



## Comments on SWP Regroupment Stand

The following letter is in response to our invitation for comment on the statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. which we published in our issue of Feb. 11. Further comment on the statement by organizations and individuals is invited. — Editor)

Feb. 13, 1957

Editor, the Militant:

The statement of the National Committee of the SWP on "A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions" represents a serious and valuable contribution to the process of regroupment of the socialist left now underway in America. The 12 points listed call attention to the most important political problems facing American radicals, and can serve as a focus for a fruitful and loyal discussion. However, there is a danger that unless concrete steps are soon taken to regroup the forces of American socialism in the field of real action, our discussions of the politics of regroupment, however interesting, will merely remain on paper. Specifically, I suggest that all the existing left-socialist groups and publications get together to form a Committee of United Action for Workers Democracy. (The title is just a suggestion.) The amount of political agreement required to form such a committee could be quite minimal — about the only political prerequisite I would like to see laid down is support of all freedom struggles of workers and oppressed peoples, whether in Hungary, Algeria or Montgomery, Alabama.

The benefits to our socialist cause from the formation of such a committee would be real, immediate, and tangible. For instance, during the past week the UN has been discussing the "Algerian situation" (diplomatic double-talk for the French genocidal murder of the Algerian freedom fighters). A united committee of the American left would have been able to organize a big demonstration of solidarity with the Algerian people and condemnation of French imperialism — a demonstration which could have given tremendous encouragement to the genuine democratic and socialist forces in France as well as to the people of Algeria, at a moment when U.S. imperialism was lining up 100% with its French brother. Many similar opportunities are sure to arise in the coming months. The American socialist movement can use these opportunities if it is prepared to act unitedly, but will probably lose them if it remains split apart, no matter how much fine talk of "regroupment" is floating around.

The committee I propose could perform other important functions beside the central one of united action. It could, for instance, publish a magazine in which the various tendencies could present their ideas. At present, the discussion of regroupment is hampered by the fact that the adherents of each viewpoint tend to read only the publications in which their own position is presented. But a common publication in which a free and honest discussion is conducted would eliminate this difficulty and enormously facilitate a genuine interchange of ideas. This committee would be the natural sponsor for forums on political problems of socialist regroupment throughout the country. It would also co-ordinate political action in support of socialist candidates whenever election campaigns take place.

But most important for the achievement of genuine socialist regroupment: members of the dispersed and isolated socialist groups of today have to work together to achieve their common aims before they will have real confidence in each other's integrity as socialists and willingness to learn from each other and from shared experiences. And without this confidence, even a fruitful discussion of regroupment is virtually impossible.

Shane Mage

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# Kadar's Death Penalty for Striking

By Myra Tanner Weiss

George Morris undertook the shameful job in the Feb. 15 issue of the Daily Worker of defending the death penalty for strikers decreed by the Kadar regime in Hungary. His defense of the decree, as is usual in such matters, begins with an attempt to deny its real nature.

Morris states that the "decree has been falsely described in the commercial press as providing a death penalty for 'strikers.' " He calls attention to a translation of the text published in the Daily Worker and says it is "an anti-sabotage decree. We have a bushel full of such PEACETIME legislation on the statute books, some of which the trade union leaders of America protested for fear that certain union activities could draw penalties up to death or long imprisonment. More such legislation is pending. But we have no revolutionary situation or a state of armed rebellion, and we have had nothing of the sort since the Civil War."

## U.S. LAWS

Morris here implies that the crime of these laws in the U.S. is only one of timing. They are justified in time of upheaval but not in time of PEACE. The labor-haters will quite agree with Morris and hasten to assure him that the laws are intended only for such "rebellious" emergencies.

However, the text of the Hungarian decree as translated by Herbert Aptheker and published in the Daily Worker, Jan. 28, gives the lie to George Morris. The truth is that the so-called "sabotage" laws in the U.S. are mild and cautious compared to that passed by the Presidential Council of Hungary for the Regulation of Summary Penal Procedure. The U.S. capitalists, as yet, have to be careful for they confront a powerful and undefeated labor movement.

First, let us look at the Trucks Act, passed in the Michigan legislature in 1952 which should serve as a good example of the "sabotage" laws that were produced by the witch hunt in this country. The "sabotage" section of the law read: "It shall be a felony, punishable by a term in the state prison for not more than 20 years for any person, with the intent to injure the United States, the state of Michigan, or any facilities or property used for national defense, to sabotage or destroy, or to attempt to sabotage or destroy, any property, facility or service that is being used in connection with national defense."

The labor movement understood correctly that the vague formulation of "intent" was enough to enable the labor-haters to use the law against strikes even though strikes were not specifically named as an "injury" to property, facilities, etc. The law was therefore attacked as a repressive anti-labor instrument in the hands of the bosses.

