

For a Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialists!

A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions

(The following is the text of a Statement on the Regroupment of Revolutionary-Socialist Forces in the United States adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.)

The discussion now going on in the radical movement about a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces is a welcome development. It opens a hopeful new stage in the difficult task of constructing a party in the United States capable of guiding the struggle for socialism to success.

The discussion was precipitated by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where the monstrous crimes of Stalin were publicly admitted by his heirs and accomplices. These revelations plunged the Communist Party of the United States into a profound crisis. The upsurge of revolutionary socialist struggle in the Soviet orbit following the Twentieth Congress deepened the crisis. Revolutionary-minded members of the Communist Party began to draw the logical conclusion to their bitter experience with Stalinism by seeking a regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces in America.

Interest in the question of revolutionary regroupment, it has turned out, is not confined to Communist Party members and sympathizers who have become aware of the nature of Stalinism. The question is also being discussed among the youth in the Social Democratic sphere. This is due in part to interest aroused by the ferment in the Communist Party, but more importantly to opposition to the recent reactionary shift in the Social Democracy toward the wing "closest to the State Department and the Democratic Party, as signaled by the fusion of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

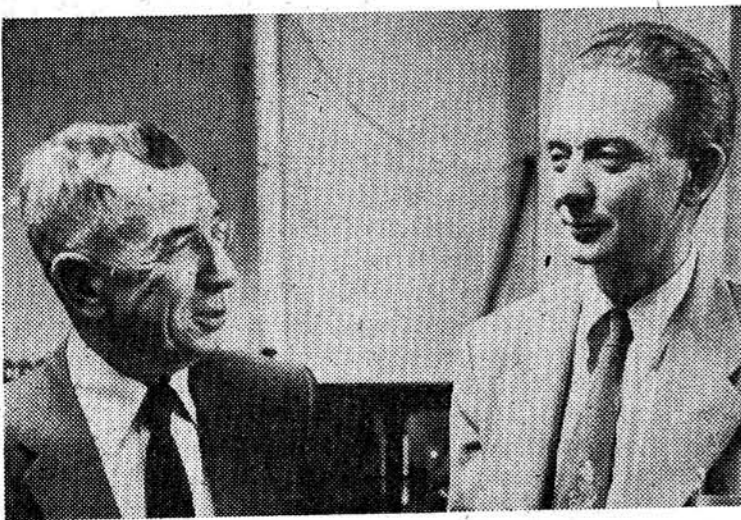
The Next Stage

In addition, thousands of former supporters of the Progressive Party, presently unaffiliated idealistic youth and class-conscious workers are interested in building a re-invigorated revolutionary-socialist movement in America.

The discussion has gone on somewhat haphazardly, remaining — properly so up to now — at the level of general consideration of the feasibility of regroupment. In the next stage of the discussion, two different ways of proceeding are counterposed: (1) Shall we first attempt a general unification, leaving the discussion and clarification of programmatic questions for a later time? Or (2) shall we first explore the different views, clarify the various positions, and try to reach agreement and unification on at least the minimum fundamentals? It seems to us that the latter procedure is preferable and that the

(Continued on page 2)

A Good Precedent



V. R. Dunne (left) of the Socialist Workers Party and Carl Ross, Minnesota chairman of the Communist Party, share platform at a Jan. 11 symposium in Minneapolis on problems of socialist regroupment. The turnout was the largest of any radical meeting held in the area during the past decade.

Kremlin Policy Favors Foster Faction in CP

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Feb. 5 — Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster has received another major assist from the Kremlin in his drive for control of the CP convention which convenes here this weekend. Moscow's move came in the form of a Feb. 3 article in the paper Soviet Russia, which levels a special blast at what it and Foster has branded as the "right wing" of the American CP — the Gates tendency.

Charging the Gates wing with revision of Marxist-Leninist theory under the pressure of "bourgeois ideology," the Kremlin organ utilizes a typical old-fashioned Stalinist frame-up of lumping the Gates wing with John Foster Dulles, since both allegedly advocate "national communism."

Singled out for special attack is Daily Worker foreign editor Joseph Clark, a leading figure in the Gates faction. Included in the same broadside are Polish

and Yugoslav CP's who are charged with favoring "national communism" and attempting to "split the international Communist movement into two opposing groups: Stalinists and anti-Stalinists."

Coming after the Kremlin attack of last November on the Daily Worker for daring to question its role in Hungary, the present crude Kremlin intervention on behalf of Foster underscores the fact that despite Khrushchev's promises at the 20th Congress the prospect remains bleak for Moscow establishing a relationship of independent and equal relations between itself and the Communist parties in the rest of the world. The move to whip the Gates tendency back into line is not an isolated development but part of the campaign of the Kremlin high command to shut off the wave of criticism that broke out in the Communist parties internationally following the 20th Congress.

Answering the attack by

Fast Ends Membership In the CP

Attributing his decision primarily to the Khrushchev revelations, novelist Howard Fast has broken his long association with the Communist Party. In a Feb. 1 interview with the New York Times, the author of Freedom Road and other best selling works said that he was "neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Communist, but I cannot work and write in the Communist movement."

A supporter of the Communist Party since the Thirties, and a party member for the past 15 years, Fast apparently made his resignation known only through the Times interview. The Feb. 3 Daily Worker, in announcing his break reported that it had verified the Times story in a telephone conversation with Fast.

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Fast, who had been a regular contributor to the Daily Worker, discontinued his column last June at the time the Khrushchev speech was published in this country. He indicated to the Times that he has spent the period since that time reconsidering the question of his party membership.

The two principal factors causing him to break, he said, was the Khrushchev speech and the revelations of Soviet anti-Semitism which were given international publicity after the Warsaw Jewish-language paper, Folksstimme detailed the annihilation of leading Jewish cultural figures in the Soviet Union beginning with the liquidation of the leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

Discussing the Khrushchev speech, Fast said: "It was incredible and unbelievable to me that Khrushchev did not end his speech with a promise of the reforms needed to guarantee that Stalin's crimes will not be repeated, reforms such as an end to capital punishment, trial by jury, and habeas corpus. Without these reforms one can make neither sense nor reason of the speech itself."

Regarding the persecution of Soviet Jews, Fast said, "I knew little about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union before the Khrushchev speech. That little troubled me, but I repressed my doubts. Then the article appeared in the Folksstimme last spring telling what actually happened. It was not an easy thing to live with."

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Portrait of Union "Boss" James Hoffa

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THE MILITANT

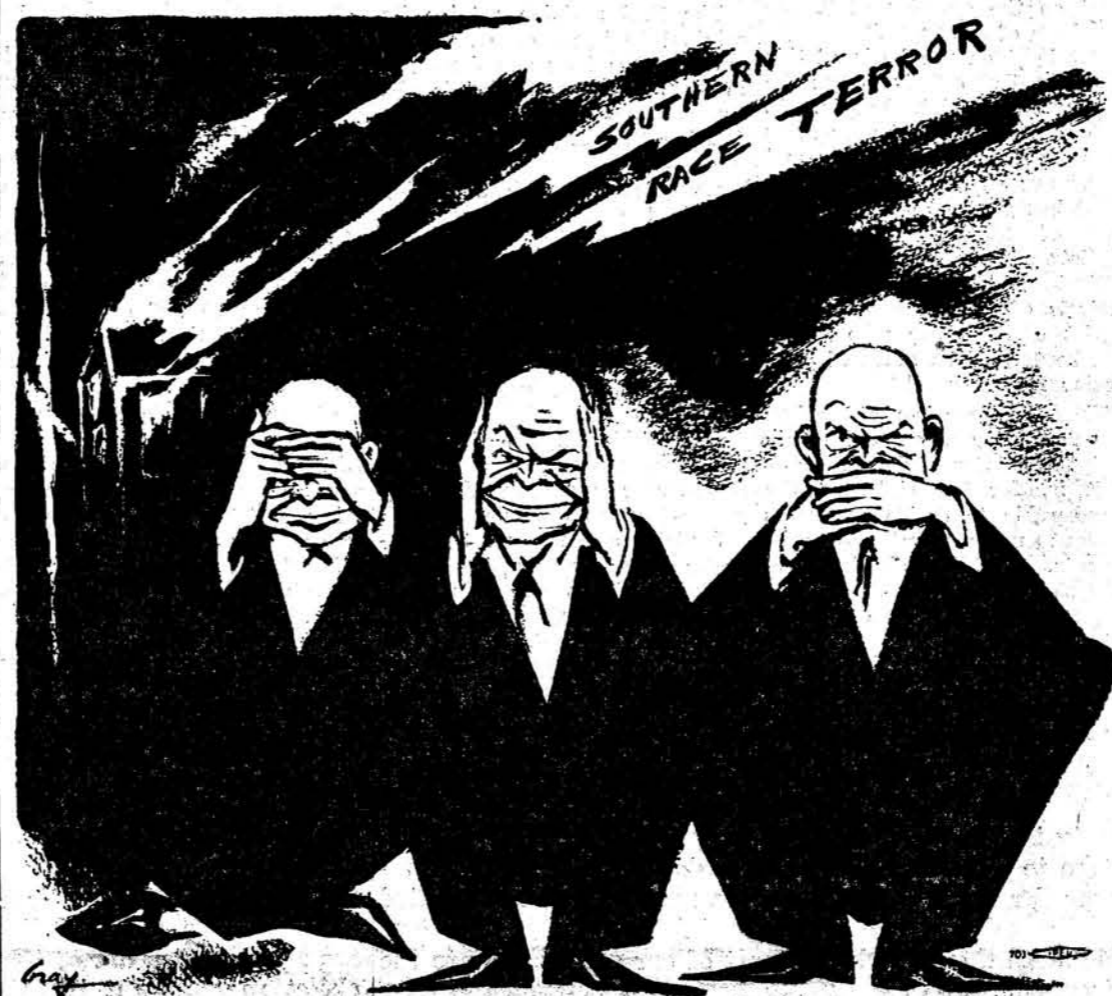
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Senate Mail Runs 8 to 1 Against Mid-East Plan



NEWS ITEM: Rejecting demands of Negro leaders that Eisenhower speak in the South against the present wave of racist violence, a presidential spokesman asked that they make available to the government any information that might indicate interference with civil rights.

