

## BRITISH REPORT ON CP CRISIS

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# THE MILITANT

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## Egypt Rights vs. Imperialism Is Issue at Suez

By William Bundy

Egypt's President Nasser agreed Aug. 28 to meet with a committee designated by the Big-Three-sponsored London Suez Conference. The committee will present to Egypt the Dulles Plan for "international control" of the Suez Canal. Just three days previously, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ruslan Abdalgani, reported that he discussed with Nasser the possibility of convening soon a conference of Africa-Asian nations similar to that held in April 1955 in Bandung. The new gathering would be called over the Suez Canal crisis.

Asian nations like India and Indonesia support Egypt's nationalization of the canal as do the overwhelming majority of the Arab masses. This support has forced the U.S., French and British governments to put emphasis on negotiations with Egypt rather than threats of violence in their attempts to reestablish imperialist sway over Suez.

### CANAL OPEN

So far, the official Egyptian position has been that the canal is Egyptian property — as it lies entirely within Egypt's borders — and must be controlled by her.

Egypt has voluntarily pledged to keep the canal open to all nations. (Except for Israeli cargo which is restricted to non-strategic material — food, etc. — carried in foreign ships.) She has even left the door open to

creation of an international advisory board.

The imperialist diplomats and their apologists everywhere, call for "internationalization" of the canal on the plea that the economies of many nations are to one degree or another dependent on the canal.

It is true that no nation is self-sufficient. All are dependent for many vital necessities upon the internal economies of other nations. But this has not led Britain, for instance, to grant Egypt the right to control the British textile industry upon which Egypt depends for her major export, cotton. By what right then does the British government claim to control an Egyptian industry such as the Suez Canal?

In a capitalist world, what is called "international control" can only operate in favor of the most powerful members of the controlling board. These would be the British, French and U.S. governments, who would be able to milk an important Egyptian resource by setting rates and conditions in favor of the huge corporations in their own countries.

Short of a world socialist economy, "internationalization" is, and has always been nothing but a guise for imperialism. And as far as socialism is concerned, it would begin genuine international planning and control only by strictly observing the right of all nations to political and economic self-determination. Only on that basis would an international economic control board win the enthusiastic support of all peoples.

### PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

Shall the right of Egypt to control water lies within her borders be recognized or shall the imperialist powers succeed in limiting or eliminating that right? That is the question at issue in the Suez crisis. It is a question of principle which is vital to the aspirations for national independence of the masses of the Middle-East, Africa, and Asia.

These people are sick and tired of working out their lives for the benefit of foreign exploiters, of having their countries' wealth mined and removed, leaving them still in backwardness and poverty. They want to develop their own lands. That is why they are striking and demonstrating and mobilizing in support of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez canal. The working class movement everywhere must support them in this principled stand.



### Democratic Liberals at Work

Sen. Douglas M. (left, resolution in mouth), Gov. Williams of Mich. (top left) and ex-President Truman were participants in the sham civil rights plank "battle" at the Democratic convention. Williams called the plank, which was designed to placate the Dixiecrats, "somewhat below our ideals." Truman urged its adoption. Douglas hoped there would be a roll-call vote on it but made no visible efforts to get one.

## Alabama, Florida Racists Step Up Terror Drive

By Fred Talbot

New racist force and violence against bus boycotters in Tallahassee, Florida and Montgomery, Alabama has flared up this week. Police in Tallahassee began arresting carpool drivers August 22 and three days later, the home of one of the active participants in the Montgomery protest movement was bombed.

In Tallahassee, Ala., several Negroes were beaten up in the wake of a Ku Klux Klan rally Aug. 25. In Tallahassee, car pool drivers are being booked on the phony charge of operating "for hire" vehicles without a license. The action was ordered by the lily-white City Commission after the Democratic State Attorney General ruled that automobiles used in car pools are "for hire" vehicles, in spite of the fact that no fare is charged.

### LEADERS ARRESTED

The car pool has provided free transportation to the city's Negro population of 14,000 since shortly after Negroes began boycotting Jim Crow busses last May 28. The "for hire" licenses are more expensive than others and may be limited in number by the City Commission.

Among the first arrested were Rev. C. K. Steele, president, and Dan Speed, transportation chairman of the Inter-Civic Council—the Tallahassee counterpart of the Montgomery Improvement Association—set up by Negroes to run their protest movement against segregated busses.

Rev. C. K. Steele declared that the police action, "instead of forcing us back on the buses... will have the opposite effect and make us more determined than ever to continue our efforts for equal treatment on the buses."

In Montgomery, in the early morning hours of Aug. 25 a dynamite bomb exploded in the home of Robert Graetz. The intended victim, his wife, and their three small children were fortunately not at home at the time. "But the bombers didn't know that," said Graetz. "For all they knew," he said, "the bomb might have killed the baby or any one else in the family."

Graetz, a 27-year old white man, is pastor of the all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church in Montgomery. He went to Alabama from Los Angeles in 1955 and has been prominent in the bus protest since it began last December.

"I've received many threats over the past few months," he said. "Most of them were brief, anonymous telephone calls. One threatened that I'd be hanged. Another said something might happen to my family."

Such threats are common fare for the leaders of the Montgomery protest movement. In addition, the homes of Rev. L. M. King and E. D. Nixon, president and treasurer respectively, of the Montgomery Improvement Association have been the targets of previous racist bombs.

In each case their families narrowly escaped injury or death when the bombs were accidentally deflected from the windows toward which they had been thrown, and exploded in front of the houses.

In Tuscaloosa, Police Captain West was present at the Klan rally Aug. 25 where the Negroes were beaten. He doesn't plan to investigate the situation. He said, "I didn't see anything at all... By the time I got to where the trouble was, there wasn't anybody there." West said that he had found one Negro who

had obviously been badly beaten, and added, "I asked him to come down to the police station and make a statement and sign a complaint, but he wouldn't do it."

### Wellman Pension

Communist Party leader Saul Wellman filed suit against the Veterans Administration in Federal District Court in Washington Aug. 24 for arbitrarily cutting the \$60 a month pension he had been awarded after being wounded in the World War II Battle of the Bulge.

In 1954 Wellman was convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. The VA then decided to assume the power to pass judgment on his political views by depriving him of his pension on the basis of the Smith Act conviction.

## SWP Candidates On Radio and TV

Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Candidates for President and Vice-President, will give their acceptance speeches over the following radio and TV national networks:

### Farrell Dobbs Schedule

CBS-TV: Saturday, September 8 — 6:45 to 7 P.M.  
CBS-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:45 to 11 P.M.  
NBC-TV: Saturday, September 15 — 5 to 5:15 P.M.  
NBC-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:15 to 10:30 P.M.

### Farrell Dobbs and Myra T. Weiss Schedule

ABC-TV: Thursday, September 20 — 10 to 10:30 P.M.  
ABC-Radio: Thursday, September 13 — 10:30 to 10:55 P.M.

— All times given are Eastern Daylight Time —

Check Station and time in your locality  
Watch for announcements of other broadcasts

## Dobbs Asks Negro Leader to Support SWP in Elections

### Twin Cities Unit Challenges CP to Debate Myra Weiss

MINNEAPOLIS — The Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party has challenged the Communist Party to a public debate on any of the issues confronting American labor today. The SWP offered as its representative in such a debate the Party's candidate for Vice President, Myra Tanner Weiss. Mrs. Weiss will be campaigning in the Twin Cities in early September. She will address a public meeting in Minneapolis Sept. 5 and another in St. Paul Sept. 9.

In a letter to the Communist Party, the SWP said: "The free public forum is an essential part of the struggle for civil liberties. In the past few months we have viewed with approval a number of debates between representatives of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and other sections of the radical movement in New York, Los Angeles, Detroit and San Francisco.

"With this favorable development at hand, we want to do our part to revive this democratic workers' tradition in the Twin Cities. We wish to offer Myra Tanner Weiss as our representative in a public debate... on any issue facing the American workers today." Suggested as a topic for debate was whether the American workers should support the Democratic Party or take the first steps toward building a labor party.

### Appeal Sent to Dr. Jackson Who Denounced 2 Parties For Stand on Civil Rights

NEW YORK, Aug. 28 — Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, today addressed an appeal to Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, urging him to support the SWP ticket in the present campaign. In a letter to Jackson, Dobbs calls for such support on the basis of Dr. Jackson's statement of July 19 in which he declared that failure of both major parties to adopt a strong civil rights plank could spark a wholesale break-away from both parties. The president of the five-million-member Baptist organization predicted that by 1960 a coalition of labor and the Negro people could build a party strong enough to oust both parties from power.

In the July 19 interview Dr. Jackson pointed to the 75-year-old Congressional failure to adopt any civil rights laws and charged both parties had given only lip service to the struggle of the American Negroes for equality.

Following is the text of the letter from Farrell Dobbs to Dr. Jackson:

Dear Sir:

I think that you put your finger on the key to the solution of the problems of the Negro people at your July 19 press conference when you indicated the need for a new party based on a coalition of the Negro people with the labor movement.

Speaking for myself and the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to convey to you our conviction that formation of such a party is the next indispensable step on the road to peace, security and brotherhood for both labor and the Negro people. We have long worked to help build such a party and advocacy of its formation is a major plank in our election platform, a copy of which I am enclosing.

### SLAP IN THE FACE

The Republican and Democratic conventions are over and their stand on civil rights is a deliberate, contemptuous slap in the face to the aspirations of the Negro people. In reporting your views, the Chicago Defender on Aug. 11 correctly noted that they assume special significance in that they are a "reflection of the general dissatis-



FARRELL DOBBS

faction of Negroes over the failure of the politicians to come through with nothing more than the same trite lip service which is served up with monotonous regularity in an important election year." The question now is how that dissatisfaction can be effectively registered at the polls this November.

I firmly believe that a vote for the Socialist Workers ticket is the one effective way to register that protest. The SWP calls for unqualified support to the Negro people in their struggle for equality and has consistently lent its support to the fight. In this campaign it will spread the message of the need for creation of a new party of labor and the Negro people.

Every vote for the SWP will therefore be a protest against the Jim Crow policies of the major parties and will also help to crystallize the sentiment for the coming new party. It is for these considerations that I respectfully urge that you support the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 election.

