## Pro-Gomulka Vote Masks Continued Conflicts in Poland

By George Lavan

JAN. 22 - The Polish people went to the polls on Jan. 20 and gave Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka what he had asked for - an overwhelming show of support.

Between 90 and 96% of eligi-9ble Poles voluntarily cast bal- the proposition: For or against lots. This participation compares Gomulka? favorably, or even exceeds, the turnouts achieved in the 1952 and ties or candidates on the ballot.

candidates favored by Gomulka. affiliated. The election differed The specter of mass deletions of from the usual single slate afnames from the ballot, constituting lukewarm support, or even a repudiation, of the new Polish regime, had brought election-eve ment. The voter could choose pleas by Gomulka and his follow- among them by crossing off ers that crossing out on the ballot was tantamount to crossing Poland off the map. That these appear on the ballot the names pleas were effective is demonstrated by the results.

This atmosphere, plus the mechanics of the voting itself, made the election a plebiscite on



**GOMULKA** 

There were no opposition parentitled to four seats, there might of seven candidates. Crossing out the names of the top three would give the votes to the last four candidates. An unmarked ballot would be a vote for the first four names.

While the amount of crossing out varied from district to district, apparently it was nowhere heavy or concerted enough to defeat any of the top two-thirds of the slate. Thus Gomulka has been given his popular "vote of confidence," a coalition in the exact proportions he asked and hand-picked parliament.

GOMULKA OR TANKS"

The overrriding issue of the campaign was that of relations with the USSR. How to safeguard the concessions forced from the Kremlin since the beginning of the political revolution in October and to extend them without bringing on a massive intervention by the Russian army preoccupies the minds of the Polish people. Gomulka claims that he alone can walk the tight rope and that the choice in (Continued on page 2)

# THE MILITANT

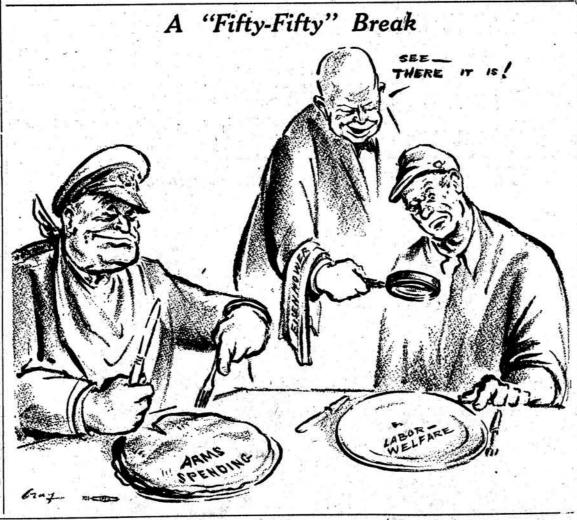
IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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PRICE 10c

# Eisenhower Pushes Biggest previous elections when police measures were employed to get out the vote. Secondly, crossing names of Communist Party candidates off the ballot was not widespread enough to defeat any of the 459 candidates favored by Gomilka. The election differed affiliated. The election differed



# The CP Faction Fight

between the Gates and Foster for its defense of these crimes, the adversary get out on a limb, offer on the side of party detendencies.

munist Party of the Soviet Jewish people. Union last year not only produced a crisis in the ranks of the American CP, but served to end a decade of uneasy "coexistence" between the Party's Nat'l Committee and its National Chairman, William Z. Foster. When Earl Browder was booted out in 1946, Foster assumed the titular leadership of the party but the decisive control rested with those who had previously comprised Browder's machine in the leadership. Supported by a few old-time associates, Foster remained in conflict with the rest of the committee for full control of the party's completely bureaucratized apparatus.

With the post-20th Congress developments, these power-seeking cliques emerged before the membership as the Gates and Foster tendencies. Meanwhile, many in the ranks, now recognizing that Stalinism and Leninism were differing and conflicting conceptions, were trying to Federation merged into one or called the Socialist Party-Social skell, as head of her majesty's the city elections are still ten find the way back to the authentic Leninism as the solution to tion held in New York City Jan. GAITSKELL ABSENT the Party crisis.

turn to Lenihist criteria were put SDF, remained outside of the in the position of having to de- unification. In addition, the Centermine if either of the leader- tral Committee of the New York leadership of the small 'left-wing' Zeidler, was there to deliver the ship could advance the party in City SDF voted 41-9 in opposition to the merger with the SP also opposed the merger capi- also elected National Chairman the direction of Leninism. BOTH FEAR RANKS

Both Foster and Gates revealed the indelible stamp of long ed and invalid." years of Stalinist politics. Neither by fewer than a hundred who Socialist Party. was willing to make a full and honest appraisal of the past claimed delegate's status, with Neither would clearly spell out the SDF bringing to the SP a the British Labor Party, had of our turbulent era — profoundly the political platform on which national membership of less than been scheduled to address the he stood. Neither tendency dared entrust resolution of the party crisis to democratic process in the organization.

Through the mechanics of presenting a compromise draft resolution for the convention, both tendencies sought to avoid having the disputed question settled by the democratic decision of the membership. They feared that such a precedent would encourage the formation of independent groupings in the ranks advancing platforms opposed to that of both factions in the leadership.

The Gates tendency, with control of the Daily Worker, was the first to appear before the membership. It gave CP ranks

The Daily Worker hailed the ascendancy of Gomulka to power in Poland and came to deplore Kremlin intervention in Hungary. It declared for an end to bureaucratic misrule in the CP although to recommend itself to the party inclined to do." ranks for such Leninist attributes

ganization at a national conven- Democratic Federation.

State Department "Socialism"

of Understanding" arrived at between the Socialist

Party and the Social Democratic Federation prior to

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 agen-

cies must be constantly on guard against the military

drive of the Communist dictators."

their Jan. 18-19 unity convention in New York:

The following is an excerpt from the "Memorandum

"The point program! must not be based on the

18 and 19. The Jewish Socialist

Verband, largest section of the

The convention was attended

a public silence.

Finally, in the March 16 Daily Worker, he emerged to declare: "Our task is neither to rush indignantly to the defense of Stait was helping to prop it up. lin nor to tear him to political Thus, the Gates faction sought shreds, as some in our ranks are

Foster was able to win the support of many of those memas independent thinking, speaking the truth and supporting the bers who sought a road back to

Right Wing Socialist Groups

Unified in N. Y. Convention

By Myra Tanner Weiss | a hundred. The new organiza-| convention, However, the cabinet

JAN. 23 - The Socialist Party tion, until the next regularly crisis, of England's imperialist

Unlike the ultra-conservative

and announced that the conven- tulated, entered the unity con- of the new organization with

tion was "irregular, unauthoriz- vention, even compromising its Darlington Hoopes and Louis

new organization call itself the

Hugh Gaitskell, Chairman of

in the Socialist Party that had keynote address. The mayor was

last and final demand, that the Goldberg as Vice Chairmen.

and part of the Social Democratic scheduled convention, will be government required that Gait-

the initial impression of throw- democratic rights of the member- Lenin. He did so in large meas On Feb. 9-12, the Communist Party of the U.S. will meet in convention. The gathering will be dominated by a faction fight of Stalin's crimes. It apologized consisted essentially of letting strating that whatever it had to pledging that henceforth it would then trying to saw the limb off. mocracy was outweighed by its speak out unequivocally against For a month after the Khrush- steady rightward evolution. The The Khruschev revelations at such monstrous deeds as frame-the 20th Congress of the Computation of the compu and his factional opponents were litical association" was recogtaking a stand, Foster maintained nized by worker-militants as liquidating any vestige of the Leninist concept of a revolutionary party. His increasingly conciliacracy clearly revealed a high

> italist public opinion. Gates lost further ground when it became apparent that he was (Continued from page 2)

official opposition party, return

in haste for consultations with

the queen of the British empire.

Still, the convention was not

In a statement issued by the

Unity Convention, the merger is

described as "primarily the result

changed social, economic and in-

ternational developments - just

as the original split between the

Socialist Party and the Social

Democratic Federation itself

grew out of events of twenty

years ago. . . events and circum-

stances have made unity between

the SP and the SDF not only

This was apparently as close

as the convention could come to

an explanation of the "historic

significance" of the merger. The

"events of twenty years ago"

that led to the split actually

(Continued on page 3)

possible but imperative."

REAL STORY OF SPLIT

sensitivity to the pressure of cap-

# Cowley for

tory attitude toward the Social Democracy and the union bureauator in the 1956 elections. During her campaign last fall,

she presented the party's program at many many forums, Negro churches, radio debates and symposiums, TV appearances and interviews. She plans a similarly energetic campaign for the may-

Mrs. Cowley is an active par ticipant in the struggle to inte-grate New York city schools. (See story page four.) She has also written articles exposing the Santana frame-up (a case ir which a Puerto Rican youth was railroaded to prison on a 25-year sentence) and spoke against the injustice over TV.