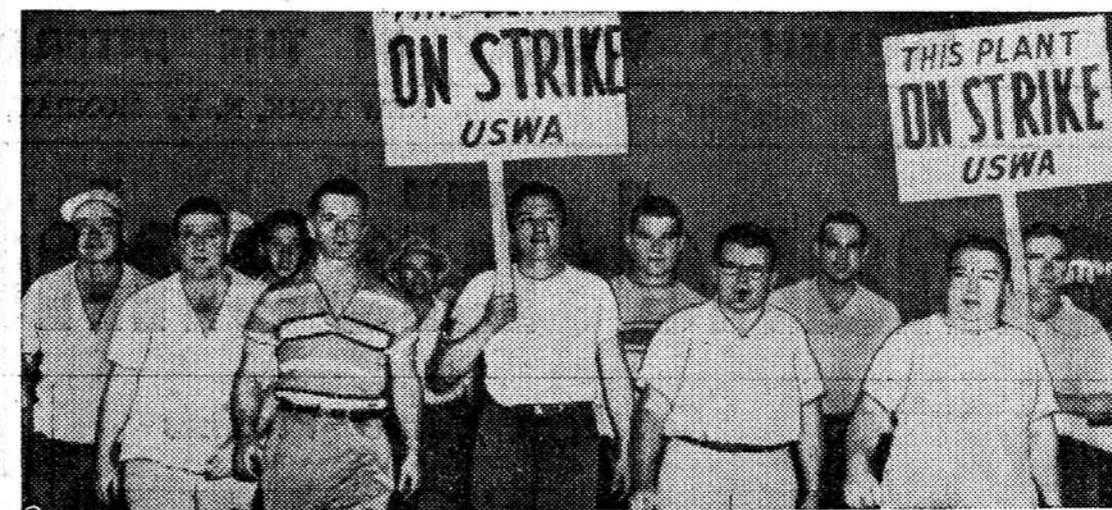
## LAW INCLUDES STRIKERS.

Now turning to the text of the Kadar "anti-sabotage" law, as Morris insists it should be called, we see the following: First, the penalty: "Sentence in cases tried under this decree may be death. The court, under given conditions may mete out, instead of the death sentence, life sentence, or a sentence ranging from five to 15 years imprisonment."

In Section 1 of the decree the following "crimes" are listed:

"(f) . . . the purposeful damaging of any water, gas and electric utility, or of any plant which furnishes vital supplies and which has been declared essential for public welfare, or the purposeful damaging of any plant essential for the national defense; or the purposeful disturbance of the op-

## Sauce for the Goose



Pictured here are some of the 600,000 steel workers in the U.S. during their 1955 nationwide strike. They were using their primary weapon for defense of their interests. Those who recognize the working class as the only force capable of leading the march to socialism will uphold this basic right of the workers in every land, whether capitalist or non-capitalist.

eration of such plants by illegal entry or any other way, or inciting to the commission of such act; however all acts enumerated in this subsection are applicable only to such cases which the purpose sought was mass work interference (or stoppage).

(g) Purposeful endangering of the public transportation system

(h) Organizing against the People's Republic or the democratic order

(i) Actual rebellion

(j) Disloyalty.

Thus we see that it is not necessary for the Kadar government to prove that an actual "mass work interference (or stoppage)" took place. It is enough that a strike was the "purpose."

George Morris defends the death penalty for strikers because he believes the Kadar government

asks, "How can anyone deny the Hungarian government a right to take measures in the midst of a life and death struggle while silently accepting such legislation in a capitalist land that faces no internal threat?"

Revolutionary socialists certainly do not accept silently such legislation" in a capitalist land whether it faces an internal "threat" or not. They would not accept "such legislation" anywhere. The workers have a right to strike against any government. Any government which seeks to keep itself in power by denying this right, only demonstrates its historic doom.

George Morris defends the death penalty for strikers because he believes the Kadar government is a "workers' and peasants government." It is so difficult for him to remember that he had been defending Stalin's executions of "traitors, spies and counter-revolutionaries" on the same basis — only to learn about a year ago that these "counter-revolutionaries" were innocent, frame-up victims of Stalin's murder machine?

The science of Marxism may be considered by many as very complex — and certainly is for beginners. But there is one very elementary concept of Marxism that almost anyone in the working class can understand. That is the right of the workers to strike. A Marxist defends that right because the workers, as a class, are the progressive force

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in history. That does not mean every strike is automatically good and must be supported. A strike to prevent employment of Negroes by backward and prejudiced workers, for example, would be condemned. The workers have been and can be wrong. But their right to strike is fundamental to freedom and progress. Anyone, or any government that would deny this right only reveals its anti-working class character.

## BASIC WEAPON

The working class is the exploited class, the indispensable class, the productive class. Its right to strike is a means for intervening decisively in defense of its living standards and its freedom. If a "socialist" state gives the workers reason to strike, then something is wrong with that state. And even George Morris should know by now, after being told by Khrushchev, that something is wrong in the Soviet orbit.

The victory of the political revolution in the Soviet orbit, the liberation of the working class, will yield a great new leap in production and ultimately in the productivity of labor.

In defending the repression of the working class in Hungary, Morris puts himself in such a position that he half-apologizes for anti-labor legislation in the United States. He argues, would labor leaders "favor a union cover-up to wrecks and dynamiters who infiltrate an American union and use it?" It is well known how gangsters, racketeers and an assortment of crooks use the American trade union movement."

The proponents of these anti-labor laws used the same argument. Then Morris says "what's good for the goose should be good for the gander." The repressive laws of the capitalist class are used to justify the repressive laws in Hungary. Then doesn't that also work backwards? Don't the repressive laws in Hungary justify the repression of American workers?

With this kind of logic it is easy to see how the defense of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet orbit leads inevitably to anti-working-class politics everywhere.

