 Each Saturday at 1 P.M.

FIRST CLASS: The Progress Of American Philosophy — Marxism vs. Pragmatism Eight Lectures by William F. Warde

Sat., Jan. 26 — 1 P.M. What role can philosophy play in the struggle for socialism in the United States?

SECOND CLASS: The Defense of the Soviet Union A Seminar Conducted by T. Edwards

Sat., Jan. 26 — 2:30 P.M. "Socialism in one country"

1702 East 4th Street ANgelus 9-4953 Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Subscription \$2 per year... \$1.50 for 6 months... \$1.00 for 3 months...

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People... THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION... 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468

Mixed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies... Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XXI - No. 3 Monday, January 21, 1957

... SP-SDF Merger

(Continued from page 1) plicitly and formally disavowed its belief in Leninism although its program is thoroughly conciliatory to Social Democracy. Recantation of Leninism is demanded by SDF and SP leaders of any radicals who wish to discuss regroupment with the SP.

Finally, prospects for a new advance of the socialist movement in the U.S. rest with workers and youths just awakening to socialist ideas, who seriously want to fight capitalism. None of these elements in the working class have the slightest desire to be enrolled in the service of the U.S. State Department, which is all that the SP-SDF unification program has to offer.

The Socialist Party and the UN

The leadership of the Socialist Party is currently engaged in a petition campaign to win a seat in the UN for Anna Kethly, Minister of State under the short-lived regime of Imre Nagy in Hungary. According to the December issue of the Socialist Call, Miss Kethly, if seated in the UN, "will call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary."

the basis of the propaganda, which had been drummed into their heads over the years by both Stalinism and Social Democracy, that the UN is a force for peace and progress. But when a leadership calling itself "socialist" makes such a demand, it reveals itself as socialist in name only.

The Basic Economic Factors Of the Hungarian Revolution

By Bert Deck

A review of Soviet Hungarian economic relations since 1944 demonstrates that the Hungarian revolution cannot be ascribed to superficial "errors of the cult of the personality" or "tragic mistakes in tempo." Rather the political revolution is proven to be the inevitable development of the struggle of the Hungarian working people against economic oppression by the Soviet bureaucracy.

the Russian bureaucracy. They went so far as to require that the increasing shipments from Hungary to the USSR go via the Danube river where—by happy coincidence—Russian shipping held a monopoly. By 1948, pressure of the Marshall Plan compelled the Kremlin to complete the bureaucratic, military elimination of the remaining capitalist control of the economy.

plan and began a concentration on heavy industry far beyond their means. The workers standard of living plunged even lower. It is difficult enough for workers to sacrifice their living standards for over-rapid industrialization when the product remains in their own country. When that product is removed to the Soviet Union and the workers see neither short- nor long-term benefits accruing to them from the extra effort, the sacrifices become unbearable.

Helped Beat the British Lion



Young Egyptians in Port Said celebrate the unconditional withdrawal of the British-French invasion forces from the Suez canal zone. During the fighting last November, the British commander complained that 12 year old Egyptians were armed and firing on the imperialist troops in Port Said.

British Crimes Against The People of Cyprus

By Joyce Cowley

On Jan. 2, Charles Foley, Editor of the Times in Cyprus, was fined £50 for publishing a statement deemed by the British authorities to be "prejudicial to the maintenance of public order."

because they mistakenly believed (on the basis of recruitment posters, speeches by Churchill, etc.) that Britain was promising them union with Greece after the war. They started peacefully reminding British officials about this with petitions, delegations, a plebiscite (in which 96% of the Greeks, constituting four-fifths of the island's population, voted for union), and finally in 1954 an appeal to the United Nations.

their invasion of Egypt, which may explain why they refused the truce. NO RIGHTS The latest British move this December was to offer Cyprus a new constitution, except that it is not really new, being almost identical to one offered by the Labor government in 1948 and rejected by the Cypriotes.

because they mistakenly believed (on the basis of recruitment posters, speeches by Churchill, etc.) that Britain was promising them union with Greece after the war. They started peacefully reminding British officials about this with petitions, delegations, a plebiscite (in which 96% of the Greeks, constituting four-fifths of the island's population, voted for union), and finally in 1954 an appeal to the United Nations.