In announcing Mrs. Cowley's candidacy, Tom Kerry, New York SWP Chairman stated: "Although months off, we believe now is the time for radical and union organizations to make plans for presenting working class candidates. It is for this reason that we have nominated Mrs. Cowley at this time. We are ready, however, to discuss any other proposal for advancing independent against Big-Business domination

of New York City. "We strongly recommend Joyce Cowley to the socialist-minded workers and youth of New York as well as to the city's entire working class. She will be campaigning on a socialist platform of opposition to American imand the North, for support to the struggle of working people lawing bus segregation. against inflation and sub-standard wages, and for the building of a labor party."

Introductory Offer A Six-Month Subscription TO THE MILITANT Only \$1

consisted of an upsurge of the 116 University Place American working class that New York 3, N. Y.

### Arms Inflation Hikes Tax Steal To Record \$86 Billion a Year tion plus veterans' medical care and hos-By The Editors

For the second year in a row, President Eisenhower has proposed the largest peacetime military budget in history. Forty-five billion dollars, or roughly two thirds of the entire budget for the fiscal year beginning next July, will be spent in the United States and abroad to prepare for nuclear war. Another ten percent or \$7.4 billion will go directly into the coffers of big corporations, banks and insurance companies as "interest" on the national debt.

The spending budget is given as \$71.9 oillion, or a \$2.9 billion increase over the current year. The amount of taxes taken out of the economy, however will be \$85.9 billion, since special taxes on highways, social security, etc. are not listed in the budget, and since there will be a \$1.8 billion surplus for "retirement" of the national debt. This means that more than 25% of the national income will go in taxes to the federal government alone.

Big business spokesmen are decrying Eisenhower's failure to curb the federal SWP to Run government's tax bite, and even Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, said that if the trend continues the country will have "Labor's Duty" a depression that would curl your hair."

The Jan. 17 Wall Street Journal, in agreeing with Humphrey, suggests cuts in school building funds, medical care and research, veterans nospitals, and soil and water conservation projects. Neither the NEW YORK, Jan. 20-Enter- Journal, nor Humphrey, nor any other ing the 1957 New York City elec- spokesmen for Big Business, propose any real cuts in military spending. Yet it is political action, the New York precisely that section of the budget which Local of the Socialist Workers is inflationary and which accounts for Party nominated Joyce Cowley over \$2 billion of the increase in the for Mayor at a convention last proposed budget over that of the current

### All for Destruction

This whopping increase is entirely devoted to the procurement of ghastly new weapons of mass destruction nuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs and missiles, and devices to utilize them. The money to be spent on guided missiles alone is more than the entire amount earmarked for public education, plus public health, plus soil and water conserva-

According to the budget message, these "vastly superior weapons have a profound impact on the size and composition of the military budget." New "Atomic Support Commands" are being formed to "provide nuclear fire power support for our allies in Europe, the Middle East, and perhaps the Far East," says the Jan. 20 New York

The new budget reveals the meaning of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the Middle East. By replacing Great Britain and France in that area, U.S. capitalism is more and more revealing its true nature as the chief organizer of imperialist counter-revolution. It confronts the Arab revolution for national independence as an irreconcilable foe. The "Doctrine" gives the Big Business rulers of this country the power to order armed intervention against the colonial revolution without consulting Congress or the people. The budget makes it unmistakably clear that full-scale, cold-blooded preparations for the use of atom and hydrogen weapons in such intervention is now underway.

It is the duty of the American labor movement to oppose the atomic war budget with all its strength. In the first place the budget provides only a pittance for social welfare; it robs the American people of its right to use the country's resources to build a better life for all; it fails to provide for the burning needs of education, housing, health and public construction. Secondly, the budget proposes to utilize the wealth produced by American workers and farmers to deliver atomic death and destruction to the insurgent colonial peoples who are rightfully fighting for their freedom.

The fact that both Big Business parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, are uniting behind the Eisenhower budget, is a bitter reminder that American labor is still without its own political party to represent its own political interests. Without such a party the billionaire monopolists continue to call the tune in Washington and the working people cannot have an effective means of opposing them.

## White Students Joining **Negro-Bus Boycotters**

white Florida State University

protest rally against segregation of this class oppression. It is on Jan. 17. Windows on two of a fight for white allies by the their cars were smashed by white hoodlums while the meeting was going on. A day or two later, six!

integration movement.

a genuine "break-through." Negro and white that can finally page four.)

Almost buried in the capitalist racial barriers erected by an op- faster in changing their opinions They attended the ICC mass the prejudices of white victims Negro workers in the South. of this class oppression. It is

very nature of the fight.

### MILLIONS WILL AID

Negro and white students were The self-interest of a majority white solidarity to be taken, and arrested for violating segrega- of whites must eventually com- still easier for the next step after perialism's war plans, of support tion rules on the buses. These pel them to come to the aid of that. to the Negro people in the South rules are still imposed despite the embattled Negro people. This The Jim Crow system of the a Supreme Court decision out- force is made up of millions of South does not rest only upon the white workers - especially cruel and reactionary legal Afterward, defying threats of those who belong, alongside their system, but more immediately expulsion from the college, the Negro union brothers and sisters upon social pressure and upon group signed a letter in the to the organized labor move- terror. Any time a whole group student newspaper calling upon ment. White workers cannot ef- of whites defies this social presthe student body to support the fectively force the capitalists sure and the threats of the KKK, to pay them higher wages while the ugly system itself is thereby Up to now, there have been they are divided by Jim Crow weakened. only individual cases of solidarity from Negro workers. This by whites in the South for the lesson has already been learned action not only anticipates, but anti-segregation struggle. The to a substantial degree in the begins a new phase of the Negro student action is a real "first," North and will be assimilated by workers in the South. (See It is only the joint action of "Good News From Texas" on Southern whites as active par-

press last week was the report pressive ruling class. The strug- that do the workers. Thereby of the historic act of twenty gle of the Negro people has won they can anticipate the coming white Floride State University students in Tallahassee joining ficent fight is directed not only florida State who joined in defyposal for advancing independent the Negro Inter-Civic Council's against the repressive measures ing segregation are anticipating of a ruling class, but against the coming unity of white and True, the students' action may

at first antagonize the majority of whites. But it is such a courageous act that it will make it easier for the next step of

In this sense, the students' struggle, - that of winning ticipants in it.

### Events Refute Draft Resolution Of CP on "Co-Existence"

By Harry Ring

While sharply divided on other issues, the Beadership of the Communist Party stands united on the main political line of the draft resolution which it has presented for adoption at the Party's forthcoming convention. Throughout the pre-convention discussion both the Foster and Gates wings of the National Committee has studiously avoided the fact that their draft resolution, written only four months ago, has already failed the test of events.

The central thesis of the resolution is that World War III can be averted by "peaceful co-existence" between imperialism and the noncapitalist world. The resolution contends that the perspective of such co-existence is now realizable because a decisive change allegedly occurred in the world situation in 1955 when "the Eisenhower administration was compelled to drop its opposition to great power negotiations, meet with the Soviet Union at Geneva, and formally renounce the use of force to resolve differences."

The resolution adds that "the pressures that brought Eisenhower to the Summit meeting are today stronger then ever. They are producing an 'agonizing reappraisal' on the part of Big Business and of various political circles. It is widely recognized that the bankrupt and dangerous Dulles' diplomacy of 'massive retaliation' and 'brink of war' has brought American prestige to a new low," etc.

#### IS LENIN OUTMODED?

From this flows the resolution's main conclusion: "The prospect has opened up of bringing the cold war to an end and ushering in a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems." For the authors of the resolution, Geneva proved that Lenin's theory of war being inevitable under capitalism and being effectively fought only by the working class struggle for socialism was outmoded.

Unfortunately for the authors, the "spirit of Geneva" was already rapidly evaporating when they wrote the resolution. The declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine now brings this "spirit" virtually to the vanishing point. The present schemes of the Administration to contain the Arab independence movement and to establish the domination of Wall Street in the Middle East brings us closer to the "brink" than did previous bellicose moves by Dulles.

Far from "bringing the cold war to an end," Eisenhower's saber-rattling inaugural address and the staggering new military budget mark an acceleration of the cold war against the colonial revolution. While Wall Street might execute yet another Geneva-type tactical shift, it shoud be clear that the trend of development does not resemble in the slightest anything projected in the draft resolution.

#### REJECT CLASS-STRUGGLE THEORY

The discrepancy between the analysis and the reality is not simply a matter of a faulty estimate of a particular stage in a complex world situation. The resolution fails to anticipate and cannot satisfactorily explain the present international developments because it deliberately avoids a scientific examination of the class forces which shape them.

The authors of the resolution cannot acknowledge that abiding international class struggle is the basic factor making for cold war, because such an approach would shatter their central plank of a "people's struggle to unfold the new era of peaceful co-existence and end the cold war altogether." This derives from an "analysis" which holds that "the danger of war has considerably subsided. This is the main feature of the present situation."