Letters Convey Strong Protest Against Moves Toward a New Conflict

By Fred Halstead

The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to the Eisenhower Doctrine according to mail being received by United States Senators. The doctrine, approved by the House of Representatives last month and now being considered by the Senate, grants authority to the President to start a war in the Middle East without consulting Congress or notifying the American people. Office staffs of both Republican and Democratic Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee reported this week that mail was running "eight or nine to one" against the Eisenhower proposals.

A HEAVY MAIL

The Senate office staffs agreed, according to the Feb. 2 New York Times, that there is "considerable public interest in the issue," that the mail is running overwhelmingly against the doctrine, although there is no organization behind it. The volume of mail is large from all parts of the country, and is particularly heavy from the Middle and Far West.

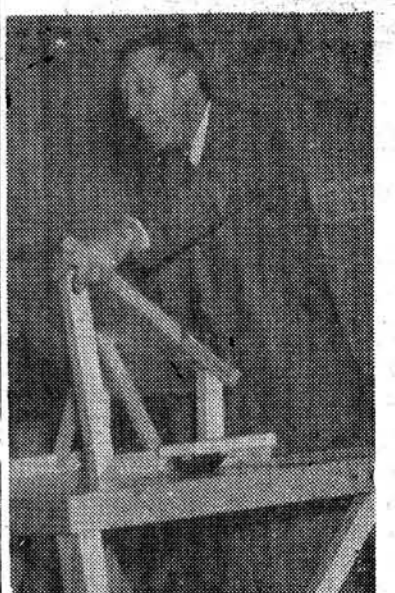
Opposition is being expressed in other ways also. The Hammond Times of Hammond, Indiana took a poll of 1,000 readers which ran four to one against the doctrine, according to one Senatorial assistant.

The Senate, however, is expected to flout the will of the people and approve Eisenhower's Mid-East proposals sometime this month. In addition to the war-making powers, the proposals grant the President an additional \$200 million to be used to buy off such Arab rulers as may be induced to serve the aims of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. An example of the reactionary purposes to which this money will be put is the present wooing by Eisenhower of King Saud of Saudi Arabia and of the Hashemite Kings of Jordan and Iraq.

The Arab masses, however, cannot be bought off. They are

determined to gain their independence from imperialism and they will resist any attempt by U.S. capitalism to "fill the vacuum" created by the British-French defeat at Suez. The Eisenhower Doctrine threatens a new Korean-type police action against this rising Arab national independence revolution. It is this threat of war that is being vigorously opposed in the letters of the American people to the Senate. As one New Yorker wrote to a Senator: "A slip of the foot and that brink is a point of no return."

Freedom Rally



FARRELL DOBBS, SWP National Secretary, shown addressing a freedom rally, last month, organized by Negro community of Buffalo commemorating 93rd anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. For excerpts from Dobbs' speech see page 4.

Local 600-UAW Paper Hits Probe of Unions by Congress

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 7 — Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600, provided the correct answer to Congressional plans for "investigating" labor racketeering in the Feb. 2 issue of Ford Facts published by the local. To the accusations of labor racketeering, Stellato countered the fabulous profits being raked in by the capitalists. "Cash dividends announced by corporations hit a new high in 1956," he pointed out. In that same year "the cost of living jumped 2 1/2 per cent."

"While all of this is going on," Stellato said, "Senator McClellan is conducting a 'probe' of alleged labor racketeering. . . His companions in this probe are Senator McCarthy (Wisconsin) and Senator Mundt — two anti-Union Senate leaders who have suddenly decided to protect the workers from their leaders."

Stellato then concluded, "I am quite certain that labor can clean its own house. And labor certainly looks with a jaundiced eye when the enemies of labor try to do the job for us. We will be opposed to a 'labor investigating Roman Holiday' which is so characteristic of anything Senator McCarthy has a hand in."

The International, Executive Board of the United Auto Workers at its Jan. 23 meeting adopted a resolution to ask the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to consider "urging Congress to authorize an appropriate Congressional committee to conduct a thorough and exhaustive investigation . . . and to expose without fear or favor corruption in labor, in industry and all other aspects of the problem."

Walter Reuther's stand, just the opposite of that taken by Stellato, meets the threat of an anti-labor "probe" by inviting Congressional interference in the internal affairs of the labor movement. Reuther's invitation gives sanction to an anti-union campaign that will have as its primary object to discredit, isolate and weaken the union movement.

The racketeering that exists in the AFL-CIO will not be seriously affected by any Congressional investigation. Rack-

eteering is an integral part of American capitalist society. "Angles" for getting rich go inevitably out of a system that is fundamentally based on the "right" of an individual to enrich himself at the expense of his fellow man.

In the ruling class, there is little unselfish devotion to the common welfare. In the struggle against the class that dominates society, on the other hand, the working class places a high premium on selfless devotion. When that struggle is in a low ebb as today, the labor movement loses this characteristic and takes on more and more of the qualities of the society in which it operates.

An impartial investigation of "racketeering" would have to begin at the very pinnacles of society. When it begins with labor it can only have one objective. That is to destroy the labor movement.

Protest Ban Of Lawyer For Sobell

FEB. 6—Legal arguments for a hearing or for acquittal of Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage," were postponed today for the second time this week by three judges in the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The first postponement was granted on Feb. 4 at the request of Sobell's lawyers who reported that Dr. Louis Sanchez Ponton, noted Mexican lawyer, had been unable to obtain a visa from the U.S. embassy in Mexico City. Dr. Ponton was retained to aid the Sobell lawyers in the preparations for argumentation. The judges granted the postponement until Feb. 6 in the hope that Dr. Ponton would be permitted to enter.

Interference with the entry of Dr. Ponton, a professor of law at the University of Mexico and a former Minister of Education, was protested Feb. 4 in a telegram sent to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles by Vera Rony, National Secretary of the Workers Defense League. The protest was made on the basis of Sobell's right to counsel. (The WDL has not taken a position on the merits of the Sobell case.)

News of the delay in granting Dr. Ponton a visa—if he will be able to obtain one—was given widespread publicity in the press of Mexico. The New York capitalist papers, however, informed last Saturday of this development and the protests of Helen Sobell, the prisoner's wife, have as yet not carried a word of the visa denial.

The second postponement was granted at the government's request. However, the U.S. Attorney asked for postponement until Monday, Feb. 11, which would bring the Sobell motions before a different panel of judges. This request was denied and postponement granted only until Feb. 8, still in the hope that Dr. Ponton will be granted entry.

Asks Justice



HELEN SOBELL for six years has fought to free her husband, Morton, who she states was framed-up with the Rosenbergs during the atom-spy hysteria.

Negro Leaders Condemn Gov't Inaction on Terror

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 5 — Eisenhower's refusal to speak out for civil rights in the South, coupled with the Justice Department's rejection of an urgent request by Southern Negro

leaders for a meeting concerning the Dixie reign of terror, was blasted by Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, whose Birmingham home was dynamited, as giving "untold aid and comfort to the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council." The Negro leader asked: "Are American Negroes to be slaughtered like cattle before Washington acts?"

Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott charged on Feb. 2, that both Democrats and Republicans had "betrayed" the Negroes. He lashed at the administration for being indifferent to oppression in the U.S. "Washington must discover that the problems in Birmingham are as important as the problems in Budapest."

PRESIDENT GOES GOLFING

On Jan. 11, Negro leaders from ten Southern states called on Eisenhower to speak out publicly in the South against the rampage of violence. They also requested an interview with Attorney General Herbert Brownell, on the "responsibility of the

Department of Justice" concerning civil rights violence.

On Feb. 1, the Justice Department publicized the arrogant reply by Sherman Adams on behalf of Eisenhower, that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement as you asked." The Associated Press reported, Feb. 4, that Eisenhower hopes to leave this week end for Thomasville, Georgia, the visit may last up to two weeks—he will go quail hunting and golfing.

Eisenhower is ready to ring the world with U.S. armed forces to support reaction in the name of democracy. With the victims of murder and bombings in Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama he cannot be bothered. "All we asked for was just a word from the President," said Rev. King. But neither Eisenhower, nor any other major Big Business politician, has that one word of encouragement for heroic human beings whose very lives are in

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... CP Convention Faces Queries Our Stand on USSR Issue of Independence

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Soviet troops against the Hungarian Workers Councils.
That was the furthest advance to independence from the politics of the Soviet bureaucratic caste reached by any Gates-tendency leaders. Since then, the Gatesites have beat a retreat all along the line on this question. Under a combined Foster-Kremlin attack, the Gates leaders caved in with a new "compromise" statement that brought to an end their initial efforts at an independent evaluation of the events. As a result, the DW has not uttered a word against the death-penalty for strikers decreed by Kadar.