... Racists

(Continued from page 1)

be traveling South for his visit to Texas and other drought areas, the conference urged that he make at least one speech in some major Southern city on the subject of racial violence and the Negro people's civil rights. A similar appeal was made to Vice-President Nixon.

Both of these appeals have met official silence from the White House. This refusal, not to act, but merely to utter words putting the prestige of their high offices, for whatever it is worth, on the side of the bomb victims, is a devastating exposure of the hypocrisy of Eisenhower's generalities about brotherhood and of Nixon's supposed sympathy for fighters against oppression.

Another attempt to bring the question before the UN was shelved because it was thought "friendly negotiations" would be the "ideal means of solving the problem." Negotiations were opened in November 1955, between Archbishop Makarios, who is also Ethnarch of Cyprus (leader of the National Council), and the new Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding.

Another attempt to bring the question before the UN was shelved because it was thought "friendly negotiations" would be the "ideal means of solving the problem." Negotiations were opened in November 1955, between Archbishop Makarios, who is also Ethnarch of Cyprus (leader of the National Council), and the new Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding.

America's Road to Socialism by JAMES P. CANNON 80 pages 35 cents Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

The IWW The Great Anticipation "The CIO movement... is only a small downpayment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way." - Cannon. 44 pages 25 cents Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

TWIN CITIES Labor Forum Hear Charles Scheer Veteran Railroad Unionist speak on "WHY LABOR MUST SUPPORT THE DESEGREGATION FIGHT" Fri., Jan. 25 - 8 P. M. 322 Hennepin Ave. Second Floor Minneapolis Auspices: Twin Cities Labor Forum

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY LEON TROTSKY The Permanent Revolution \$3.50 The First Five Years of the Communist International Vol. I (cloth) 3.50 Vol. II (paper) 3.00 Revolution Betrayed 1.50 In Defense of Marxism 2.50 Lessons of October (Rare) 5.00 The New Course 1.50 Stalin's Frame-Up System And the Moscow Trials 1.00 Stalin - A Biography 6.00 Europe and America - Includes "Perspectives of World Development" and "Whither Europe?" 50 Marxism in the U. S. 35 Death Agony of Capitalism (Transitional Program) 25 The Suppressed Testament of Lenin 25 Their Morals and Ours 25 Leon Sedoff 25 Stalinism and Bolshevism 15 Fascism: What It Is - How to Fight It 15 I Stake My Life 15 The Class Nature of the Soviet State 25 The October Revolution 1.00 The Kirov Assassination 25 Send for Complete Catalogue PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum announces a series of talks on PROBLEMS OF THE LEFT "Lenin, Leninism and The United States" Fri., Jan. 25 - 8 P. M. EUGENE V. DEBS HALL 3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

CHICAGO Militant Labor Forum Hear Jacki Booth "History of Third Parties in the United States" Fri., Jan. 25 - 8:15 P. M. 777 W. Adams St.

Obviously the economy had to be revived or it would be more of a liability than an asset to the Kremlin. The most blatant lootings ceased and the currency was reorganized on a stable basis. But Stalin had no intention of foregoing the "fruits" of victory.

As in other East European countries, the Soviets introduced into Hungary their joint-stock companies. Supposedly these companies were partnerships, with each country investing half the capital. But the Russians demanded and received the right to appoint the top administrators. This setup gave the Kremlin control over the production of Hungarian oil, bauxite, coal, minerals, chemicals, power plants, machinery production, shipping, air and motor transport, automobile manufacture and agriculture.