## Boyhood Fantasy Comes True

By V. Grey

Boyhood memories are mostly about the time you fell through the ice at the skating pond, or the time you started to run away from home, and things like that.

Well I remember all those things, all right. But I also remember sitting on the front porch steps with the other fellows on summer evenings, and having long, exciting, although usually aimless talks. I can't for the life of me remember just what we said (although I'm sure we took up all the problems from baseball to the universe) — except for once.

It was around 1928 or 1929. And I'm sure I would have forgotten this conversation just like all the others, except for something that happened many years later — in 1945, and then something that happened last week.

On the particular summer night in question one of the fellows told us about a remarkable story he had read in Popular Mechanics Magazine. "Did you know," he asked us, "that there is enough internal energy in a cubic inch of copper to drive a railroad train around the world without any coal?"

We didn't. But it was certainly something to talk about. So we went on all evening, and figured how many cubic inches of copper it would take to power a space ship to the moon, and things like that. We weren't exactly statesmen of the arts of peace in those bloodthirsty boyhood days. But it didn't occur to any of us, any more than it occurred to Popular Mechanics Magazine at that time — that this wonderful energy would be anything but constructive and helpful to mankind.

When they dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945 I suddenly remembered that front porch conversation 16 years or so before. And I thought Popular Mechanics hadn't hit things exactly on the nose, but here it was, nevertheless, — enough energy to take a trainload of people to the moon. But it was being used to send a hundred thousand people to Kingdom Come instead. And I thought, — well, maybe this Uranium 235 was only good for bombs, and they just hadn't got around to that copper idea.

Presiding Federal Judge Noonan agreed to a defense request that no bail be set at this time. U.S. Attorney Williams requested that bail be set at \$100,000 each. Defense characterized the proposed bail as excessive and asked that it be given further time to study the government brief before making its own bail request.

Commenting on the prosecution argument that such excessive bail was necessary to prevent the accused from fleeing to the Soviet Union, Judge Noonan observed that "if the USSR should be interested in their absconding, \$100,000 would not hinder or stand in the way."

The government charges that the defendants were paid by the Soviet Union to collect and transmit national security information. A March 11 date has been set to hear further motions and set a trial date.

Meanwhile defendant Jack Soble collapsed in his prison cell Feb. 18, and prison officials announced he had suffered a slight heart attack.

Although the story of the "spies" arrest was splashed across the front pages of most New York dailies, the story of the arraignment was buried in the back pages of all the papers.

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## Two Views on CP Convention

The New York Times editors were pleased, Feb. 14, that a measure of independence from the Kremlin was shown by the Communist Party convention. They quoted the convention's declaration for the "right of friendly criticism of brother parties or the action of socialist governments" and accepted this as a shift toward independence — however "inadequate."

For a more "adequate" show of independence the Times editors recommend that the Communist Party renounce Marxism-Leninism. And although they have not said so explicitly as yet, they undoubtedly would also like the Communist Party to line up with U.S. imperialism's plans for world conquest.

Revolutionary socialists also welcomed a manifestation by the CP convention of independence from Kremlin dictation — but for just the opposite reason. A break with the politics of the Soviet bureaucracy will allow Communist militants to elaborate a genuine Marxist-Leninist program.

For the Kremlin's ideology, though called "Marxist-Leninist" doesn't bear the faintest resemblance to the liberating theories of Marx and Lenin. The policies of the Kremlin stem from the needs of a privileged bureaucracy to repress the working class at home. They consist in attempts to bargain with the imperialist powers for preservation of the status quo throughout the world.

## Anti-Semitism in Poland

An exodus of Jews from Poland is taking place. It is reported that passport applications by Jewish Poles have already passed the 25,000 mark. The total Jewish population of the country is estimated at between 35,000 and 70,000. This is all that remains of the pre-war Jewish community of 3,500,000 after World War II and the bestiality of the Nazi conquerors.

The hatred of Hitlerism based on the Polish people's own experience with being treated as second-class human beings and the replacement of Polish capitalism and landlordism with an economic system similar to that in the Soviet Union has not prevented a resurgence of barbarous anti-Semitism. Why?

Anti-Semitism is a bitter legacy from Poland's past. The pre-war regime of capitalists and landlords had no quarrel with Hitler over anti-Semitism. They antedated Hitler on this score and anti-Semitism ran deep in the fabric of semi-feudal Polish capitalism.

The change in Poland's social system was brought about not by a revolution but by the military-bureaucratic power of the Kremlin. This meant that the tremendous therapeutic and educational experience against anti-Semitism and every other form of reaction that a socialist revolution embodies was denied the Polish people. Instead Poland became a deformed workers' state carrying over from its past a much heavier load of backwardness than necessary. And piled on this were all the cynical vices of the puppets imposed by the bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state in the USSR.

For the degeneration in the USSR had gone so far that anti-Semitism, almost eradicated by the Russian Revolution, was being nurtured by Stalin. Once again a bankrupt ruling stratum was employing the age-old historical trick of making the Jews a scapegoat for its own crimes.

The anti-Semitism of the present ruling clique in the Kremlin and of the pro-Kremlin section of the Polish Communist Party is nakedly clear. During the October days when the Gomulka supporters

The capitalist class in the U.S. had no difficulty in collaborating with the Kremlin when Stalin was framing up and executing his revolutionary opponents in the Soviet Union. They did not demand that the American CP be independent of the Kremlin then. Nor did they make the demand during World War II, when at Stalin's orders the American CP became the noisiest jingoists in the labor movement.