The resolution attempts to balance off this "main feature" of the situation by also noting that "the big trusts and corporations (have not) given up their aim of world domination." Here we have a correct statement of fact. But from it the resolution tries to draw the un-

warranted conclusion that the pressure of the Soviet orbit, the colonial world and the American people can compel the big trusts and corporations to abandon their aim of world domination and accept the need to dwell in peaceful co-existence with the non-capitalist

The post-Geneva events have served to torpedo this illusory theory that a durable "era" of peaceful co-existence is possible. The aim of U.S. imperialism to rule the globe is not simply the subjective aspiration of powerdrunk tycoons. Far more decisive is the fact that such global domination is an organic need of U.S. imperialism in the era of the disintegration of world capitalism.

#### GRIM CHOICES

With the rest of the capitalist world already in advanced state of decay, American imperialism's ultimate hope of survival is to smash the colonial revolution and to restore capitalism where it has been abolished. Wall Street knows it may not survive another war. But it also knows that it is doomed if it fails to stem the rising anti-capitalist tide. As history has already demonstrated, when their backs are to the wall, the capitalists will risk war as the alternative to final loss of power.

The "Geneva spirit" can be correctly understood only within the context of these choices confronting American imperialism. Wall Street did not go to Geneva to negotiate a settlement of "differences." The aim of imperialism at Geneva was to explore the possibility of a partial truce in the cold war in order to improve its position for the hot war which the surge of the colonial peoples had forced it to

Geneva did not mean - as the resolution contends - that U.S. Big Business was beginning to accept the idea that World War III had to be called off for good. If that had really been the meaning of Geneva then new pressures would have forced the American capitalist rulers even further down the road of "co-

Instead, when the Arab revolution for national independence struck with such force at Suez, the imperialist demonstrated they could not and would not negotiate the Arab demand for a further measure of national independence. That is why the British and French, aided by the Israeli government, took the desperate plunge of a Korean-type "police action." And that is why Washington intervened with the Eisenhower Doctrine aimed at replacing British and French imperialism with what it hopes will be a more effective show of strength.

Geneva certainly demonstrated that the world relationship of forces has turned steadily against imperialism. But it is a pernicious distortion of reality to portray this development as proof that it is possible to gradually dispose of imperialist rule through "a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems."

### RETURN TO LENIN'S TEACHINGS!

The false Kremlin "theory" that the war drive against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples is no longer inherent in imperialism and the political line of the draft resolution which flows from this "theory" - can neither predict the course of imperialist development or aid the workers and colonial people of the world in their struggle for emancipation and lasting world peace.

In opposition to the Kremlin theory of "coexistence" with imperialism stands Lenin's characterization of the present epoch as one of "imperialist wars, colonial uprisings and proletarian revolutions." This characterization has been confirmed by events. It accurately portrays the reality and it provides the basis for defeating the war plans of imperialism through the indispensable policy of revolutionary strug-

### The Real Position of **Hungarian Communists**

By John Thayer

Was the revolution in Hun-Budapest describes (Jan. 13)

Smallholders Party, who joined They were not burning their | Csepel, the Detroit of Hungary, the Nagy cabinet which was deposed by Russian tanks, told a correspondent for Reporter Times believes), but expressing pest, got its adjective "Red" bemagazine (Dec. 13, 1956): "This their hatred of the betrayal of cause of the long Communist was a revolution from the in- communism that the Kremlin tradition of its 38,000 workers. side, led by Communists. There bureaucrats and their Hungarian From the beginning of the is not a shred of evidence that it

A mere going over of the news accounts show that not only in side the Communist Party over Nagy's government but in the a year ago. Courageous workers, fighting groups, workers' coun- students and intellectuals secretly bers. After Oct. 23 almost all cils, student and intellectual organizations of men and women, bolder terms of criticism and compromised bureaucrats and the who but a few weeks before had been members of the Hungarian June 28 uprising in Poznan, vates got three times the pay Communist Party, occupied lead- Poland, immediately inspired of the average worker, officers USSR, the return from the So-

leading role both in bringing at which the most daring denun-Among these were Col. Pal frightened the leadership into weaklings who have been coheroic defense of the Kilian Bar- gary's "little Stalin," who went from their jobs.

manded at Gyor.

Bela Kovacs, leader of the monstrous statue of Stalin. to the insurrection. stooges represented.

movement in Hungary began in- to Kremlin rule. organized and spoke out in ever save a few thousand irrevocably condemnation. The news of the highly-paid secret police (prithem to action in Hungary. They ten times) left the party by To take but one example. A organized great mass meetings joining the revolution. fighting against the Russian defend the regime were shouted proven a miserable fiasco. It has

I racks: Goldstein, who command-| into exile in Moscow, and police ed at Pecs; and Silo, who com- head Farkas, who was expelled. But the CP militants, who were The fact of the matter is that starting a revolution, were not many American newspapers put only a minority of the Hun- to be so easily appeased. They if. John MacCormac, the New garian Communist Party sup- wanted to get rid of the whole York Times correspondent in ported the Kremlin. The ma-Kremlin system, and the October jority were in the ranks of the events in Poland was the signal "what has happened in Hungary" freedom-fighters. These were the for Communist Party students, as "a Communist-led revolution people who made public bonfires intellectuals and workers from of the workers, peasants and in- of their party membership cards "Red Csepel" to stage the tellectuals against communism." after they had pulled down the demonstrations which led directly

> belief in true communism (as an industrial complex built on MacCormac of the New York an island on the edge of Budarevolution to this day it remains As in Poland, the revolutionary the principal seat of resistance

Before the revolution the Hungarian CP had 800,000 mem-

The new Kremlin - controlled the Hungarian army over to the ciations of the regime were CP that Kadar is attempting to Fromises were made in the form people and in the subsequent uttered. CP leaders who tried to build under a new name has of an order to review 4,823 pristroops was played by Communist down. The slogans, "the party the hopelessly compromised Stal- military courts during the Stalin Party army officers, par- leaders must go" and "bring back inist bureaucrats and the secret era and the dismissal of eight ticularly those who were vet-erans of the Spanish Civil War. This agitation within the CP others are for the most part agreement with the USSR for . The Polish Revolution is sti

# Trotsky's 'The New Course'

cations, 1956, 111 pp., 50 cents. (Distributed in the U. S. by become strong enough to exile ment throughout the world was

Revelations of Stalin's bloody, capricious and ignor- bers of the Left Opposition. Anant tyranny, made by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress other decade witnessed the full adoption by the leadership of the backwardness gave the bureauof the Soviet Communist Party, evoked from millions the development of the bureaucratic questions: "Why didn't you do" something to stop him?" and value today in answering the

To the first question Khrushchev and Kremlin apologists throughout the world have pleaded the better part of valor merely to have looked at Stalin oddly, let alone oppose him, would have cost Khrushchev or most psychopathic obsession. Such beggaring of the question

"How could such a monstrous sit-

uation come about?"

terms of "good" czars and "bad"

questions which the 20th Con-USSR and abroad have left un- Kremlin. answered.

BEGINNING OF FIGHT

Written in 1923, this book was

They Showed New Course Against Stalin

the great revolutionary leader at stake. and expel and imprison the memregime in the nightmarish "conconversion of the Communist gress raised but which the Com- Party into a privileged but termunist Party leaders both in the rorized body of yesmen for the

When Trotsky wrote "The New early stages and still reversible. "The New Course" shows that Trotsky was to extend and deepvaliant efforts to stop Stalin en his analysis of the Stalin rewere made and that part of that gime with the unfolding of events. anyone else his head, they say. effort was an explanation of the Yet for a complete understanding The latter question they try to process, then taking place, that of a social phenomenon one must it. answer with pseudo-psychologis would unfortunately culminate in study its beginnings as well as cal talk: as Stalin got older his the monstrous situation described its maturity. This is why this vanity grew until it was an al- by Khrushchev to the 20th Con- book is so useful for readers to-

Trotsky, however, was no is the cult of the individual stood Trotsky's opening move to lance writing The New Course for hison its head. In Stalin's lifetime the tumor of bureaucracy which torians and students. It was a he was pictured as a demi-god, had developed within the party broadside fired at the degenerasince his death he is pictured as and was changing it from the tive elements that had gained the an arch-fiend. This is about as en- spirited, democratic organization upper hand in the Bolshevik Parlightening as the "wisdom" of the built by Lenin into an unthinking, ty. It was the first organized peasant elders of a century ago docile tool of the apparatus. attempt to stop what has become who explained Russian history in Trotsky and his supporters, who known to history as Stalinism. came to be known as the Left Thus the book is the record of Opposition, continued this inner the opening phase of a battle in reprinting of Trotsky's party fight until 1928 by which which the future of the Soviet 'New Course" is of particular time the Stalin apparatus had Union and the Communist move

the struggle was the unanimous countries, Russia's economic Communist Party of a resolution cracy the social base to destroy calling for "a new course" in the the Left Opposition and workers' fession" trials, anti-Semitism and party: a struggle against the democracy. In a short time, howgrowing bureaucracy and a re- ever, economic collapse forced the generation of party democracy, bureaucracy against its will to party - Stalin, Zinoviev and it did with all the terrible over-Kameney, however, voted for the head cost and brutality inherent Course" this process was in its resolution with tongue in cheek, in Stalinism. Yet the changed Their control of the party was social conditions that 28 years of ization and while they could be about have now placed on the forced publicly to deplore it they

#### CLEAR OUT BUREAUCRATS

Trotsky, on the other hand, wished to take the issue to the ranks of the party. "The New ble addition to the library of Course" consists of articles and every Marxist. letters he wrote analyzing for the membership not only what was going on but what should be done to remedy the situation.