Moreover, the Russians "invested" half the capital for these companies with values stolen in Hungary itself. For example in the joint aviation company the Kremlin's investment consisted of Hungary's eleven best airfields which the Soviet Army had "liberated" from the Germans. These joint stock companies were not only a means of siphoning off a large slug of the surplus value produced in Hungary, but facilitated the Kremlin policy of organizing Hungarian production and trade in conformity with the needs of

the white population than on the Negroes who quickly revived their car pool arrangements. Moreover, Montgomery's merchants suffered considerable financial loss and began to complain bitterly. The Montgomery Advertiser came out editorially (Jan. 11) against the suspension as a "surrender to lawlessness. Those buses should run on schedule if they run empty," said the editorial. "They should run as a symbol that the police apparatus... has not abdicated. The issue now is no longer segregation. The issue now is whether it is safe to live in Montgomery, Alabama."

A week's pressure from the spokesmen of Montgomery's wealth caused the WCC mayor and city commissioners to cave in. Daytime bus service without segregation was resumed Jan. 16. This time the buses had police protection. It is quite likely that previous attacks on buses went unpunished because the WCC city administration and the WCC police chief winked at the attacks or even connived at them. It is apparent that no serious efforts have been made by local police to track down the perpetrators of six bombings of the night of Jan. 10. Moreover, requests by the victims for police protection for their homes and churches were summarily rejected by the Montgomery police.

Photographs show British soldiers dragging off schoolboys 12 to 14 years of age, who are severely beaten. The British have raided the homes of Cypriotes, evicted men and women because they refused to turn informer or had no information to give, imposed collective punishments and collective fines on whole villages and towns. Cypriotes are demanding the elementary democratic right of self-determination. In The Cyprus Question Spyros Kyprianou, a Cyprus leader, says: "For years Cyprus has been the subject of many deals and agreements without its inhabitants being asked or considered at all." Britain took over Cyprus from Turkey in 1878 in an agreement popularly known as the "thief's deal," and ever since British statesmen - W. E. Gladstone, David Lloyd George, Ramsey MacDonald, Winston Churchill - have made statements to the effect that the Cypriote desire for enosis, or union with Greece, would receive sympathetic consideration at some future date.

Churchill, when he visited Cyprus in 1907, declared the Cypriote desire to be united with Greece was "an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished." But it was during Churchill's administration that Henry Hopkinson, Minister for Colonial Affairs, said in the House of Commons that "Cyprus, because of strategic and other considerations, is included among those territories that can never attain full independence."

BRITISH STALL According to Kyprianou, the present crisis began developing after World War II, in which thousands of Cypriotes enlisted

Another attempt to bring the question before the UN was shelved because it was thought "friendly negotiations" would be the "ideal means of solving the problem." Negotiations were opened in November 1955, between Archbishop Makarios, who is also Ethnarch of Cyprus (leader of the National Council), and the new Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding. Harding is an infamous troublemaker for British imperialism, who had "distinguished" himself as the bloody executioner of the Mau-Mau in Kenya. After five months, negotiations broke down in spite of what Kyprianou calls "great and even risky concessions" by the Archbishop, who is an advocate of passive resistance. A few days later, the Archbishop was arrested and exiled to Mahe, a tiny island in the Indian ocean.

After his exile, British officials increased their repressive and dictatorial measures against the Cypriote people, who "reacted violently." In August, the British turned down a military truce offered by EOKA and demanded unconditional surrender instead. Two months later Cyprus was the main jumping off place for

To get the background on the present conflict in the MIDDLE EAST You Must Read: Egypt - A People Rising By Abu Hashim 42 pages 25c. The Algerian Revolution By Messali Hadj 11 pages 10c. Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

New York Militant Labor Forum "The Case For Socialist Regroupment" - A Critical analysis of the forthcoming Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation Merger Speaker: Tom Kerry Organization Secretary, Socialist Workers Party Friday, January 25, 8 P. M. 116 University Place (near Union Square) Questions and Discussion

State of the Union

President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to Congress was a perfect specimen of capitalist political mythology.