In those days, propagandists for American imperialism even painted Stalin as a hero in the "war for democracy." The Kremlin's dictatorial practices became a target for condemnation only when American imperialism launched the cold war against the Soviet orbit.

Then the imperialist propagandists proceeded to lump together Stalinism and Marxism-Leninism in order to put the stigma of Stalin's crimes on genuine Marxists and Leninists. They hoped thereby, to discredit socialist opposition to Big Business' exploitative rule.

The discussion that is now developing in the ranks of the Communist Party will not, in the long run, give any pleasure to the N.Y. Times editors or other proponents of capitalism. As they break with Kremlin domination, militant workers and youth in the CP have already begun to distinguish between Stalinism and Leninism. When that process is completed the opposition to U.S. imperialism will be strengthened.

Entered as second class

matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 2, 1938.

By John Black

The industrialists and financiers of West Germany, essentially the same group of men that backed Hitler in his attempt to organize the world for them, are now in the process of emerging as chief ally and main partner of U.S. capitalism in a joint plan to achieve the same aims.

To a very considerable extent the hegemony of German capital in Europe has already been achieved. Should the present discussions for some kind of European economic unification produce concrete results, any formal plan would only underline this fact. West Germany is today the most reliable and powerful capitalist anchor in Europe.

### BASIS FOR COMEBACK

Hard hit by the phenomenal resurgence of the West German capitalists are the French and British industrialists. West Germany has out-produced, out-invested and out-exported them. Even the traditionally French markets in Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands are being lost and an increasing struggle places the French margin in Italy and Spain in doubt. Britain faces similar dim prospects.

Paradoxically, it was the post-war policy of de-concentration and democratization of the West German trusts by the victorious allies which placed enormous capital resources in the hands of the German magnates. U.S. high Commissioner McCloy rescinded the outright confiscation order against German industrialist war criminals. This made it mandatory that the forced sale of certain branches of the trusts would be accompanied by full payment. On the day of the forced sale the Krupps became the richest family in Europe and Friedrich Flick, another Hitler backer, received \$31 million for some of his holdings. It was with the help of such sums of ready cash that reconstruction of the economic empire was made possible.

U.S. policy and aid (\$9 billion in W. Germany and only \$5 billion in France), the cold war against the Soviet bloc, the outbreak of the Korean war, the requirements of NATO and the favorable industrial and resource structure of the country itself, contributed to the upsurge in West Germany. Drastic post-war currency reforms wiped out small business competition internally and the heavy influx of refugees from former German-held territories provided cheap labor.

By the beginning of this year the triumphant West German monopolists were ready to embark on the next stage in their plans. Both Britain and France have been seriously weakened

economically and compromised politically in the wake of the Suez debacle. Inversely, Germany plays an increasingly vital role in the NATO alliance. West Germany is now ready to step up its drive for the necessary world markets. The significantly new feature is the open partnership with U.S. business in this venture. The German capitalists succeeded in the past few years in laying a solid groundwork.

German airlines began operations in April 1955. Since then, the Lufthansa has more than doubled its air fleet and is today weaving a network to Latin and North America, Japan and the Middle East. It is now thrusting into new markets in the air transport field.

Blohm & Voss Shipbuilding Works in Hamburg, partially dismantled as a war potential in the immediate post-war period, is bigger than ever and is launching a record passenger, transport and tanker fleet. Already in 1955 the export of German-built ships exceeded that of British.

Ever since the 1954 Latin American tour by Ludwig Erhard, Bonn's Minister of Economic Affairs, penetration of this key market has gone forward on a considerable scale. For example, Europe's largest producer of electrical equipment, Siemens & Halske A.G., by 1951 had begun to export equipment and installations of considerable magnitude to South America. Sister companies of this concern exist in most South American countries today. The contract with the nationalized Argentinian Telephone company is one of the largest that country has signed with a foreign concern. Siemens has undertaken to build a manufacturing unit for telephone equipment in Argentina that will make it independent of foreign supply in that field. Huge contracts for telephone installations and supplies in Venezuela followed thereafter. In Nicaragua, Siemens secured the contract with the War Ministry in competition with the U.S. General Electric Corporation, despite the fact that the country is dominated by U.S. finance capital.

On Aug. 2, 1956 the Chilean Government signed a preliminary agreement with the Krupp interests for establishment of large shipbuilding and Diesel motor factories in Chile. Siemens has also penetrated to Asia. Afghanistan has Siemens installations. British interests in India have been pushed to the wall by it in the electrical manufacturing field. Siemens is part owner of the Japanese electrical manufacturing concern, Fuji Denki Seizo, K. K., and has other interests in that country.

While President Sukarno of Indonesia was sightseeing in the

United States last Fall, a delegation of West German industrialists negotiated in Indonesia for participation in Indonesian industry. The terms would give West Germany 40 to 50% of all outstanding shares for their capital investment, management and technical know-how. The same delegation visited India, Pakistan, Burma, Japan and Thailand.

### MIDDLE EAST

Significant feature of this economic penetration drive is the ability of the West Germans to extend long-term credits and loans to the under-developed countries. This, of course, means that these countries are not only customers and debtors but that they become increasingly tied politically to the resurgent German financiers.