The ability of the Gates group to win independence from Kremlin dictation and the "stand-pat" Stalinism of Foster was further crippled by its political line as expressed in the proposal for a Browder-type "political association." This served only to alienate many worker-members who wanted a new deal in the party but were not ready to pay the price of liquidation for it. The ill-disguised opportunist politics of Gates, combined with

the efforts to conciliate all differences with Foster, served only as grist for Foster's mill. Although in full agreement with Gates on the basic programmatic premises from which stem the proposal on "name and form" (co-existence, anti-monopoly coalition, support to the Democrats), Foster has been able to present himself as the "defender" of "Leninism." He has capitalized on the issue of opportunism in his drive to choke off criticism of party bureaucracy and in his attempts to re-establish the old monolithic practices.

To bludgeon his opponents completely into line and to put an end to the stormy discussion in the ranks, Foster is now using the threat of split. A recent step in this direction is contained in his speech to the December National Committee meeting, published in National Discussion Bulletin No. 5, dated Jan. 15.

The split threat is presented in the form of a "unity perspective" and opens with the declaration that "many good Party comrades... fear that a serious split is developing." But, Foster assures them, while "obviously there is a danger of a split, I believe that our Party will emerge from the coming convention essentially united."

Then follows a statement of a series of developments which, according to Foster, have reduced the danger of split. Curiously enough, each development is one in which the Gates wing has yielded to him. Or as he puts it: "The unifying trend in the Party... has been running very strongly lately against the Right tendency."

Where then is the remaining danger of split? Foster explains: "At the convention the main task in overcoming this Right weakness will be to reject decisively the proposal to turn the Party into a political action association

and to correct current watered-down conceptions of Marxism-Leninism. Such action does not by any means imply the inevitability of a split. That there is a split danger is obvious, but it can and must be avoided."

Stripped of diplomatic double-talk, all of this boils down to a warning to the Gates group: You have retreated on a number of issues on which I oppose you. To that degree the danger of split has been reduced. You have not yet done so on other issues. To that degree the danger of split is still "obvious."

That unquestioned support for the Kremlin, over which Foster hurls "split" threats, is the cardinal issue is indicated by the fact that the very latest retreat of the Gates faction has not brought peace. At the recent New York State convention George B. Charney, a Gatesite, co-sponsored a resolution with Ben Davis, a Fosterite, which gave Foster everything he could want on the question of "name and form of the party."

But hard on the heels of this major "unity" offering came the attack in Soviet Russia. It declared in effect that agreement on such issues as "name and form" are of little consequence. What has got to be ended is the talk of Stalinism and anti-Stalinism. There must be no more critical and independent appraisals of what goes on in the Soviet orbit. Those who do so will be framed as allies of John Foster Dulles.

Thus the issue is posed before the convention delegates: Either a fight for internal democracy—that is, for the right of the membership to decide all issues without ultimatums and split threats. Or blind obedience to Khrushchev and Co.—that is, a return to the days of Stalinist bureaucratic rule over the party.

Editor:

Would you please explain these contradictions which appear in George Lavan's article "Meaning of the Chinese CP's Manifesto Supporting Kremlin" in the Militant of Feb. 4, 1957.

He writes of "USSR," "Soviet" Society and at the same time of the "extinction" of Soviets. He says that bureaucracy is a "caste" not a class and yet the struggle between the workers and this "caste" is "as real as class conflicts in capitalist society."

Again: "The violence and terror against the people by this caste he compares to "fascist capitalism, Hitler."

How can he compare a socialist state (a workers' state) to fascist capitalism, to Hitler? It seems to me that you cannot reconcile these contradictions. It is either one or the other. I would like to see a reply to this in your paper.

A Regular Reader
New York City

Dear Reader:

The Soviet Union retains its original name even though soviets were long ago destroyed in that country. Soviet is the Russian word for council. The Russian Soviets were similar to the Workers Councils which recently played such a leading role in the Hungarian uprising. Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants made the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The Bolshevik slogan was "All power to the Soviets" as opposed to support of the provisional parliamentary government of Kerensky. When the Bolshevik Party finally achieved a majority in the Soviets, the latter took all state power causing the Kerensky government to crumble.

Soviets, are the most democratic form of workers' self-government the world has seen. Delegates to them could be recalled and replaced at any moment a majority of the work-

ers in the factories, etc., they represented so desired. It was this form of government that the Soviet Union had in its early days under Lenin and Trotsky.

As Stalinism grew the Soviets were steadily undermined, shorn of power and in the mid-Thirties, when the new Stalin constitution was adopted, the facade of a pseudo-parliamentary facade.

The Soviet Union is a contradictory society. It is not socialism, but a workers' state halfway between capitalism and socialism. This may explain why descriptions of it themselves seem contradictory. The old capitalist and landlord classes were expropriated by the revolution and the land and means of production were nationalized. Yet we see wage differences as great or greater in the USSR than in capitalist countries. The privileged bureaucrat lives in a large luxurious apartment and has one or more summer homes. He has several cars, expensive clothing, the best of foods, servants, etc.

The unskilled worker lives in a crowded slum, no car, insufficient and shoddy clothing and a bare diet. To protect their high incomes and standard of living the bureaucracy has expropriated the workers politically.

Does this make the bureaucracy a new ruling class as some maintain under theories of state capitalism, "managerial revolution," or "bureaucratic collectivism"? Trotsky (See the Revolution Betrayed) and other Marxists have said that while in many ways the bureaucracy resembles a class, it is not.

Classes in history have played an organic, necessary role in their societies springing naturally, as it were, from the underlying social relations. This the bureaucracy does not do — its role actually is that of a parasitic growth on Soviet social relations. It can be swept away without altering the economic or social basis of the USSR. On the

other hand real classes in history such as the feudal or capitalist could not be swept away without a social revolution — a revolution which destroys the old economic and social base.

Perhaps a comparison with the bureaucracies of the trade union movement in the U.S. will shed some light on the problem. In corrupt unions such as the East Coast longshoremen's and the teamsters' the leaders are often described as not being labor leaders but "capitalists" because of their fantastically high incomes (most of which come from selling out the workers and looting the union treasury). They have their pent houses, limousines, etc., etc. Despite appearances, however, they are a parasitic growth on the labor movement, not an organic, necessary part of it. And indeed, as long as their ill-gotten wealth comes principally from the union movement they are not capitalists but corrupt labor bureaucrats.

Despite such leadership the union remains a union — just as the USSR remains a workers' state. The workers' interests dictate not the destruction of the union and a return to open-shop conditions but a "political revolution" inside the union that sweeps the parasitic bureaucracy out and leaves the union basis not only intact but better able to function. Similarly with the Soviet Union.

Can the Stalinist regime legitimately be compared to that of Hitler? Yes, if one makes it clear that their social bases are completely different; the former being a workers' state — a historically progressive stage in history — and the latter capitalism stripped bare of all democratic or progressive pretense.

In methods of rule these regimes, based on opposite social systems, were symmetrical. Hitler's method of rule was that of the police state — concentration camps, firing squads, secret-

police terror, stifling of the slightest expression of opposition, no unions but one big company union, deification of the leader, etc.

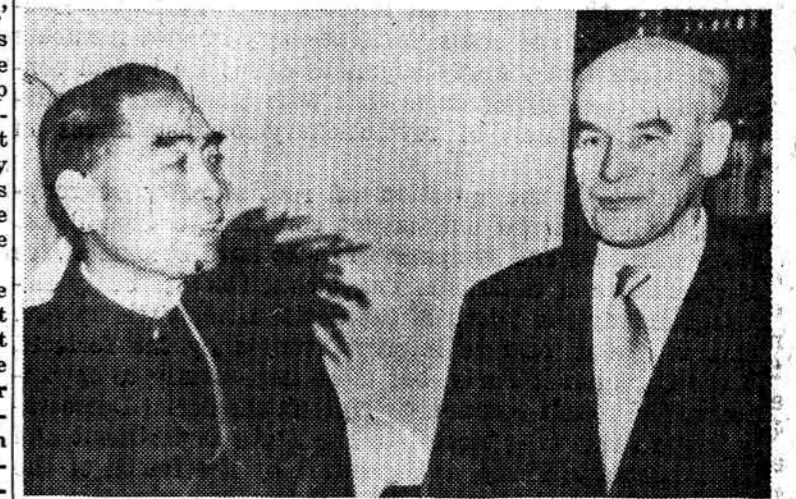
It might also be asked, is it permissible to compare the brutality and violence used by labor-hating employers in the U.S. with methods used by corrupt union bureaucracies? The methods of Rockefeller's thugs against the miners and their families in the Ludlow Massacre, the methods of company-owned sheriffs in the South unfortunately find their parallel in the gangsterism employed by the bureaucrats of some of the most degenerated American trade unions against the rank and file. That does not imply an equating of such unions, as I tried to make clear above, or their corrupt leaderships, with company thugs or company-owned sheriffs. Similar methods, but different social bases.

To defend what is progressive in the Soviet Union, China and the East European Countries it is not necessary to shrink from any of the facts, bitter though they may be, or to conceal anything. In facing these facts and drawing the necessary political conclusions one is preparing the workers movement for the regeneration of the Soviet orbit and giving support to the regenerating forces. This is today's most important form of defense of the Soviet Union and the guarantee of its future.