The speech was the Administration's statement on the condition of capitalism at home and abroad, and of policies by which the Eisenhower regime proposes to defend and extend the power of the ruling class.

The treatment of the issue of segregation is a good example. The President eased into the question by calling for enactment, without delay, of the school construction bill "designed to meet emergency needs for more classrooms."

"This will benefit children of all races throughout the country," he said, "and children of all races need schools now." Then came the joker in the deal: "I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of integration. I urge the people in all sections of the country to approach these problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and good will in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice."

This was, of course, a direct use of the power and prestige of the office of the President to attempt to forestall anti-segregation amendments to legislative bills—the only means by which it was possible to compel the last Congress to consider demands for equal rights for Negroes.

In the last session, when Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York introduced such amendments, President Eisenhower intervened in the debate with a public attack on the anti-segregation amendments. He never saw fit, however, in the course of the violent legal and extralegal battles over implementation of Supreme Court decisions against segregation in the past two years, to attack the white supremacists.

The lofty "impartiality" and classless "objectivity" of the State of the Union message on Jan. 10 did not satisfy the Southern Negro leaders' conference on transportation and integration, meeting in Atlanta.

The following day they wired the President: "We ask you to come south immediately to make a major speech in a major southern city urging all southerners to abide by the Supreme Court's decision as the law of the land."

For Vice-President Nixon they urged a trip through the South similar to the one he made on behalf of Hungarian refugees, so that he can report to the President on "economic boycotts, and reprisals, and bombings and violence directed against persons and homes of Negroes who assert their rights under the Constitution."

The Negro struggle has become conscious, articulate, and a mass movement with concrete, specific demands. The old politicians' mumbo jumbo about "mutual understanding and good will and in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice" has lost its power. —Where do you stand in the fight? That's what the American freedom fighters want to know.

Steel Union Bureaucrats Open War on Opposition

By Jack Wilson

At last it is official! In the January issue of Steel Labor, the International Tellers report that Donald Rarick has received the nomination of 91 locals of the United Steel Workers of America and is now official candidate opposing incumbent President David J. McDonald in the election to be held by referendum Feb. 12.

The Rarick candidacy grew out of the wave of resentment that swept through the union after the International officers used their massive machine at the last convention to ram through a \$24 yearly dues increase and a \$10,000 pay hike for McDonald. The ranks blasted this action unmercifully and formed rank and file dues protest committees in USW locals throughout the country.

While rank and file resentment has been focused largely on the dues hike, it has reflected their deep dissatisfaction with the piddling concessions MacDonald accepted from the profit-bloated corporations following the five-week strike last July. The dues protest expresses resentment, although not yet an open opposition, against McDonald's ruinous policy of all-out collaboration with the steel barons.

From the viewpoint of the International officers, this insurgent movement based on the dues issue alone is bad enough. They have the experience of the past two months where three other unions tried to get a much smaller dues increase passed by membership referendums. The proposed dues hikes were rebuffed in the International Typographical Union, the American Federation of Teachers and the International Association of Machinists. Basically these referendums results have been an expression of no confidence in the leadership.

So for the McDonald machine, Rarick is the enemy at the gates. The size of his rank-and-file army is undetermined, but McDonald is taking no chances. The trumpet has blown, summoning all loyal local union presidents, staff men, district directors, publicists and all other pie-cards to get in there and fight. The arsenal is well stocked with the weapons used by the labor bureaucrats over the past hundred years of service to capitalism within the labor movement.

RED-BAITING
The number one weapon is red-baiting. McDonald has already damned the dues protest movement as containing and being

influenced by "Trotskyites." Local union leaders on the McDonald train have joined the condemnation of "Trotskyism." The International's public relations staff is undoubtedly now assessing the dividends that might accrue from an all-out attack on this basis against the protest movement.