The Middle East has been the target of German capital for decades. During the recent Suez crisis, West German politicians took full advantage of the fact that Germany was unrepresented in the United Nations. The Bonn government was able to avoid taking a formal position on the French-British assault on Egypt. While unhappy over the nationalization plans of Nasser, they let it be known that they condemned their rivals' military venture. On March 14 of this year there will take place in Cairo the opening of the West German Trade Ex-

position. More than 350 West German concerns will take part. It is shaping up as the largest industrial exhibition ever to take place in the Arab world.

\* \* \*

The German capitalists' desire to replace their British and French counterparts as the main U.S. partner in world capitalist hegemony is about to be fulfilled.

The economic alliance between West German capitalists and U.S. capitalists is viewed by both sides as underpinning the political alliance. While West Germany has had a continuous right-wing capitalist regime since the Occupation, a government headed by Adenauer and representing an alliance of Big Business with clerical reaction, there is at this moment serious doubt that Adenauer and his cohorts will be re-elected in the national election due this Fall. Public opinion polls give the left-of-center Social Democrats a majority of the voters.

The Social Democratic Party leaders, while anxiously seeking the advance approval of the U.S. State Department (Ollenhauer, its national chairman is right now in Washington conferring with Secretary of State Dulles), are nonetheless regarded with distrust by finance capitalist circles. The close economic bonds between the capitalists of the two countries, which are now being so rapidly and assiduously cemented, are against any adverse effect of a political upset in West Germany.

## Dulles Runs Into Opposition



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, seen here conferring with Congressman Gordon Radford, was rejected, Feb. 18, as proposed leader of forthcoming bi-partisan meeting on Israel's demands for guarantees on the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba. Democrats asked for Eisenhower's personal participation.

under. Not only did I want to see the conditions, but try to get first hand the opinions of the Negroes on their recent struggle.

Unfortunately, I did not visit any of the larger cities. But I did speak to many of the Negro families where I was. Some were receptive but a few were not. I also spoke to a few liberal-minded whites.

Enclosed are some clippings. Just enough to remind you the type of news we have to screen and re-write in our minds to find out a part of what is really happening around us here. Even the radio has a way of fading out when trade unions and Negroes are in for comment.

Enclosing some very interesting editorials and letters on pure "Southernism." I just don't do well during damp weather and we are having lots of it now. A cold drizzle is falling now but I am by a good fire and full. I killed a hog so I have meat and lard. I have five hens laying. My paper is regular now. I don't get any union papers so have to just scrap union news from local papers and the radio. Union work is not so hot in Mississippi — only for the white man. This whole state needs educating.

H.J. Mississippi

councils of Hungary demanded all power to the Soviets, as the workers in Russia did in October, 1917. However, the Kremlin bureaucrats, myopic with a dose of neo-Stalinism, reversed Lenin's revolutionary idea. With tanks, guns, and artillery they battled the Hungarian workers in the streets of Budapest. How far to the counter-revolution have they themselves gone? And who are they blaming now? Do they not realize that they hold their seats of power not because they are talented, but because Soviet property forms enable them to sit in power? And these Soviet property forms were created by the revolutionary proletarians, led by Lenin!

What does this augur for a left regroupment? How much credence will anyone give to a person who utters such boorishness (left ones, mind you) and who does the exact opposite? Are the Trotskyists the only communists left in the world today? G.N. Winnipeg, Canada

## Regroupment And Hungary

Editor:  
All the necessary discussion on left regroupment around a Leninist program has been bogged down by the Hungarian incident. As Lenin taught, the workers'

under. Not only did I want to see the conditions, but try to get first hand the opinions of the Negroes on their recent struggle.

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H.J. Mississippi

Got Seamen's Papers Back

Editor:  
Greetings! Another Victory!

No thanks to the Commandant of the United States Coast Guard. I am grateful to Capt. Mulzac and the Seamen's Defense Committee for their firm fight. Also to the Militant for backing them.

Why? Got my sailing card today — but will railroad for a while yet.

F.P. Los Angeles

Reports On Visit to South

Editor:  
On Dec. 26, 1956, I took a trip down South to Alabama. The reason for the trip was to see for myself the condition the Negroes in the South had to live

sown.

Life has taught some lessons, so take a tip from me,

And build a labor party, be the masters of your destiny.

Seattle

J. B.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### It Wasn't Funny

Editor:

I work for a "public relations" studio. We print two photostats of each advertisement — a negative and a positive.

One day last week my production manager stopped me and said: "I have a joke. I don't think you will get it, because it is subtle. If you get it I expect you to laugh." We had just finished a poster for a bank advertising travelers' checks. It showed American tourists observing picturesque scenes throughout the world.

On the poster itself the American travelers are white. He jocularly showed me the negative photostat of the same poster and

said: "We are now advertising for a Harlem Bank." When I refused to respond, he asked grouchily: "Don't you get it?" (On the negative the tourists appeared black.) I got it all right but I didn't think there was anything funny.

Behind what he thought was such a big joke was the grim truth that advertising is strictly Jim Crow. Advertising presents Americans exclusively as whites, except when the ads are directed specifically to the Negro market.

B.D. New York

### Letter From Mississippi

Editor:

The following are sections of several letters a friend in Mississippi sent to me

R.L. Chicago

Dear Friend

Your letter received and enjoyed so much. Was in bed with arthritis in my whole right side but am doing fine now. I was out working and got caught in a cold rain and was soaked for nearly two hours before I got home. That was the first full day I had worked in 14 months and was not able to go back again. I only made the one day.