Sincerely yours,  
Farrell Dobbs

## Do We Redbait in Criticizing CP?

DETROIT, Aug. 26 — Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Governor of Michigan, today made public an exchange of letters between herself and an auto worker of this city dealing with socialist policy in relation to the Soviet Union. The following are the texts of the letters:

### Auto Worker's Letter:

Dear Madam:

Many workers would like to support the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the coming elections. However the Militant seems confusing to the extent that we find ourselves wondering who is exploiting us — the USSR or the American ruling class?

Much of the Militant is devoted to outright redbaiting. It seems that as the capitalists become weaker throughout the world, the more the SWP shouts everything anyone else does is wrong. Everything the SWP does is right.

As for the prison camp revolt: Prison conditions in Georgia and Florida are far from ideal.

As for the Poznan revolt: Naturally the Ford and Chrysler workers are free to march on Detroit police headquarters any time.

Now Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin are dead. Perhaps it is time we quit shadow-boxing with the

past and started trying to bring about the death of capitalism.

Sincerely,  
M. T.  
Auto Worker

P. S. Eliminate capitalism. Then we can devote all our energy toward eliminating bureaucracy. Please answer.

### Rita Shaw's Reply:

Dear Brother T:

I am very glad to receive your letter of criticism, because only criticism and discussion can clarify questions that need to be answered if a mass socialist party is to be built in this country. I am sending a copy of both your letter and this reply to the Militant because if the Militant is "confusing" then its editors ought to know about it and do something to present the paper's ideas more simply and clearly.

I can't agree with you, however, that the Militant is in any way guilty of "red-baiting." When we criticize the Communist Party or the Socialist Party or similar groups, it's not because they express radical ideas but



RITA SHAW

because they stand for policies contrary to the interests of the working class.

When we condemn the American Communist Party for telling workers to vote for capitalist politicians, is that redbaiting? When we condemn the Socialist Party for supporting the imperialist intervention in the Korean war, is that redbaiting? When we condemn the Soviet bureaucracy for suppressing democracy in the Soviet Union, is that redbaiting?

If you think it is, then you must think that any criticism of

radical organizations, whether it comes from the right or the left, whether it is right or wrong, is redbaiting. And in that case you would have to conclude that your own letter criticizing the Socialist Workers Party is also redbaiting — which of course it isn't.

We agree with you that we are being exploited by the American ruling class, and not by the USSR. We agree with you also that the job facing us is to "eliminate capitalism." After that's done, you add, "we can devote all our energy toward eliminating bureaucracy." But it's not quite as simple as that.

In order to eliminate capitalism, we must build a mass party of revolutionary socialism. But in order to build such a party, we must combat the influence of all the forces, including the Meany and Reuther bureaucracies in the union movement, that act as an obstacle to winning the support of the workers for a fight to end capitalism. Fighting the bureaucracy now is an indispensable part of the struggle to abolish capitalism, because the workers won't join that struggle until they are convinced that the policies of the union bureaucrats and of the Communist Party leaders are

wrong, that they are aimed at maintaining the "status quo" and not at eliminating capitalism.

In recent months the Militant has been giving a great deal of space to events in the Soviet Union. That's because those events are having big repercussions in the labor and radical movements right here in the U. S. It has produced a crisis in the Communist Party, which is still the largest of American radical groups. It has caused a lot of questioning and re-evaluation about the kind of socialist movement that we need here.

### WHAT WORKERS FEAR

The Militant thinks this is the time for questioning and is trying to encourage it. The Militant also has answers to these questions, and wants workers to consider them. But it does all this from the standpoint of helping to build a party able and willing to eliminate capitalism in this country.

It would be foolish to think that such a party can be built without consideration of events in other countries. One reason why the American socialist movement is weak is that the workers have been convinced that if they make a revolution in this country it will produce the kind of

(Continued on page 4)

## Goal Is Reached In Socialist Fund!

AUG. 29 — With two days left before the final deadline, the Socialist Campaign Fund has already been over-subscribed by \$40. Assurances that some \$200 in outstanding pledges will be in by Sept. 1 means that we can anticipate a final collection of \$16,413 on the original quota of \$16,175. The final scoreboard of the drive will be published in our next issue.

The success of this fund drive makes possible a much greater opportunity to reach wider circles of the working class and radical public with our literature and program at a time when it is most imperative that we do so. All those who have contributed to the Socialist Campaign Fund may be assured that their contributions will do much to effectively spread our socialist message.

The splendid record of our supporters in this drive warrants the highest tribute. Needless to say the bulk of the money collected came from people with limited incomes for whom every dollar contributed meant a real sacrifice. The fact that we were compelled to appeal for these substantial contributions a short three months after completion of a similar drive certainly added to the sacrifice.

In addition, the fund appeal

had to be made at the very time that many of our supporters were actively engaged in the work of securing the independent nominating petitions necessary to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the various states. The added financial strain this added for many of the participants makes the final collection figure even more impressive.

Particularly gratifying in the present fund drive was the splendid participation of individual supporters of our movement throughout the country who sent their contributions directly to us here in New York. Such general contributions were substantially greater than those of previous fund appeals. And we extend special thanks to our very loyal group of worker-friends in Connecticut who kept sending in hard-earned dollars throughout the campaign.

### IN THIS ISSUE

Labor Leaders Endorse  
Democrats

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SWP Election News  
Campaigning  
for  
Socialism

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager

During the next three months millions of Americans will tune in on radio and TV broadcasts by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. In workers' homes of every industrial center of the country, on the farms, in tens of thousands of after-work gathering places where there is radio and TV, the message of socialism will be heard.

Working people who are sick of the circus spectacles they viewed at the Democratic and Republican party conventions will get a chance to hear what the socialist candidates have to say about the danger of World War III, the freedom struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the fight against speed-up, unemployment and inflation, the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, the fraud of the two capitalist party system, the need for an independent Labor Party and the prospect of socialism in the United States and the world.

### WON THE RIGHT

The story behind this remarkable opportunity to broadcast the program of socialist internationalism to such a vast audience will some day be told in full. It is only because, through years of struggle, the SWP has established its place as the foremost and most consistent socialist contender in elections that we have won the right to be heard.

This right was never handed to us on a silver platter. A devoted band of socialists all over the country spent endless hours gathering signatures to place the SWP on the ballot. Sheer grit and tenacity, born out of the deepest belief in a historically just cause, prevailed against seemingly insuperable obstacles, obstacles raised by the boss parties and their anti-minority-party legislation designed to exclude the socialists from the electoral arena.

The footsore socialists who tramped up and down major states of the country, in cities, towns and villages gathering signatures to place the party on the ballot have done their work

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## Cannon's The I.W.W. and The 'American Approach'

By Daniel Roberts

THE I. W. W. (On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding Convention). By James P. Cannon. New York: Pioneer Publishers. Pioneer Pocket Library No. 4. 44 pages. 25 cents.

The last few years in the American radical movement have been marked by a flight from anything associated even in name with Leninism. This trend became a headlong rush following the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the end of the Stalin cult.

Identifying Stalinism with Leninism, and proclaiming that the ideas of the Russian Revolution were alien to the American soil and never more than a "sectarian" importation, certain radical groups have openly declared war on the ideas of Bolshevism. In the past such formations sought to vitiate the Leninist content while pretending to honor the concepts of vanguard party, democratic centralism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But now the "Russian ideas" are attacked in form as in substance.

Pacesetters in the flight have been the Cochranites of the American Socialist and the editors of the Monthly Review. They have been joined by a substantial body of leaders in the Communist Party. All are in search of an "American approach" to socialism — of a purely "American" brand of socialist politics.

The conclusions that James P. Cannon draws from his examination of the IWW go in the opposite direction. They deserve the closest study by all radical workers concerned with the problem of the regroupment of the American "Left." On the basis of thorough research plus his own experiences as a participant, Cannon demonstrates how the indigenous American class-struggle movement that took the form in 1905 of the Industrial Workers of the World, needed the teachings of the Russians to achieve ideological completion. This was recognized by Big Bill Haywood, the fearless captain of the IWW, who referred to Russian Bolshevism as the "IWW all feathered out."

### A CRUCIAL QUESTION

The IWW was supplanted as an organization of revolutionists by the Communist Party. It was doomed by the arrival of the newcomer whose cadres were often inferior in their caliber but able to assimilate the lessons of World War I and the Russian Revolution. The crucial question was whether the professional revolutionaries that formed the backbone of the IWW would similarly rise to the new historic demands and fuse with the new party and the Communist International.

A small number of them — Cannon included — did. And Cannon describes how close he came to winning Vincent St. John for the CP. In the IWW "The Saint" was the real "organizer and leader of the cadres" — a man who comes back to life in all his giant stature in the pages of Cannon's pamphlet.

The CP lost immeasurably when St. John and the bulk of the IWW revolutionists failed to make

the turn. But this did not save the IWW. The revolutionary cadre drifted away from it, too, toward the sidelines. Second-raters took over. The organization became moribund, while the CP pushed forward on the revolutionary road, thanks to the program of Leninism, until derailed by Stalinism.

What was the IWW's beginning, its life, and its meaning for the revolutionary movement in the U. S.? Cannon calls the IWW "the great anticipation." One part of the anticipation has already been realized — the organization of the mass production workers in industrial unions.

"But... the CIO movement, at its present stage of development, is only a small down payment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way."

The IWW Founding Convention brought together a galaxy of rebels, headed by Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood and Daniel De Leon. They "regarded the organization of industrial unions as a means to an end; and the end they had in view was the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a new social order. This, the heart and soul of their program, still awaits its vindication in the revolution of the American workers."

### 'ONE BIG UNION'

Under the formula, One Big Union, the IWW strove to bring about the unity of the workers' revolutionary vanguard and the mass of the working class for the assault on the capitalist order. But experience enriched by theory showed that the unity of vanguard and mass could not be brought about that way. Revolutionary party and revolutionary unions have to exist separately in a division of labor. "The conception of an organization of revolutionists has to be completed and rounded out, and recognized as the most essential, the most powerful of all designs in the epoch of imperialist decline and decay, which can be brought to an end only by a victorious workers' revolution. The American revolution, more than any other, will require a separate, special organization of the revolutionary vanguard."