For example, his first letter to the party meetings said: "The renovation of the party apparatus - naturally within the clearcut framework of the statutes must aim at replacing the mummified bureaucrats with fresh elements closely linked with the life of the collectivity, or capable of assuring such a link. And before anything else, the leading posts must be cleared out of those who, at the first word of criticism, of objection, or of protest, brandish the thunderbolts of penalties before the critic. The "new course" must begin by making everyone feel that from now on nobody will dare terrorize the party.

"It is entirely insufficient for our youth to repeat our formulae. It must conquer the revolutionary formulae, it must assimilate them, work out its own opinions, its own physiognomy; it must be capable of fighting for its views with the courage which arises out of depths of conviction and heir insisted that the Soviet Jews independence of character. Out of the party with passive obedience, son was married to one, and that with mechanical leveling by the the only problem was that Jews authorities, with suppression of personality, with servility, with careerism! A Bolshevik is not merely a disciplined man; he is liable citizens. a man who in each case and on each question forges a firm opinion of his own and defends it courageously and independently, the CP as a party and continued not only against his enemies, but inside his own party.

### SOCIAL FORMATION

"Today perhaps he will be in the minority in his organization. He will submit, because it is his party. But this does not always signify that he is in the wrong. rising as to be acceptable signify that he is in the wrong. question, A critic of the Kremlin, will persistently raise the queswage increases, a promise that tion together behind Gomulka. ing it meet the new task fully

> centered about restoration of parclics and petty bourgeois at the ty democracy and the right of these ugly manifestations sprang. ical Affairs, Oct. 1955). tains both these views and shad. This immediately brought up In this perspective of political the need drastically to change class collaboration, Foster is, of the USSR's stagnating economy course, in full accord with the by the introduction of economic planning. Planning has become such an unquestioned and pri- joint opposition to an authentic mary basis of the Soviet econ- socialist program of class strugomy that it is hard for many gle that makes it impossible for today to believe that Trotsky either Gates or Foster to lead the was assailed from all sides and ranks of the Communist Party ridiculed for agitating for it. back to Lenin.

with the failure of revolution in The occasion for the opening of any of the advanced industrial The ruling "troika" (trio) of the embrace economic planning. This based on the growing bureaucrat- planned economy have brought agenda of history a political revohad no intention of acting against lution that will overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and restore

> workers' democracy. Because it aids in understanding the present Soviet reality, "The New Course" is an invalua-

> > - George Lavan

(Continued from page 1) no more capable of resisting Foster's Kremlin-type pressure than of resisting the pressure of U.S. imperialism. After an initial posture of independence on Hungary, he caved in with a mumbled 'qualified" support of the second treacherous invasion. Declared opponents of capital punishment, the DW editors have yet to express themselves on the Kadar decree invoking the death penalty for strikers.

The pledge to speak out against any further manifestation of Soviet anti-Semitism proved equally hollow. The Daily Worker failed to print a line of the recent interview of the Canadian CP leader, J. B. Salzberg, with Khrushchev where Stalin's were doing fine, that even his didn't clean their streets, were continually starting synagogues and in general weren't very re-

In opposition to Gates' program and record, Foster offers one thing; the preservation of lip service to Marxism-Leninism. But tied in the Foster package deal is the old Stalinism. Criticism is in order only on sanction from the Kremlin. The Kremlin vilification of the Hungarian political revolution as a fascist uprising is to be accepted without

The distinguishing characteristic of Foster's anti-Leninist pol-Basic to his Stalinist line is a program favoring collaboration Though much of the struggle with the capitalist class.

For Foster, the Workers Councils that sprang up in Hungary the young generation of party were fascist agencies to be But beneath the unifying de- members to full rights, Trotsky crushed by Kremlin tanks. For sire for self-rule for Poland there did not limit his articles to these the same Foster, the capitalist lie diverse and contradictory sole issues. The bureaucratization Democratic Party in this country class aims. Restorationist ele- of the party and consequent de- is an instrument for social proments envisage a capitalist Pol- cline of democratic procedure did gress. He even sees "important and with Catholicism the state not stem from the activities of sections of the bourgeoisie and revolution similar in origin to the church-state settlement was religion. The militant workers "bad" men. It was a social phe- even of monopoly itself" as capaand students envisage a socialist nomenon and Trotsky goes into ble of being drawn into an efthe social conditions from which fective peace movement, (Polit-

Gates faction. It is this joint devotion to class-collaboration and

#### Meaning of the Polish Vote signify that he is in the wrong. Question, A critic of the Kremlin, as in the old days, is automatically "anti-Soviet." (Continued from page 1) rial interests of the various tasks of the national phase of tion a second, a third, a tenth classes. Thus for the workers the revolution tend to keep the time, if need be. Thereby he will the election was between his polthere was a stressing of recent various elements of the popula- render his party a service, help- itics is not only his defense of icy and Russian tanks on the

Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, shown reviewing

the Red Army. During the last year of his life Lenin opened a struggle against the growth of a

bureaucratic machine in the Soviets and a bureaucratic faction in the party headed by Stalin.

Lenin proposed to Trotsky that they collaborate in the fight against the bureaucracy and steer

a new course towards the revival and strengthening of workers' democracy.

streets of Warsaw

Gomulka received important claim from Chinese Premier Chou last week of the campaign and etc. signed a declaration of Polishthat which brought Gomulka to praised. power in Poland. The Kadar regime is as detested by the Polish

people as the Hungarian people. A notable feature of the election was the support given Gomulka by the Catholic Church. Cardinal Wyszynski seconded the election day be arranged to fa- trol the Communist Party.

Wyszynski's support is in rechurch. Among these are restoraand magazines, legalization of clique. (Natolin is the swank sub-National Front.

### PROMISES FOR ALL

paigned on the achievements of dition to the measure of independence won from the Kremlin, the better trade terms with the viet Union of many Poles long held there, and the curbing of the secret police were stressed. the return of more imprisoned

the price of coal would not be Thus an election on the issue of armed or carry out the necessary the Soviet-orbit working class. pre-election support for this increased this winter, an an- "Gomulka or Russian tanks" turn without organic upheavals, nouncement that a thousand bad- united workers and intellectuals without factional convulsions." En-lai who visited Warsaw in the ly-needed buses would be built, tending toward revolutionary

For the urban petty bourgeoisie Chinese friendship. A price was there was the announcement that polls.

paid for the Chinese support, private wholesale business would But however. This was a pledge of be licensed. For the peasants support to the Kadar regime in denunciations of forced collectivi-Hungary. This puppet regime zation and resumption of the cowas installed by the Kremlin operatives destroyed during the after its bloody suppression of a Stalin era. For the Catholics

### INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

The aura of "national savior" gained by Gomulka in the October days has not yet worn thin, though first signs of this have begun to appear. The election get-out-the-vote campaign with victory more than ever makes a pastoral letter calling on all him appear a leader above directed that church services on is that Gomulka does not con-

minority in the United Workers turn for concessions made to his Party, as the OP of Poland nationalist pressure from within is officially called. The party and Poland. tion of Catholic religious instruction in the public schools, re- in the hands of the old Stalinist opening of Catholic newspapers gang headed by the Natolin Catholic political organizations urb of Warsaw where many top and acceptance of some Catholic bureaucrats live.) It is believed candidates on the slate of the that Gomulka will now try to take over control of the party using his popularity and control of parliament as levers. Appar-Gomulka's supporters cam- ently he excluded his factional

and his policy tumbling down.

Maleter (recently condemned to death by Kadar), who led the Premier Matyas Rakosi, Hunappeals were made to the mate- ped mid-way. The incompleted will master.

Poland following its own course. The peasantry doubtlessly con-

Marxism with conservative Cath-

ings in between. Moreover, day-to-day struggles between workers, bureaucracy, church and peasantry, even the struggle within the party, threat-Catholics to vote. The letter also classes and parties. For the fact en the equilibrium holding up Gomulka. Each pressure on him is also his support. Indeed, the very His faction remains as yet a pressure of the Kremlin is as essential to his regime as is the

> Loss of church support by Gomulka would make him that much more dependent on the workers or on the bureaucracy. Loss of the workers' support would throw him into the arms of the restorationists or of the bureaucracy.

In the months following the October days Gomulka tried to opponents from the slate of can- restrain the workers' committees the regime that appeal to all didates—only 83 of 425 outgoing which had put him in power and sections of the population. In ad- members of parliament stood for had decisively backed him against re-election.(In the elections, those the Kremlin. He protested their Natolinists who were elected in- militancy in taking over managevariably polled the lowest votes.) ment of the factories and mines. However, Gomulka's future is Their eagerness to smash the fraught with uncertainty. He is bureaucracy, he dubbed a witch held aloft by the pressures of hunt. He depends on them, yet contrary forces. A change in is trying to confine them within the strength of any of these the limits of revolution marked forces may upset the whole un- out by that section of the buon sentences passed by the high stable equilibrium and bring him reaucracy he represents. It is a more liberal, democratic and pro-Poland section of the bureaucracy, there is no doubt. But it still The Polish Revolution is still stands in contradiction to the in its opening national stage. proletarian mass. But this mass

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### Are Civil Liberties 'Subversive'?