There is nothing to do around here at all now and won't be until spring. No enterprise at all. Only one business in town that employs more than three Negroes. I have a hog to kill next week. I hope to be able to farm my own land this next year and get another start at living in the country. Farming is about the easiest work a worn-out person can do. Labor is \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day. Some \$3.00 labor can be had a few days in June. Not enough to live on.

Citizen, Tenn., and the Montgomery case still have the spotlight. Also the Florida Flogging Trial about "Hello, honey." Haven't received a Militant in two weeks. I never did find a reader worth passing along the paper to. All too drunk around here...

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Education of a Workingman

It was in a coal miner's shack, down on old Coos Bay, That my mother brought me forth, one cold December day.

This is my story, I swear it is the Gospel truth.

She died of overwork, while still within her youth. So bear with me if my rhyme does not follow every rule.

As a lad, I went to work, while others went to school.

But life itself is a school, and some things I have learned.

In the university of life, scholarships are dearly earned.

I've sailed upon the ocean, out on the bounding main,

And harvested in the Dakotas, gathering in the grain.

Walked the picket lines and battled with the goons.

I've tramped the highways, and slept out in the cold.</

## The Negro Struggle

By John Black

### Montgomery Students Speak

One of the most promising developments in the struggle against segregation in the South today is the educational effect of the struggle itself on the youth.

The whole world has read about the courage of the boys and girls and the young men and women who have bravely run the gauntlet of mobs incited by unbalanced tools of the white supremacists, like John Kasper. Everyone knows of the heroic determination of the students who have been willing to face physical violence, personal abuse and prejudiced school authorities to win the right to equal educational and job opportunities.

The thinking of these young people has been clear from their actions. They are in rebellion against segregation in all its forms.

But the headline stories in the daily papers, while they report interviews with the public officials involved, the leaders of the mass movement, and sometimes the parents, seldom tell us the opinions of the youth themselves.

A very interesting article on this aspect of the struggle appeared in the February 2 issue of one of the most informative Negro weeklies published in Alabama, the Mobile Beacon.

Fred Jenkins, a Beacon writer, reported that the Alabama State College (for Negroes) at Montgomery had been warned by telephone calls that it was going to be bombed before dawn on Sunday, Feb. 6.

### DESPITE HELL AND BOMBS

Jenkins visited the campus, and interviewed a number of the students at random, asking each the question: If any buildings on the campus are bombed, will you withdraw from school? Here are the replies, as quoted:

Miss Georgia McFadden, of Mobile: "No, I shall continue to pursue my studies despite, hell, bombings, or the proverbial high water. Tomorrow, the job of obtaining equal citizenship will be my responsi-

bility. The City of Montgomery furnishes the experience I need to succeed in the dark struggle which lies ahead."

Adolph Meacham, of Tuscaloosa: "No, you can't fight anything by running away. Every available person is needed to aid in this historic struggle for freedom."

Otis Andrews, of Plateau: "No. Education will play a major role in the freedom of Negroes everywhere, and he who runs away now should be banished from the human race."

Marion Clarke, of Mobile: "No, because it would disqualify me from the ranks of those seeking first class citizenship." (Mr. Clarke is a Korean veteran and holder of the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in action.)

### MUST STAY IN FIGHT

Harold Rice, of Birmingham: "No, I feel that I am a part of this fight for equal citizenship, and should I run from the heat of battle it would constitute a breach of civic and moral duty."

Leon Truss, of Cropwell: "No, if the people of Montgomery, many of whom are uneducated, have the courage and foresight to fight for equal citizenship, I feel that I must stay, and if possible, dedicate my life and work to them." (Mr. Truss is also a veteran of the Korean war.)

Carl L. Banks, of Woodstock: "No, because it would be playing into the hands of the lawless elements who are trying to terrorize the city. We must stand fast and weather the crisis together."

John E. Jones, of Sumter, S.C.: "No, because the freedom of tomorrow's Negroes depends upon our actions of today."

These comments indicate that the struggle is educating new leaders on a scale the "gradual" methods of almost a century never could. It is educating them by the thousands, too many for the KKK and the White Citizens Councils to stop.

## McDonald Opponents Gain Majority in Buffalo Area Vote

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, Feb. 18.—The United Steel Workers on the Niagara Frontier poured out of the steel plants on February 12 to vote for the powerful post of International President, the first election of its kind in the twenty-year history of the union.

Unofficial results have made it clear to David J. McDonald, incumbent candidate, that the rank and file in this area are fed up with his "arm-in-arm" policies with management. Although returns from thirty-five USW locals in and around Buffalo has Rarick ahead 8,002 to McDonald's 6,316, steel workers are convinced that Rarick did not get a fair shake at the polls. Militants had shown concern over the voting procedure of using unnumbered paper ballots rather than election machines and they agreed with Rarick who had requested watchers at the polling areas for both candidates to insure an honest election, a request which the McDonald machine denied.

### DOUBT McDONALD VOTE

However, these militants questioned Rarick's wisdom in appealing to the U.S. Senate committee "investigating" labor "racketeering." They viewed this move as a trap at the rank and file who have so splendidly supported his movement, because it indicated a feeling on Rarick's part that they are incapable of handling their own affairs.