Debs, Haywood, De Leon and St. John will contribute much to the formation of class consciousness of the coming generation of revolutionary workers, who will glorify their names. But even more decisive will be the teachings of the Russian Bolsheviks, "Lenin and Trotsky in the first place." "And it is to them," Cannon concludes, "that the American workers will turn for guidance in the next stages of their evolving struggle for emancipation. The fusion of their 'Russian' ideas with the inheritance of the IWW is the American workers' prescription for victory."

# Ranks Oppose Tops in English CP

By Jim Gray

LONDON — The British Communist Party like its co-parties internationally has not escaped the deep-going crisis of the world Stalinist movement triggered off by the Khrushchev Revelations at the 20th Congress in March this year.

Following the confessions of Stalin's heirs, a demand for an accounting has arisen from party rank and file here, aimed at the party's top brass.

The "Daily Worker" contented itself at first with the line that Stalin's "mistakes" must be measured against his contributions, hoping that this cover-up would suffice in appeasing the membership and all would remain as before. Their hopes were dashed however. Shortly after, came the full publication of Khrushchev's speech to the secret session, which unleashed a flood of criticism inside the party and within the letter columns of the "Workers" unprecedented in its history.

At aggregates held all over the country, one question dominated the discussion: "What were you, our leaders, doing when all this was going on?" Mainly as a result of this pressure Harry Pollitt — Party General Secretary for almost 30 years, "resigned" his post on account of "ill health" and was replaced by Johnny Gollan, former Assistant Editor of the Worker.

### DISSIDENT BULLETIN

The discovery that Pollitt was a sick man and the despatching of him on a Mediterranean cruise, has perhaps cured Pollitt's ailment, but it has made little contribution to curing the party crisis.

The publication by a group of dissident intellectuals of an internal discussion bulletin — "The Reasoner" further aggravates the already strained relationships existing between the rank and file and the tops. "Reasoner" reflects the confusion prevalent in intellectual Stalinist circles resulting from the effect of the Revelations on people who have received their education in the school of revisionism. "Reasoner's" first edition in July, concentrates its main fire on the leadership, but, tends to draw the con-

clusion, that, the lack of internal party democracy results from the organic weakness of democratic centralism. One contributor in particular, attempts to trace the origins of Stalinism to the Leninist conception of a party.

It would be mistaken however, to simply say that the tendency around "Reasoner" is travelling in bloc to the social democracy. The fights developing inside the party over internal democracy are giving the serious intellectuals considerable experience and have opened the way forward to a serious study of CP history. Such a study can have a progressive outcome if it becomes a study of the fight begun by Lenin and continued by Trotsky and the Left Opposition against the growing bureaucratization of the Soviet state and the Bolshevik Party in the early 1920's. In this way the CP members will learn how Stalin and the bureaucracy found it necessary to destroy Lenin's party, thus removing the democratic rights of the membership before they could secure the grip of the privilege-seeking bureaucracy over the state and the party.

### AX JOB THREATENED

Already, attempts are being made to suppress "Reasoner." Party Bookshops refuse to handle its sale and full-time officials have been attempting to impress upon the various district and area committees the need to proscribe the bulletin. Reliable sources state that the leadership has informed its publishers that they are for the "ax" if another edition appears.

Many struggles inside the party are taking place around policy, particularly following the big swing to the right after the 20th Congress. "The British Road to Socialism" — current party program is up for even further revision. It is in the discussions taking place inside the branches, around this document, that some of the sharpest internal fights are taking place.

Writing in "Challenge" organ of the Young Communist League two months ago, James Klugmann one of the Kremlin's professional apologists, quite barefacedly revised the Marxist conception of the state and

blandly informed his young readers that the road to socialism in Britain lay through Parliament. Since then a number of letters have appeared in subsequent issues bringing him to task and defending Marxism against Klugmann's crude revisions.

It was Klugmann who wrote the slander piece "From Trotsky to Tito" (now placed discreetly under the counter in the party bookshops). Following his latest effort, one YCL'er wittily remarked that he understands that Klugmann's recent contributions on the state are going to be issued in bound volume form by the party under the name of "From Kautsky to Klugmann."

The National Committee of the Young Communist League is reported to be evenly split on the conscription issue. Some 50% of its members are against the official CP line of calling for a reduction in military service from two years to twelve months, and are demanding complete abolition of conscription. Among the rank and file the supporters of abolition are even more numerous.

Despite every bureaucratic trick in the book being used by the leadership and their paid functionaries, the criticism continues to swell and grow. For the first time many Communist Party members are reading the literature of the Trotskyist movement and are discussing its program of revolutionary socialism as opposed to the official hand-outs cooked up in the Kremlin and served from London's King St.

This crisis of Stalinism can only develop further. The growth of industrial struggle in Britain, the fight against war, and the sharpening conflict inside the trade union and labor movement between the rank and file and the labor fakers poses most urgently the need for a Marxist understanding and a socialist policy by the leadership of the working class. This the Stalinist leaders cannot offer.

### UNITY WITH BUREAUCRATS

At a time when the British Police were demonstrating their "impartiality" toward the striking auto workers by using their houses and batons on the pick-

lines, Klugmann and his buddies peddling "peaceful transition."

"Unity" — latest, and most popular slogan of Stalinism is rapidly showing itself for what it really means as far as the CP leaders are concerned. Unity to them, means unity between Stalinism and the labor and trade-union bureaucracy. Speaking at the ETU Conference — Frank Foulkes, Union President and prominent party member, referred to Frank Cousins — new boss of the Transport and General Workers' Union as "... a new shining light inside the Trade Union Movement." Cousins and his union are the main props of the right wing inside the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. It is invariably the mammoth block vote of the Transport Union that swings the issue against progressive resolutions at the Annual Conferences of both the Labor Party and the TUC.

### RE-EXAMINE STAND

Ironically enough, in the Transport Union, CP members are prohibited from holding office. It was only three weeks after Foulkes' trumpet fanfares for Cousins that the Union's Rules Revision Conference slung out a resolution calling for the lifting of the ban. It was no other than "shining light" Cousins who led the platform's blast against the "anti-ban resolution."

Stalinists in Britain Dock In-

dustry have been the fiercest opponents of the breakaway of 10,000 provincial port workers to the militant Stevedore's Union. Originally members of the Transport Union, these men were urged by the Daily Worker to remain inside the "constitutional jailhouse" of the Transport Union and democratize it. The decision of the Rules Revision Conference has served to slap that theory in the teeth and has set in motion in CP circles a process of re-examination of party policy to the breakaway. It is six years before the next Rules Revision Conference, unless of course the union bosses call a special one to raise the members' subscriptions.

The breast beating that took place at the 20th Congress, and which has been followed up here by the Kremlin's sycophants, sparked off a process of re-thinking inside the CP. No longer can the party tops hand down the line to an uncritical rank and file. Following the Khrushchev Revelations, CP militants are beginning to view party policy in Britain much more critically and are questioning the reformist road offered to them by the Gollan's, Klugmann's and Foulkes! Many of them are beginning to realize that the domestic policy of the British party flows from the same source that was responsible for the murders and frame-ups that have taken place in the Soviet Union.

## Letter from British Young Communists

[The Militant last week received the following letter from England. — Ed.]

Dear Comrade,

May I, on behalf of myself, and other members of the British Young Communist League extend fraternal greetings to the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party.

Prior to the Khrushchev Revelations when Trotskyists attempted to explain to us the real nature of the Moscow Trials — Rajk's execution, etc. — we dismissed their charges, not believing it possible that such terrible things could take place under what we considered then was a socialist regime.

The disclosures of the 20th Congress came as a terrible blow. The admissions that poured forth from the Kremlin made us realize that a serious analysis was required of what were the conditions that had nurtured the growth of Stalinism. Our leadership's "explanation" about the "cult of the individual" seemed completely inadequate and designed to cover up, more than to explain. Their other attempt to get us to accept these crimes in the light of the "achievements" of Stalin reeked of "cooking the books." Surely, we asked, it is not necessary to murder thousands of loyal communists in order to build power stations.

More serious explanations were required than the ones our party leaders were offering. We found in discussions with Trotskyists, that they had a real explanation of what had taken place in the Soviet Union — an explanation that was thoroughly Marxist and scientific.

Furthermore it was through the works of Leon Trotsky that we were able to understand why our party in Britain finds itself saddled with a reformist programme. We are now able to see "peaceful transition," "peaceful co-existence" overtures to the "sincere right-wingers" and support for capitalist conscription in their true perspective — as pawns in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy with world imperialism.

We Young Communists joined our party because we wished to serve the true interests of the working class, interests that can only be served provided that we are able to win the class to a program of revolutionary socialism. Instead we have been offered jazz clubs and social as an alternative to politics, "Challenge" — paper of the YCL had its front cover adorned with a photograph of Marilyn Monroe in its August issue, a poor substitute for socialism! It is our opinion, that youth can only be won to fight for socialism on the basis of an honest revolutionary programme. To offer them pin-ups is to display a cynicism towards youth and to basically accept the bourgeois conception of modern youth.

We feel sure that many American Party Comrades must be thinking as we are. May we therefore through the columns of your paper appeal to them to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, thus drawing on the great arsenal of Marxism so that they will equip themselves to understand how internationally the working class can overthrow capitalism.

A.S.

## A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.

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## N. Y. Party Leaders Take New Look at Browder Line

By Herman Chauka

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party has decided to publish in its discussion bulletin a vigorous defense of Earl Browder and his period of leadership of the Communist Party. The decision to make the document available to the membership marks a new stage in the struggle now taking place in the Communist Party and comes as a fresh blow against National Chairman William Z. Foster.

Joseph Lash reported in the Aug. 23 New York Post that the State Committee had decided to publish the defense of Browder in its bulletin, Party Voice, despite vigorous protest from Foster. Written by "Chick Mason," an otherwise unidentified party member, the 15,000 word document, has been circulated among 200 CP leaders. Mason has prepared a 4,000 word abridgment for Party Voice.

The Post reports that Browder has read the Mason document and that he considers it "pretty sound, especially for one who's just had his eyes opened." Asked if he thought publication of the document foreshadowed overtures for his return to the party, Browder said he "would not predict that sort of thing."

Again according to the Post, Mason demands acceptance of the thesis that the "so-called Browder position was correct." Mason charges that with the expulsion of Browder in 1946 a "stampede back to isolation" took place and that the expulsion was seized on by Foster "to take over the 'theoretical' leadership of the Party."