Fortunately, as events in Poland, Hungary and inside the USSR itself show, these forces are now on the march and, disdaining any thought of a return to capitalism, they are striving for a new, honest workers' democracy that will lead to socialism.

George Lavan

Chinese CP Leader in Warsaw



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) is photographed with Gomulka during Warsaw visit last month. The visit was credited with contributing to Gomulka's election victory. The price of Chou's support was a pledge of Polish support to the Kremlin puppet regime of Kadar in Hungary.

Bulletin
FEB. 8 — Today's Daily Worker reports a statement of the CP National Board which "takes note of a regrettable story at large that some purported basis exists for a challenge... regarding the delegates elected at the New York State Convention."
We view any rumor or act to challenge the delegates election outcome in New York as a serious and utterly illegal procedure which could only have a disruptive and all-sidedly damaging consequence to the unity, work and good conduct of the coming National convention."

... SWP Statement on Socialist Regroupment

(Continued from page 1)
serious elements taking part in the discussion will agree that programmatic issues have to be considered and clarified before durable organizational conclusions can be reached.

The effort to determine what the programmatic aims of the regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should be is not a matter of splitting hairs in a search for a new dogma. It is a very real problem, for the program that is eventually agreed upon will most certainly shape the movement and ultimately determine its success or failure in the coming period when the American working class again swings into action and turns toward socialist leadership.

Kind of Discussion That Is Needed

A vital stage in the process of regroupment is thus, as we see it, the free exchange of views among those interested in the regroupment. This exchange, coupled with willingness to listen, to study and to learn from each other will greatly facilitate the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in America. It will at the same time constitute, we are convinced, invaluable preparation for the next great upsurge of radicalism in America when all the questions of program and theory that are now under examination will become the guiding lines for practical action on a mass scale. All positions and proposals should be considered without prejudice or preconceived notions as to their possible merit. Scientific objectivity in the discussion is the first requirement that must be met in establishing a solid foundation for a new advance of revolutionary socialism.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers

Party is of the opinion that it would prove fruitful at this stage to try to focus the discussion of the proposed program for regroupment around a number of clearly stated key issues. We have definite opinions on these questions and state them frankly as part of our contribution to the discussion.

This should not be taken to mean, however, that our minds are closed to opposing views. We are open to argument and persuasion and to the weight of facts that may be called to our attention. We think all programmatic positions should be put on the table where they can be easily examined, and we hope other participants in the discussion will take the same position. In our opinion, this is the only realistic and principled way to proceed toward serious regroupment. Otherwise we do not see how a fruitful discussion can be held and clashing views finally resolved.

We list below a number of issues which we think are most important:

- (1) **International Outlook.** Revolutionary socialism is, in our opinion, international by its very nature, for its aim is to free world technology not only from the limitations of class rule but from the barriers set up by artificial national frontiers. The international solidarity of the working class stands on the real foundation of this common socialist aim. Thus it would be wrong in principle and futile in practice to attempt to narrow the outlook of the regroupment to nothing but the "American" scene and its national politics. At a time when United States imperialism is reaching out into all parts of the world, it is particularly unrealistic for the labor movement, above all its socialist sector, to put on the provincial blinders of a purely national outlook.

Socialist Internationalism

(2) **Foreign policy.** The bi-partisan foreign policy of Big Business must be clearly recognized as imperialist. American capitalism inherently tends toward wars of increasingly destructive character. The struggle for peace therefore requires as its starting point irreconcilable opposition to the predatory foreign aims of Wall Street and Washington.

(3) **Colonial revolutions.** In our view the anti-imperialist movement of the colonial peoples is progressive and must be supported even where it is under the temporary leadership of Stalinist parties or bourgeois-nationalist figures. We hold at the same time that it would be a violation of socialist principles to place political confidence in such parties or individuals as they are invariably ready to sell out to imperialism.

(4) **The defense of the economic and social conquests in the Soviet bloc.** The ending of capitalist rule, the abolition of capitalist private ownership of industry, the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade and the construction of planned economy are progressive, we are convinced, despite the extreme distortions they have suffered under the Stalinist bureaucracy. We stand for the defense of these conquests against the imperialist drive to liquidate them.

(5) **The struggle against Stalinism.** The parasitic bureaucratic caste in the Soviet bloc has proved, next to the world bourgeoisie itself, to be the worst obstacle to the advance of socialism. The police rule of this caste has been marked in the Soviet bloc by monstrous frame-ups, the murder of revolutionary socialists and mass purges of the working class. On the international field the Kremlin bureaucrats regard the Communist parties as small

change in their diplomatic maneuvers and are ready at any moment to sell their support to the imperialists in exchange for a diplomatic agreement. A clean break with Stalinism and a repudiation of its crimes and betrayals are a necessary part of the program of revolutionary socialist regroupment in this country. This signifies also support of the struggles of the workers in the Soviet bloc which are leading up to a political revolution. The aim of this political revolution is to overthrow the reactionary rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it by workers democracy on the basis of the nationalized industries and planned economy.

(6) **The struggle for peace.** Many people believe that the slogan, "peaceful coexistence," simply advocates an end to the cold war and to the threat of a third world war — an objective endorsed by all opponents of imperialist war. We believe, however, that this slogan as advanced by the Kremlin bureaucracy is deceptive and aims at maintaining the status quo in a world of irresistible change. It means the maintenance of capitalism and the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy. It therefore undermines the socialist struggle for peace and plays into the hands of the warmongers. Instead of the delusory slogan of "peaceful co-existence," or maintenance of the status quo, we advocate depending on the development of the class struggle. Deepening the class struggle can, as a by-product, win deferment of imperialist war while at the same time hastening the advent of socialism with its final guarantee of a world that will no longer know war or any of the other horrors of capitalism in its stage of decay.

(7) **Independent political action.** The class struggle is above all else a political struggle. For that reason we believe that it is a violation of socialist principles to support any candidate on the capitalist party slates, even though they are endorsed by the trade-union bureaucracy. The great task that confronts the American workers today is to break from the capitalist political machines and build their own party — a labor party based on the unions in alliance with the Negro people and the working farmers. It is the job of revolutionary socialists to explain this patiently day in and day out. Above all they must set an example, refusing to cross the picket lines in politics, or support the parties of the class enemy in any way.

(8) **Socialist electoral activity.** The most consistent advocates of independent working-class political action, in our view, are revolutionary socialists. In fact for some years they have been the only candidates to urge formation of a Labor Party in the United States. We feel that every effort should be made to provide candidates running on a socialist program with the widest possible public forum and to give their campaigns maximum effectiveness. As the movement toward regroupment proceeds, special attention must be paid, we think, to socialist electoral activity to make sure that the voice of revolutionary socialism is heard in election campaigns in opposition to the capitalist candidates.

What Type of Party?

(9) **Party organization.** The general principles of Leninism are applicable, we think, to America. We favor a Leninist-type party. By a Leninist-type party we mean a party that holds firmly to socialist principles, refusing to compromise them for illusory passing gains. In this respect a Leninist-type party is the diametrical opposite of the parties dominated by the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies. A Leninist-type party combines

full internal democracy with unity in action and in this respect, too, is the opposite of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. We think that a party that knows how to stick to principles, to guarantee the democratic rights of minority groupings among its members, and to participate in the class struggle as a cohesive force is essential to the victory of socialism in America.

(10) **Policy in the unions.** We believe the strong position of the union movement in America today is a result of the militant struggles of the past and the readiness of the rank and file workers to defend their organizations from attack. Nevertheless the years of prosperity have softened up the unions. The top bureaucracy feels free to boast of its class-collaborationist policies, although they undermine the hard-won gains of the past and block the struggle for new advances. The Social Democratic leaders have long been part of this class-collaborationist bureaucracy; the Stalinist leaders give every evidence of seeking to be accepted by it. Those who favor the regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should, in our opinion, oppose the policy of class-collaboration in the unions and stand for the policy of the class struggle.

(11) **The Negro struggle.** The struggle of the Negro people for full equality is by itself completely progressive, and the labor movement has a direct interest in its success. If the unions threw their weight into the scale through financial help and militant action, the fight to end segregation and discrimination in all its forms could be carried to victory in short order. This victory would at the same time be the best guarantee for successful organization of the South. Revolutionary socialists, we think, can play a vital role in mobilizing labor support for the Negro struggle and should put this problem high on the agenda for action.

United Action for Civil Liberties

(12) **The defense of civil liberties.** We are convinced that no exceptions can be made in the struggle to preserve civil liberties. The refusal of the trade unions to rally to the defense of members of the Communist Party who have been victimized by the witch hunt is a blot on the record of the labor movement, and it weakens labor's general defenses against reaction. To point to the crimes of Stalinism as an excuse for refusing to defend these victims of the witch hunt only plays the game of the witch hunters who deliberately selected this target as the most vulnerable in the labor movement. It is high time, we think, to once again popularize the old slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and the ones best equipped to take the initiative in this are the revolutionary socialists.

A unified front of common action for civil liberties and civil rights need not wait for programmatic agreement. Common action on agreed-upon issues are essential for the defense of all victims of racism and reaction. United efforts in the arena of action can provide a helpful supplement to the programmatic discussion now in progress.

* * *

These twelve issues seem to us to be the central ones in the discussion on the proposed regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces; but this does not at all mean that we feel other issues should not also be discussed. We propose these twelve only in hope of helping to make the discussion more concrete, thus facilitating the regroupment. We invite all who are interested in a socialist regroupment to a free and critical discussion of our proposals in the press and on the platform.