Resistance to the witch hunt in America has undoubtedly increased. Yet paradoxically one of the principal weapons of this witch hunt, the "subversive" list, continues to grow, like a cancerous tumor still untouched by therapy. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Jan. 19, added 137 new organizations and publications to its proscribed list published in 1951, reaching a grand total of 733 that are pronounced "verboten."

In the new listing are such organizations as the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. To include these organizations built to defend the victims of the witch hunt is to compound the crime of the witch hunters. Defense committees have the limited objective of presenting the case for the witch-hunt victims to the American people, and of trying with its aid to undue judicial wrongs.

To threaten and intimidate such organizations is flagrantly to obstruct justice. The highest court of appeal in the judicial structure of this country is the American people. It was the labor movement in organized struggle that finally exposed the judicial frame-ups in such famous cases as that of Mooney-and-Billings and Sacco-and-Vanzetti.

In attempting to cut off the avenue of public appeal to those who are persecuted by the witch hunt, the House Committee reveals its fear to have their cases examined too closely in the open court of popular discussion.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, for example, worked for over a year to obtain proof that the prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial lied when it told the jury that Sobell had been deported from Mexico. Clearly, the House Un-American Activities Committee aims to prevent the American people from hearing this new evidence. Else why the listing?

The prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial had the daily presentation of spokesmen for the Communist their side of the case with the help of Party and the Socialist Party. the entire capitalist press. Is not the defendant, Morton Sobell, his wife and those were invited to send representatives and that both declined to who have taken the trouble to study the participate. entire case to have the right, without fear and intimidation, to present the ar- dicate these parties are arriving guments of the defense?

Go back and read the press at the time, press one can readily perceive of the trial in 1951. How many readers the political line on which these of these daily papers in that period of parties take their stand. The Sointense hysteria would understand the cialist Party supports imperialfollowing facts: Sobell was never accused lonial revolutions abroad. The of committing atomic espionage. No evi- Communist Party supports the dence was ever introduced that he com- Kremlin bureaucracy against the mitted any kind of espionage. He was political revolution of the workconvicted of "conspiring" to commit espionage solely on the testimony of one mocracy within the framework man, an admitted perjurer, who gave "ac- of the workers' states. complice testimony" and escaped arrest.

How many people believe that Sobell was tried and convicted by the Government of Mexico in deportation proceedings as the prosecution intimated? How many know that the Government of Mexico, instead, protested to U. S. authorities in both Laredo, Texas, and Washington, D.C. for a violation of the Extradition Treaty between these two countries in the kidnapping of Sobell and his fam-

The power of the prosecution to spread its lies against the witch-hunt victims is a thousand times greater than the power of the defense to publicize the truth. By the crisis of Stalinism, They want clude "various Trotskyist outcharacterizing a defense committee as to find an accommodation with "subversive," the witch-hunters seek to the social democrats, the union reinforce the side of the lie.

All the more reason, then, for the labor existence" within the framework ist.)" He scorns "the self-apmovement to examine the facts in the of Democratic Party politics. pointed supporters of unity [who] Morton Sobell case to determine the truth. When this is done, we are sure that the name and form of the party in next convention in February 1957 demand for a new hearing for this man, order to facilitate their classwho has already spent more than six years in prison, will be supported by all who care for justice.

### Mayor Wagner's Medals

That "great liberal Democrat," Mayor "Wagner of New York, who was the "Democratic candidate for Senator, has recently accepted medals from two dictators: Franco of Spain and Batista of Cuba.

Batista's troops and police are currently engaged in killing and jailing young people throughout Cuba who oppose his bloody regime. While Franco's ambassador was pinning the Grand Cross of Civil Merit of Spain on Wagner's chest and two of his aides, the Fascist police were arresting and beating strikers and streetcar boycotters in Barcelona and other cities.

The labor movement in New York tried hard to dissuade Wagner from accepting Franco's medal. Delegates representing a half-million union workers protested. Especially eloquent were spokesmen for Puerto Rican unionists, who declared that Wagner's acceptance "tended to cover up all the reactionary, fascist and anti-labor deeds of the Franco regime and the Falangist movement."

Despite the big labor protest and the opposition of liberals manifested by an anti-medal campaign in the New York

Post. Wagner persisted in accepting the dictators' decorations. His weak excuse was that he could not refuse an award offered by a government friendly to the United States. This hypocrisy is exposed by asking oneself what Wagner would do if offered a medal by the Soviet Union bureaucracy, a course they per- or by Egypt since both these governments ceive as the only basis for the support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and support of imperialism with an ments cannot be fused with those The opposition of Zinoviev and the opposition o have ambassadors in Washington which, by diplomatic definition, makes them friendly to the U.S.

Politician Wagner accepted the medals because Cardinal Spellman and other elements in New York, who admire Franco have more influence over him than do aim to perpetuate the role of the nounced its readiness to support the labor leaders and liberals. Labor's rank and file should remember that when agency within the labor movetheir leaders ask them next year to endorse and finance Wagner's campaign for

The New York local of the Socialist Workers Party has already nominated Joyce Cowley as its candidate for mayor. If she were elected there is no likelihood that Franco or Batista would proffer medals to New York's mayor. They reserve such "honors" for America's capitalist

## Social Democrats Merge

(Continued from page 1)

brought into existence a powerful left wing and scared the right wing, composed largely of labor bureaucrats and their stooges, tionary basis as a result of the Nations Emergency Force to be into walking out in 1936.

The workers and youth in the Socialist Party at that time in FIRST ACTION addition to other issues were outraged at the betrayal of the merger takes place is servile ready to do their part in heating undertaken in the service of crats permitted Hitler to walk for World War III. Speeches in their struggle against the of the Algerian people. into power without a single blow about "human decency" and the militant forces, joined together shifts in Soviet foreign policy . . .

and marks a further turn to the public action. On Jan. 25 it is policy of the labor bureaucrats cils have set as their goal. right. The most "imperative" of sponsoring a meeting in New in support of the Democratic desire of the Second Interna-tional "socialists" to have an American section to support of-American section to support officially the capitalist West in December issue of the Socialist ers and youth on a revolutionary tion is allowed for local cam- Chinese revolution.

crisis of Stalinism.

to prevent it. By 1938 this left "moral strength of Socialism" Hungary as an area to be sub- Socialist Party will cooperate ing class? wing together with Trotskyists were made to give a "socialist" who had been expelled from the ring to such State Department to form the Socialist Workers confronts the free world with

struggle against "world Call, pointing out that the "So- socialist program.

|communism." Right wing social-|cialist Party has cooperated ists, in addition, feel the need to closely with Anna Kethly, leader pool their forces to stem grow- of the Social Democratic Party ing interest in regroupment of of Hungary," reports that Miss American radicals on a revolu- Kethly "will call for a United dispatched to Hungary."

> Kremlin, the SP-SDF point to action." That is the real signif-UN Emergency Force.

where SP candidates when elect- aim to restore capitalism in Hun-

# Dobbs Talk on Socialist Unity

(Text of speech made by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at symposium, Jan. 18, on the topic "Can the Left Unite?" Also see story, this page.)

We are gathered tonight to discuss the question: can the socialist movement unite? It seems pertinent to the subject to mark the absence from the platform of

Their absence tonight would inat settled positions on the question of regroupment. From their ism against the socialist and coers in the Soviet sphere who are fighting to establish workers' de-

FOSTER-GATES DIVISION

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, each for their own reasons, advocate support of the Democratic Party. Both par- provision allowing support of ties reject revolutionary socialist principles. Neither party will enter into public discussion with that means support of capitalist revolutionary socialists. Each taken an ultimatistic attitude toward regroupment.

Looking more deeply into the situation we find a division within the bureaucracy of the Communist Party between the Foster and Gates wings. The the right under the pressure of with the Kremlin and change the collaborationist maneuvers.

the CP may break away from expected to move toward social- scribes "a period of probation to revolutionary-socialist policies.

Party because this happens to co- Lenin," incide with the Kremlin's foreign continued existence of the discredited Communist Party.

SP-SDF FUSION

The Fosterites, who are against any regroupment that Labor Action reported, "Recent-Gates wing as liquidators. They Independent Socialist League an-Communist Party as a Stalinist ment, an aim that can have nothary-socialist regroupment.

Turning to the social-demo- the question." cratic sphere we note that a merger convention is now in session through which the Socialist Party is uniting with the Social Democratic Federation. Central to the unification is the tosue of the Socialist Call.

In an editorial on the unifi-

to assist their comrades abroad ... who occupy seats of political "principle of democracy." power in the free nations." By France, one of the authors of the whether by the Stalinist bureau-

jected by imperialist "police closely with Anna Kethly, leader of the Social Democratic Party of

paigns where candidates have These questions of socialist U.S. imperialism is preparing to cialist Party and Social Demo- ment.