Weapon number two is straight coercion. Frank O'Brien, rebel candidate for Director of District 15, (embracing Pittsburgh's So. and West side), who claims the nomination of seven locals, two more than necessary for nomination, was compelled to take court action to get his name on the ballot. After suspending legal action, O'Brien was told he could plead his case before the International Executive Board in Chicago provided he footed the bill to get himself and his witnesses there. Two staff men, Stephen J. Gall and Paul Schremp, have been reported suspended from their jobs for opposing McDonald incumbents for district directorships.

In Steelton, near Harrisburg, Pa., the 4,800-member Local 1688 has been placed under a McDonald administrator, its funds frozen, and the right of its members to vote in the February referendum suspended. The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette reports the membership is fighting back.

"CONTRACT CONFERENCES"
Weapon number three in the campaign is a wholesale series of conferences to allegedly study economic and contract problems. These conferences, which the Rarick group contends will cost the union a million dollars, are designed to appeal to the membership by appearing to defend present contract conditions and formulating future demands.

With this tactic McDonald appears to have cut into Rarick's support in the New England District by demagogically talking about a fight for a four-day week at 40 hours pay to combat unemployment and the threat of automation layoffs. In the Cleveland district, where basic steel is enjoying a boom, the International is plumping for more money.

Meanwhile the Rarick slate is seriously weakened by its failure to advance a program other than opposition to the dues increase and to lack of internal democracy. However things are popping in the union. This is the first opportunity the membership has had to vote for a president in something else than a plebiscite. The very process of voting to decide which way to vote will spur a greater consciousness of the need for developing an effective program of struggle against the corporations. McDonald will probably win this election. But like Pyrrhus of Ancient Greece, who won battles but lost the war, he may well exclaim, "Another such victory and we are undone!"

Civilian Victim of Marine Corps Begins Jail Term

George E. Shibley, the civilian lawyer from Long Beach, Calif. who has been hounded by Marine Corps brass hats for five years because he defended an enlisted man, began serving a three-year term in Federal prison, Jan. 14, for allegedly "conspiring to steal" a worthless piece of paper. The paper was a carbon copy of his own testimony before a Marine Corps court of inquiry.

Shibley had been hauled before the court of inquiry by Marine Military Police in 1952 and grilled for five days without being allowed counsel, because he had criticized Marine Corps General Vernon E. Magese, commander of El Toro base near Long Beach. Shibley criticized the general in the course of defending the legal rights of a Marine Corps sergeant.

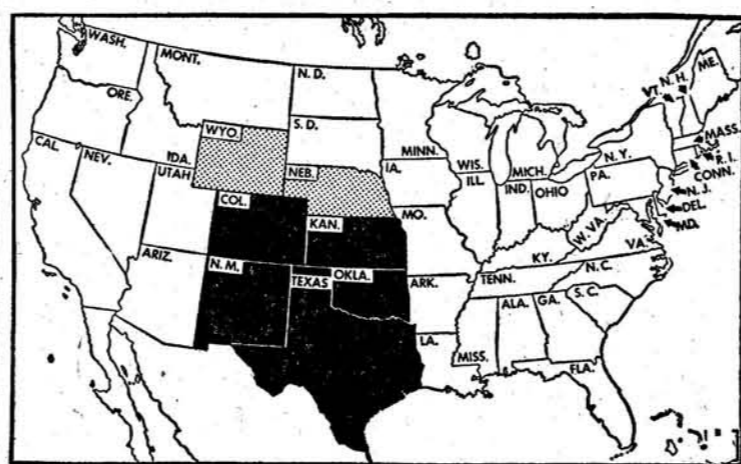
The Marine Corps officers had Shibley cited for contempt of the court of inquiry. After a jury freed Shibley of that charge, the brass then accused him of stealing the carbon copy of his testimony. Since the piece of paper was technically government property, a conviction on a charge of conspiring to steal it would allow a vindictive court to give Shibley a heavy sentence, thereby discouraging any criticism of military "justice" by civilian lawyers.