### DO ALL DISAGREE?

The editor of Party Voice, Sam Coleman, in a statement in the Aug. 24 Daily Worker, denies any conflict with Foster on publication of the Mason document and says that it will be circulated "in line with our policy of publishing all views submitted in good faith by party members."

Coleman also asserts that "While there are differing views in the N.Y. State Party leadership, all, however, are in direct disagreement with Foster's views." This assertion flies directly in the face of the printed record. The June and July issues of Party Voice are devoted mainly to expressions of state committee members on Eugene Dennis' report to the National Committee on party perspectives.

In the Aug. 26 Worker, Foster flays "those who are now so anxious to dissolve our party and to re-organize its forces on a neo-Browder basis." Despite Coleman's denials, Browder's ghost looms large over the present discussion.

## Why Foster Confronts a Deeper Crisis Than Thorez or Togliatti

By Morris Stein and Harry Ring

The international crisis of Stalinism has assumed especially sharp form in the United States. Suspicion, distrust and even contempt for the Communist Party's

national leadership is apparent — widespread in the ranks. It permeates the discussion, which has been raging for six months. The leadership itself is split into cliques warring among themselves but united on one point: fear of divulging their differences to the ranks and letting them act as the final court of decision.

The refusal of the leadership thus far to divulge its differences feeds rank and file discontent and serves to further aggregate the crisis. A typical reaction to the conduct of the leadership is expressed in a resolution of the East Harlem club published in the July issue of the New York State CP bulletin, Party Voice. The resolution declares: "Our club feels that in order for us, the membership, to fully participate in the pre-convention discussion, it is essential that we know all the divergent opinions of the leading bodies of our Party. We believe that it is the responsibility of the respective committees to make their opinions available to the membership."

The same view is sharply expressed in a letter to the Aug. 22 Daily Worker from a CP unit in Los Angeles, the 24th Congressional District Zetkin group. In a unanimously adopted resolution the group declares: "We voice our indignation and protest against the National Committee's failure to make public the nature and content of various views and positions taken by the individual members of the committee in its last several sessions."

"This failure, in our judgment, constitutes disdain and contempt for the Party membership." A MORAL CRISIS This sentiment has reached the stage where the Daily Worker must publicly state that its current fund drive is "far from its goal because of dissatisfaction and doubts among our readers regarding the present course of the Communist leadership in our country." Earlier in the July Party Voice, the N.Y. State Organizational Secretary reported the party to be in a "moral crisis."

With the membership reduced

Soviet Union or, more precisely, on the myth of Stalin's "infallibility." The explosion of this myth with Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's hideous crimes, turned this chief asset of the CP leadership into a terrible liability and, leaves them without a solid base of operations. They have no record of success in the mass movement to draw on as does a Togliatti or a Thorez. The only period of such "success" enjoyed by the American Party is associated not with the present leadership but with the era of Earl Browder.

It is not surprising therefore that a nostalgia for the "good old days" of the Browder period seeps through all the pores of the discussion, particularly among the members of the apparatus such as those who compose the New York State Committee.

These people, including those in the central leadership, turned against Browder in 1946, not voluntarily or out of principled considerations, but solely on order from Stalin as transmitted in the celebrated letter from Ducloux. They nurse a special grievance against Stalin and against Foster who regained power with Browder's expulsion.

When Browder fell from grace, Foster openly boasted that he had maintained an opposition to him. The struggle between Foster and Browder actually dates back to the late Twenties when the Trotskyists were expelled and, after them, the Lovestones. Throughout the period in which Browder held the leadership, Foster was compelled to grudgingly carry out orders and wait sullenly for the inevitable day when Browder's head would roll.

### CONCEALED RIVALRIES

In 1946 Foster became the head of the party but the victory was nominal. He had to work with a machine that had been fashioned by Browder. The distrust and conflict between this machine and the Foster clique continued throughout. But the differences, of course, were kept from the membership which always met a solid front of the bureaucracy and its stifling "unanimous" declarations.

Today, Dennis in his pamphlet, The Communists Take a New Look, confirms that "sharp po-

litical differences which arose in the leadership were often temporized and left unresolved for long periods."

The 20th Congress repudiation of Stalin has been seized upon by Foster's adversaries as the means to repudiate not only Stalin but primarily Foster and his course. The opposition to Foster is strongest on the staff of the Daily Worker and in the leadership of the New York State party and they are making him the scapegoat for all the failures of the past decade. To the extent that the differences are expressed in such organs as Party Voice, it is invariably Foster who is singled out for criticism. His record in the struggle against "Browderite right opportunism" now becomes the target in the present war against "left sectarianism."

Hitting back at his critics, Foster cites the difficulties of the objective situation, the cold war, the witch hunt and the extended period of prosperity. He argues in the Aug. 26 Worker that "It seems to be high time that our Party makes a more systematic and Marxist analysis of its experiences during the cold war. As things now stand little attention is paid to anything but our mistakes, many of which as stated, are more imaginary than real." But the ranks obviously do not consider the mistakes to be imaginary.

The insistent demand that the differences be placed before them is something that the bureaucracy is not accustomed to. Until now, Stalin, not the Party membership, was the arbiter of all major differences. It is not the habit of this leadership to write resolutions delineating its differences and defending their respective positions before the ranks. They are trained only to close ranks and unitedly bludgeon the membership into conformity with the latest "line."

Such a procedure cannot work this time, even if the leadership succeeds in patching its differences, it no longer has the ability to silence a deeply suspicious rank and file. The demand for a full, democratic discussion will inevitably grow even stronger.



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## 1. Labor Tops Endorse Democrats

In rejecting the policy of official neutral-  
ity, Aug. 29, and recommending open sup-  
port for the Democratic Party presidential  
ticket, the AFL-CIO Executive Council was  
acting entirely in accordance with the  
trend of the last few years, that is, the  
trend towards a deepening of the coalition  
between the labor officials and the liberal  
wing of the Democratic Party.

To deny that this trend is supported by  
the overwhelming majority of the organ-  
ized American workers would be to deny  
reality. Confronted by the alternative of  
the Republican and Democratic parties,  
working people are determined to make  
their power felt in politics by voting as a  
cohesive bloc in the Democratic column.  
That is the only conclusion that can be  
drawn from the election return since 1953.

Of course, there is a reason why the  
workers feel the choice is only between the  
Democrats and Republicans at this  
time. Since the formation of the modern  
labor movement in the U.S. during the  
strike battles of the 1930's the labor of-  
ficials have stifled every impulse toward  
an independent labor party. They have  
sidetracked all efforts from below to break  
with capitalist politics and build a class  
party of labor allied with the Negro peo-  
ple, the working farmers and all sections  
of the population that suffer from the  
rule of Big Business.

Through the years the present labor of-

ficials have become more entrenched in the  
unions and with this entrenchment their  
political policy has prevailed. The pro-  
longed period of prosperity, although  
founded on the continuously increasing  
military character of the economy, has  
nevertheless served to conservatize a  
whole strata of trade unionists. The weight  
of this strata has been effectively used  
by the union bureaucracy to offset the  
pressure from the more militant and  
potentially radical sections of the working  
class. Large-scale class struggle battles,  
characterized by a maximum of mass  
participation and initiative, have given  
way in this period to a universal bureau-  
cratization of the unions and the concen-  
tration of enormous power in the upper  
echelons of the officialdom.

Under these conditions the organic  
tendency of the bureaucratic caste domi-  
nating the labor movement has been to  
become increasingly identified with the  
Democratic political machines and to  
enmesh the political apparatus of the  
unions with these machines.

For their part the workers want to act  
in politics as a unified force, in the same  
way they acted to build their trade union  
organizations. Without a channel for ex-  
pressing their independent class political  
interests, these interests nevertheless seek  
expression through the political form  
foisted upon them by the labor bureau-  
cracy.

## 2. Does It Serve Workers' Aims?

The subordination of the greatest power  
in the U.S. — 15 million organized work-  
ers — to the capitalist-controlled Demo-  
cratic party results in something more  
than a large and cohesive working class  
vote for the Democrats. The working class,  
and that includes the Negro people, vote  
in the elections in the hope of achieving  
certain political aims. These aims are in  
essence class aims, separate from and  
antagonistic to the aims of the capitalist  
ruling class and its two political parties.

The labor officials, particularly those of  
the Reuther type, tell the workers that  
the purpose of being in the Democratic  
party is to influence the selection of liberal  
candidates that would really represent the  
interests of the working people.

The trouble with this policy is that the  
liberals already endorsed by labor have  
without exception and without fail be-  
trayed their election promises to labor. It  
seems the more the labor movement  
mobilizes behind the Democratic party  
and the more the labor officials prove their  
loyalty to the machine, the more liberals  
feel free to commit any foul betrayal in  
the name of the sacred unity of the  
Democratic party.

The Dixiecrats came to the Chicago  
convention full of bluster and threats of  
secession. Sure, a lot of this was bluff. But  
the point is the Southern Democrats know  
that all they need to do is bluster and they  
will get their way. As a result the civil  
rights plank that was adopted is a  
mockery and an insult to the Negro peo-  
ple. And the labor movement finds itself  
supporting a Stevenson who has publicly  
assured the Southern racists that he will  
not lift a finger to enforce the Supreme  
Court ruling on desegregation.

A question arises. Why don't the labor

officials display a more independent  
attitude even within the framework of  
their Democratic party policy. For ex-  
ample, why didn't labor mobilize a special  
conference before the Democratic conven-  
tion and lay down a series of imperative  
demands to the Democrats, declaring that  
unless these demands were met labor  
would put up its own candidates. Isn't it  
clear that the modest demands of the labor  
officials would have been granted forth-  
with if they had proceeded that way? Then  
why didn't they do it?

The reason is simple. The labor officials  
fear, and not without cause, that even  
such a minimum display of independence  
would get out of hand. Once a political  
formation of labor's power took shape the  
"danger" of a really independent break  
with capitalist politics would be raised  
considerably.

The prospect is clear. Political reality,  
which is basically determined by the class  
struggle, will disclose the bankruptcy of  
the labor officials' political policy every  
step of the way. The struggles of the  
Negro people have already caused wide-  
spread dissatisfaction with the official  
policy. The increasing conflict of the trade  
unions with the anti-labor, racist Demo-  
cratic rulers of the South will be sharpened  
as the labor movement is compelled to  
launch an organizing drive.