FARRELL DOBBS

"traditionally received support." This proviso seems intended only to allow room for local political Zeidler in Milwaukee whose campaigns have nothing in common with actual socialist election radical movement. campaigns.

The fundamental SP-SDF electoral policy is spelled out in a candidates "endorsed by labor and liberal groups." In plain language candidates.

DEMAND BRAINWASH

An article by Norman Thomas in the December Call proclaims that the SP-SDF can have "neither organic union nor a formal united front" with Soviet Gates wing manifests motion to sympathizers. He berates talk about a unity which would inoutgrowths or split-offs (Max Schachtman's Independent Socialist League and the group around italists. They seek "peaceful co- Bert Cochran's American Social-They want to loosen the CP ties seem to believe" that "If the Communist Party splits at its the reformers . . . would be welcome part of the new organi-Insofar as the Gates wing of zation . . . of which they dream. For those who wish to regroup

Kremlin domination, they can be around the SP-SDF Thomas predemocratic positions, not toward put the sincerity of Communist reformers to the test." As part of The Foster wing represents the test, he stipulates, "we must the hard Stalinist core of the insist that reformed Communists, Communist Party. They agree Stalinists and Trotskyists, must icy of supporting the Democratic tices set up not by Stalin but by

Thus the political line of the appropriate "loyalty" screening in the tradition of the witch

These are the circumstance under which the Jan. 14 issue of would displace the CP, attack the ly, the Political Committee of the the consolidation of a democratic socialist movement in the United States by uniting with the Socialing in common with a revolution- ist Party. The Young Socialist League has a similar position on

FOR "DEMOCRACY"

The Independent Socialist League seeks unity with the Socialist Party as that party casocial-democratic circles. These Guardian, a weekly newspaper; cation the Call states: "Socialists hard political facts the ISL in this country need unity in or- leadership tries to hide behind an der to continue their own efforts assertion that socialist unity should be based simply on the

Revolutionary socialists fight this they clearly mean such "so- to defend workers' democracy cialists" as Premier Mollet of against bureaucratic usurpation, Franco-British-Israeli military crats in the Soviet sphere or by invasion of Egypt in an effort to the union bureaucrats in the

dertakes to fill with the proposi- Socialist Workers Party, Farrell socialism. Above all they must Soviet Union. This class void the ISL un-Communist Party and other propaganda blasts as "the latest icance of their demand for a Hungary, who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should be stressed the need for full want democracy in the Soviet A. J. Muste said that he was regroupment should be stressed to the regroupment should be stressed to their demand for a Hungary, who . . . will call for a tion that a regroupment should be stressed to the regroupment should be stressed t United Nations Emergency Force include "all who consider them- discussion of basic issues to Union. The only condition neces- not enthusiastic about a simple Finally, the new organization to be dispatched to Hungary." selves socialists." But simple op- bring clarity to those groping sary for unity is agreement that merger of the existing groups the unification after two decades of two sections of the right wing of two sections of the right wing of the service of two sections of the right wing of the service of two sections of the right wing of the service of the existing groups and the service of the existing groups to the existing group - except in cases like Milwaukee tary intervention which would full test of revolutionary-social- speech, this page.) He outlined ment cannot be committed to the cialist Party. Such a merger ist principles. The Russian revo- the stand the SWP takes on key proposition that the Soviet Union would lack a foundation in prin-The healing of the 20-year The role that the SP-SDF will ed go on to back the Democrats. gary, not to establish workers' lution ended that era of primilisues confronting the radical is a workers' state of any kind ciples. Any unification should be breach takes place in a period of play in the labor movement is Like the Communist Party lead- democracy on a socialist basis tive class struggle. Socialists movement and presented it as or represents socialism to any based on thorough discussion of conservatism in American labor expressed in its first official ers, the SP-SDF endorse the as the Hungarian Workers Coun-must take an unambiguous posi- the party's contribution to a degree." tion on the imperialist assault discussion of Socialist regroup- Shachtman indicated that dif- presented by Farrell Dobbs. Every In a joint "Memorandum of Un- against the workers states in the ment. the "events and circumstances" York City not to protest U.S. Party. It should be clear that brings unity today in the imperialism's war plans in the this unity convention has nothing desired of the Second Internet Mid-East but to hear Apres

principle the ISL seeks to ob- moving to the right. The contra- revolutionary-socialist direction urge the importance of Socialist about "socialist revolutionary-socialist regroup- rialist foreign policy.

The motion to the right of the Independent Socialist League, the wing of the Communist Party is ent adverse political climate in this country. All these tendencies are bending under the prolonged pressures of the artificial, ments who are now groping in a available means. war-created prosperity and the consequent weight of capitalist reaction which bears down upon all radicals. But these manifestations are not the basic features of the present shakeup in the

The primary impulse toward a socialist regroupment arises from the crisis of Stalinism. That crisis stems from the developing political revolution in the Soviet sphere where the workers are fighting to depose the Stalinist bureaucrats from power. The aim of the workers' revolutionary intervention in Soviet political life is to establish the democratic rule of the working class on the basis of the socialist property forms. A tion. It will give fresh impetus to the world revolution as a whole, adding fuel to the already whitehot fires of colonial revolution and leading toward social revolutions by the working class in the imperialist countries.

Stalinist crisis are revealed Lenin and Stalin in the earliest as only luke-warm supporter, through the polarization of the days of the Russian Revolution. Foster and Gates wings, centered When Lenin returned to Russia within the Communist Party bu- from exile in April of 1917 he reaucracy. On the positive side, a section of the CP ranks and leadership of Stalin, among periphery are striving toward a others, deeply committed to the revolutionary-socialist position, policy of supporting the capitalseeking to regroup themselves ist Provisional Government toaround'a Leninist program.

Even within the social-demoamong younger elements. They with the Gates group on the pol- repudiate the dootrines and prac- are repelled by the idea of becoming captives—in the name of this important period of struggle progressive fight after Lenin's a crusade for so-called "social- to orient the Party toward the death; and that Trotsky's writist democracy" - to a policy conquest of power by referring ings are the principal guide for policy aims. But the Fosterites CALL and the "sincerity test" which is in reality pro-imperial-falsely to the "Leninist-Stalinist Marxist-Leninist opposition to

scure by setting aside the funda- dictions between these opposite mental issue of class struggle trends cannot be embraced withagainst imperialism and hinging in a single all-inclusive formal gram, the Socialist Workers Partheir position on the question: tion founded on virtually no pro- ty poses the following: Defense democratic socialism or Stalin- gram. They cannot be held to- of the workers' states and the ism? From this premise they gether through empty formulas colonial revolution against im-Party participation in any re- which have been stripped bare of ers' political revolution against groupment to allay fears it might working class principles. Such an the Stalinist bureaucracy in the have a "Stalinoid tinge." On this organizational hodgepodge would Soviet sphere. Formation of an road they arrive at the concept at best fly apart at the first independent labor party in oppoof a loose federation of social- shock of events. Even worse, sition to the capitalist parties. In democratic groups which would however, it would actually be a 1957, run socialist candidates be bound to have a pro-imperial- trap for the ensnarement of wherever possible. A class strugist coloration. Such a policy is radicals into support of capital- gle policy in the unions and a the opposite of a program for a ist politicians and their impe-On the order of the day for a

ly in this way can the concrete motion of the various tendencies Socialist Party and of the Gates be clearly determined and an assessment made of those issues in each case caused by the pres- that are basic to a principled and other issues basic to a prinrevolutionary position. A full discussion is necessary to bring prog participate in such discussion to grammatic clarity to those ele- the fullest extent through all

a revolutionary-socialist prodemocracy" perialism. Support to the workworking class policy in support of the Negro struggle for civil rights. Defense of civil liberties socialist regroupment is a for all, including members of the thorough political discussion. On- Communist Party. Build a revolutionary-socialist party based on

> The Socialist Workers Party will welcome discussion of these cipled socialist program and will

### Kremlin Again Confesses Real Stalin Role in 1917

The task of correcting the falsification of history under Stalin - a task set down by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — has now been under->taken by Kommunist, leading Kamenev to Lenin's policy of

played by Trotsky in the Ruscracy he represented will con- on Lenin's October policy. tinue to be suppressed.

Kommunist acknowledges the found the Bolsheviks, under the gether with the Mensheviks. Lenin, in his famous April Thesis, cratic milieu some resistance to castigated this line and called for the rightward trend has appeared struggle around the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets."