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The SWP Stand on Regroupment

We believe the statement of the Socialist Workers Party on revolutionary socialist regroupment deserves the widest circulation throughout the radical movement, and we invite all groups and individuals to use our pages to comment on it.

The continuing exchange of views between the various radical tendencies during the past year has been a welcome development. By presenting a series of concrete programmatic points for consideration, we feel that the statement of the Socialist Workers Party will help considerably to advance the discussion.

Such a discussion, we believe, is the prerequisite for unifying the revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S., today's most vital need in the struggle against capitalist reaction. In addition to a clear posing of programmatic issues involved, what is essential to a fruitful discussion is the elimination of any efforts to restrict the discussion itself or to try to ban anyone's participation in it.

While the ranks of all the radical tendencies are almost unanimously in favor of an unrestricted discussion, it must be noted that in the top leadership of some of the radical organizations there have been efforts to restrict the discussion. This has been particularly the case with the leadership of the Socialist Party (now merged with the Social Democratic Federation) and also with the Foster wing of the leadership of the Communist Party. Last December, Norman Thomas made

a last-minute withdrawal from a Detroit regroupment symposium. In doing so he said that he would not participate in a discussion which included a representative of the Communist Party. It was later learned that this was not simply Thomas' personal view but that the impetus for his decision came from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. It is now the position of the leadership of the merged SP-SDF that it will not participate in discussions which include spokesmen for the Communist Party.

In the Communist Party, that section of the leadership represented by John Gates has demonstrated a desire to participate in the current discussions between the various radical tendencies. In taking this stand, it has been confronted with strong opposing pressure from Foster, who while paying lip service to the need for such discussion, has done his best to discourage Communist Party participation. In addition, there has been resistance in the leadership of the Communist Party generally to join in discussions which include representatives of the viewpoint of the SWP.

We are convinced, however, that the rank and file supporters of all tendencies recognize the need for and deeply desire a full, untrammelled discussion. This progressive sentiment cannot be repressed and it will serve to further the process of unification of all revolutionary socialists under a common banner.

New Louisville Persecution

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV, a Negro couple bought a home in a suburb of Louisville, Kentucky, with the help of a white couple in the spring of 1954. From that time on there has been a long series of legal actions against the Wades, the Bradens and almost everyone who knew them — and it is not over yet.

The persecution of these opponents of Jim Crow in Kentucky included a foreclosure on the house that had been purchased, the burning of a cross, the dynamiting of the Wade home, the arrest of friends who volunteered to defend the Wades on charges of conspiring to destroy the house, the arrest of friends on the charge of teaching or advocating seditious or criminal syndicalism, and imprisonment for many months under excessive bail for Carl Braden and others.

In November 1956, all these charges were dropped without trial by the Jefferson Circuit Court.

However the persecutions have not ceased. Kentucky's Attorney for Jefferson County, A. Scott Hamilton, is not content with all the misery, loss of jobs, expensive court costs and unjust imprisonment that his office has caused.

The latest object of the persecution is Henry Rhine, for many years active in the Furniture Workers Union and more recently employed as a bartender in Louisville. Rhine was called before a grand jury hearing last October. He was

asked many questions including possible acquaintance with the Bradens, the Wades, possible membership in the Communist Party, and most sinister of all, whether or not he had ever been an espionage agent for the Soviet Union.

Rhine invoked his constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer these questions. Criminal Court Judge L. R. Curtis heard two of the questions asked: Did Rhine know if Carl Braden was a Communist and did he ever attend a Communist Party meeting in Braden's house. Judge Curtis upheld Rhine's right to use the Fifth Amendment.

The prosecutor is now appealing Judge Curtis' ruling to the Kentucky Court of Appeals. The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union has filed a brief as a friend of the court asking that Judge Curtis' ruling be upheld in protection of Rhine's constitutional rights.

The Kentucky combination of witch-hunt persecution and harassment of opponents of Jim Crow is a violation of the most elementary democratic rights of the people of that state. The real culprits in the bombing of the Wade home are still at liberty. Instead of apprehending these Jim Crow terrorists Kentucky "justice," as administered by state's attorney A. Scott Hamilton, hounds those who would not be cowed by the terrorists. How long will this persecution last?

Answer to a Critic

In the Militant of Feb. 4 we published a letter from David McReynolds in which he charged that in criticizing the recent merger of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation, the Militant and Farrell Dobbs had found it "necessary to invent and fabricate facts" regarding the stand of the Socialist Party on a series of questions.

McReynolds was the leader of the opposition within the SP to the unification until, on Jan. 9, he declared his reconsideration of the issue and came out for support to the merger. He had previously characterized the unification with the SDF as meaning "full support for the worst, most shameful policies of the State Department and John Foster Dulles."

WHAT DOBBS SAID

In reply to McReynolds' charge of "fabrication" we cited the written record of the unification proceedings and demonstrated that each point of our criticism was based upon that record. For lack of space we left over until this week McReynolds' statement that he was "very curious to know the basis for Comrade Dobbs statement appearing in the Jan. 28 issue [of the Militant] that the Socialist Party

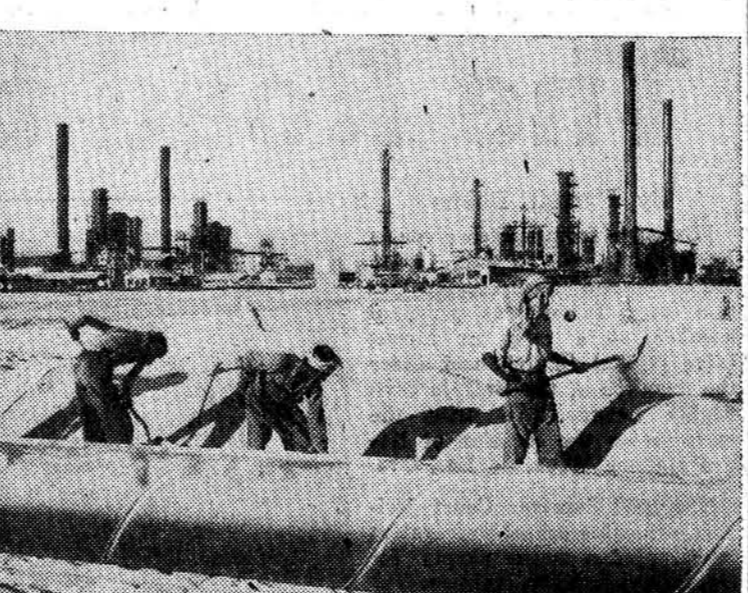
advocates support for the Democratic party."

Again we refer McReynolds to the written record. Dobbs actually said the following: "The fundamental SP-SDF policy is spelled out in a provision [of its joint 'Memorandum of Understanding'] allowing support of candidates 'endorsed by labor and liberal groups.' In plain language that means support of capitalist candidates."

Did Dobbs perhaps misunderstand this section of the SP-SDF agreement? Not according to Louis Goldberg, former chairman of the SDF and vice chairman of the merged SP-SDF. In a formal address at the unification convention, Jan. 19, Goldberg declared: "We are organizing a new political party which is pledged by our unity agreement not to rush rashly into the electoral field. . . . The expression of fear in some corners that a new party would interfere with labor's political action is unfounded. Carrying out our document on political action, we will not nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement."

Since the labor officialdom has committed the unions to support of Democrats, and Republicans, we repeat what Dobbs said: "In

Arabian Oil Workers



Arab workers at the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey Ras Taura refinery in Saudi Arabia where unions are outlawed by King Saud, chief U.S. puppet in the Mid East. The U.S. is supporting feudalists like Saud against the rising anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution of the Arab masses.

World Events

A SOUTH AFRICAN BUS BOYCOTT begun, Jan. 7, in protest against an increase in fares is spreading. The movement now involves over 60,000 Negroes who are walking the ten miles to work from segregated compounds outside Johannesburg and Pretoria. Negroes were forced from their homes inside Johannesburg at gun point in 1955 in a city drive to make residence mainly white. Meetings protesting this action were broken up as "subversive" as are all South African meetings which oppose segregation. Police have been unable to break the boycott movement, however, and it has spread to other areas. A subtle industrial slowdown is taking place as workers arrive late and tired after the long walk. The main Negro refreshment hall in Johannesburg, run by the city, has been boycotted since Jan. 28. It used to serve 35,000 Negroes daily. Now it serves none.

A GENERAL STRIKE BY ALGERIANS entered its ninth day, Feb. 6, as all except a handful of shops in the main city of Algiers remained closed in spite of a strike-breaking reign of terror by French security police and Foreign Legionnaires. The strike was originally scheduled to last only eight days. It began Jan. 28 focusing attention on the United Nations debate on Algeria which was originally scheduled to begin Jan. 30. On Jan. 29 the UN postponed the debate for one week at the request of the French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau, who claimed he wanted more time to prepare his remarks. The extra time was used by French imperialist authorities to attempt to break the strike, but the Algerian people were still holding out as the debate finally got under way, Feb. 4. Algerian workers in France, who are persecuted as members of an oppressed nationality, also struck successfully in spite of arrests and clubbings by police. In Algeria, French imperialist authorities are "recruiting" workers at bayonet point, and allowing organized looting by Europeans of Algerian shops which have remained closed in the UN debate. Pineau revealed that France will continue its brutal attempts to repress Algerian independence because French capitalism cannot survive without the exploitation of Algeria and the African colonies to which Algeria is the gateway. The strike was called by the National Liberation Front and was supported by the other major Algerian independence movement, the National Algerian Movement of Messali Hadj.