Shibley was convicted in 1953 on the testimony of a "private detective" who had actually taken the carbon copy from the Marine base, and mailed a photographic copy to Shibley. He also mailed a copy to newspaper columnist Drew Pearson. The "private detective" was given a suspended sentence, the columnist was never charged, but Shibley was sentenced to three years.

The Supreme court has refused to review Shibley's conviction in spite of appeals from more than 400 attorneys who came to Shibley's defense. A reduction in sentence was refused because Shibley would not admit guilt.

M/Sgt. John R. Bennette, the Marine whom Shibley successfully defended, and who is now National Chairman of the Shibley Defense Committee, said Shibley's only legal recourse now is a Congressional investigation or Presidential clemency. The committee, whose address is Shibley Defense Committee P.O. Box 748 Long Beach, Calif. plans to carry the fight through all possible channels.

The Dust Bowl



The black and shaded states are those most severely damaged by winds in the chronic drought area visited by Eisenhower this month. The Big Business administration rejects the advice of its own agricultural experts for large scale planning and water conservation projects as socialistic and politically unacceptable.

Reader Calls for Aid To S. African Fight

Editor:

In the community of Johannesburg, South Africa, in the month of December, 153 educators, clergymen, writers, and labor and political leaders, were arrested en masse in pre-dawn raids. The sole charge against them was that they had been among some 4,000 delegates to a Congress of the People in June 1955, which had proclaimed a ringing Charter of Freedom, proposing the abolition of Apartheid (racial segregation), and popular control of industry, banks, and other socially necessary services. This charter has been construed by the prosecution as a call for violence and subversion, constituting treason—a crime punishable by death under South African law.

Among the defendants are Alan Paton, author of Cry, the Beloved Country; Prof. Z. K. Matthews, principal of Fort Hare University for Africans; Leslie Messina, secretary of the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions, and many other leading intellectuals and civil rights fighters.

RACIST POLICY

On the first day of preliminary hearings, the courtroom was stormed by Africans standing six deep around the doors and hanging in the windows. In the streets, police dispersed crowds with clubs and tear gas, finally opening fire with Sten guns and injuring over two dozen demonstrators.

This round-up of freedom-fighters climaxes the whole policy of the Nationalist government which came to power several years ago, continually increasing the burden of oppression of the eleven million non-white peoples by the two million Europeans, and rejecting all attempts by the Africans to place their grievances before the government. As far back as June, 1952, the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress—exhausting all other alternatives—were forced to launch a "Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws," modeled after Gandhi's passive resistance movement of the 1930's.

In retaliation, the government initiated even harsher repressions, such as The Suppression of Communism Act, which gives the Minister arbitrary power to ban organizations, close down newspapers, deport individuals, and hold secret inquiries. In South Africa, it may be noted, the government has defined as "Communist," anyone who "advocates the ending of race discrimination . . ."; and it is under such edicts, that the current treason trial is being promulgated.

U.S. INVESTMENTS

With the exception of a few trivial news releases, the capitalist press in the United States has refrained from publicizing this atrocity, because such an expose would not serve the cause of American imperialists whose industrial corporations are doing a thriving and expanding business in South Africa (U.S. Steel, Union Carbide and Carbon, U.S. Rubber, General Electric, etc.) In 1953, the Malan Minister of Finance, N. C. Havenga, reported U.S. owned assets in South Africa as topping \$2 1/2 billion.

In the past, the United States has opposed majority-supported United Nations resolutions noting the charge of discrimination against Indians in South Africa, and asking the United Government to report on the steps being taken to remove the grievances. With minor variations, this remains the core of the U.S. delegation's policy on the South African Government's brutal oppression of its non-White peoples.