"theoretical" organ in the USSR. preparing the October insurrec-As expected, however, the "cor- tion was represented by Stalinist rection of history" is to be con- historians as a crime committed fined to admitting the opposition by Zinoviev and Kamenev alone. new era has been opened with the developing political revolusian Revolution and, even more ist histories - that Stalin was significantly, in the struggle editor of the central Bolshevik against Stalin and the bureau- paper, when it carried the attack

To reduce Stalin from the position of Lenin's "chief collaborator" to his rightful place and possibly cautious opponent of Lenin within the Bolshevik movement suits the needs of Stalin's heirs. But to further admit that Trotsky was co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and the builder of the Red Army - that the bureaucracy will not do. For this would compel it to make further admissions - namely, that Trotsky joined with Lenin to launch the fight against the bureaucracy headed by Stalin; that Stalinist historians distorted Trotsky continued this highly remain firmly tied to the Soviet set down by Thomas amount to ist in its political implications. | course" developed in the April the despotic rule of the privileged bureaucrats at whose head

## **Five Speakers Discuss** Left-Wing Regroupment

By Daniel Roberts fested in the December 1956 is party demands the repudiation of elections; John T. McManus, isting socialized property rela-Lenin as a test for admission to General Manager of the National tions. General Manager of the National Guardian, a weekly newspaper;
A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Shachtman of the ISL envisaged he said. They have been tem-Forum, chaired the meeting.

but each declined.

a socialist program."

the character of the war that the support given by the So- movement to the radical move-

| launch and campaigning for | cratic Federation to the U.S. NEW YORK, Jan. 20 - Dif- repudiation by the working peo- State Department's foreign fering views on the problem of ple of this war drive. Defense of policy. Despite the pro-American regroupment in the American the workers' states also includes imperialist nature of the SPradical movement were presented sympathy for such uprisings in SDF merger, he still held out the here last night at a symposium the Soviet orbit as that of the Socialist party as the organizasponsored by the Socialist Unity Hungarian working class against tion for socialist regroupment. Forum. The topic of the meeting the Kremlin, said Dobbs, because was "Can the Left Unite?" The these revolutionary movements speakers included Farrell Dobbs, aim at freeing these states from National Secretary of the So-bureaucratic tyranny in order to Guardian are favorable to a tal capitulation of the Socialist perialist policy of the Social Party to the SDF line of all-out Democratic Federation. The ISL support to imperialism, as mani- seeks unity with the SP as that date for President in the 1956 cialism on the basis of the ex-

Fellowship of Reconciliation; and unity of the radical movement on pered in the Korean War and in Max Shachtman, National Chair- the program of "democratic soman of the Independent Socialist cialism' 'inside the Socialist case. They are against red-League. Clifford T. McAvoy, Party. "What is the reason for baiters. And they will not go into Chairman of the Socialist Unity the fragmentation of the radical the Democratic Party. movement since 1917?" Shacht-The Socialist Party and the man said. "It is the Russian Communist Party were invited to question, so-called. It split the Unity Forum on what should participate in the symposium, Socialist Party in 1918 [over the constitute the program for unity issue of support to the Russian was presented from the floor Clifford McAvoy said that the Revolution - D. R.] then the by George Clarke. He berated The program on which the program on which the nerger takes place is servile ready to do their part in heating eral-capitalist concept which de- of the American Left. This "is possible if now all groups freeze revolution in the Soviet orbit. German working class. The Gersupport to the U.S. State Description of the Social Demos section of the Social Demos man section of the Social Demopartment and its preparations helping the Hungarian workers blood the independence struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class struggle to the class struggle to the class struggle. It leaves unleaves nermitted Hitler to walk the struggle to the class answered the question: What kind entirely possible for the five or views on the Russian question a and advocate change to greater The Call also reports that "the of democracy, capitalist or work- six or seven groups to unite on precondition for unity. Political democratization?" agreement is possible for all pleaded with Shachtman to be Presenting the position of the groups on the basis of democratic less "rigid" in his enmity to the

ferences over such questions as group, the Communist and So-

John T. McManus said the 50,-

The viewpoint of the Socialist

### **Good News from Texas**

When Southern whites take a public stand against segregation, that's news: when a Southern organization, representing thousands of white and colored workers, lines up against the white supremacists, that's particularly good news and should be spread far and wide.

The Texas State CIO Council last month adopted a resolution calling on its members to co-operate in abolishing discrimination in public schools and public agencies, according to the January issue of Southern School News.

The Council also recommended that the legislature pass a law "prohibiting use of symbols, religious or otherwise, for the purpose of intimidation and/or coercion" - a measure aimed at outlawing the Klan's burning cross, no doubt.

The Texas CIO's Committee on Human Rights reported to the state convention: "We wish to commend the more than 100 local school districts that are now in their second year of compliance with the ruling of the Supreme Court. More than 800,000 school children are now studying in integrated schools without one single serious incident being recorded in schools actually integrated. We also commend the public school districts which have taken steps to integrate their faculties as well. These gains have been made despite the interference and opposition of our Governor and Attorney General who have used every means of advancing their

motives by appealing to the prejudices of some of our people. . .

"We are aware of the recent rise of hate organizations in the state of Texas. We recognize them for what they are and for the denial of human rights and resistance to government by law upon which they thrive. . . We recommend that the Texas State CIO Council and all of our affiliates give every possible assistance and support to those organizations and community forces seeking to combat the program of the 'hate' organizations. . ."

The stand taken by the Texas CIO is City. The hearing lasted almost significant because close to a million Ne- six hours and there were 87 groes live in that state, whose population speakers representing major sois eight million. Moreover, according to official census figures, no other state has seen a greater growth of its city populations'in recent years. In the decade from ing the Negro people and other 1930 to 1940, ten Texas metropolitan areas (population over 50,000) increased in size from 40 to 95 per cent.

If the Texas CIO now suits action to during this fight were incorwords, the fight against segregation will porated in two reports of Subrise to a new height . . . and so will union organization in that Southern state. When the workers - black and white - in spread organizational support Southern industrial centers and large had been mobilized to put presmetropolitan areas, unite in their own class organization to consciously and publicly oppose the Jim Crow policies of the state, then the main highway to integration and union organization in the exception, they spoke against the South will be open.

### My First Boss

By Ben Stone

My first job was that of errand boy at the tender age of 15, and like all good young Americans, I was determined to make good. Spurred on by the American dream of Success, I was certain of becoming the President of United States or a millionaire. Inspired by the movies, the thought also recurred intermittently that I would somehow rescue a rich man's daughter from certain death and marry into her fortune.

My first boss was a man by the name of Wolf, which in retrospect I think was appropriate enough. He and his wife, who served as his assistant, looked at me with the tender solicitude of a couple of wolves about to devour a young lamb. "Young man," Mr. Wolf said to me in our first interview, the memory of which I will always cherish, "You're a clean-cut chap and if you're honest and ambitious, you'll go far."

He didn't say how far, but I soon found out when I carried his heavy packages around town. Every day the packages kept getting heavier and heavier and even one

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block began to seem too far. I started wondering if the boss hadn't mistaken me for a horse.

Each day I felt like cutting short my promising career with the Wolfs, but how could I go home and tell my mother I had quit my job? Especially since I was bringing home \$8 a week.

Finally, in desperation, just when my arms seemed ready to fall off, I quit. The Wolfs were terribly disappointed in me. "Why didn't you let us know the packages were too heavy for you?" they cried, "All right, son, we'll give you lighter packages from now on."

But by this time I hated the sight of the sanctimonious pair, and I felt a great weight lifted from me as I left.

On the way home to tell my mother the sad news, I felt determined to find a new and better job which would be easier and would pay more. Little did I know how many more jobs and bosses I was to have.

My next employer was the subsidiary of a big public utility. But that's another story and another column.

# N. Y. Negro Mothers Debate Racists at School Brd. Meet

THE MILITANT

On Jan. 17, several hundred people crowded into the Board of Education's public hearing on School integration in New York cial, civic, labor and religious groups. This hearing was the resuit of a three-year fight on the part of organizations representminorities, backed up by the determination and hard work of the parents themselves. Most of the demands raised

commissions of the Board of Education, on Zoning and on Teacher Assignments. Such a widesure on the Board that approval of the recommendations seemed almost certain. But opposition developed from numerous teachers' organizations. Almost without integration proposals. Their opposition was mainly due to fear that they might be assigned to "difficult" schools. (They consistently referred to schools attended by large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children as "difficult." A Negro veteran, representing the 369th Veterans Association, pointed out that the attitude of the teachers may create much of the difficulty.)

#### WCC MATERIAL

Support for anti-integration teachers came from William Pfeffer of the Cambria Heights Association, claiming to repre-He denied that segregation actually existed in New York and said that children in some schools were "difficult" because of improper home training. He felt that any change would bring "hardship" to white parents and children by disproportionately favoring Negroes. "Why," he asked, "should we be subjected to a sociological experiment? . . . After all, many of the great Negro leaders came from the segregated schools in the south."



JOYCE COWLEY

was the "communists" who favored school integration.