IN CYPRUS, the British imperialists have organized a terrorist group from among the Turkish minority which threatens mass reprisals every time "one of our British brothers" is killed by a Greek Cypriote fighting British oppression. The new organization, Volcan, staged a "night of terror" in Nicosia last month wrecking nearly 100 Greek Cypriote shops without interference from British police. The Greek Cypriote majority replied with an island-wide general-strike beginning Jan. 25, which continued in spite of back-to-work appeals by most Greek Cypriote mayors.

THE MILITANT ARMY

During the 1956 election campaign the Militant received over 500 subscriptions from people who had heard the Socialist Workers Party program for the first time. Now, we are receiving many renewals from these new readers. From Washington a letter arrived saying: "We enjoy very much reading the Militant. I wish we could join the party your paper represents. I suppose there are many, many, others like ourselves. Our thoughts lie with you. I am renewing my subscription." From Ohio, another subscriber writes: "I am enclosing \$1.50 for renewal of The Militant. It is the most enlightening newspaper on world affairs and social problems that I have read. . . . I think too much has been said on the Hungarian situation by the capitalist press and not enough on Egypt and the Middle East. I want to commend the Militant for giving attention to Egypt and the Middle East. . . . I am fully aware, as I know the Socialist Workers Party is, of the crimes of Stalinism in Hungary, etc. I deplore that the same as I am sure you people do. But I am sure that the working people properly organized will destroy Stalinism and set up true Socialism themselves given time and with no help or interference from capitalism or world Catholicism."

The literature agent in Oakland is busy pushing the International Socialist Review. She writes: "Do you have additional subscription blanks for the magazine? I want to slip them into magazines that I am placing at the University of California corner newsstand. Am also sending ISRs on consignment to a new Forum organized in San Francisco." The Los Angeles literature agent writes that he is assembling a committee for dis-

tributing the International Socialist Review, with an immediate goal of obtaining 85 subs in the area.

Militant sales at meetings were reported good in Cleveland. Manuel Stone writes: "We had a very successful sale of the Militant at a NAACP meeting. Two of us sold 18 papers in less than half an hour. The Militant sold itself—the headline read 'Racists in South Step Up Bombings.' The interesting point is that the weather warmed up just enough to be able to sell—a few hours later the temperature dropped 15 degrees."

Winifred Nelson, from Twin Cities, has sent in 18 renewals already and writes: "We have 62 subscribers yet to visit for renewals. We will keep sending in the names as soon as the renewals are obtained. We went to a St. Paul NAACP meeting and to a Minnesota FEPC meeting last week with The Militant. As a result, many people were sitting around reading the paper. Martin Luther King spoke at a Minister's Conference here last week. He drew such an overflow crowd that we were completely swamped in our efforts to do anything with The Militant—1,400 persons! The church service at which he spoke was in a rather snooty white neighborhood in St. Paul. Everyone present came almost an hour early. There were already a thousand people present when we arrived with The Militant. In addition to these distributions, Larry sold 5 copies of the paper and 1 copy of the International Socialist Review last week on the college campus, despite the bitterly cold weather—it didn't get above zero all week!"

A Portrait of Teamsters Union "Boss" Hoffa

By C. R. Hubbard

The Teamster's Union is an excellent vehicle for studying some of the problems of the modern American labor movement. This union today is as bureaucratized as any; as dominated by class-collaborationist policies as any; and as subject to the prey of racketeers as any. For this reason the portrait of James Hoffa, one of the "bosses" of the Teamster's union, by Paul Jacobs, Reporter magazine, Jan. 24 and Feb. 7, is of interest.

In the 1930's the union movement burst out of the restrictions of the old craft unions in the AFL. In militant, hard-fought strike struggles the workers established themselves as an organized force of considerable power. The power that was born then exists to this day. But now it is used primarily for the enrichment and prestige of the labor bureaucracy and racketeers who moved in for their share of the "take."

CHANGES IN UNION

In this context the rise to power of men like Hoffa can be understood. Hoffa began his career back in 1937 as president of the Detroit Truck Drivers Local 299 although "he never drove a truck." From there he climbed steadily up in the bureaucratic machine until today, a success in the "labor business," as Hoffa likes to call it, he stands as heir apparent to the powerful Dave Beck.

The first major change in the old Teamsters' union of Daniel Tobin, Jacobs points out, came during 1933 and 1935 in the Minneapolis local. Among the leaders of that local, 574, were the "Dunne brothers — Vincent, Miles and Grant — and Farrell Dobbs, all Trotskyists." Jacobs described how the

Teamsters under the leadership of the socialists helped to organize many workers in allied industries. He also tells how the union, "under Farrell Dobbs, had begun the formation of a District Drivers Council, coordinating Teamster locals throughout the Northwest; the latter set up an eleven-state area committee in the Mississippi Valley." These achievements, Jacobs said, "fundamentally affected the nature of the entire union."

THE CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE

The big difference however between the Teamsters' union then and now can be seen in the fact that the expansion of Local 574 under the leadership of the Dunne Brothers and Dobbs was at the expense of the employers. With Hoffa, expansion takes place often with the collusion of the employers.

When Hoffa takes in workers in other industries, it is for increasing the "take" and extending his power. The Minneapolis union in the 1930's intervened to help other workers get organized and when success was won, as Jacobs pointed out, "turned them over to appropriate AFL unions." Local 574, later known as Local 544, wasn't interested in engaging in jurisdictional fights with the rest of the labor movement.

In addition, that section of the Teamsters union led by the Dunne brothers and Dobbs was a thoroughly democratic organization. All matters of basic policy were discussed and decided by the union members. But today, virtually all parts of the union are run by dictatorship. Dave Beck, head of the union today, has the power to place any local under receivership. And he uses that power. At the end of 1955, Jacobs points out, "Almost

twelve per cent of the Teamster locals — 105 out of 897 — were under such trusteeships."

TWO KINDS OF UNIONISM

According to Jacobs, in the Thirties, Hoffa "watched the successes of the Minneapolis Trotskyists with great interest." The latter, however, were interested in strengthening the bargaining position of the workers. They held to the Marxist view, says Jacobs, "that unions were instruments of the class struggle." Hoffa was interested in getting rich, as was Beck. Both operated under the concept of "business unionism."

Jacobs did not note it, but the second big change in the Teamsters' union came in 1941 when the leaders of the Minneapolis union together with the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted by the Federal government in the first Smith Act trial. Government intervention then had a twofold purpose: first, to stifle opposition to World War II, and second, to oblige Tobin by eliminating the most powerful opposition to his bureaucratic domination of the Teamsters' Union.

With the smashing of the militant and democratic section of the Teamsters' Union by Federal intervention, the road was cleared for Tobin and his two most powerful lieutenants, Beck and Hoffa, to dominate the union completely. The role of the witch hunt in the growth and corruption of the labor bureaucracy thus became clear from the moment of its inception. Today this witch hunt continues to be a major weapon in the hands of the union bureaucrats. It is one of the props that keep them in power.

McDonald's Detroit Machine Disrupts Dues Protest Rally

By James Campbell

DETROIT, Feb. 1 — Don Rarick, campaigning to replace David J. McDonald as President of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO-AFL, the USW Presidency in the Feb. 12 national referendum election, wound up a three-week campaign tour at a stormy meeting here last night. While in the Buffalo area a week ago, the leaders of the Dues Protest Committee, the organization sponsoring Rarick, met with a friendly response, with one local at the Lackawanna Bethlehem plant voting them \$1,500. But they collided head-on with the McDonald machine both at Gary, Indiana and here in Detroit, when the District Directors and their paid henchmen used intimidation and disruptive tactics to break up the Dues Protest meetings.

500 ATTEND

The target of the Dues Protesters in the Michigan area was the votes of the 10,000-member Local 1299 at the Great Lakes Steel plant in Ecorse, a Detroit suburb. On Jan. 30, William Smiddy, a Great Lakes worker, resigned his chairmanship of the local Dues Protest group with the claim that "investigation of Rarick's platform shows it tends to weaken the union."

Nevertheless, over 500 steelworkers from five local plants turned out last night to hear Rarick speak, jamming the American Legion Hall in Ecorse across the street from the Great Lakes Steel plant gates.

Tom Shane, USW Director of District 29 here, and Wallace Bowdrie, President of Local 1299, brought their paid supporters to the meeting. Their attempts to interrupt Nicholas Mamula, Dues Protest Campaign chairman, met with angry protests from the rank-and-file audience, whose shouts for Shane to "sit down" and "let's hear Rarick" brought Rarick to the mike.

Rarick told the Rally in a 40-minute speech that the McDonald machine has been guilty of violating the union's constitution in this campaign by ignoring nominations and concealing records of local decisions, and would use every means to prevent an honest vote on Feb. 12. He called on the members to be alert, election day, to any tampering with the ballots. He quoted from Philip Murray's memorandum at the January 1952 emergency Convention that a danger existed to the union in the formation of cliques and local bureaucracies using the union for personal gain. He then declared his aim to be to return the Union to democratic control

by the membership. The stormy applause from the members drowned out the boos and catcalls of Shane's supporters.