It is of crucial import that American progressives and socialists demonstrate their solidarity with the colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom from foreign domination, and against racism, by giving their utmost support to the freedom-fighter defendants in Johannesburg. A South African Defense Fund has been set up by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and contributions may be sent to: Cannon Collin's Defense Fund, 2 Amen Court, London, E. C. 4. Cynthia Spear.

Dobbs Speaks at Buffalo Meetings On Emancipation

BUFFALO, Jan. 13 — The powerful labor movement of this country must support the heroic civil rights fighters in Montgomery, Tallahassee, Birmingham, and other cities of the South. This was the message of Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, when he spoke at an inspiring Negro emancipation day celebration in this city last Sunday. The affair commemorated the 93rd anniversary of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation.



FARRELL DOBBS

Invited by the Buffalo Civil Rights League, Dobbs addressed three audiences totaling about 900 persons. His participation as a speaker was climaxed in the evening when he delivered the principal address at a wind-up rally in the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Lackawanna a few blocks from the sprawling Bethlehem Steel mills.

LABOR'S SELF-INTEREST

Dobbs denounced the white terror in the South, hailed the rising struggle for civil rights there and indicated how the next stages of the fight can be won. "The White Citizens Councils," he explained "are combinations of lynch gangs and Dixiecrat politicians who are anti-Negro." "Their basic objective has been to divide labor and thereby defeat unionism along color lines." In order to unionize the South and combat miserable open shop conditions the unions must intervene in full support of the struggle for equality for the Negro people. "It is in the self-interest of organized labor to support the struggle of the colored people for civil rights," Dobbs stated.

The afternoon session of the all day emancipation program took place at the Friendship Baptist Church where the main speaker was Rev. L. K. Jackson of Gary, Indiana. In ringing terms he declared that the nation was "headed for the last roundup" if human rights were not obtained for all. Dr. Jackson shared the platform with Farrell Dobbs and with Walter Choppy, a representative of the Mayor of

Buffalo. Other speakers introduced by Chairman John D. Carr included a leader of the Elks, ministers of several churches, and city court judges. Singing by large choral groups added spirit to the gathering.

A significant feature of the meeting was the presentation of a resolution calling upon the American labor movement to aid the emancipation struggle. James Garrett, a candidate in local elections of the NAACP, conducted the vote. The audience here and also at the evening meeting in Lackawanna voted unanimously in favor of the resolution which read in part as follows:

"Whereas: It is painfully clear that the vast majority of the Negro people are still flagrantly deprived of their full political, economic, and social rights, and whereas: a truly epochal and unprecedented struggle for human rights in America finds its most

dramatic expression in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, where our people have with unremitting tenacity won a signal victory, and whereas: white supremacists in an effort to rob the Negro people of Montgomery of the fruits of their victorious struggle have instigated mob violence. Therefore, be it resolved: That this body go on record as denouncing the white supremacist terror in the South in general, and in Montgomery in particular, and that a call be made by the most prominent Negro organizations in America to the American labor movement, and in particular to the executive bodies of the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations to join and come to their assistance and help in the emancipating struggle of the Negro people, for what emancipates the Negro people will also help to emancipate labor, Negro and White from all the evils that prey upon it."

PRESS REPORTS

It was further resolved that copies would be sent to the President and Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, to numerous offices in government including the Mayor of Montgomery and the Governor of Alabama, and to leaders of Negro organizations.

This resolution and many of the speeches were quoted extensively in the press. In fact, the entire emancipation celebration was given widespread coverage in the newspapers and its importance was quickly recognized. It contained the first appeal in this area to the labor movement by a large body of representative Negro organizations and for that reason marks a historic step forward on the Niagara Frontier.

Toronto Socialists Score Gains in Local Elections

TORONTO — The only bright spots in Toronto's municipal elections last month which saw the Tory-Liberal combination sweep back into office were: (1) the vigorous

campaign waged by the Socialist Educational League behind the candidacy of Ross Dowson for mayor and (2) the successful vote to extend the franchise to some 45,000 people who up until now had been disfranchised by reactionary property qualifications.

