

# 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 eligible Poles voluntarily cast ballots. This participation compares favorably, or even exceeds, the turnouts achieved in the 1952 and 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 Gomulka. The specter of mass deletions of names from the ballot, constituting lukewarm support, or even a repudiation, of the new Polish regime, had brought election-eve pleas by Gomulka and his followers that crossing out on the ballot was tantamount to crossing Poland off the map. That these pleas were effective is demonstrated by the results.

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

the proposition: For or against Gomulka?

There were no opposition parties or candidates on the ballot. All had been approved by Gomulka. All were on the coalition slate of the National Front in the following proportions: Communist Party — 50%, Peasant Party — 26%, Democratic Party — 10%, the remainder being unaffiliated. The election differed from the usual single slate affair, however, in that the National Front put forth 720 candidates for 469 seats in parliament. The voter could choose among them by crossing off names. For example, in a district entitled to four seats, there might appear on the ballot the names 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 a hand-picked parliament.

### "GOMULKA OR TANKS"

The overriding 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

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GOMULKA

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# Eisenhower Pushes Biggest U.S. 'Peacetime' War Budget

## A "Fifty-Fifty" Break



## Arms Inflation Hikes Tax Steal To Record \$86 Billion a Year

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 billion, 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 government's tax bite, and even Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, said that if the trend continues the country will have "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 hospitals, and soil and water conservation projects. Neither the Journal, nor Humphrey, nor any other spokesmen for Big Business, propose any real cuts in military spending. Yet it is precisely that section of the budget which is inflationary and which accounts for over \$2 billion of the increase in the proposed budget over that of the current year.

tion plus veterans' medical care and hospitals.

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 Times.

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.

### Labor's Duty

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.

### 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-

## SWP to Run Cowley for N. Y. Mayor

NEW YORK, Jan. 26 — Entering the 1957 New York City election campaign with a clear call for independent working-class political action, the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Joyce Cowley for Mayor at a convention last Sunday. Mrs. Cowley was the party's candidate for U.S. Senator 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 mayoralty race.

Mrs. Cowley is an active participant in the struggle to integrate New York city schools. (See story page four.) She has also written articles exposing the Santana frame-up (a case in 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 the city elections are still ten 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 working-class political action 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 imperialism's war plans, of support to the Negro people in the South and the North, for support to the struggle of working people against inflation and sub-standard wages, and for the building of a labor party."

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## The CP Faction Fight

By Harry Ring

On Feb. 9-12, the Communist Party of the U.S. will meet in convention. The gathering will be dominated by a faction fight between the Gates and Foster tendencies.

The Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet 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 find the way back to the authentic Leninism as the solution to the Party crisis.

Those members seeking a return to Leninist criteria were put in the position of having to determine if either of the leadership could advance the party in the direction of Leninism.

### BOTH FEAR RANKS

Both Foster and Gates revealed the indelible stamp of long years of Stalinist politics. Neither was willing to make a full and honest appraisal of the past. Neither would clearly spell out the political platform on which he stood. Neither tendency dared trust 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 initial impression of throwing off past submission to the Kremlin. The Daily Worker expressed shock at the revelations of Stalin's crimes. It apologized for its defense of these crimes, pledging that henceforth it would speak out unequivocally against such monstrous deeds as frame-up trials and persecution of the Jewish people.

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 it was helping to prop it up. Thus, the Gates faction sought to recommend itself to the party ranks for such Leninist attributes as independent thinking, speaking the truth and supporting the

democratic rights of the membership.

In his bid for power, Foster employed a different strategy. It consisted essentially of letting the adversary get out on a limb, then trying to saw the limb off. For a month after the Khrushchev revelations, while the party was in a seething turmoil and his factional opponents were taking a stand, Foster maintained 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 Stalin nor to tear him to political shreds, as some in our ranks are inclined to do."

Foster was able to win the support of many of those members who sought a road back to

Lenin. He did so in large measure not because he campaigned for a program, but because the Gates faction was rapidly demonstrating that whatever it had to offer on the side of party democracy was outweighed by its steady rightward evolution. The Gates proposal for transforming the CP into a Browder-type "political association" was recognized by worker-militants as liquidating any vestige of the Leninist concept of a revolutionary party. His increasingly conciliatory attitude toward the Social Democracy and the union bureaucracy clearly revealed a high sensitivity to the pressure of capitalist public opinion.

Gates lost further ground when it became apparent that he was

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## Right Wing Socialist Groups Unified in N. Y. Convention

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JAN. 23 — The Socialist Party and part of the Social Democratic Federation merged into one organization at a national convention held in New York City Jan. 18 and 19. The Jewish Socialist Verband, largest section of the SDF, remained outside of the unification. In addition, the Central Committee of the New York City SDF voted 41-9 in opposition to the merger with the SP and announced that the convention was "irregular, unauthorized and invalid."

The convention was attended by fewer than a hundred who claimed delegate's status, with the SDF bringing to the SP a national membership of less than

a hundred. The new organization, until the next regularly scheduled convention, will be called the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

### GAITSKELL ABSENT

Unlike the ultra-conservative right wingers in the SDF who snubbed the unity convention, the leadership of the small "left-wing" in the Socialist Party that had also opposed the merger capitulated, entered the unity convention, even compromising its last and final demand, that the new organization call itself the Socialist Party.

Hugh Gaitskell, Chairman of the British Labor Party, had been scheduled to address the

convention. However, the cabinet crisis of England's imperialist government required that Gaitskell, as head of her majesty's official opposition party, return in haste for consultations with the queen of the British empire. Still, the convention was not left without its dignitaries. Frank Zeidler, was there to deliver the keynote address. The mayor was also elected National Chairman of the new organization with Darlington Hoopes and Louis Goldberg as Vice Chairmen.

In a statement issued by the Unity Convention, the merger is described as "primarily the result of our turbulent era — profoundly changed social, economic and international 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 circumstances have made unity between the SP and the SDF not only possible but imperative."

### REAL STORY OF SPLIT

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 consisted of an upsurge of the American working class that

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## State Department "Socialism"

The following is an excerpt from the "Memorandum of Understanding" arrived at between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation prior to their Jan. 18-19 unity convention in New York:

"[The point program] must not be based on the illusion that peace can be achieved by appeasement of the Communist imperialism that threatens the world's peace and freedom. . . We realize that until universal, enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of the Communist dictators."