WHY RANKS BACK DPC

This first visit of Rarick to Detroit indicates a widespread interest among the steelworkers here in his campaign and considerable rank-and-file support for the Dues Protest Committee. Behind this support lies the resentment of the rank-and-file against the weak contract settlement last July, especially as it ties their hands against the Steel bosses for three years in a dangerously inflationary period, with no recourse of strike open to them.

The meeting also revealed the considerable support Rarick has among Negro steel workers, who are discriminated against in the steel mills by Jim-Crow hiring and upgrading practices of the companies, with whom the officialdom in the USW locals work hand in hand.

Failure of the lengthy grievance system, which ties up grievances in endless red-tape over which the International Officers in the districts have too much control, is an important factor, especially at Great Lakes. Since McDonald's September 1955 visit there banning further work-stoppages, Shane has been building a following of paid henchmen in Local 1299 to carry out McDonald's program. It is this gang-with which he tried to disrupt the Rarick rally last night.

However, the Dues Protest Committee has not had anything to say to the steel workers on these important questions: equal job and hiring rights for Negro members; what to do about the present weak contract; how to struggle against the steel companies in a period of rampant profiteering; how to democratize the union structure clear into the locals in order to end the innumerable local bureaucracies.

The Dues Protest Committee's six-point program aims at undoing the undemocratic changes made in the International Constitution at last year's Los Angeles convention and also calls for election of all International staff officers. An attempt to include the return of the strike-vote in the DPC's program was defeated by the Committee leaders at their campaign organization meeting, Dec. 30.

Nevertheless, the wedge the Dues Protest Committee's campaign opens for the rank and file to express its real opinions has frightened the McDonald machine into every undemocratic and violent act it can use against Rarick.

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Socialism Is the Issue, Says Candidate for Mayor of L. A.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 8 — "We live in a period when even local issues must be given a socialist answer," declares Erroll Banks, candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles. Banks is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. He calls on all socialists and on working people generally to support his campaign.

"We live in a world where international issues have a direct local impact. You can't really separate them, and in the final analysis they boil down to the issue of capitalism versus socialism.

"For instance, Eisenhower's scheme for another Korea, in the Middle East this time, can affect every youth of draft age in Los Angeles. And war preparations whack about \$20 out of the average workers' weekly pay check."

Mr. Banks says that the "witch-hunt investigations that we have known since 1947" have been staged by the present rulers of this country to gag any serious criticism of their war against the colonial people.

CIVIL LIBERTIES FOR ALL

He warns that the witch-hunters "have cunningly selected the weakest sectors of the labor movement for their initial assaults," such as organizations



ERROLL BANKS

alleged to be "Communist-dominated," but that their ultimate target is the entire labor movement.

Banks calls for the defense of all victims of the witch hunt, no matter what their political views, because the defense of democratic rights and civil liberties is the defense of the labor movement itself.

"I believe that the future lies

with the working class," says the SWP-endorsed candidate. "I've entered the Los Angeles elections, because I'm convinced that only through independent working class political action can workers and oppressed minorities meet their needs. The Republican and Democratic parties are the political machines of Big Business, and you can't find a genuine friend of labor in them.

"A vote for Erroll Banks is a vote for independent political action and the formation of a Labor Party as a step toward a socialist America."

On the civil rights question, Banks states: "While the Negroes of Montgomery and Tallahassee and in other areas throughout the South have courageously fought against segregation, both Democratic and Republican leaders have looked the other way. The answer for the Negro people on the political field is to work with the labor movement to build a labor party."

Della Rossa is Erroll Banks' campaign manager. All persons interested in furthering Banks' socialist campaign are urged to contact Della Rossa at campaign headquarters, 1702 E. Fourth St. Every bit of help will be greatly appreciated.

THE MILITANT

The Road to Negro Equality

By Farrell Dobbs

[Excerpts from speech given in Lackawanna, N. Y., Jan. 13, on the occasion of Negro Emancipation Day. Dobbs was principal speaker at a rally at Mount Olive Baptist Church held under the auspices of the Buffalo Civil Rights League. We print the excerpts on the occasion of Negro History Week. — Ed.]

The 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation represented a major victory for the Negro freedom fighters. The hated "separate but equal" doctrine was declared inherently unequal and unconstitutional. A tactical foundation was thus laid for a new advance in the struggle for racial equality.

Yet experience has proven the 1954 ruling to be far from self-enforcing. The Supreme Court itself stalled for a year before issuing an ambiguous implementing decision. As a rule, school desegregation has taken place only where there is a relatively small colored population. Action has been endlessly delayed through judicial red tape. Open defiance of the court ruling has been proclaimed by white supremacists operating through the infamous White Citizens Councils. Little or nothing has been done by Congress or the President to enforce Negro rights, to protect Negro lives and property.

WHY HIGH COURT RULED

These conditions prove once again that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will voluntarily and effectively use the power of government to guarantee the Negro people the constitutional protection to which they are entitled. The capitalist politicians in government will act only insofar as they are compelled to do so under mass pressure.

Part of the pressure leading to the 1954 decision came from the colonial revolts throughout Africa and Asia. The crime of racial discrimination in America is a scandal to colored peoples abroad. A Jim-Crow domestic policy implies a white supremacist attitude in foreign policy. The court decision was in this sense a diplomatic gesture intended more to serve foreign policy aims than to protect the rights of the Negro people.

No less a factor in compelling the school desegregation order was the self-sacrificing struggle of the united Negro freedom fighters. Their heroic battle for civil rights has brought heavy pressure against white supremacist policies on the American political scene. The capitalist politicians hoped, however, to ease the mass pressure simply by interpreting the court decision as a promise of future action and without doing much to make desegregation a living reality on the social scene.

Action to enforce desegregation, as it was fully implied in the 1954 decision, didn't really get under way until the Montgomery Improvement Association took a hand, right in the "Cradle of the Confederacy." The embattled Negro people of Montgomery, Alabama, have set out to end all forms of racial segregation and discrimination. They started where they had the strongest initial tactical advantage—the bus boycott. They hit hard with their full economic power, acting with firm mass solidarity.

MIA TRIAL

The Democratic Party politicians in local government hit back through a mass trial of the boycott leaders. Although the actual court proceedings centered on the trial of Rev. M. L. King, Jr., the president of the MIA, it is important to remember that 90 people were indicted. Included in the 90 were the MIA officials, drivers and dispatchers in the car pool and many others playing key roles in the protest action. The obvious aim was to beathead the boycott movement and terrorize the rank and file into submission.

I had the privilege to be present at that trial where a proud, determined people came to do battle with the white supremacists right in their own courtroom. As a unionist I have been in some bitter strike struggles. As a socialist I have met some brave anti-fascist fighters. But in that Montgomery courtroom I saw the equal in courage and heroism of anything I have ever witnessed.

The colored people of the city turned out in mass to show their solidarity with the victimized leaders of their movement. The defense fought skillfully in the trial. As the chief defendant, Rev. King conducted himself like a true leader. Defense witnesses poured out the grievances of a long-suffering people for the whole world to hear. Wave upon



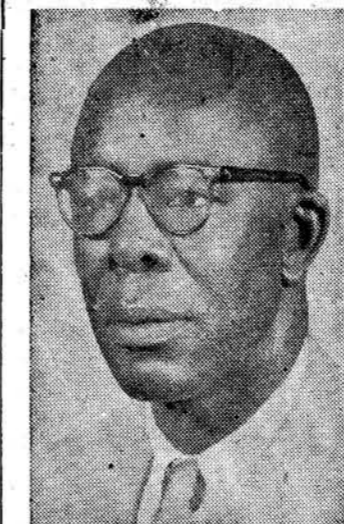
Rev. and Mrs. Martin Luther King

wave of solidarity with the witnesses surged forward from the colored people backed into the courtroom. The trial was turned into a counter-attack on the white supremacists.

At the same time the MIA launched an attack on the Alabama bus-segregation law in the federal courts. They kept the boycott pressure on throughout the court deliberations, showing tremendous staying power in a year-long siege. This mass pressure served to speed up the judicial proceedings which otherwise would most likely have dragged on for years.

BOYCOTT SPREADS

When the Supreme Court order came through last December declaring the Alabama bus-segregation law unconstitutional, the MIA immediately acted to enforce the decision. The Negro people began to ride the buses on a



E. D. NIXON

first-come, first-served basis, as they had demanded when the boycott started.

Meanwhile, as you know, the boycott movement had spread to Tallahassee, Florida. When the Montgomery decision came through, Tallahassee Negroes began to ride the local buses on an integrated basis, thus deepening the attack on white supremacy in Florida. Birmingham followed suit with a test demonstration, seeking a means to challenge local laws. Action then spread to Atlanta as the movement kept gathering strength throughout the South.

The White Citizens Councils had long been claiming that mass opposition among whites to bus integration would bring violence and bloodshed. Actually the white people generally tended to accept integrated riding as an accomplished fact, whatever their personal feelings in the matter might be. Not one sign appeared of spontaneous mass protest action among the white people.

The White Citizens Councils therefore set out to manufacture a so-called "state of emergency." Crosses were burned. A 15-year old Negro girl was beaten. Snipers fired into buses from ambush, wounding occupants. Bombs were hurled at Negro churches and at the homes of Negro leaders.

But the Negro freedom fighters refused to be intimidated. Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of the Tallahassee movement, seemed to express the universal sentiment among Negroes, when he said, "Segregation on the buses is dead. And all the rock-throwing, shotguns and cross-burning in the world won't revive it."