The time element is not the key ques-  
tion. Labor's break with capitalist politics  
may take a longer or shorter time depend-  
ing in part on the evolution of the inter-  
national situation or the economic situation  
in the U.S. What is important is that the  
advanced workers prepare for the inevi-  
table explosion. This preparation requires  
above all a correct principled line in today's  
political situation and a realistic and ef-  
fective tactical course.

## 3. CP Leaders Back the Coalition

The worst obstacle to the organization  
of the class conscious section of the Amer-  
ican working class on a program of prin-  
ciple and effective struggle against the  
class collaboration line of the labor bureau-  
crats is the leadership of the Communist  
Party.

The fact is that the CP leaders are in  
full agreement with the opportunist, class-  
collaboration policy of Reuther. Witness  
the way the Daily Worker greeted the  
results of the Democratic convention in its  
Aug. 20 editorial. Reuther's stable of labor  
functionaries, who double as Democratic  
machine wheel horses in Michigan, were  
hailed as the heroes who made the  
allegedly wonderful results of the Demo-  
cratic party convention possible.

And then the Daily Worker labor editor,  
George Morris, in his Aug. 29 column,  
gives the reasoning behind this line. After  
hailing the model of Reuther's Democratic  
machine in Michigan, he says, "What a  
different political picture we'd have in this  
country if labor in the other 47 states  
came up to the political level of  
Michigan's." According to Morris only  
then could labor even think of launching  
its own party.

This is the merest lip service to the  
labor-party idea. In reality, Morris is

100% in favor of Reuther's principle of  
class collaboration in politics. Morris' real  
concept is that the working class (or  
rather its bureaucratic tops, whom he  
accepts as the authentic representatives  
of the working class) should steer towards  
a unity with the "democratic" and "peace-  
loving" section of American monopoly  
capitalism.

He and the other CP leaders believe that  
this unity, or coalition, should be shaped  
right within the Democratic party. But  
even if labor had its own party, they would  
favor subordinating it to this coalition.

The whole history of such class-col-  
laboration policies, first advocated by the  
reformist Social Democrats and later  
picked up by Stalin and foisted on every  
Communist Party in the world, has been  
disaster — for the workers. It was the  
prelude to fascism in Europe.

That's why the first task of the class  
conscious workers in the U.S. — and that  
means above all the workers in the Com-  
munist Party — is to reject the opportu-  
nist political policy of the CP leaders. Then  
it will become possible to conduct serious  
work among the rank and file of the  
unions, building the left-wing opposition  
to the labor bureaucrats and advancing  
the program of labor's political inde-  
pendence.

# Resistance in France to Algeria War

(The following is an account  
of demonstrations of French re-  
servists called up for active duty  
in Algeria. It was given to  
George Lavan, staff writer of  
the Militant, as part of an in-  
terview with a French socialist  
and active trade unionist well  
acquainted with the Algerian  
movement for national indepen-  
dence both in France and in Al-  
geria. — Ed.)

In the past two years there  
have been two big waves of  
troop demonstrations. The first  
wave, which began about six  
months after the outbreak of  
the fighting in Algeria, was a  
movement of the young soldiers  
alone without the assistance of  
the French proletariat. These  
demonstrations were scattered  
and took very special forms. For  
example, that at the Church of  
Saint Severin in Paris.

The soldiers gathered there  
because they figured the police  
would not dare use violence in  
a church. They made speeches  
declaring that their consciences  
would not permit them to kill  
Algerians fighting for freedom.  
They distributed a pamphlet to

this effect also. Many similar  
demonstrations took place. Many  
reservists declared themselves  
to be conscientious objectors.  
This is an individual protest  
against the Algerian war that  
has come about because of the  
betrayal of the anti-war strug-  
gle by the leadership of the  
mass parties of the left — the  
Communist Party and the Social-  
ist Party.

### SP SLOGANS

The second wave of demon-  
strations took place after the So-  
cialist Party government had  
taken office. Before the elections  
of Jan. 2, 1956 the SP had cam-  
paign on two slogans: 1) End  
the Algerian war 2) Improve the  
living conditions of the work-  
ers. Some of the SP campaign  
slogans were: "The Young  
French Soldiers Will Not Be the  
Mercenaries of Colonialism" and  
"Stop the Algerian War —  
Schools, Old Age Pensions, Hos-  
pitals Instead." The Communist  
Party also engaged in anti-war  
propaganda but not as far to  
the left as that of the SP.

Instead of ending the Algerian  
war, of course, the SP govern-

ment intensified the military ef-  
forts to suppress the Algerian  
people. In this the Communist  
Party deputies voted for the SP  
war bill.

The second wave of troop dem-  
onstrations has taken place un-  
der the SP government and dif-  
fers from the first wave in that  
the demonstrations are larger  
and more bitterly fought and  
principally in that in some parts  
of France the working class has  
come to the aid of the soldiers.

This has occurred sometimes  
spontaneously and sometimes on  
the initiative of local CP units  
acting contrary to the national  
line of the CP. These demon-  
strations have been more fre-  
quent in the provinces than in  
Paris because the apparatus of  
the CP is not as strong in the  
provinces as in the capital and  
therefore has not always been  
able to restrain the workers.

Another factor is that when  
the government ships troops  
from Paris it is by night so the  
people cannot see them. But in  
small cities and towns it is im-  
possible, even under cover of  
night, to conceal the troop ship-  
ments.

Here are two examples of the  
demonstrations of the second  
wave.

(1) In Rouen soldiers in a  
barracks refused to get in trucks  
to begin the journey to Algeria.  
They took over the barracks,  
locked the officers in the la-  
trines. One colonel suffered the  
indignity of spending three days  
in the latrine. The special strike-  
breaking police of the French  
government — the CRS — at-  
tacked the soldiers. The workers  
of Rouen spontaneously went to  
the aid of the besieged young  
reservists—they began to break  
holes in the barracks walls to  
aid the troops. For three days  
the workers of Rouen were fight-  
ing against the police in defense  
of the soldiers who refused to  
go to Algeria.

### CP LEADERS HALT ACTION

The Communist Party leaders  
tried to prevent the workers  
from engaging in the fight and  
then tried to make them stop.  
By the third day CP leaders and  
CGT (Stalinists-dominated trade  
union federation) leaders were  
telling the battle area in cars  
equipped with loud speakers or-  
dering the workers to leave. In  
the end they prevailed and the  
soldiers involved were flown to  
Algeria and, it is said, im-  
mediately put into the front  
lines as punishment.

(2) In the Department of  
Isere which has a famous resist-  
ance tradition from the days  
of World War II a train with  
several carloads of troops took  
three days to travel 50 miles.

In village after village the  
people—including old men and  
old women—stopped the train  
by sitting on the railroad tracks.  
Sympathetic railroad workers  
had shown the troops how to  
operate the air brakes so they  
stopped the train every few  
miles.

I might add that women have  
played a very prominent role in  
the demonstrations of support  
to the soldiers who resist being  
sent to Algeria. It is also note-  
worthy that young men of mil-  
itary age, not yet called up for  
service, have formed on their  
own initiative committees against  
the Algerian war. In some cases  
these have been able to force  
the local CP units to cooperate.  
There is tremendous popular

resistance in the ranks of both  
the CP and SP to the official  
lines of their parties on Algeria.

### DESERTIONS GROW

Another indication of the  
hatred of the young soldiers for  
the Algerian war is the large  
number of desertions from the  
army while the troops are still  
in France. Many of these young  
men are hiding out on farms, in  
the forests, etc. I have heard  
some peasants refer to the  
"maquis" in their district. This  
was the term used for the re-  
sistance during the German oc-  
cupation. However, this is not  
a real maquis today, for the  
young men are simply hiding  
out, there is no question of form-  
ing themselves into guerrilla  
bands.

I also know of cases where  
peasant families—of no particu-  
lar political affiliation—sum-  
mon big family conclaves to de-  
cide whether young men of the  
family, called up for duty in  
Algeria, should answer the army  
call or should hide out.

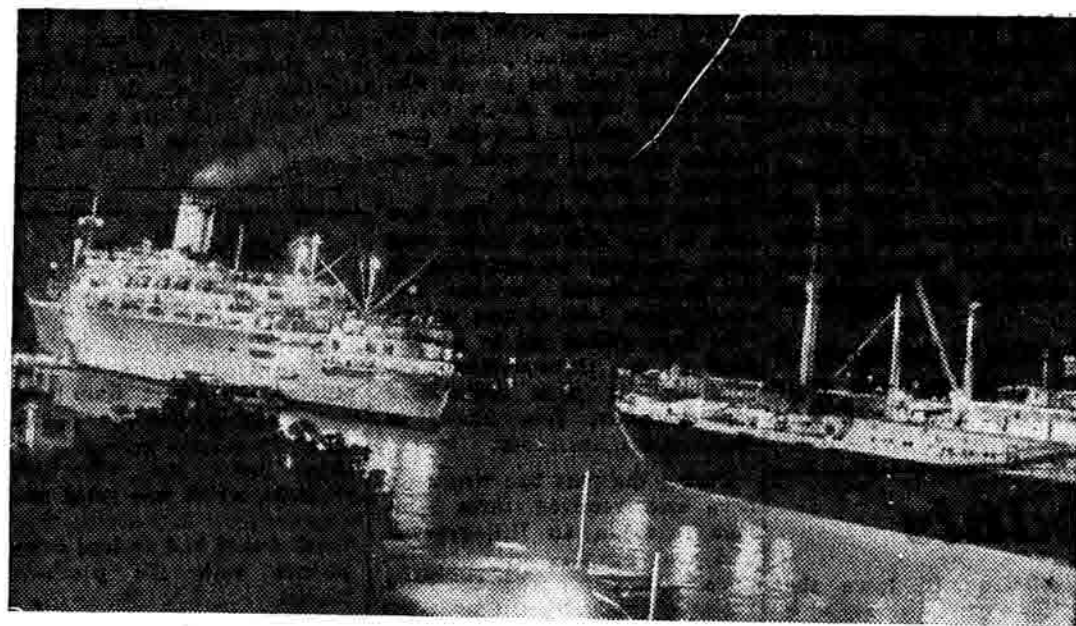
In addition to these struggles  
a whole series of struggles in  
defense of civil liberties has de-  
veloped. These are not only  
against the terrible police re-  
pressions against the 300,000  
Algerians who live and work in  
France but also in defense of  
the freedom of speech and press  
of Frenchmen who oppose the  
Algerian war and of African  
students in French universities  
who raise their voices on behalf  
of Algerian independence.