In the concentrated steel area of Lackawanna, Rarick led McDonald 4,025 to 3,136 in the four locals of the Bethlehem Steel Company, but shop talk among the men was devoted to wondering where McDonald got his support.

Although the ranks were angry and disappointed with the outcome, their morale and spirit was high knowing that their protest vote had struck a heavy blow at the hated McDonald machine. This spirit had carried over from the days prior to the election when the main topic of talk in the plant was strictly union politics and the election. The ranks liked Rarick's proposal of a referendum vote on all convention decisions (having in mind the dues increase and McDonald's salary increase) and especially the idea of rank and file elections for international officers.

This enthusiasm for Rarick and the Dues Protest Movement stayed right up to election day, Feb. 12. Active supporters of Rarick who handed out leaflets were encouraged and praised time and time again by the membership. "Give the union back to the men," was the password of the rank and file as they entered the union hall to cast their vote.

In contrast to this was the way the distributors of the McDonald literature were received. One member who accepted a leaflet spread with the faces of McDonald and his associates stated, "You couldn't pay me \$60 an hour to hand out that poison." McDonald leaflets were crumpled and scattered all around the outside of the plant and a sound truck boomed out for McDonald was received with hostility from the ranks.

### TURNOUT AT LOCAL 2602

Another important feature of the Lackawanna vote was the role Local 2602 played in support of Rarick, both organizationally and financially. They won an important fight in Lackawanna, successfully bucking the prestige and power of District Director Molony who had given his support to McDonald. This local, the only one of the four in the Lackawanna area to endorse Rarick did an excellent job of getting out their members to vote. They issued leaflets, hired their own hall and supervised their own elections. This paid off. The vote for Rarick was 1,563 to 47 in Local 2602.

Unfortunately, they weakened their cause by not seriously trying to enlist the support of the other three big locals and make an up-and-down the line fight in this important steel area. In the few locals on the Niagara Frontier where Rarick received official union support the vote was all for Rarick. Symington Gould Local 1630 went for Rarick 851 to 12 and in Worthington Pump Local 2017 the vote was 510 to 16 in favor of Rarick. This clearly indicates that when the rank and file were organized the McDonald forces were crushed.

What saved McDonald from an all-out defeat in this area was the fact that only 25 to 30% of the members voted in the election. The fault to a great extent lies in the fact that Rarick didn't make an all-out fight. He made no attack on the steel companies for their continuing speed-up and incentive abuses and stalling tactics in the processing of grievances, which continue to mount. He expressed no opposition to McDonald's policies in relation to the steel companies, notably the recent contract settlement that has saddled the steel workers with a three-year no-strike pledge at a time when steel and other price hikes have wiped out what few gains were made.

At his talk before Local 2602, 25% of those attending were Negro workers who hoped that Rarick would attack the steel companies' nation-wide discriminatory practices in keeping the majority of Negro steel workers

on the difficult and lower paying jobs.

### Not So Happy Now



United Steel Workers' president McDonald (left) and U.S. Steel Corporation head Clifford S. Hook beamed happily at each other during last summer's contract negotiations. Neither have much to smile about now with the steel union election results which revealed strong rank-and-file opposition to McDonald's leadership.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1957

NUMBER 8

## ... Ford Local on Labor Party

(Continued from page 1)

Labor-Liberal party adopted by the General Council of Ford Local 600 read in part as follows:

"Whereas: the American labor movement in the recent presidential election has poured forth more money, manpower and time than ever before in the history of organized labor; and

"Whereas: the political voice of labor has on a national scale never been as ineffective as it is today; and

"Whereas: the record of the Democratic Party is not an accidental occurrence, but an inevitable result of the nature of the party. The outcome of the last election, and the reasons for that outcome, prove the contention of Local 600 as set forth in resolution No. 4, introduced at the 14th Convention of the UAW-CIO in 1953 that:

"It has become obvious over the last decade that neither of the

two major political parties, one because of its inability to break with reactionary elements, the other because of its direct ties to the vested interests of Wall Street, can solve the immediate problems of the American people; the problems of taxation, of high cost of living, of job insecurity, of inadequate pensions, of inadequate medical care, of inadequate housing, of civil rights of minority groups; and

"The basic problems of American society, the problems of war and depression have not been solved within the present two-party set-up; and . . . if the UAW had in 1953 acted upon the above-cited resolution and had begun to build a Labor Party, we would today be in a far stronger position than we are; only such a party could win the votes of millions of our Negro brothers and sisters who turned away from the Democratic Par-

ty in justifiable disgust; only such a party could break away from the 'me-too-ism' of the Democratic Party on the question of foreign policy and win support from the millions of Americans who voted for Eisenhower in the mistaken notion that they could thus register their opposition to the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

Therefore Be It Resolved: That this 16th Convention of the UAW-AFL-CIO, call upon the AFL-CIO to convene in the near future a Congress to which shall be invited delegates of all interested union bodies and representative farm groups and liberal elements, including those from the Republican and Democratic Parties, and which shall have the function of determining a program and setting in motion the mechanics for the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States."