If Pfeffer and his friends sound like good material for White Citizens Councils in the North, so did many of the teachers. Miss Ella Rose of the Teachers Alliance said that immigrants who came to this country lived in the same neighborhood because they spoke the same language and "they were never unhappy or considered themselves segregated." Mrs. May Healy, of the Joint Committee of Teacher Organizations, said: "Such localities (i.e. ghetto neighborhoods) are natural. They are the result of origin, pride, etc. . . They cater to the social sent 200 Queens home owners. customs and recreational habits of the people, 'Like' people want to live together and it is their

> if they wished. One of the Negro mothers, representing a Brooklyn P.T.A., pointed out that if it was possible for Negroes to move to other neighborhoods, there would be no need for this hearing on integration in New York City schools.

right to do so." She concluded

that it was also their right to

move out of such a neighborhood

The Board of Education is pre-

Mrs. Concetta Roy of the High (which always seem to be lo- attending an integrated school." School Teachers Association, who cated in "difficult" neighboropposed the recommendations on hoods), the overcrowded class- who objected to the use of buses integration, to take from ten to fooms, the lack of lunchroom and to take Negro children from

But Rose Kussell of the Teachminutes. She protested the ruling by a truck. He was playing in buses had been used for years of the Chair, because she represented the only teachers' organization fully supporting the recommendations, waile all those opposing it had received extended time. Although she was finally forced to leave the platform, the audience applauded her enthusiastically for several minutes. An hour later, a ruling suddenly came through granting her an additional five minutes.

#### NEGRO MOTHERS SPEAK

A representative of the Socialist Party took this opportunity, not to ascuss school integration, but to differentiate herself from 'communist-type" organizations like the Socialist Workers Party whose stand favoring integration I had presented. [See excerpts from Joyce Cowley statement, this page - Ed.] The SP representative attacked "communists" for "selling the Negro down the river" and seemed to think the most important reason for integrating the schools was to make anti-communist propaganda abroad "more effective."

An inspiring contrast to the chauvinism of the teacher organizations and the Queens "home owners," and the red-baiting of the Socialist Party, was the militancy of Negro mothers who patiently waited many hours for their turn to talk. They told how they had gone to Jim Crow schools themselves and were determined their children should not suffer the humiliation of inferior, segregated education. They movingly described their children's experiences in the Jim Crow schools of New York.

Mrs. Mallory, representing P.S. 10 in Manhattan, spoke of the prejudiced attitude of the teachers and their indifference to the children's academic progress. On one occasion, her son's only homework assignment had been count-A young man describing himself sumably impartial. However, in ing the pipes under his kitchen as a "citizen of Queens" backed spite of announcing a five-min- sink. Even the physical safety up Pfeffer and declared that it ute time limit, it permitted of the children is jeopardized in

recreational facilities. Just the over-crowded schools to halfweek before, she said, a small empty schools in white neighers Union was cut off after five boy was killed at lunchtime-hit borhoods, it was pointed out that the street because there is no for the opposite purpose - to playground at P.S. 10 and no take white children out of lunch-hour supervision.

#### EFFECT ON TEACHERS

Parents booed and laughed the ghetto neighborhoods were "happy" and it was "natural" for them to want to live together. They reprimanded teachers for their unwillingness to transfer to Negro neighborhoods.

"When they thought there was a crime problem in Harlem," one of them said, "they sent in extra cops. No one asked these cops it they wanted to work in Harlem." "The unfortunate effects of segregated schools are obvious." another said, "when you see what it did to these teachers who prob- hearing.

In answer to Concetta Roy mixed neighborhoods to all-white schools.

When Mrs. May Healy declared: "We are very much afraid when speakers said that people in that the recommendations, if carried out to the letter, will produce new hostilities, conflicts, resentments and separations of peoples," Rose Shapiro, chairman of the zoning commission, advised her to "learn courage from the teachers of Clinton, Tennes-

Well-organized and determined these parents are confident that they can carry the fight to a successful conclusion regardless of the outcome of this particular

# Cowley Statement

(The following are excerpts from a statement favoring school integration made by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, at the public hearing, Jan. 17, of the Board of Education. See Joyce Cowley's story on the hearing, this page.)

"On behalf of the Socialist" is the result of a three-year fight on the part of various organizations representing the Negro people and other minority groups, backed up by the determination and hard work of the par ents themselves. The Socialist Workers Party supports this struggle, as it supports every struggle of the Negro people for full equality; we oppose and combat all forms of segregation in education, in housing, in em-

ployment. . . . "Almost three years have regated education was not exclusively a southern institution, but that most minority children in New York City were attending segregated and inferior schools. It has taken the Board of Education all this time just to make recommendations for integrating our schools and to date, no action has been taken.

"The Board of Education at first denied there was any segregation in New York and insisted that Negro and Puerto Rican children were attending better schools, and receiving more attention, than white children. But pressure from Negro and Puerto Rican organizations, and from the parents whose children were attending Jim-Crow schools, forced the Board to start an investigation, an investigation which it took them almost two years to complete. Their findings bear out all the original charges made by the Intergroup Commit-

### PASSING THE BUCK

"Recently, in a radio interview, Dr. Morris Krugman of the Board of Education gave the customary excuse. Segregation in New York City schools was not deliberate, he said, but was the result of segregated housing for which the Board is not responsible. The report on zoning which we are discussing today proves that a great deal of the segregation is deliberate and that despite segregated housing, it is possible to make changes in zoning which will disegregate many of our

"In the primary grades, since young children cannot travel as far as junior high or high school students, it will be difficult to integrate ALL of our schools as long as we have segregated housing, as long as there is no law which makes discrimination in private housing illegal. We need such a law, a law with teeth in it-with not just fines, but prison sentences for violators.

"The SWP is fighting for this kind of legislation as we fight against all forms, of discrimnation and segregation. At the same time, we call for a fundamental solution to this problem, a socialist solution that will eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in our society. Discrimination is not the accidental result of prejudice on the part of some misguided individuals. It

Workers Party, I would like to exists because it is economically make a statement about the prob- profitable. Landlords in Harlem lem of desegregating New York and Bedford-Stuyvesant make a City schools. The present hearing magnificent profit on their miserable firetraps. North or South, Negro and other minority youth provide employers with cheap, unskilled labor, a fact which is closely related to the problem of inferior schools and inadequate academic programs for minority children.

### INFERIOR TEACHING

"It explains why they are shunted off to vocational high schools and discouraged from try ing for the special academic schools. Dr. Kenneth Clark, in his original report to the first passed since the Intergroup Com- Inter-group Conference, pointed mittee first charged that seg- out that only two-tenths of one percent of high school students no meet ments are Negroes.

"Educational authorities have told me that the reason there are so few Negroes in the special schools is because they do not pass the competitive tests which are required for entrance. In most cases, they never take the tests. If they do take them, they may fail because the segregated schools which they attend have given them inadequate academic preparation for advanced

"Dr. Clark charged that when large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans move into an area, the academic standards are automatically lowered, since it is assumed in advance that these children are of inferior ability, Although they may not admit it, this is what many teachers and educational directors really believe. In Brooklyn, for example, when parents demanded advanced classes for bright children, school principals frequently claimed that there were no bright children. The parents themselves had the children tested and proved that the principals were wrong...

"The recommendations on zoning, if adopted by the Board of Education, are supposed to go into effect next September. Next November, we will be electing a Mayor and many other city officials, and it will be a good time to give them notice that we are tired of interminable delays and excuses. We can do this most effectively by running independent: labor candidates next fall."

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Dorothy Saunders Participant in the fight for integration

## Sit-Down Strike Wins Pay Hike in N. Y. Plant

unskilled workers in thousands of

in the garment, publishing and

ly organized by powerful unions

-shipping help, packers, clean-

By William Bundy

A sit down strike begun by 37 workers, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican women, in a Manhattan book-binding \$1 per hour. These classifications shop, Jan. 15, dramatized the miserable plight of hundreds are filled mostly by Negro and of thousands of such workers in

New York City. The workers won are the rule rather than the exan eight-cent per hour increase ception among semi-skilled and after 25 of them, mostly mothers, plant a full three days, sleeping on wooden benches and eating food processing industries-largefood smuggled in past police

The workers struck over demands for a ten cent increase by their union, Local 475 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, Negotiations had bogged down and a regular picket line had been planned outside the main entrance to the building. But Tuesday, Jan. 15 was a record cold day for New York City (three degrees above zero) and the workers decided (on their own) to strike inside the factory. A few of their number picketed outside the main entrance to the building with improvised signs that demanded a raise not of ten cents an hour. but of \$10 a week.

Police and company officials attempted to cut off all outside contact for those inside, even the telephone. The sit-downers subsisted on smuggled candy bars and cookies for two days. On the third day, more substantial food was hauled up from street level in a basket lowered on a rope. The mothers called to sympathizers outside to get messages to their families.

Their courageous stand won the workers considerable sympathy and publicity in the city, and the company came to a quick settlement with the official union negotiators. Before the settlement, wages in the shop, the Spiral Binding Co. at 406 W. 31 street, ranged from \$1.05 to \$1.35 per hour. (The average factory wage in the United States is \$2.00 per hour and the wage necessary to maintain a family of four on a minimum standard of health and decency according to government figures is \$2.20 per

Such below-subsistence wages

machine operators often receive only the legal minimum wage of Puerto Rican workers, whose needs tend to be ignored by the union officialdom The action of the plucky hand-

had stayed inside the ninth-floor factories in New York City. Even ful at the Spiral Binding, is attracting some appreciative attention among the poverty stricken hundreds of thousands in this, up help, errand "boys," and even the richest city in the world.

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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.

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