### FASCIST VIOLENCE

As an example of the latter,  
let me mention that at Mont-  
pelier, where there are many  
colonial students, the fascists  
used force to prevent their ex-  
pression of support to the Al-  
gerian freedom-fighters. A protest  
meeting was called at the  
labor temple at which all ten-  
dencies in the workers movement  
were present. This too was at-  
tacked by the fascists with the  
police helping them. For a whole  
day the fighting went on. The  
indignation among the workers  
at this outrage was so great  
that a huge outdoor protest  
meeting was called. Ten thou-  
sand attended.

Both the SP and CP were  
forced to send speakers so great  
was the pressure from the ranks,

## Ships in the Suez Canal



The main technical problem facing the Egyptian government in the operation of the re-  
cently nationalized Suez Canal is that of maintaining an adequate staff of highly skilled pilots  
who navigate ships through the 100-mile waterway. The difficulty has been created by French  
and British governmental pressure on non-Egyptian pilots to quit their jobs.

## Panama: 1826-1956

### Latin American Notes and Comments

By Jose Gomez

We can start our comments  
by stating that the 1956 gathering  
of the presidents of the American  
nations in Panama last July, was  
nothing more nor less than a  
cynical fraud. Officially, its aim  
was to celebrate the 130th an-  
niversary of the Congress of  
Panama which took place in 1826  
under sponsorship of Simon  
Bolivar. One of the main aims of  
that Congress was to unite the  
newly-formed Latin American  
countries as the best means of  
assuring their recently acquired  
independence from the domina-  
tion of Spain.

Bolivar wasn't a representative  
of the aspirations and needs of  
the masses but in his struggle  
for liberation from Spanish rule,  
he, more than any one else in his  
time properly felt and understood  
that only through unity could the  
small and weak newly established  
countries consolidate their posi-  
tion and confront the outside  
world.

In this respect, there is prac-  
tically no relation or resemblance  
not only between the aims and  
purposes between the 1826 and  
1956 gatherings but in the con-  
ditions under which they took  
place.

The Congress of 1826 took  
place under the condition of  
newly acquired national inde-  
pendence in Latin America. The  
1956 gathering took place under  
the total domination of Latin  
America by its imperialist North-  
ern neighbor, the United States.  
In 1826, Bolivar didn't find it  
necessary to invite the United  
States. It was Colombia, the  
host country, that invited the  
U.S. to attend the Panama Con-  
gress (Panama at the time still  
belonged to Colombia.) The U.S.  
government sent only an ob-  
server.

### A VAST CHANGE

But from the last to the present  
century such a change took place  
in the development of the "North-  
ern neighbor," that it repayed  
Colombia's kind invitation of  
1826 by being instrumental in  
splitting Panama from Colombia.  
The U.S. did so because the  
Colombian Senate rejected the  
agreement to build the Canal  
through Colombian territory at  
Panama.

In 1826, no one could foresee  
that the U.S. would be transform-  
ed in such a brief historic period  
from a primarily agrarian into  
the most highly industrialized  
country in the world — and  
thereby into the most expansion-  
ist, imperialist power on the

world arena in general and Latin  
America in particular. Today,  
U.S. domination is so total that  
simply because of Eisenhower's  
illness, the 1956 gathering was  
postponed until his recuperation.  
In general, to prove what a  
meaningless ceremony the 1956  
gathering was, one can point to  
the fact that there was very  
little enthusiasm on the part of  
many heads of Latin American  
states to attend. Indeed, many  
of those that did attend, did so  
only out of fear of Washington.  
And as far as Eisenhower is  
concerned, he went not out of  
devotion to the principles of the  
1826 Congress but to act as  
broker for the Wall Street in-  
terests.

There is therefore nothing  
strange that the declaration  
signed by 19 presidents (two  
didn't attend — namely, Rojas  
Pinilla of Colombia and Lozano  
Diaz of Honduras) is one of the  
most cynical that one could con-  
ceive.

### LYING DECLARATIONS

What a fraud when dictators  
like Perez Jimenez (Venezuela),  
Somoza (Nicaragua), Castillo  
Armas (Guatemala), Trujillo  
(Santo Domingo), Batista (Cuba),  
etc., sign their name to a  
document that speaks about  
"human liberty" and "dignity of  
the individual" against "totali-  
tarian" forces! What a fraud  
when Eisenhower signs his name  
to a document proclaiming  
"respect for national indepen-  
dence," after the brutal, recent  
intervention by the U.S. govern-  
ment in the internal affairs of  
Guatemala!

No less fraudulent were the  
speeches at this gathering.  
Eisenhower's proposal that every  
president appoint a represen-  
tative to form a committee to  
study and find means to "effect  
the welfare of the individual," is  
one of the most demagogic  
pronouncements imaginable.

### WORKERS' WELFARE

For instance, it is a known fact  
that the majority of individuals  
in Latin America are landless  
peasants. Would such a repre-  
sentative committee propose the  
expropriation of big landowners  
and imperialist plantation own-  
ers (for example, the United  
Fruit Co. in Central America)  
and distribute the land among  
the peasants? Such an idea  
would horrify Eisenhower, al-  
though it is the only means of  
assuring the "welfare of the in-  
dividual" in the case of the peas-  
ants.

It is also a known fact that

another large percentage of in-  
dividuals in Latin America  
belongs to the working class. This  
class is badly underpaid and  
forced to struggle for existence  
under unbearable conditions. A  
committee that really wants to  
give a solution to the problem of  
improving the "welfare of the  
individual" in the case of the  
workers would have to come to  
the scientific conclusion that the  
only way is to nationalize all  
industrial enterprises and operate  
them for use instead of for  
private profit.

Here, too, such a proposal  
would so horrify Eisenhower that  
he would be the first to utilize  
all the material resources of  
U.S. imperialism to prevent that  
kind of solution from being put  
into effect.

The speeches of the Latin  
American presidents were hardly  
less cynical than Eisenhower's.  
That goes for all of them — from  
the brutal dictators to the so-  
called "democratic" and "en-  
lightened" presidents. As a case  
in point there is the speech of  
Jose Figueres of Costa Rica —  
who even pretends to be so-  
cialist-minded. Although he be-  
gan by lamenting Canada's and  
Puerto Rico's absence, he went  
on to justify U.S. colonial  
domination of Puerto Rico and to  
declare: "I know that Puerto  
Rico, of its own will, is worthily  
represented here through the  
Government of the United States  
by the noble figure of President  
Eisenhower."

### A NEW FORCE

What have people like that —  
and the forces they represent —  
to do with celebrating the an-  
niversary of a Congress whose  
guiding idea was unity of the  
weak Latin American countries  
against the forces of colonial  
domination? Nothing whatever!

But although in the 130 years  
since the 1826 Panama Congress  
the United States has become  
transformed into the prime im-  
perialist power of the world and  
dominates Latin America with  
the help of native ruling elements  
subservient to it, this is not the  
only change that has taken place.  
A new force has arisen in Latin  
America — the working class.  
It is taking up leadership in the  
struggle for national and social  
emancipation of the Latin Amer-  
ican countries and their unifica-  
tion against all oppressing and  
exploiting anti-social forces such  
as the ones that gathered at  
Panama in July 1956.

## World Events

PIETRO NENNI, leader of the  
Left Wing Socialist Party of  
Italy, has confirmed reports that  
he is in the process of effecting  
a merger with the Right-Wing  
Socialist faction led by Giuseppe  
Saragat. Such unification could  
spell the end of the coalition be-  
tween Nenni and the Italian Com-  
munist Party which has existed  
since 1947. The 1947 split be-  
tween the two wings of the  
Socialist Party had been caused  
by the cold war. Nenni oriented  
toward the CP, while Saragat  
lined up with U.S. imperialism.

The moves toward reunification  
have been spurred by the develop-  
ments since the 20th Congress  
of the Soviet Communist Party.  
Since the shattering of the Stalin  
cult at the Congress, the relations  
between Nenni and the CP have  
grown increasingly cool. Nenni's  
more outspoken criticism of the  
Soviet regime has compelled CP  
leader Thorez to go further than  
he apparently desired in the  
present international "re-evalua-  
tion" of Stalinism.

In recent elections, Nenni's  
party has been gaining votes at  
the expense of the CP. Nenni now  
says there has been "growing  
discomfort and coldness" in the  
relations between the two move-  
ments.

POLISH WORKERS do not  
have the right to strike, said  
Wiktor Klosiewicz, chief of Polish  
labor unions. His statement was  
widely published in Warsaw  
Aug. 21. Fearful of another  
Poznan revolt, Klosiewicz said  
that conflicts between labor and  
management which lay behind  
that uprising must never again  
be allowed to mature. He main-

tained that the function of labor  
unions was to remove such con-  
flicts at the start.

SOVIET SCHOOL TEXTS now  
have the new line on Stalin. He  
is mentioned only a few times  
in a 280-page volume on the  
Bolsheviks and the Soviet state.  
An accompanying guide instructs  
teachers to "give Stalin credit"  
for his role as an organizer and  
theoretician but at the same time  
to "reveal his extremely serious  
blunders."

100,000 NON-WHITES are  
being evicted from their homes  
in the South African city of  
Johannesburg. This is a new ap-  
plication of the racist Afrikaners'  
Group Areas Act of 1950, which  
aims toward a society divided  
according to skin color. Opposi-  
tion members of Parliament and  
other groups have called the  
move a "disastrous blow" to the  
property rights of non-whites  
and another manifestation of "the  
master race complex."

CRAMMED ONTO A CON-  
VERTED CORVETTE called a  
"hell ship" with "penal ship con-  
ditions" by a U.S. Congressman,  
500 Mexican "wet-back" na-  
tionals jumped ship at Tampico,  
Mexico, half-way to their destina-  
tion of Vera Cruz. It was reported  
that five drowned in their escape  
attempt. The Mexican nationals  
work in the U.S., mostly in the  
Southwest, at sub-standard  
wages, and then when no longer  
needed are forced back to  
Mexico by U.S. immigration  
authorities.

## On the Moscow Trials

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# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Memo to the Negro Press

Dear Editors:

For many months you have been trying conscientiously—with some exceptions—to provide intelligent leadership in political action to further the cause of equality for Negroes in the United States.