## Adam C. Powell Will Intervene In Santana Case

FEB. 19—N. Y. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, according to El Diario, Feb. 7, will intervene on behalf of Frank Santana, a Puerto Rican youth who is now serving a life sentence in prison after being convicted on a second-degree murder charge. Santana's trial and sentence have been declared "unfair" by the prominent psychiatrist, Dr. Frederick Wertham, in the book "The Circle of Guilt."

Dr. Wertham, who had been called by Santana's lawyers to examine the youth, learned that Santana had been threatened by

an anti-Puerto Rican gang and was in fear of attack when he was accosted by William Blankenship, the victim in the shooting. Dr. Wertham also expressed belief that the gun may have been fired accidentally.

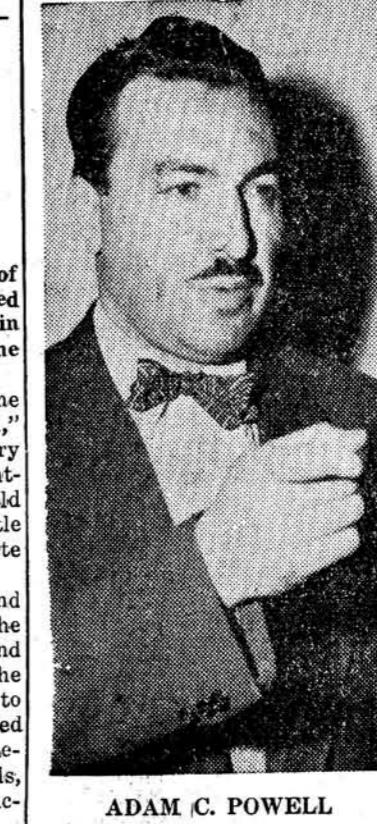
Frank Santana never received a fair trial. The newspapers called for a death sentence and for months campaigned in a lynch spirit against the "Puerto Rican hoodlum" who had shot a "model boy."

The Federation of Hispanic Societies and the Council of Hispanic American Organizations in New York have interested themselves in the case of Frank Santana and are seeking a commutation of the sentence from Governor Harriman.

### LEGAL LYNCHING

Frank Santana, who was only 17 at the time of the tragedy in the Spring of 1955, was the victim of national prejudice in one of New York's worst slum areas. Dr. Wertham came to the conclusion that Santana's conviction was more of a lynching than a trial. And he explained, "There was a social motive why the community did not want a trial. If it had looked into this boy's mind, it would have to look at itself. It was easier to send the boy away without a trial and let things be as they are."

Dr. Wertham became so convinced of young Santana's innocence that he has offered to make himself personally responsible for the youth's future conduct if he were to be released from prison. The demand for commutation of sentence is receiving wider support in New York City and nationally as the case becomes known.

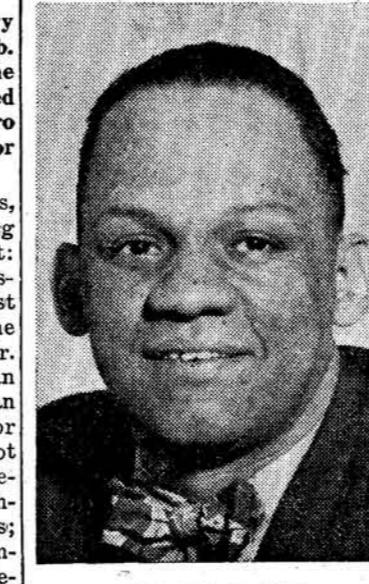


ADAM C. POWELL

## Erroll Banks Addresses Negro History Meeting

By Louise Manning

Celebrating Negro History Week at a meeting held on Feb. 8, the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party hailed victories scored by the Negro people in their struggle for



ERROLL BANKS

interests of the great mass of working people and the oppressed racial and national minorities in their united struggle against the common enemy—Big Business.

Speaking on the subject, "The Fight Against Bus Segregation," Grace Bennett related the story of the Freedom Fighters in Montgomery and Tallahassee, and told of their determination to settle for nothing less than complete equality.

"The Negro people have found a new method of struggle, the organized boycott," she said, and explained how this advanced the movement against segregation to a higher stage, how it infused new courage in the masses to defy the White Citizens Councils, and how it led to decisive victories.

The audience participated in the discussion at the end of the meeting, and remained afterwards to partake of refreshments and to continue the discussion. A collection of \$46 was contributed to further the Socialist campaign of Erroll Banks.

## ... STEEL UNION ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

model "labor statesman" indicated by its comments the significance of the rank-and-file protest vote. "Watching the voting with some uneasiness, reports the Feb. 12 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "industry leaders believe that a sizeable vote by the rank-and-file may cause McDonald to cater more to local unions on plant grievances."

The Feb. 25 Newsweek magazine commented, "It looked as if the era of undisputed leadership which Murray and McDonald had created (and which produced a type of responsible union management that the steel industry itself liked) was drawing to a close."

### DPC ELECTS

Rarick won a substantial majority in the heart of the industry which is covered by Pittsburgh area Districts 15 and 16, and in at least one other district, the Steubenville area of Ohio. Rarick is leading in the Lorain area of Ohio, though the DPC slate otherwise carried the district.

McDonald, he said, "It could happen, but right now a new broom sweeps cleaner." Rarick has

promised that he will keep the Dues Protest Movement alive, "win, lose, or draw." This means that an avenue of struggle has been opened up for the men to continue to fight the hated McDonald machine. This vital election has put the men on that road, shoulder to shoulder.

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