Dowson, the League's Secretary-Treasurer, polled 9,862 votes, almost 11% of the vote cast in an election where only 27% of those eligible cast their vote — the lowest poll in ten years.

CP VOTE DROPS

Controller Ford Brand, former leader of the pressmen's union, who again received the endorsement of the Toronto Labor Council along with the support of the capitalist press, dropped almost 5,000 votes. Only one of the candidates supported by the Labor Progressive (Communist) Party was elected — Alderman William Dennison who again headed the list in his ward but dropped 500 votes. The scattering of LPP candidates suffered a precipitous loss of votes. Edith Ryerson dropped almost 900 votes to lose the seat she held for 12 years on the Board of Education. Charles Simms, campaigning for the city-wide post of Board of Control, drew 6,982 votes, a drop of 2,500 from what the LPP polled for the same office last year.

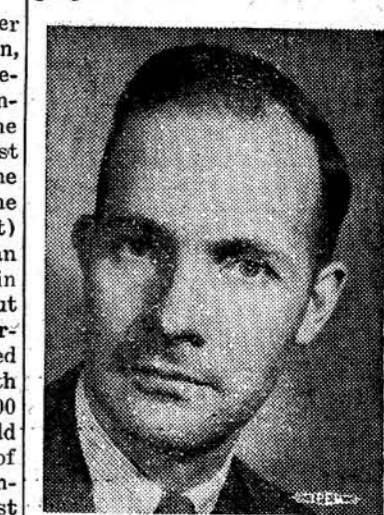
The capitalist press made every effort to ensure a low vote for Ross Dowson. Since he was the only opponent of the Tory incumbent the press constituted what was in effect a news blackout on the mayoralty contest, concentrating attention on the Board of Control race. Where the press did refer to the mayoralty campaign it carefully avoided mention of Dowson's name. For example, one paper reported on three election-eve meetings where Dowson spoke without mentioning him.

The SEL worked energetically and effectively during the eleven-day campaign to overcome the news blackout. Over 45,000 copies of the Workers Vanguard, carrying SEL's revolutionary socialist

platform were distributed. The bulk went to working class homes and plant gates.

As for the LPP — the loss of the Board of Education seat and the further precipitous decline of its Board of Control vote, which once stood at 50,000, has removed that party as an effective force in municipal affairs.

Reflecting the crisis of that party since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the LPP slate was the smallest in years. Their campaign for Board of Control handed fewer pieces of campaign literature than that of the



ROSS DOWSON

SEL Their candidate's program was a hodge podge of liberal reforms. Besides demands for "more parking lots" and a "yes" vote for a new city hall, it included one calling for "more policemen on the 'beat' and better cruising service."

The SEL campaigned for a labor mayor on the march to a labor administration and presented a series of demands meeting the pressing needs of labor and leading toward their socialist solution. These included demands for shifting the tax burden onto the rich, for more low-rental, low-cost subsidized housing, for municipal ownership of the milk and bread-distributing industry in order to halt rising living costs, for an extension of the franchise and for making Toronto a stronghold of organized labor.

Introductory Offer! A Six-Month Subscription to the Militant Only \$1

The next six months promise to be even more eventful than the past six months. The radical movement will be absorbed in discussion about the regroupment question. In February, the Communist Party will hold its convention, at which it will seek to bring its internal crisis under control. The Negro struggle in the South is taking a huge step forward, as moves are under way to coordinate the struggle in many cities against bus segregation. The Middle East will feature ever more encouraging developments of the Arab national independence struggle, while Washington's moves will be evermore ominous. Despite attempts of the Kremlin to hold the line, the working-class struggle against bureaucratic despotism and for socialist democracy will continue to unfold in the Soviet orbit. To follow all these developments, take advantage of our introductory offer, good until March 31, of a six-month subscription for only \$1.

The Militant

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Name Street Zone City State