Most of you have urged colored Americans to register to vote, to demand that all candidates and all parties state clearly where they stand on civil rights and segregation.

More of you than in the past have refused to commit yourselves to support any party until the adoption of election platforms. You have tried to take a principled stand, to base your political allegiance on programs and issues, rather than men.

Now the party conventions are over. Disappointment with the platforms of both the Democrats and the Republicans is spread over your papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico.

What are you going to do? Are you going to swallow your disappointment, as in the past, and settle down for the usual election campaign compromise with your civil rights principles? Print the usual hogwash about how important it is to vote, no matter for whom? Tell your readers they must be patient, vote for the "lesser evil"—if there is such a thing between two parties dedicated to the proposition that men are created unequal and must be kept that way?

Some of you who are Democrats, said in recent months, that the party would have to choose between the white supremacists and the Negroes. Well, the Democrats chose the Dixiecrats. What are you going to do about it?

Some of you who are Republicans, like William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post and the first Negro elected to the state central committee of the

Ohio GOP, what are you going to do? Are you satisfied with the runaround you got from both the national and state organizations? Do you honestly believe that the Republicans, who have your support without having to fight for it, will do one bit more than the Democrats, if they are elected, to pass civil rights legislation, enforce anti-segregation court decisions, protect the right to vote or just protect the lives of Negroes in the South?

Isn't it time for the editors of the Negro press to show as much courage and independence as the Negro masses in the South?

In Montgomery, Alabama, this month, the Segregation Party was formed by a group of white supremacists "to give Alabama voters a chance to express their feelings on segregation in a way not open to them thru the Democratic or Republican parties."

You, too, have an alternative. You can express your feelings on segregation in a way not open to you through the Democratic or Republican parties. Acquaint yourself and your readers with the program of the Socialist Workers Party. It is not a program of "moderation." It is for "full economic, political and social equality," for immediate enforcement and implementation of the decision against public school segregation, for legislation to abolish all forms of segregation.

Moreover, the Socialist Workers Party plank on Rights of Minorities is not something stuck on the platform to attract "Negro votes." It is part and parcel of an integrated program of foreign and domestic policies in the interest of working men and women and victims of oppression everywhere.

An SWP vote—writing in the names of the candidates where necessary—is your answer to the Democratic and Republican Parties.

## 'Chesty' Puller's Medals

The high point at the recent court-martial of Marine Sgt. Matthew C. McKeon was the appearance of a "living legend": Lt. General Lewis B. Puller. It was fitting that the idol of the Marines should be the star witness, in a proceeding in which the Marine-Way-of-Life was on trial before the American public.

Puller strutted in the courtroom with eight rows of ribbons, representing 50 medals. He won his first decoration in Haiti just after the First World War, for attacking an encampment of revolutionaries.

The little island republic of Haiti which gained its independence from France in 1803, was placed under Yankee-dollar control by courtesy of U.S. marine bayonets in 1915. Under U.S. auspices, martial law was declared and a treaty signed under which the U.S. was to develop the resources of Haiti, name engineers whose advice was binding, administer the customs and select a financial adviser to direct the budget. The Haitian "treaty of amity" required force and violence to be effectuated. American troops slaughtered over 2,000 Haitians in the course of five years and force was used to hold them at roadbuilding labor.

### 'HEROES' ARE MADE

Since Haiti's old constitution hampered U.S. efforts to control the land, a new constitution was drafted in Washington and submitted to the Haitian assembly. The furor generated by this flaunting insult gave the assembly such jitters that it dared not accept the U.S. drafted constitution. American administrators thereupon dissolved the legislature and ordered the Marines to drive out recalcitrant members. The revised constitution was submitted to a "referendum" under American supervision. It was in the battle to oppress the people of Haiti that Puller first distinguished himself.

In the 1920's Puller won two Navy Crosses in Nicaragua, but the climax of his career, came

in Korea, where American forces engaged in the mass murder of a revolutionary people fighting for their land and freedom.

"Chesty" Puller told his troops before the Inchon, Korean landing: "We are the most fortunate of men. There was a time when a professional soldier had to wait 25 years or so before he ever got into a war. We only had to wait five years for this one."

"For all that time we have been sitting on our fat behinds drawing our pay. Now we are going to earn it. We are going to work at our trade. We have chosen to live by the sword. If necessary we will die by the sword."

### NO CRIME

At the trial of Sgt. McKeon, a drill instructor who was charged with manslaughter, oppressing recruits, and drinking on duty, as an aftermath of six recruits drowning while on a disciplinary night march in the swamps, Puller roared that both he and General Patton, "agree and regret that this man was ever ordered to trial." (On his return to the U.S. in 1952, the "blood and guts" general had said there was no good reason why fighting men should not get beer or whiskey if it made them fight any better.)

Puller confessed that being in the Marine Corps "means more than self preservation, or religion or patriotism" and added that he had felt that way ever since his recruit days in 1917. Puller asserted that the night disciplinary march, far from being "oppression of troops," as charged, actually was "good." He testified from his experiences that "drill instructors had practically unlimited authority." He also said that he trained his troops his own way and to hell with any directives.

Puller represents the Marine Corps—composed of men trained to be professional killers to the marrow of their bones. Sgt. McKeon is a minor image of the "hero." Mrs. Meeks, mother of Tom Hardeman, who drowned on the death march, said: "He (McKeon) should go to jail so

other officers will learn that these things can't be carried on by law. But he shouldn't go alone." Indeed he shouldn't. The Pullers and the McKeons are only the goon squad for a U.S. ruling class that uses force and violence to massacre or burn alive with napalm those peoples throughout the world who fight for their freedom.

"For all that time we have been sitting on our fat behinds drawing our pay. Now we are going to earn it. We are going to work at our trade. We have chosen to live by the sword. If necessary we will die by the sword."

By Lois Saunders  
LOS ANGELES, Aug. 26 — Race hatred exploded into open violence last Monday in a lily-white housing tract in Placentia, Orange County, California.

All housing tracts in the county heretofore have been lily-white. On Sunday Gerald Harris, a shipyard worker, his wife and their six children moved into their new home.

It was the first time a Negro family had broken through the restrictions that have barred colored people from the tens of thousands of new homes that almost over night have displaced the county's orange groves.

Monday at midnight two homemade bombs were hurled at the house. One missed its mark, landed on the front lawn with a loud detonation. The other smashed through a bedroom window, ignited the curtain, ringed the bed with flames.

### ESCAPE INJURY

In that bed were two young girls, one 15, the other 10. Miraculously, neither was injured. Members of the family grabbed every available bucket and pan, poured water on the flaming bed and dresser. They put out the fire.

Outside the Harrises heard the hum of voices. In the darkness they saw forms and faces. White faces.

Harris had been warned there would be trouble if he dared move into the home he had purchased. A cross had been burned in front of the house a week earlier. Some person or persons had forced entry into the house, poured dry cement into the kitchen sink, the toilet, the bathtub, then turned on the water. With a knife they had cut into ribbons the carpeting on the living room floor.

### OFFERS GUN TO HARRIS

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# THE MILITANT

## Food and Rent Hikes Push Living Costs to Record High

By Fred Hart

### THE MILITANT ARMY

The special subscription blanks for our introductory offer of a three-month subscription to the Militant for 50 cents have been distributed to the members of the Militant Army throughout the country, and the first returns point to a successful drive for new readers.

Our star salesman in St. Louis, Richard Clausen, who has over the years maintained a regular delivery route for the paper informed us this week that he expects to get subscriptions from more than half the people who have been buying single copies from him weekly. And his prediction is backed up with an enclosure of seven subs.

From Detroit comes four new subs to the Militant along with three one-year subscriptions to the International Socialist Review. Agent John Collins writes, "We have gotten off to a good start on the three-month subs, combining it with introducing our candidate, Rita Shaw, in workers' neighborhoods."

During the past two weeks we have also received three Militant renewals, an ISR renewal and two introductory subscriptions to the paper from the Twin Cities Militant Army. One of the new subs we are told was obtained by a packinghouse worker from a fellow-worker. The other came from a man who attended the Twin Cities meeting for Myra Tanner Weiss last June after seeing the meeting announced on a local TV station. He has since been coming back for socialist

literature and wants to be getting the Militant.

Twin Cities agent Winnifred Nelson also writes "Your Militant Army comments on our successful Minnesota Militant Month were appreciated—but you really gave us a very strong build-up which I am afraid we won't be able to live up to." She explains the branch is in the process of moving its headquarters this month and that at the same time it will have to conduct the drive to secure the independent nominating positions necessary to put the SWP on the ballot in Minnesota.

When we predicted that the Twin Cities would be out front in the present sub drive we were fully aware of these additional activities. We simply assumed they would constitute a sporting handicap for the rest of the country.

### Seamen Score Against Screening

The U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco on Aug. 27 ordered the Coast Guard to issue sailing papers "forthwith" to seamen screened off ships under the "security" program, which was ruled unconstitutional last month. The Coast Guard had avoided compliance with the previous ruling.

In New York, the Seamen's Defense Committee, organized to protect the rights of seamen in the government screening program, will hold a dance Saturday night, Sept. 22, at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St., New York City.

American workers have again been belted right in the bread basket as living costs soared last month to a new record high. Between mid-June and mid-July, the government's cost-of-living index went up 0.7%. The index has climbed five months in a row and now stands at an all-time high. According to the conservative figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, living costs are now 17% higher than the already high 1947-49 average.

The immediate factor in the latest hike was again the one most basic for working people—the rise in the cost of food. While the small farmer's income has remained depressed, food prices have gone up steadily for the last six months. Another reason living costs have gone up is the lifting of rent controls or authorized rent increases in a number of industrial areas such as Northern New Jersey.

The main underlying causes for the continuing inflationary spiral are the huge government expenditures for armaments and pressure of the steadily expanding credit structure, including a peak consumer debts resulting from the need for wide-spread installment buying.