While the Ku Klux Klan wing of the White Citizens Councils was unleashing a terror campaign against the Negro people, the Democratic Party wing of the

white supremacist setup is anti-labor, as well as anti-Negro. One of its chief spokesmen, Senator Eastland, is a big planter. He typifies the banking, industrial and planting interests who use the White Citizens Councils to deliberately whip up racial antagonisms. Their aim is to split labor along color lines and in that way, preserve the open shop with low wages and bad working conditions.

To the workers of the North these open-shop conditions mean the danger of runaway plants and the drag of the wage differential, which are costly to their employment and their earning power. Unionization of the South is therefore vital to labor nationally. But as the experience in building the CIO taught, unions can't be organized without the aid of the colored workers.

Consequently, the unions have a direct stake in the civil rights fight. It is a matter of self-interest to white workers everywhere to accord Negro workers full membership rights within the unions and to support the Negro people as a whole in their struggle for racial equality.

Organized labor should be in the vanguard of the civil rights struggle. It should support the mass actions of the Negro people. Labor should fight for an FEPC with teeth in it, for anti-lynch laws, for an end to the poll tax, for the full protection of the voting rights of the colored people.

POLITICAL ACTION

Among other issues, the Atlanta meeting of Southern Negro leaders discussed the "relation of . . . voting to all efforts for justice." Implied is a growing realization that the fight for racial equality is gravely handicapped so long as the political power remains in the hands of the white supremacists. Today these anti-Negro, anti-labor forces have the upper hand politically in Washington as well as in the state governments.

There is no serious move on the horizon to change Senate Rule 22. That means continued filibusters to prevent any significant civil rights legislation in Congress, provided any bill should get by the Senate Judiciary Committee at the head of which the Democrats have placed Senator Eastland, a White Citizens Council leader. The President piously takes the hypocritical position that he can do nothing to enforce Negro rights until Congress has first acted. Thus the Southern Democrats are left firmly in the saddle to block civil rights legislation and to push anti-labor laws through Congress.

Clearly the unions and the Negro movement have a common political problem. They need to break the Southern Democrats' grip on the governmental apparatus not only to win racial equality but also to defend the

interests of all working people. This political task cannot be carried out through support of the Democratic Party which caves in to white supremacist pressure at every critical stage. Nor can the job be done through the Republican Party which refuses to use the tremendous powers of the Presidency to protect the rights and interests of the minority peoples and the toilers of the land.

The situation plainly calls for the Negro people to form a political alliance with organized labor to launch an independent labor party based on the unions. Only on this road can full economic, political and social equality be guaranteed to all and every form of discrimination be abolished.

...Inaction On Terror

(Continued from page 1)

danger throughout the Dixie Teror Belt.

Rev. King said on Jan. 27, that Montgomery is "a city that it is dangerous to live in—it is no longer safe." These words were spoken after a week-end of white-supremacist violence. It included another attempt to explode Rev. King's home (the bomb whose lighted fuse flicked out, contained twelve sticks of dynamite thrown on the porch); bombing of a Negro-operated gas station; injuring three taxi drivers and wrecking the living room of a Negro home; an attempted shooting of a white TV news-caster who "tried to be fair with white and Negro" (two high caliber bullets struck his car); the arrest of two Negroes who accused city police of doing nothing to halt the violence.

A NATIONAL DISGRACE

Montgomery's terror is typical of the desperate attempts by defenders of the white-supremacy system to smash the struggle of the Southern freedom fighters. In Beaumont, Texas, the WCC on Jan. 30 warned of more violence after three separate bombings in one day against whites whom the segregationists opposed. There have been two bombings of Negro homes recently. From Texas to Florida, the bombers are running wild, but the misnamed Justice Dept. does not deem it "appropriate" to discuss violence against people defending their dignity and self respect.

New York Amsterdam News, in an editorial entitled "A National Disgrace," summarizes the reaction of the Negro press: "We have Federal Troops for South Koreans but not even the FBI for the bombed babies of Montgomery. Our naval fleet commands the straits of Formosa but we can't protect Negro citizens in the bayous of the Mississippi River."

Cowley Hits Jobless Pay Ban for CP Employees

(The following is the text of a letter sent by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for New York City Mayor, to Isadore Lubin, State Industrial Commissioner of New York.)

Dear Mr. Lubin:

I urge you to reject the ruling of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz that employees of the Communist Party are not entitled to receive unemployment insurance. Since this ruling, which was made in reference to the unemployment claim of William Albertson, is advisory in character, I hope you will disregard it and carry out the law. This law was enacted to benefit all workers, regardless of political considerations. The ruling, which in this case applies to the Communist Party as an employer, readily leads to placing political qualifications on the claimants as well. To discriminate against an unemployed worker because of his political opinions, or those of his employer, is a violation of his constitutional right. It therefore jeopardizes the right of American citizens to freedom of opinion and political affiliation.

The Communist Party has regularly made payments into the jobless insurance fund, and this ruling would illegally withhold such funds from the very employees the law is designed to benefit.

Last year Federal Social Security officials made a similar attempt to withhold benefits from the families of Communist Party members, but their decision was reversed.

The Socialist Workers Party, which I represent, opposes eco-



JOYCE COWLEY

nomie sanctions against any worker because of his political beliefs. William Albertson has met all the requirements which legally qualify him to receive unemployment benefits. He has already waited six months for a decision. Since the final decision rests with you, I again urge that you set aside a ruling which deprives him of these benefits and reaffirm the right of every American to freedom of political opinion.

Joyce Cowley

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Historical Significance of the Montgomery Boycott

When the history of the Negro struggle for equality in the United States is written, it will be divided into two main parts: before Montgomery and after Montgomery. It will attempt to analyze the causes, the conditions and events that led to the boycott of segregated buses, in order to understand the profound effects of Montgomery on the whole future course of the Negro struggle.

Fifteen months after the rebellion against Jim Crow was organized, we can begin an appreciation of its significance. We can note some of the effects the bus boycott movement has already had in the brief period since it started. But, as partisans with a stake in the outcome, we cannot "wait for history to resolve the conflict." We must recognize the alternatives the course of history may take at this point and consciously follow and advocate the path that leads to victory in the struggle for Negro equality.

BOYCOTTS NOT NEW

What was new in the Montgomery bus boycott? Not the use of the boycott tactic itself. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns have been used to break down discrimination in the hiring of clerks and salespeople for many years. Most of these campaigns were conducted in the North, it is true, but in the South, in Baton Rouge, La., in the summer of 1953 a bus boycott was organized; and there have been numerous cases of individuals or small groups refusing to observe Southern segregation rules.

For many whites, both North and South, the fact that Southern

Negroes were protesting against Jim Crow, was new. But that was only because they believed the lies of the history books and other propaganda outlets of the white supremacists to the effect that Southern Negroes did not object to separate institutions, only to inferior ones.

Even many Northern Negro leaders viewed the start of the Montgomery boycott incredulously, hoped for the best, but expected the worst, because, as some put it: "The odds are against them. They are in a minority. The state courts and legislatures are against them. There are too many 'handkerchief heads' who will sell out to protect their jobs or influence. It will be a miracle if they're not crushed in short order."

But the bus boycott was not crushed. And it was not a miracle. But one of the elements of a revolutionary situation that appeared on the scene: the conscious intervention of the masses. That was the one new element that neither white supremacists nor those who look to courts and politicians for emancipation counted on.

Fifty thousand Negroes in and around Montgomery, expressing the bitter hostility to oppression and discrimination which exists throughout the country, organized to show the world how united, militant and purposeful Southern colored people can be when they decide to act in their own interests.

THE KEY

Reformers and religionists, who deny the revolutionary capacity of the masses, still try to explain the "miracle" of Montgomery by incidental features of the movement. Some look at the fact that the mass meetings were held in churches, and that some of the most articulate young men

in the leadership happened to be trained as ministers, and conclude the movement is a religious revival.

They should look more closely at the movement. The churches are traditionally the meeting places, as a rule the only meeting places, for Negroes in the South. Where else would Negroes meet? The Montgomery Improvement Association not only organized a complete boycott, but an independent car-pool system of transportation, as well; a legal defense, a relief system, and a public relations set-up for mobilizing national support.

Such an organization can only be built on the basis of mass participation and with the help of leaders experienced in mass organization. The Negro trade unionists played an important role. So did the young veterans, mechanics, and lawyers.

The cumulative experience of the Negro masses in the South has made them ready to act now. This was evidenced by the fact that the Montgomery example has already been followed to one degree or another by the colored communities of Birmingham, Mobile and other Alabama cities, and in Tallahassee and elsewhere.

The general features of these movements are first, their mass character; second, their militancy and clearcut purpose of opposition to segregation; third, the prominent part played by a new, youthful leadership; fourth, their emphasis on mass action rather than courts; and fifth, their conscious efforts to avoid isolation by seeking allies in their struggle.

The experience of the new period of Negro history opened up by Montgomery confirms the correctness of the analysis and perspective of revolutionary socialists that the Negro struggle in America must take the road of uncompromising mass opposition to Jim Crow and follow through to an attack on the economic system which profits by segregation in order to uproot it.

The only force capable of accomplishing this task is the working class, which, also, has no stake in the profit system. Simultaneously with organizing its own forces, the Negro movement should be directed to the labor efforts on raising the consciousness of labor, white and colored, to their common class interests. Appeals for support and aid should be directed to the labor movement rather than to the capitalist politicians.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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