

# 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 signalized 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

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### 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 deems 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'ers 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 the 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

Soviet Russia, the Feb. 5 Daily Worker declared that "American Communists will make up their own minds" and that the DW would not be prevented from thinking independently. Such a declaration surely echoes the sentiment of a large body of CP members. But they will have to firmly insist that this time the Gates-wing leaders on the DW staff live up to their promise. The DW editors raised the banner of independence from the Kremlin bureaucrats last April following admissions in Hungary that the trial and execution of Laszlo Rajk, CP leader purged for "Titoism" in 1949, had been a frame-up. They did so again last June, when the New York Times published the Khrushchev "secret-session" speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Again, in the middle of November, several CP leaders associated with the Gates tendency denounced the war waged by the Kadar government and the

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### 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."

#### IN THIS ISSUE:

Portrait of Union "Boss" James Hoffa

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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.

### 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 2½ 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. 28 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-

### 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.

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.

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 yet 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.

### 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 of 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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### 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.

## ... CP Convention Faces 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

### Bulletin

FEB. 8 — Today's Daily Worker reports a statement of the CP National Board which "takes note of a regrettably story at large that some purported basis exists for a challenge . . . regarding the delegates elected at the New York State Convention."

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

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."

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.

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### 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 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 Soviets was dropped in favor 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 Rockerfeller'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 leaders, with company thugs or company-owned sheriffs. Similar methods, but different social bases.

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.

## ... 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 clear 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 slate, 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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# 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 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.

# THE MILITANT

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## 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 "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.

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### 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



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.

### POLITICAL ACTION

Among other issues, the Atlanta meeting of Southern Negro leaders discussed the "relation of . . . voting to all efforts

danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt.

Rev. King said on Jan. 27, that

Montgomery is "a city that 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 lit 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.

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 EPIC with teeth in it, for antilynching laws, for an end to the poll tax, for the full protection of the voting rights of the colored people.

### 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."

interests of all working people. This political task cannot be carried out through support of the Democratic Party which caves in to white supremacists 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 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)

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## 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 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 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.

### LINK WITH UNIONS

The MIA is further strengthened by young trade unionists who are able to make important contributions to the struggle from their collective experience in the labor movement.

Mr. E. D. Nixon, a symbol of those young militants of the Thirties who still retain the courage of their convictions, serves as a key link between the older freedom fighters and the youth of today.

He is a seasoned veteran, a product of long training in the hard school of union battles and civil rights struggles in the deep South.

These partially distinct fields of mass action are today becoming more and more directly interrelated. Common problems confront the union and civil rights movements due to basic process of social change now taking place in the South. The mechanization of agriculture and the growth of industry in the cities are acting to transform the Southern population from a predominantly agricultural into an industrial people.

White and colored alike are affected, being drawn into a new relationship as industrial workers. They face common class problems that tend to cut across color lines and make racial prejudice more and more expensive to the white worker. Resentment against open-shop conditions in industry leads to a mutual desire among colored and white workers for union protection.

The militant mood demonstrated by the Southern workers in the recent strike wave gave solid evidence of this trend. Fresh signs of colored and white solidarity among the workers appeared. To this I can add that while in Montgomery I learned from colored workers that they are eager to use the civil rights struggle to gain first-class citizenship in the union movement as well as in the community as a whole.

### NORTHERN LABOR'S STAKE

The White Citizens Councils aim to prevent unionization of the Ku Klux Klan wing of the White Citizens Councils and the Democratic Party wing of the the South. In the last analysis, which I represent, opposes eco-



JOYCE COWLEY

nomic 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

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

A Celebration of Negro History Week

Fri. Feb. 15 — 8 P.M.

1. See "Walk to Freedom," documentary movie on the Montgomery bus boycott.  
2. Hear Jean Blake, Militant columnist, on "What Next in the Fight Against Segregation?"  
3. A social affair after the meeting.

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