The prediction of Washington economists that food, rent, transportation and recreation costs will continue to rise confirms the analysis made by the Socialist Workers Party in its current election platform. The section of the platform on the "Prosperity Depression Cycle" says:

"The American economy is based primarily on arms expenditures. Boom conditions have prevailed consistently in industries central to war production but mere preparations for war have not been enough to sustain capitalist production as a whole. Despite the military build-up in the cold war a serious economic decline began in 1949. Overcome temporarily by American entry into the Korean war, the slump

sumers price index stands at the highest level on record and shows every sign of a continued climb. At the same time a chronic decline has hit industries like coal, textile and shipbuilding. Periodic slumps impair employment in such industries as auto. A sag in the farm equipment field reflects the fundamental decline in agriculture. Inflationary pressures and the threat of unemployment thus appear side by side, spelling out the danger of economic crisis as the alternative to war under capitalism."

Also underscored by the jump in living costs is the SWP platform's demand for "An escalator clause on all wages, unemployment compensation and other benefits, with taxes to be included in computing living costs."

## Are Wage Raises to Blame When Prices Go Way Up?

By Frank Barbaria

(Excerpt from radio speech given Aug. 14, over KPFA-FM, Berkeley, Calif. Barbaria was SWP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco last year.)

Last week the Westinghouse Electric Company announced it would increase the wholesale prices of all major home appliances an average of 5% because of the higher prices they must pay for steel. In accordance with what is considered good business practice, this 5% increase in wholesale prices will be boosted by an extra 40% mark-up (40% of the 5%) before reaching the ultimate buyer.

Since hefty price increases like this will be deluging the working people and companies are already blaming it on the steel workers, I'd like to say a word or two in defense of these workers. Let's take a look behind the curtain and see if what the industry says is true.

### PROFITS SOARING

I claim another fraudulent profit-steal is being perpetrated upon the American people. Tremendously increased company profits are being realized with the meager wage boost serving as an excuse to gouge the public. Last year they did a little gouging without being able to blame it on a strike. Profits for the first quarter of 1956 were \$312 millions, almost 50% above the profits for the same period in 1955. This was accomplished through a boost of \$7.35 a ton for steel, and through speed-up and increasing productivity, among other factors.

The New York Times of Aug. 7 reports the findings of an industrial statistician on what the boost in the price of steel should add to various items.

A \$300 refrigerator: \$1.21  
A \$160 washing machine: .06  
A \$25 toaster: .06  
A \$225 gas range: \$1.17

Let's go back to that \$300 refrigerator. Westinghouse raises the wholesale price by \$9.00, then the mark-up raises it 40% more or another \$4.00, thus boosting the final price \$13.00 to pay for a \$121 increase for steel.

The \$225 gas range will go up to \$235.50, a \$10.50 rise, all blamed on the steel workers, to pay \$1.17 extra for steel, of which the workers get only 41 cents.

I notice from this morning's paper that the price of a small loaf of bread jumped from 20 cents to 22 cents. That's 10%! I wonder if they will blame this on the steel workers, too, because of the iron in bread.



FRANK BARBARIA

## We'll Defend You, Say White Neighbors

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 26 — Race hatred exploded into open violence last Monday in a lily-white housing tract in Placentia, Orange County, California.

All housing tracts in the county heretofore have been lily-white. On Sunday Gerald Harris, a shipyard worker, his wife and their six children moved into their new home.

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of the house on the night of the attack. But the racists apparently crept around to the rear. The girls' bedroom faced toward the back.

The bomb that exploded on the front lawn aroused the neighborhood. Men, women and children poured out of their homes, milled about in the street. Some of them were armed.

But they were not hostile to the new family. They were incensed that the Harris home had been bombed. They offered aid and shelter to the stricken family. One of the men held out his pistol to Harris with the comment: "You might need this."

One woman said: "It's not safe

for you to stay here. Bring your children to my house. And if they want to bomb me out, then let them!"

The next day Harris was digging up the Bermuda grass that grew wild in front of his house. He had no intention of yielding to the intimidation and of pulling up stakes. He had come to Placentia to stay.

First to come to his assistance was the Orange County Committee for Equal Opportunity. They organized guards to stand by during the night.

### WHITE MEN HELP

On Saturday a group of men, about 10, Negro and white, came to help Harris put in his lawn.

They brought tools, fertilizer, plants.

Police continue to patrol the area. The situation is still tense. Many of the neighbors are friendly, but some are not. A second Negro family has bought a home in the same tract and is expected to move in within a week. No one knows when or if another attack may occur.

The bombing of the Harris home points up the racial conflict that erupts every time a Negro family buys a home outside ghetto areas. But a new element has emerged in the Placentia situation. For the first time, a number of the people living in nearby homes have refused to be stampeded into racial hostility.

## ... SWP Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

well. It is because of them that at least a small segment of the time allotted to political candidates will be used by socialists on the radio and TV networks.

The SWP has kept aloft the banner of socialist electioneering and independent working class politics since 1948. This is our third Presidential campaign. The years of 1948 to 1956 have been tough, uphill years for radicalism in the U.S. Yet, it is precisely in the tough years that the indestructible party of socialism is tempered and tested.

A good example of the kind of spirit that animates our 1956 election campaign is found in Michigan. Readers of the Militant will note the vigorous and effective campaign being waged by Rita Shaw, SWP candidate for Governor of Michigan. (To obtain a special folder publishing Rita Shaw's eloquent speech to Ford Local 600 in Detroit write to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.)

The vigor of our Michigan campaign is especially noteworthy in view of the fact that the Democratic Party state administration, by a sneaky, last-minute technical pretext, robbed the SWP and other minority parties, of their official ballot rights. Instead of dampening the socialist campaign, this move seems to have produced a redoubled effort by our Michigan comrades. There is a good reason for this.

The SWP was on the ballot in Michigan in 1948. Again in 1954 it qualified for the ballot. At that time the administration knocked the party off the ballot

by invoking the notorious Michigan Trucks Act. This was a law that virtually legalized all disidentical political opinion. At one point the law provided the death penalty for activity in "wartime strikes."

In 1954 the SWP won back its right to be on the ballot in Michigan. Together with a number of civil liberties organizations and sections of the labor movement it waged a battle against the Trucks law. In a court test the state administration was forced to back down and permit the party's name a place on the ballot.

Now the Michigan state administration again hopes to silence the SWP—this time by a technical subterfuge. But the SWP refuses to be silenced and will continue the fight until it has defeated all challenges to its political rights.

Meanwhile, our two national candidates are launching speaking tours for the final months of the campaign. Earlier this year, Myra Tanner Weiss completed a coast-to-coast tour. She is now scheduled to begin her concluding tour in the Twin Cities Friday, Sept. 5. Farrell Dobbs will begin his tour in Los Angeles, Sept. 14. Last March Dobbs opened his presidential campaign by covering the trial of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott leaders as a correspondent for the Militant. In April he toured Mid-Western and Eastern cities appealing to the labor movement to give immediate and substantial aid to the heroic freedom fight in Montgomery.

## ... Rita Shaw Explains

(Continued from page 1)

regime that exists in the Soviet Union. We say that this is wrong. We have to show them that that's not true if we want to convert them to socialism.

And to do that we have to answer the lies and distortions of all groups about the Soviet Union—not only those of the capitalists but those of the Stalinists. That's what the Militant is trying to do, and that's why it's trying to do it. If your complaint is that it's not doing it successfully, that's another story. But somebody has to do this job, and the Militant in my opinion is doing it better than anyone else.

I agree with you that prison conditions in Georgia and Florida are far from ideal. But do bad prison conditions in a capitalist country justify the existence of bad prison conditions in a workers' state whose rulers claim to have achieved socialism? Does the witch hunt of radicals in the U.S. justify the suppression of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and the imprisonment of millions of people because they dare to voice criticism of the rulers?

### MUST WE DENY FACTS?

I agree that Ford and Chrysler workers marching on Detroit police headquarters would be shot down and arrested. Nothing else could be expected under capitalism. But does that justify the shooting and arrest of workers in Poznan, who were unable to get attention paid to their just grievances in any other way

than by going on strike and organizing a demonstration against the bureaucrats who prohibit strikes and demonstrations?

Capitalist propagandists say that the political persecution and low living standards in the USSR and Eastern Europe are the result of socialism. Are we to answer this charge by denying the fact that Polish workers were shot down while demanding redress for their grievances or the fact that concentration camps for political prisoners exist in the USSR?

Denying the facts is not an answer. Any serious socialist cannot afford to deny facts or to keep quiet about them. The truth of the matter is that the terrible oppression in the "socialist" countries is NOT the logical outcome of socialism but that it results from a degenerate bureaucratic rulership which must be removed by the working class of those countries.

Finally, I don't think you're accurate in saying that the SWP thinks everything anyone else does is wrong. As you know from reading the Militant, we hail all movements such as the Montgomery bus boycott where workers and Negroes engage in struggle against their enemies, even though we may disagree with the policies of their leaders. We don't think the steel workers did wrong in striking against the steel barons, even though we condemn the McDonald leadership for the way it conducted the strike and the agreement that it signed. We support Egypt

in the Suez crisis despite our opposition to Nasser's politics.

I don't think the Militant has ever claimed that everything the SWP does is right. I personally would never make such a claim. But I do contend that the policies the SWP advocates are those that can advance the struggle for socialism in the U.S., and that they are more correct than those of other parties and groups active in politics. If there is a question about that claim, we are willing and eager to engage in discussion or debate with anyone about any of our policies that may be questioned or challenged. I would be glad to meet with you to discuss this and other questions at your convenience.

Sincerely,  
Rita Shaw

### Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Hear

RITA SHAW

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan present

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON SOCIALISM

Fri., Sept. 7, 8:00 P.M.

### TWIN CITIES ELECTION RALLIES

Hear  
Myra Tanner Weiss  
SWP CANDIDATE FOR  
VICE-PRESIDENT

Minneapolis  
"The American People Must  
Build a Labor Party"

Wed., Sept. 5, 8:00 P.M.  
10 South Fourth St.  
St. Paul

"The Elections and the Fight  
Against Segregation"  
Sun., Sept. 9, 3:00 P.M.  
American House, 444 Rice St.  
Questions and Discussion  
invited at both meetings

### THE SUEZ CRISIS

An examination of the  
revolution in Egypt today  
Fri., Sept. 14, 8:00 P.M.

### Los Angeles Election Rally

FARRELL DOBBS  
SWP Candidate for  
President

Will speak on:  
"Labor in the 1956 Elections"

Fri., Sept. 14, 8:15 P.M.  
Embassy Auditorium,  
North Hall  
839 South Grand Ave.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION