

## Pro-Gomulka Vote Masks Continued Conflicts in Poland

By George Lavan

JAN. 22 — The Polish people went to the polls on Jan. 20 and gave Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka what he had asked for — an overwhelming show of support.

Between 90 and 96% of eligible Poles voluntarily cast ballots. This participation compares favorably, or even exceeds, the turnouts achieved in the 1952 and previous elections when police measures were employed to get out the vote.

Secondly, crossing names of Communist Party candidates off the ballot was not widespread enough to defeat any of the 459 candidates favored by Gomulka. The specter of mass deletions of names from the ballot, constituting lukewarm support, or even a repudiation, of the new Polish regime, had brought election-eve pleas by Gomulka and his followers that crossing out on the ballot was tantamount to crossing Poland off the map. That these pleas were effective is demonstrated by the results.

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

the proposition: For or against Gomulka?

There were no opposition parties or candidates on the ballot. All had been approved by Gomulka. All were on the coalition slate of the National Front in the following proportions: Communist Party — 50%, Peasant Party — 25%, Democratic Party — 10%, the remainder being unaffiliated. The election differed from the usual single slate affair, however, in that the National Front put forth 720 candidates for 409 seats in parliament. The voter could choose among them by crossing off names. For example, in a district entitled to four seats, there might appear on the ballot the names of seven candidates. Crossing out the names of the top three would give the votes to the last four candidates. An unmarked ballot would be a vote for the first four names.

While the amount of crossing out varied from district to district, apparently it was nowhere heavy or concerted enough to defeat any of the top two-thirds of the slate. Thus Gomulka has been given his popular "vote of confidence," a coalition in the exact proportions he asked and a hand-picked parliament.

### "GOMULKA OR TANKS"

The overriding issue of the campaign was that of relations with the USSR. How to safeguard the concessions forced from the Kremlin since the beginning of the political revolution in October and to extend them without bringing on a massive intervention by the Russian army preoccupies the minds of the Polish people. Gomulka claims that he alone can walk the tight rope and that the choice in

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GOMULKA

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

### A "Fifty-Fifty" Break



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

By The Editors

For the second year in a row, President Eisenhower has proposed the largest peacetime military budget in history. Forty-five billion dollars, or roughly two thirds of the entire budget for the fiscal year beginning next July, will be spent in the United States and abroad to prepare for nuclear war. Another ten percent or \$7.4 billion will go directly into the coffers of big corporations, banks and insurance companies as "interest" on the national debt.

The spending budget is given as \$71.9 billion, or a \$2.9 billion increase over the current year. The amount of taxes taken out of the economy, however will be \$85.9 billion, since special taxes on highways, social security, etc. are not listed in the budget, and since there will be a \$1.8 billion surplus for "retirement" of the national debt. This means that more than 25% of the national income will go in taxes to the federal government alone.

Big business spokesmen are decrying Eisenhower's failure to curb the federal government's tax bite, and even Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, said that if the trend continues the country will have "a depression that would curl your hair."

The Jan. 17 Wall Street Journal, in agreeing with Humphrey, suggests cuts in school building funds, medical care and research, veterans hospitals, and soil and water conservation projects. Neither the Journal, nor Humphrey, nor any other spokesmen for Big Business, propose any real cuts in military spending. Yet it is precisely that section of the budget which is inflationary and which accounts for over \$2 billion of the increase in the proposed budget over that of the current year.

tion plus veterans' medical care and hospitals.

According to the budget message, these "vastly superior weapons have a profound impact on the size and composition of the military budget." New "Atomic Support Commands" are being formed to "provide nuclear fire power support for our allies in Europe, the Middle East, and perhaps the Far East," says the Jan. 20 New York Times.

The new budget reveals the meaning of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" for the Middle East. By replacing Great Britain and France in that area, U.S. capitalism is more and more revealing its true nature as the chief organizer of imperialist counter-revolution. It confronts the Arab revolution for national independence as an irreconcilable foe. The "Doctrine" gives the Big Business rulers of this country the power to order armed intervention against the colonial revolution without consulting Congress or the people. The budget makes it unmistakably clear that full-scale, cold-blooded preparations for the use of atom and hydrogen weapons in such intervention is now underway.

### Labor's Duty

It is the duty of the American labor movement to oppose the atomic war budget with all its strength. In the first place the budget provides only a pittance for social welfare; it robs the American people of its right to use the country's resources to build a better life for all; it fails to provide for the burning needs of education, housing, health and public construction. Secondly, the budget proposes to utilize the wealth produced by American workers and farmers to deliver atomic death and destruction to the insurgent colonial peoples who are rightfully fighting for their freedom.

The fact that both Big Business parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, are uniting behind the Eisenhower budget, is a bitter reminder that American labor is still without its own political party to represent its own political interests. Without such a party the billionaire monopolists continue to call the tune in Washington and the working people cannot have an effective means of opposing them.

### All for Destruction

This whopping increase is entirely devoted to the procurement of ghastly new weapons of mass destruction — nuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs and missiles, and devices to utilize them. The money to be spent on guided missiles alone is more than the entire amount earmarked for public education, plus public health, plus soil and water conserva-

## White Students Joining Negro-Bus Boycotters

By Vincent Grey

Almost buried in the capitalist press last week was the report of the historic act of twenty white Florida State University students in Tallahassee joining the Negro Inter-Civic Council's drive for full integration on city buses.

They attended the ICC mass protest rally against segregation on Jan. 17. Windows on two of their cars were smashed by white hoodlums while the meeting was going on. A day or two later, six Negro and white students were arrested for violating segregation rules on the buses. These rules are still imposed despite a Supreme Court decision outlawing bus segregation.

Afterward, defying threats of expulsion from the college, the group signed a letter in the student newspaper calling upon the student body to support the integration movement.

Up to now, there have been only individual cases of solidarity by whites in the South for the anti-segregation struggle. The student action is a real "first," a genuine "break-through."

It is only the joint action of Negro and white that can finally, page four.)

succeed in breaking down the racial barriers erected by an oppressive ruling class. The struggle of the Negro people has won the admiration of all class-conscious workers. But this magnificent fight is directed not only against the repressive measures of a ruling class, but against the prejudices of white victims of this class oppression. It is a fight for white allies by the very nature of the fight.

### MILLIONS WILL AID

The self-interest of a majority of whites must eventually compel them to come to the aid of the embattled Negro people. This force is made up of millions of white workers — especially those who belong, alongside their Negro union brothers and sisters to the organized labor movement. White workers cannot effectively force the capitalists to pay them higher wages while they are divided by Jim Crow

Students very often move faster in changing their opinions than do the workers. Thereby they can anticipate the coming movements of the working class. In this case, the students of Florida State who joined in defying segregation are anticipating the coming unity of white and Negro workers in the South.

True, the students' action may at first antagonize the majority of whites. But it is such a courageous act that it will make it easier for the next step of white solidarity to be taken, and still easier for the next step after that.

The Jim Crow system of the South does not rest only upon the cruel and reactionary legal system, but more immediately upon social pressure and upon terror. Any time a whole group of whites defies this social pressure and the threats of the KKK, the ugly system itself is thereby weakened.

In this sense, the students' action not only anticipates, but begins a new phase of the Negro struggle — that of winning Southern whites as active participants in it.

## The CP Faction Fight

By Harry Ring

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

The Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last year not only produced a crisis in the ranks of the American CP, but served to end a decade of uneasy "coexistence" between the Party's Nat'l Committee and its National Chairman, William Z. Foster. When Earl Browder was booted out in 1946, Foster assumed the titular leadership of the party but the decisive control rested with those who had previously comprised Browder's machine in the leadership. Supported by a few old-time associates, Foster remained in conflict with the rest of the committee for full control of the party's completely bureaucratized apparatus.

With the post-20th Congress developments, these power-seeking cliques emerged before the membership as the Gates and Foster tendencies. Meanwhile, many in the ranks, now recognizing that Stalinism and Leninism were differing and conflicting conceptions, were trying to find the way back to the authentic Leninism as the solution to the Party crisis.

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

### BOTH FEAR RANKS

Both Foster and Gates revealed the indelible stamp of long years of Stalinist politics. Neither was willing to make a full and honest appraisal of the past. Neither would clearly spell out the political platform on which he stood. Neither tendency dared entrust resolution of the party crisis to democratic process in the organization.

Through the mechanics of presenting a compromise draft resolution for the convention, both tendencies sought to avoid having the disputed question settled by the democratic decision of the membership. They feared that such a precedent would encourage the formation of independent groupings in the ranks advancing platforms opposed to that of both factions in the leadership.

The Gates tendency, with control of the Daily Worker, was the first to appear before the membership. It gave CP ranks

the initial impression of throwing off past submission to the Kremlin. The Daily Worker expressed shock at the revelations of Stalin's crimes. It apologized for its defense of these crimes, pledging that henceforth it would speak out unequivocally against such monstrous deeds as frame-up trials and persecution of the Jewish people.

The Daily Worker hailed the ascendancy of Gomulka to power in Poland and came to deplore Kremlin intervention in Hungary. It declared for an end to bureaucratic misrule in the CP although it was helping to prop it up. Thus, the Gates faction sought to recommend itself to the party ranks for such Leninist attributes as independent thinking, speaking the truth and supporting the

democratic rights of the membership.

In his bid for power, Foster employed a different strategy. It consisted essentially of letting the adversary get out on a limb, then trying to saw the limb off. For a month after the Khrushchev revelations, while the party was in a seething turmoil and his factional opponents were taking a stand, Foster maintained a public silence.

Finally, in the March 16 Daily Worker, he emerged to declare: "Our task is neither to rush indignantly to the defense of Stalin nor to tear him to political shreds, as some in our ranks are inclined to do."

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

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

Gates lost further ground when it became apparent that he was

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

By Myra Tanner Weiss

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

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

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

### GAITSKELL ABSENT

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

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

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

In a statement issued by the Unity Convention, the merger is described as "primarily the result of our turbulent era — profoundly changed social, economic and international developments — just as the original split between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation itself grew out of events of twenty years ago. . . events and circumstances have made unity between the SP and the SDF not only possible but imperative."

### REAL STORY OF SPLIT

This was apparently as close as the convention could come to an explanation of the "historic significance" of the merger. The "events of twenty years ago" that led to the split actually consisted of an upsurge of the American working class that

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

NEW YORK, Jan. 20 — Entering the 1957 New York City election campaign with a clear call for independent working-class political action, the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Joyce Cowley for Mayor at a convention last Sunday. Mrs. Cowley was the party's candidate for U.S. Senator in the 1956 elections.

During her campaign last fall, she presented the party's program at many many forums, Negro churches, radio debates and symposiums, TV appearances and interviews. She plans a similarly energetic campaign for the mayoralty race.

Mrs. Cowley is an active participant in the struggle to integrate New York City schools. (See story page four.) She has also written articles exposing the Santana frame-up (a case in which a Puerto Rican youth was railroaded to prison on a 25-year sentence) and spoke against the injustice over TV.

In announcing Mrs. Cowley's candidacy, Tom Kerry, New York SWP Chairman stated: "Although the city elections are still ten months off, we believe now is the time for radical and union organizations to make plans for presenting working class candidates. It is for this reason that we have nominated Mrs. Cowley at this time. We are ready, however, to discuss any other proposal for advancing independent working-class political action against Big-Business domination of New York City."

"We strongly recommend Joyce Cowley to the socialist-minded workers and youth of New York as well as to the city's entire working class. She will be campaigning on a socialist platform of opposition to American imperialism's war plans, of support to the Negro people in the South and the North, for support to the struggle of working people against inflation and sub-standard wages, and for the building of a labor party."

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## Events Refute Draft Resolution Of CP on "Co-Existence"

By Harry Ring

While sharply divided on other issues, the leadership of the Communist Party stands united on the main political line of the draft resolution which it has presented for adoption at the Party's forthcoming convention. Throughout the pre-convention discussion both the Foster and Gates wings of the National Committee has studiously avoided the fact that their draft resolution, written only four months ago, has already failed the test of events.

The central thesis of the resolution is that World War III can be averted by "peaceful co-existence" between imperialism and the non-capitalist world. The resolution contends that the perspective of such co-existence is now realizable because a decisive change allegedly occurred in the world situation in 1955 when "the Eisenhower administration was compelled to drop its opposition to great power negotiations, meet with the Soviet Union at Geneva, and formally renounce the use of force to resolve differences."

The resolution adds that "the pressures that brought Eisenhower to the Summit meeting are today stronger than ever. They are producing an 'agonizing reappraisal' on the part of Big Business and of various political circles. It is widely recognized that the bankrupt and dangerous Dulles' diplomacy of 'massive retaliation' and 'brink of war' has brought American prestige to a new low," etc.

### IS LENIN OUTMODED?

From this flows the resolution's main conclusion: "The prospect has opened up of bringing the cold war to an end and ushering in a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems." For the authors of the resolution, Geneva proved that Lenin's theory of war being inevitable under capitalism and being effectively fought only by the working class struggle for socialism was outmoded.

Unfortunately for the authors, the "spirit of Geneva" was already rapidly evaporating when they wrote the resolution. The declaration of the Eisenhower Doctrine now brings this "spirit" virtually to the vanishing point. The present schemes of the Administration to contain the Arab independence movement and to establish the domination of Wall Street in the Middle East brings us closer to the "brink" than did previous bellicose moves by Dulles.

Far from "bringing the cold war to an end," Eisenhower's saber-rattling inaugural address and the staggering new military budget mark an acceleration of the cold war against the colonial revolution. While Wall Street might execute yet another Geneva-type tactical shift, it should be clear that the trend of development does not resemble in the slightest anything projected in the draft resolution.

### REJECT CLASS-STRUGGLE THEORY

The discrepancy between the analysis and the reality is not simply a matter of a faulty estimate of a particular stage in a complex world situation. The resolution fails to anticipate and cannot satisfactorily explain the present international developments because it deliberately avoids a scientific examination of the class forces which shape them. The authors of the resolution cannot acknowledge that abiding international class struggle is the basic factor making for cold war, because such an approach would shatter their central plank of a "people's struggle to unfold the new era of peaceful co-existence and end the cold war altogether." This derives from an "analysis" which holds that "the danger of war has considerably subsided. This is the main feature of the present situation."

The resolution attempts to balance off this "main feature" of the situation by also noting that "the big trusts and corporations (have not) given up their aim of world domination." Here we have a correct statement of fact. But from it the resolution tries to draw the un-

warranted conclusion that the pressure of the Soviet orbit, the colonial world and the American people can compel the big trusts and corporations to abandon their aim of world domination and accept the need to dwell in peaceful co-existence with the non-capitalist world.

The post-Geneva events have served to torpedo this illusory theory that a durable "era" of peaceful co-existence is possible. The aim of U.S. imperialism to rule the globe is not simply the subjective aspiration of power-drunk tycoons. Far more decisive is the fact that such global domination is an organic need of U.S. imperialism in the era of the disintegration of world capitalism.

### GRIM CHOICES

With the rest of the capitalist world already in advanced state of decay, American imperialism's ultimate hope of survival is to smash the colonial revolution and to restore capitalism where it has been abolished. Wall Street knows it may not survive another war. But it also knows that it is doomed if it fails to stem the rising anti-capitalist tide. As history has already demonstrated, when their backs are to the wall, the capitalists will risk war as the alternative to final loss of power.

The "Geneva spirit" can be correctly understood only within the context of these choices confronting American imperialism. Wall Street did not go to Geneva to negotiate a settlement of "differences." The aim of imperialism at Geneva was to explore the possibility of a partial truce in the cold war in order to improve its position for the hot war which the surge of the colonial peoples had forced it to postpone.

Geneva did not mean — as the resolution contends — that U.S. Big Business was beginning to accept the idea that World War III had to be called off for good. If that had really been the meaning of Geneva then new pressures would have forced the American capitalist rulers even further down the road of "co-existence."

Instead, when the Arab revolution for national independence struck with such force at Suez, the imperialist demonstrated they could not and would not negotiate the Arab demand for a further measure of national independence. That is why the British and French, aided by the Israeli government, took the desperate plunge of a Korean-type "police action." And that is why Washington intervened with the Eisenhower Doctrine aimed at replacing British and French imperialism with what it hopes will be a more effective show of strength.

Geneva certainly demonstrated that the world relationship of forces has turned steadily against imperialism. But it is a pernicious distortion of reality to portray this development as proof that it is possible to gradually dispose of imperialist rule through "a new era of peaceful co-existence and competition of different social systems."

### RETURN TO LENIN'S TEACHINGS!

The false Kremlin "theory" that the war drive against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples is no longer inherent in imperialism — and the political line of the draft resolution which flows from this "theory" — can neither predict the course of imperialist development or aid the workers and colonial people of the world in their struggle for emancipation and lasting world peace.

In opposition to the Kremlin theory of "co-existence" with imperialism stands Lenin's characterization of the present epoch as one of "imperialist wars, colonial uprisings and proletarian revolutions." This characterization has been confirmed by events. It accurately portrays the reality and it provides the basis for defeating the war plans of imperialism through the indispensable policy of revolutionary struggle against it.

# Trotsky's 'The New Course'

THE NEW COURSE. By Leon Trotsky. London: New Park Publications, 1956, 111 pp., 50 cents. (Distributed in the U. S. by Pioneer Publishers).

Revelations of Stalin's bloody, capricious and ignorant tyranny, made by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, evoked from millions the questions: "Why didn't you do something to stop him?" and "How could such a monstrous situation come about?"

To the first question Khrushchev and Kremlin apologists throughout the world have pleaded the better part of valor — merely to have looked at Stalin oddly, let alone oppose him, would have cost Khrushchev or anyone else his head, they say. The latter question they try to answer with pseudo-psychological talk: as Stalin got older his vanity grew until it was an almost psychopathic obsession. Such beggaring of the question is the cult of the individual stood on its head. In Stalin's lifetime he was pictured as a demi-god, since his death he is pictured as an arch-fiend. This is about as enlightening as the "wisdom" of the peasant elders of a century ago who explained Russian history in terms of "good" czars and "bad" czars.

The reprinting of Trotsky's "New Course" is of particular value today in answering the questions which the 20th Congress raised but which the Communist Party leaders both in the USSR and abroad have left unanswered.

### BEGINNING OF FIGHT

"The New Course" shows that valiant efforts to stop Stalin were made and that part of that effort was an explanation of the process, then taking place, that would unfortunately culminate in the monstrous situation described by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress.

Written in 1923, this book was Trotsky's opening move to lance the tumor of bureaucracy which had developed within the party and was changing it from the spirited, democratic organization built by Lenin into an unthinking, docile tool of the apparatus. Trotsky and his supporters, who came to be known as the Left Opposition, continued this inner party fight until 1928 by which time the Stalin apparatus had

become strong enough to exile the great revolutionary leader and expel and imprison the members of the Left Opposition. Another decade witnessed the full development of the bureaucratic regime in the nightmarish "confession" trials, anti-Semitism and conversion of the Communist Party into a privileged but terrorized body of yesmen for the Kremlin.

When Trotsky wrote "The New Course" this process was in its early stages and still reversible. Trotsky was to extend and deepen his analysis of the Stalin regime with the unfolding of events. Yet for a complete understanding of a social phenomenon one must study its beginnings as well as its maturity. This is why this book is so useful for readers today.

Trotsky, however, was not writing The New Course for historians and students. It was a broadside fired at the degenerate elements that had gained the upper hand in the Bolshevik Party. It was the first organized attempt to stop what has become known to history as Stalinism. Thus the book is the record of the opening phase of a battle in which the future of the Soviet Union and the Communist move-

ment throughout the world was at stake.

The occasion for the opening of the struggle was the unanimous adoption by the leadership of the Communist Party of a resolution calling for "a new course" in the party: a struggle against the growing bureaucracy and a regeneration of party democracy. The ruling "troika" (trio) of the party — Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenov, however, voted for the resolution with tongue in cheek. Their control of the party was based on the growing bureaucratization and while they could be forced publicly to deplore it they had no intention of acting against it.

### CLEAR OUT BUREAUCRATS

Trotsky, on the other hand, wished to take the issue to the ranks of the party. "The New Course" consists of articles and letters he wrote analyzing for the membership not only what was going on but what should be done to remedy the situation.

For example, his first letter to the party meetings said: "The renovation of the party apparatus — naturally within the clear-cut framework of the statutes — must aim at replacing the mummified bureaucrats with fresh elements closely linked with the life of the collectivity, or capable of assuring such a link. And before anything else, the leading posts must be cleared out of those who, at the first word of criticism, of objection, or of protest, brandish the thunderbolts of penalties before the critic. The 'new course' must begin by making everyone feel that from now on nobody will dare terrorize the party."

"It is entirely insufficient for our youth to repeat our formulae. It must conquer the revolutionary formulae, it must assimilate them, work out its own opinions, its own physiognomy; it must be capable of fighting for its views with the courage which arises out of depths of conviction and independence of character. Out of the party with passive obedience, with mechanical leveling by the authorities, with suppression of personality, with servility, with careerism! A Bolshevik is not merely a disciplined man; he is a man who in each case and on each question forges a firm opinion of his own and defends it courageously and independently, not only against his enemies, but inside his own party."

### SOCIAL FORMATION

"Today perhaps he will be in the minority in his organization. He will submit, because it is his party. But this does not always signify that he is in the wrong. Perhaps he saw or understood before the others did a new task or the necessity of a turn. He will persistently raise the question a second, a third, a tenth time, if need be. Thereby he will render his party a service, helping it meet the new task fully armed or carry out the necessary turn without organic upheavals, without factional convulsions."

Though much of the struggle centered about restoration of party democracy and the right of the young generation of party members to full rights, Trotsky did not limit his articles to these sole issues. The bureaucratization of the party and consequent decline of democratic procedure did not stem from the activities of "bad" men. It was a social phenomenon and Trotsky goes into the social conditions from which these ugly manifestations sprang. This immediately brought up the need drastically to change the USSR's stagnating economy by the introduction of economic planning. Planning has become such an unquestioned and primary basis of the Soviet economy that it is hard for many today to believe that Trotsky was assailed from all sides and ridiculed for agitating for it.

The historic tragedy was that, with the failure of revolution in any of the advanced industrial countries, Russia's economic backwardness gave the bureaucracy the social base to destroy the Left Opposition and workers' democracy. In a short time, however, economic collapse forced the bureaucracy against its will to embrace economic planning. This it did with all the terrible overhead cost and brutality inherent in Stalinism. Yet the changed social conditions that 28 years of planned economy have brought about have now placed on the agenda of history a political revolution that will overthrow the Kremlin bureaucracy and restore workers' democracy.

Because it aids in understanding the present Soviet reality, "The New Course" is an invaluable addition to the library of every Marxist.

— George Lavan

## ... Faction Fight in CP

(Continued from page 1)

no more capable of resisting Foster's Kremlin-type pressure than of resisting the pressure of U.S. imperialism. After an initial posture of independence on Hungary, he caved in with a mumbled "qualified" support of the second treacherous invasion. Declared opponents of capital punishment, the DW editors have yet to express themselves on the Kadar decree invoking the death penalty for strikers.

The pledge to speak out against any further manifestation of Soviet anti-Semitism proved equally hollow. The Daily Worker failed to print a line of the recent interview of the Canadian CP leader, J. B. Salzberg, with Khrushchev where Stalin's heir insisted that the Soviet Jews were doing fine, that even his son was married to one, and that the only problem was that Jews didn't clean their streets, were continually starting synagogues and in general weren't very reliable citizens.

In opposition to Gates' program and record, Foster offers one thing; the preservation of the CP as a party and continued lip service to Marxism-Leninism. But tied in the Foster package deal is the old Stalinism. Criticism is in order only on sanction from the Kremlin. The Kremlin vilification of the Hungarian political revolution as a fascist uprising is to be accepted without question. A critic of the Kremlin, as in the old days, is automatically "anti-Soviet."

### WHERE FOSTER IS SOFT

The distinguishing characteristic of Foster's anti-Leninist politics is not only his defense of the Kremlin bureaucracy against the Soviet-orbit working class. Basic to his Stalinist line is a program favoring collaboration with the capitalist class.

For Foster, the Workers Councils that sprang up in Hungary were fascist agencies to be crushed by Kremlin tanks. For the same Foster, the capitalist Democratic Party in this country is an instrument for social progress. He even sees "important sections of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly itself" as capable of being drawn into an effective peace movement. (Political Affairs, Oct. 1955).

In this perspective of political class collaboration, Foster is, of course, in full accord with the Gates faction. It is this joint devotion to class-collaboration and joint opposition to an authentic socialist program of class struggle that makes it impossible for either Gates or Foster to lead the ranks of the Communist Party back to Lenin.

## They Showed New Course Against Stalin



Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, shown reviewing the Red Army. During the last year of his life Lenin opened a struggle against the growth of a bureaucratic machine in the Soviets and a bureaucratic faction in the party headed by Stalin. Lenin proposed to Trotsky that they collaborate in the fight against the bureaucracy and steer a new course towards the revival and strengthening of workers' democracy.

## ... Meaning of the Polish Vote

(Continued from page 1)

the election was between his policy and Russian tanks on the streets of Warsaw.

Gomulka received important pre-election support for this claim from Chinese Premier Chou En-lai who visited Warsaw in the last week of the campaign and signed a declaration of Polish-Chinese friendship. A price was paid for the Chinese support, however. This was a pledge of support to the Kadar regime in Hungary. This puppet regime was installed by the Kremlin after its bloody suppression of a revolution similar in origin to that which brought Gomulka to power in Poland. The Kadar regime is as detested by the Polish people as the Hungarian people.

A notable feature of the election was the support given Gomulka by the Catholic Church. Cardinal Wyszynski seconded the get-out-the-vote campaign with a pastoral letter calling on all Catholics to vote. The letter also directed that church services on election day be arranged to facilitate voting.

Wyszynski's support is in return for concessions made to his church. Among these are restoration of Catholic religious instruction in the public schools, reopening of Catholic newspapers and magazines, legalization of Catholic political organizations and acceptance of some Catholic candidates on the slate of the National Front.

### PROMISES FOR ALL

Gomulka's supporters campaigned on the achievements of the regime that appeal to all sections of the population. In addition to the measure of independence won from the Kremlin, the better trade terms with the USSR, the return from the Soviet Union of many Poles long held there, and the curbing of the secret police were stressed. Promises were made in the form of an order to review 4,823 prison sentences passed by the high military courts during the Stalin era and the dismissal of eight Supreme Court judges. A new agreement with the USSR for the return of more imprisoned Poles was announced.

In addition to these, specific appeals were made to the material interests of the various classes. Thus for the workers there was a stressing of recent wage increases, a promise that the price of coal would not be increased, this winter, an announcement that a thousand badly-needed buses would be built, etc.

For the urban petty bourgeoisie there was the announcement that private wholesale business would be licensed. For the peasants denunciations of forced collectivization and resumption of the co-operatives destroyed during the Stalin era. For the Catholics the church-state settlement was praised.

### INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

The aura of "national savior" gained by Gomulka in the October days has not yet worn thin, though first signs of this have begun to appear. The election victory more than ever makes him appear a leader above classes and parties. For the fact is that Gomulka does not control the Communist Party.

His faction remains as yet a minority in the United Workers Party, as the OP of Poland is officially called. The party and government bureaucracy is still in the hands of the old Stalinist gang headed by the Natolin clique. (Natolin is the swank suburb of Warsaw where many top bureaucrats live.) It is believed that Gomulka will now try to take over control of the party using his popularity and control of parliament as levers. Apparently he excluded his factional opponents from the slate of candidates—only 83 of 425 outgoing members of parliament stood for re-election. (In the elections, those Natolinists who were elected invariably polled the lowest votes.)

However, Gomulka's future is fraught with uncertainty. He is held aloft by the pressures of contrary forces. A change in the strength of any of these forces may upset the whole unstable equilibrium and bring him and his policy tumbling down.

### CLASH OF SOCIAL FORCES

The Polish Revolution is still in its opening national stage. National independence has not been achieved. It has been stopped mid-way. The incomplete

tasks of the national phase of the revolution tend to keep the various elements of the population together behind Gomulka. Thus an election on the issue of "Gomulka or Russian tanks" uniting workers and intellectuals tending toward revolutionary Marxism with conservative Catholics and petty bourgeois at the polls.

But beneath the unifying desire for self-rule for Poland there lie diverse and contradictory class aims. Restorationist elements envisage a capitalist Poland with Catholicism the state religion. The militant workers and students envisage a socialist Poland following its own course. The peasantry doubtlessly contains both these views and shadings in between.

Moreover, day-to-day struggles between workers, bureaucracy, church and peasantry, even the struggle within the party, threaten the equilibrium holding up Gomulka. Each pressure on him is also his support. Indeed, the very pressure of the Kremlin is as essential to his regime as is the nationalist pressure from within Poland.

### GOMULKA CURBS WORKERS

Loss of church support by Gomulka would make him that much more dependent on the workers or on the bureaucracy. Loss of the workers' support would throw him into the arms of the restorationists or of the bureaucracy.

In the months following the October days Gomulka tried to restrain the workers' committees which had put him in power and had decisively backed him against the Kremlin. He protested their militancy in taking over management of the factories and mines. Their eagerness to smash the bureaucracy, he dubbed a witch hunt. He depends on them, yet is trying to confine them within the limits of revolution marked out by that section of the bureaucracy he represents. It is a more liberal, democratic and pro-Poland section of the bureaucracy, there is no doubt. But it still stands in contradiction to the proletarian mass. But this mass is the most dynamic force in Poland and will not be mastered but will master.

## The Real Position of Hungarian Communists

By John Thayer

Was the revolution in Hungary "anti-Communist" as so many American newspapers put it. John MacCormac, the New York Times correspondent in Budapest describes (Jan. 13) "what has happened in Hungary" as "a Communist-led revolution of the workers, peasants and intellectuals against communism."

Bela Kovacs, leader of the Smallholders Party, who joined the Nagy cabinet which was deposed by Russian tanks, told a correspondent for Reporter magazine (Dec. 13, 1956): "This was a revolution from the inside, led by Communists. There is not a shred of evidence that it was otherwise."

A mere going over of the news accounts show that not only in Nagy's government but in the fighting groups, workers' councils, student and intellectual organizations of men and women, who but a few weeks before had been members of the Hungarian Communist Party, occupied leading positions.

To take but one example. A leading role both in bringing the Hungarian army over to the people and in the subsequent fighting against the Russian troops was played by Communist Party army officers, particularly those who were veterans of the Spanish Civil War. Among these were Col. Pal Maleter (recently condemned to death by Kadar), who led the heroic defense of the Kilian Bar-

racks; Goldstein, who commanded at Pecs; and Silo, who commanded at Gyor.

The fact of the matter is that only a minority of the Hungarian Communist Party supported the Kremlin. The majority were in the ranks of the freedom-fighters. These were the people who made public bonfires of their party membership cards after they had pulled down the monstrous statue of Stalin. They were not burning their belief in true communism (as MacCormac of the New York Times believes), but expressing their hatred of the betrayal of communism that the Kremlin bureaucrats and their Hungarian stooges represented.

As in Poland, the revolutionary movement in Hungary began inside the Communist Party over a year ago. Courageous workers, students and intellectuals secretly organized and spoke out in ever bolder terms of criticism and condemnation. The news of the June 28 uprising in Poznan, Poland, immediately inspired them to action in Hungary. They organized great mass meetings at which the most daring denunciations of the regime were uttered. CP leaders who tried to defend the regime were shouted down. The slogans, "the party leaders must go" and "bring back Imre Nagy," were launched.

This agitation within the CP frightened the leadership into offering up as scapegoats Premier Matyas Rakosi, Hungary's "little Stalin," who went

into exile in Moscow, and police head Farkas, who was expelled. But the CP militants, who were starting a revolution, were not to be so easily appeased. They wanted to get rid of the whole Kremlin system, and the October events in Poland was the signal for Communist Party students, intellectuals and workers from "Red Csepel" to stage the demonstrations which led directly to the insurrection.

Csepel, the Detroit of Hungary, an industrial complex built on an island on the edge of Budapest, got its adjective "Red" because of the long Communist tradition of its 38,000 workers. From the beginning of the revolution to this day it remains the principal seat of resistance to Kremlin rule.

Before the revolution the Hungarian CP had 800,000 members. After Oct. 23 almost all save a few thousand irrevocably compromised bureaucrats and the highly-paid secret police (privates got three times the pay of the average worker, officers ten times) left the party by joining the revolution.

The new Kremlin-controlled CP that Kadar is attempting to build under a new name has proven a miserable fiasco. It has the hopelessly compromised Stalinist bureaucrats and the secret police, but few others. These others are for the most part weaklings who have been coerced into joining by threats that otherwise they will be fired from their jobs.

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By Leon Trotsky

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## Are Civil Liberties 'Subversive'?

Resistance to the witch hunt in America has undoubtedly increased. Yet paradoxically one of the principal weapons of this witch hunt, the "subversive" list, continues to grow, like a cancerous tumor still untouched by therapy. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Jan. 19, added 137 new organizations and publications to its proscribed list published in 1951, reaching a grand total of 733 that are pronounced "verboten."

In the new listing are such organizations as the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. To include these organizations built to defend the victims of the witch hunt is to compound the crime of the witch hunters. Defense committees have the limited objective of presenting the case for the witch-hunt victims to the American people, and of trying with its aid to undue judicial wrongs.

To threaten and intimidate such organizations is flagrantly to obstruct justice. The highest court of appeal in the judicial structure of this country is the American people. It was the labor movement in organized struggle that finally exposed the judicial frame-ups in such famous cases as that of Mooney and Billings and Sacco and Vanzetti.

In attempting to cut off the avenue of public appeal to those who are persecuted by the witch hunt, the House Committee reveals its fear to have their cases examined too closely in the open court of popular discussion.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, for example, worked for over a year to obtain proof that the prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial lied when it told the jury that Sobell had been deported from Mexico. Clearly, the House Un-American Activities Committee aims to prevent the American people from hearing this new evidence. Else why the listing?

## Mayor Wagner's Medals

That "great liberal Democrat," Mayor Wagner of New York, who was the Democratic candidate for Senator, has recently accepted medals from two dictators: Franco of Spain and Batista of Cuba. Batista's troops and police are currently engaged in killing and jailing young people throughout Cuba who oppose his bloody regime. While Franco's ambassador was pinning the Grand Cross of Civil Merit of Spain on Wagner's chest and two of his aides, the Fascist police were arresting and beating strikers and street-car boycotters in Barcelona and other cities.

The labor movement in New York tried hard to dissuade Wagner from accepting Franco's medal. Delegates representing a half-million union workers protested. Especially eloquent were spokesmen for Puerto Rican unionists, who declared that Wagner's acceptance "tended to cover up all the reactionary, fascist and anti-labor deeds of the Franco regime and the Falangist movement."

Despite the big labor protest and the opposition of liberals manifested by an anti-medal campaign in the New York

The prosecution in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial had the daily presentation of their side of the case with the help of the entire capitalist press. Is not the defendant, Morton Sobell, his wife and those who have taken the trouble to study the entire case to have the right, without fear and intimidation, to present the arguments of the defense?

Go back and read the press at the time of the trial in 1951. How many readers of these daily papers in that period of intense hysteria would understand the following facts: Sobell was never accused of committing atomic espionage. No evidence was ever introduced that he committed any kind of espionage. He was convicted of "conspiring" to commit espionage solely on the testimony of one man, an admitted perjurer, who gave "accomplice testimony" and escaped arrest.

How many people believe that Sobell was tried and convicted by the Government of Mexico in deportation proceedings as the prosecution intimated? How many know that the Government of Mexico, instead, protested to U. S. authorities in both Laredo, Texas, and Washington, D.C. for a violation of the Extradition Treaty between these two countries in the kidnapping of Sobell and his family?

The power of the prosecution to spread its lies against the witch-hunt victims is a thousand times greater than the power of the defense to publicize the truth. By characterizing a defense committee as "subversive," the witch-hunters seek to reinforce the side of the lie.

All the more reason, then, for the labor movement to examine the facts in the Morton Sobell case to determine the truth. When this is done, we are sure that the demand for a new hearing for this man, who has already spent more than six years in prison, will be supported by all who care for justice.

Post, Wagner persisted in accepting the dictators' decorations. His weak excuse was that he could not refuse an award offered by a government friendly to the United States. This hypocrisy is exposed by asking oneself what Wagner would do if offered a medal by the Soviet Union or by Egypt since both these governments have ambassadors in Washington which, by diplomatic definition, makes them friendly to the U.S.

Politician Wagner accepted the medals because Cardinal Spellman and other elements in New York, who admire Franco have more influence over him than do the labor leaders and liberals. Labor's rank and file should remember that when their leaders ask them next year to endorse and finance Wagner's campaign for re-election.

The New York local of the Socialist Workers Party has already nominated Joyce Cowley as its candidate for mayor. If she were elected there is no likelihood that Franco or Batista would proffer medals to New York's mayor. They reserve such "honors" for America's capitalist politicians.

## ... Social Democrats Merge

(Continued from page 1)

brought into existence a powerful left wing and scared the right wing, composed largely of labor bureaucrats and their stooges, into walking out in 1936.

The workers and youth in the Socialist Party at that time in addition to other issues were outraged at the betrayal of the German working class. The German section of the Social Democrats permitted Hitler to walk into power without a single blow to prevent it. By 1938 this left wing together with Trotskyists who had been expelled from the Communist Party and other militant forces, joined together to form the Socialist Workers Party. The SP-SDF represents the unification after two decades of two sections of the right wing of the Socialist Party.

The healing of the 20-year breach takes place in a period of conservatism in American labor and marks a further turn to the right. The most "imperative" of the "events and circumstances" that brings unity today in the desire of the Second International "socialists" to have an American section to support officially the capitalist West in the struggle against "world,

communism." Right wing socialists, in addition, feel the need to pool their forces to stem growing interest in regroupment of American radicals on a revolutionary basis as a result of the crisis of Stalinism.

### FIRST ACTION

The program on which the merger takes place is servile support to the U.S. State Department and its preparations for World War III. Speeches about "human decency" and the "moral strength of Socialism" were made to give a "socialist" ring to such State Department propaganda blasts as "the latest shifts in Soviet foreign policy... confronts the free world with problems more fearsome than before," contained in the Unity Statement issued by the convention.

The role that the SP-SDF will play in the labor movement is expressed in its first official public action. On Jan. 25 it is sponsoring a meeting in New York City not to protest U.S. imperialism's war plans in the Mid-East but to hear Anna Kethly, Norman Thomas and others speak on Hungary. The December issue of the Socialist Call, pointing out that the "So-

cialist Party has cooperated closely with Anna Kethly, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary," reports that Miss Kethly "will call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary."

The Social Democrats have caught the war mood emanating from Washington. They are ready to do their part in heating up the cold war. In the guise of helping the Hungarian workers in their struggle against the Kremlin, the SP-SDF point to Hungary as an area to be subjected by imperialist "police action." That is the real significance of their demand for a UN Emergency Force.

Finally, the new organization is opposed to running independent socialist candidates in the U.S. — except in cases like Milwaukee where SP candidates when elected go on to back the Democrats. Like the Communist Party leaders, the SP-SDF endorse the policy of the labor bureaucrats in support of the Democratic Party. It should be clear that this unity convention has nothing to do with the regroupment of socialist and communist workers and youth on a revolutionary socialist program.

# Dobbs Talk on Socialist Unity

(Text of speech made by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at symposium, Jan. 18, on the topic "Can the Left Unite?" Also see story, this page.)



FARRELL DOBBS

We are gathered tonight to discuss the question: can the socialist movement unite? It seems pertinent to the subject to mark the absence from the platform of spokesmen for the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. I understand that both parties were invited to send representatives and that both declined to participate.

Their absence tonight would indicate these parties are arriving at settled positions on the question of regroupment. From their press one can readily perceive the political line on which these parties take their stand. The Socialist Party supports imperialism against the socialist and colonial revolutions abroad. The Communist Party supports the Kremlin bureaucracy against the political revolution of the workers in the Soviet sphere who are fighting to establish workers' democracy within the framework of the workers' states.

### FOSTER-GATES DIVISION

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, each for their own reasons, advocate support of the Democratic Party. Both parties reject revolutionary socialist principles. Neither party will enter into public discussion with revolutionary socialists. Each taken an ultimatum attitude toward regroupment.

Looking more deeply into the situation we find a division within the bureaucracy of the Communist Party between the Foster and Gates wings. The Gates wing manifests motion to the right under the pressure of the crisis of Stalinism. They want to find an accommodation with the social democrats, the union bureaucrats and the liberal capitalists. They seek "peaceful co-existence" within the framework of Democratic Party politics. They want to loosen the CP ties with the Kremlin and change the name and form of the party in order to facilitate their class-collaborationist maneuvers.

Insofar as the Gates wing of the CP may break away from Kremlin domination, they can be expected to move toward social-democratic positions, not toward revolutionary-socialist politics.

The Foster wing represents the hard Stalinist core of the Communist Party. They agree with the Gates group on the policy of supporting the Democratic Party because this happens to coincide with the Kremlin's foreign policy aims. But the Fosterites remain firmly tied to the Soviet bureaucracy, a course they perceive as the only basis for the continued existence of the discredited Communist Party.

### SP-SDF FUSION

The Fosterites, who are against any regroupment that would displace the CP, attack the Gates wing as liquidators. They aim to perpetuate the role of the Communist Party as a Stalinist agency within the labor movement, an aim that can have nothing in common with a revolutionary-socialist regroupment.

Turning to the social-democratic sphere we note that a merger convention is now in session through which the Socialist Party is uniting with the League Democratic Federation. Central to the unification is the total capitulation of the Socialist Party to the SDF line of all-out support to imperialism, as manifested in the December 1956 issue of the Socialist Call.

In an editorial on the unification the Call states: "Socialists in this country need unity in order to continue their own efforts to assist their comrades abroad... who occupy seats of political power in the free nations." By this they clearly mean such "socialists" as Premier Mollet of France, one of the authors of the Franco-British-Israeli military invasion of Egypt in an effort to overturn the nationalization of the Suez Canal. They clearly mean the same Mollet who has undertaken in the service of French imperialism to drown in blood the independence struggle of the Algerian people.

The Call also reports that "the Socialist Party will cooperate closely with Anna Kethly, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, who... will call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary." Called by its right name this is an appeal for imperialist military intervention which would aim to restore capitalism in Hungary, not to establish workers' democracy on a socialist basis as the Hungarian Workers Councils have set as their goal.

In a joint "Memorandum of Understanding" the SP-SDF has made clear that the unified group will conduct no more national election campaigns with candidates of their own. An exception is allowed for local campaigns where candidates have

principle the ISL seeks to obscure by setting aside the fundamental issue of class struggle against imperialism and hinging their position on the question: democratic socialism or Stalinism? From this premise they urge the importance of Socialist Party participation in any regroupment to allay fears it might have a "Stalinoid tinge." On this road they arrive at the concept of a loose federation of social-democratic groups which would be bound to have a pro-imperialist coloration. Such a policy is the opposite of a program for a revolutionary-socialist regroupment.

### NEW TRENDS

The motion to the right of the Independent Socialist League, the Socialist Party and of the Gates wing of the Communist Party is in each case caused by the present adverse political climate in this country. All these tendencies are bending under the prolonged pressures of the artificial, war-created prosperity, and the consequent weight of capitalist reaction which bears down upon all radicals. But these manifestations are not the basic features of the present shakeup in the radical movement.

The primary impulse toward a socialist regroupment arises from the crisis of Stalinism. That crisis stems from the developing political revolution in the Soviet sphere where the workers are fighting to depose the Stalinist bureaucrats from power. The aim of the workers' revolutionary intervention in Soviet political life is to establish the democratic rule of the working class on the basis of the socialist property forms. A new era has been opened with the developing political revolution. It will give fresh impetus to the world revolution as a whole, adding fuel to the already white-hot fires of colonial revolution and leading toward social revolutions by the working class in the imperialist countries.

Negative manifestations of the Stalinist crisis are revealed through the polarization of the Foster and Gates wings, centered within the Communist Party bureaucracy. On the positive side, a section of the CP ranks and periphery are striving toward a revolutionary-socialist position, seeking to regroup themselves around a Leninist program.

Even within the social-democratic milieu some resistance to the rightward trend has appeared among younger elements. They are repelled by the idea of becoming captives—in the name of a crusade for so-called "socialist democracy"—to a policy which is in reality pro-imperialist in its political implications.

These leftward moving elements cannot be fused with those

moving to the right. The contradictions between these opposite trends cannot be embraced within a single all-inclusive formation founded on virtually no program. They cannot be held together through empty formulas about "socialist democracy" which have been stripped bare of working class principles. Such an organizational hodgepodge would at best fly apart at the first shock of events. Even worse, however, it would actually be a trap for the ensnarement of radicals into support of capitalist politicians and their imperialist foreign policy.

On the order of the day for a socialist regroupment is a thorough political discussion. Only in this way can the concrete motion of the various tendencies be clearly determined and an assessment made of those issues that are basic to a principled revolutionary position. A full discussion is necessary to bring programmatic clarity to those elements who are now groping in a

revolutionary-socialist direction. Among the positions basic to a revolutionary-socialist program, the Socialist Workers Party poses the following: Defense of the workers' states and the colonial revolution against imperialism. Support to the workers' political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet sphere. Formation of an independent labor party in opposition to the capitalist parties. In 1957, run socialist candidates wherever possible. A class struggle policy in the unions and a working class policy in support of the Negro struggle for civil rights. Defense of civil liberties for all, including members of the Communist Party. Build a revolutionary-socialist party based on class struggle principles.

The Socialist Workers Party will welcome discussion of these and other issues basic to a principled socialist program and will participate in such discussion to the fullest extent through all available means.

## Kremlin Again Confesses Real Stalin Role in 1917

By C. R. Hubbard

The task of correcting the falsification of history under Stalin — a task set down by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union — has now been undertaken by Khrushchev, leading "theoretical" organ in the USSR. As expected, however, the "correction of history" is to be confined to admitting the opposition of Stalin to Lenin. The role played by Trotsky in the Russian Revolution and, even more significantly, in the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy he represented will continue to be suppressed.

Khrushchev acknowledges the profound differences between Lenin and Stalin in the earliest days of the Russian Revolution. When Lenin returned to Russia from exile in April of 1917 he found the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Stalin, among others, deeply committed to the policy of supporting the capitalist Provisional Government together with the Mensheviks. Lenin, in his famous April Thesis, castigated this line and called for struggle around the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets."

Stalinist historians distorted this important period of struggle to orient the Party toward the conquest of power by referring falsely to the "Leninist-Stalinist course" developed in the April days.

The opposition of Zinoviev and

Kamenev to Lenin's policy of preparing the October insurrection was represented by Stalinist historians as a crime committed by Zinoviev and Kamenev alone. Now Khrushchev admits the fact — previously struck from Stalinist histories — that Stalin was editor of the central Bolshevik paper, when it carried the attack on Lenin's October policy.

To reduce Stalin from the position of Lenin's "chief collaborator" to his rightful place as only a lukewarm supporter, and possibly cautious opponent of Lenin within the Bolshevik movement suits the needs of Stalin's heirs. But to further admit that Trotsky was co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and the builder of the Red Army — that the bureaucracy will not do. For this would compel it to make further admissions — namely, that Trotsky joined with Lenin to launch the fight against the bureaucracy headed by Stalin; that Trotsky continued this highly progressive fight after Lenin's death; and that Trotsky's writings are the principal guide for Marxist-Leninist opposition to the despotic rule of the privileged bureaucrats at whose head now stand Stalin's heirs.

## Five Speakers Discuss Left-Wing Regroupment

By Daniel Roberts

NEW YORK, Jan. 20 — Differing views on the problem of regroupment in the American radical movement were presented here last night at a symposium sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum. The topic of the meeting was "Can the Left Unite?" The speakers included Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and candidate for President in the 1956 elections; John T. McManus, General Manager of the National Guardian, a weekly newspaper; A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Independent Socialist League. Clifford T. McAvoy, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Forum, chaired the meeting.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party were invited to participate in the symposium, but each declined. Clifford McAvoy said that the Socialist Unity Forum was created to achieve the unification of the American Left. This "is the greatest necessity in American political life today... It is entirely possible for the five or six or seven groups to unite on a socialist program."

Presenting the position of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs stressed the need for full discussion of basic issues to bring clarity to those groping for a revolutionary socialist program. (See text of Dobbs speech, this page.) He outlined the stand the SWP takes on key issues confronting the radical movement and presented it as the party's contribution to a discussion of Socialist regroupment.

Asked by A. J. Muste in the course of the discussion what he understood by the defense of the workers' states, Dobbs explained that it meant exposing politically the character of the war that U.S. imperialism is preparing to

launch and campaigning for repudiation by the working people of this war drive. Defense of the workers' states also includes sympathy for such uprisings in the Soviet orbit as that of the Hungarian working class against the Kremlin, said Dobbs, because these revolutionary movements aim at freeing these states from bureaucratic tyranny in order to permit a further advance to socialism on the basis of the existing socialized property relations.

The program advanced by Max Shachtman of the ISL envisaged unity of the radical movement on the program of "democratic socialism" inside the Socialist Party. "What is the reason for the fragmentation of the radical movement since 1917?" Shachtman said. "It is the Russian question, so-called. It split the Socialist Party in 1918 [over the issue of support to the Russian Revolution — D. R.] then the Communist Party, then the Trotskyist movement... Unity is possible if now all groups freeze their positions on the Russian question and do not make their views on the Russian question a precondition for unity. Political agreement is possible for all groups on the basis of democratic socialism. Above all they must want democracy in the Soviet Union. The only condition necessary for unity is agreement that totalitarianism is not compatible with socialism. Thus the movement cannot be committed to the proposition that the Soviet Union is a workers' state of any kind or represents socialism to any degree."

Shachtman indicated that differences over such questions as whether or not to support capitalist candidates should be no bar to unity.

And at no time during the meeting did Shachtman condemn the support given by the Socialist Party and Social Demo-

cratic Federation to the U.S. State Department's foreign policy. Despite the pro-American imperialist nature of the SP-SDF merger, he still held out the Socialist party as the organization for socialist regroupment.

John T. McManus said the 50,000 readers of the National Guardian are favorable to a realignment of socialist forces. These readers would appreciate a wholesome socialist movement not engaged in fratricidal struggle. They are not ready to write off 38 years of the Soviet Union, he said. They have been tempered in the Korean War and in the fight around the Rosenberg case. They are against red-baiters. And they will not go into the Democratic Party.

The viewpoint of the Socialist Unity Forum on what should constitute the program for unity was presented from the floor by George Clarke. He berated Dobbs for taking a "rigid" stand on the question of the political revolution in the Soviet orbit. "Isn't it enough," he said, "that people be critical of Stalinism and advocate change to greater democratization?" He then pleaded with Shachtman to be less "rigid" in his enmity to the Soviet Union.

A. J. Muste said that he was not enthusiastic about a simple merger of the existing groups such as Shachtman recommended should take place inside the Socialist Party. Such a merger would lack a foundation in principles. Any unification should be based on thorough discussion of basic issues such as were presented by Farrell Dobbs. Every group, the Communist and Socialist Parties also, must be included in a genuine discussion looking to unity. The process of the discussion itself, he said, will attract new forces in the labor movement to the radical movement.



## Good News from Texas

When Southern whites take a public stand against segregation, that's news; when a Southern organization, representing thousands of white and colored workers, lines up against the white supremacists, that's particularly good news and should be spread far and wide.

The Texas State CIO Council last month adopted a resolution calling on its members to co-operate in abolishing discrimination in public schools and public agencies, according to the January issue of Southern School News.

The Council also recommended that the legislature pass a law "prohibiting use of symbols, religious or otherwise, for the purpose of intimidation and/or coercion" — a measure aimed at outlawing the Klan's burning cross, no doubt.

The Texas CIO's Committee on Human Rights reported to the state convention: "We wish to commend the more than 100 local school districts that are now in their second year of compliance with the ruling of the Supreme Court. More than 800,000 school children are now studying in integrated schools without one single serious incident being recorded in schools actually integrated. We also commend the public school districts which have taken steps to integrate their faculties as well. These gains have been made despite the interference and opposition of our Governor and Attorney General who have used every means of advancing their

motives by appealing to the prejudices of some of our people. . .

"We are aware of the recent rise of hate organizations in the state of Texas. We recognize them for what they are and for the denial of human rights and resistance to government by law upon which they thrive. . . We recommend that the Texas State CIO Council and all of our affiliates give every possible assistance and support to those organizations and community forces seeking to combat the program of the 'hate' organizations. . ."

The stand taken by the Texas CIO is significant because close to a million Negroes live in that state, whose population is eight million. Moreover, according to official census figures, no other state has seen a greater growth of its city populations in recent years. In the decade from 1930 to 1940, ten Texas metropolitan areas (population over 50,000) increased in size from 40 to 95 per cent.

If the Texas CIO now suits action to words, the fight against segregation will rise to a new height . . . and so will union organization in that Southern state. When the workers — black and white — in Southern industrial centers and large metropolitan areas, unite in their own class organization to consciously and publicly oppose the Jim Crow policies of the state, then the main highway to integration and union organization in the South will be open.

## My First Boss

By Ben Stone

My first job was that of errand boy at the tender age of 15, and like all good young Americans, I was determined to make good. Spurred on by the American dream of Success, I was certain of becoming the President of United States or a millionaire. Inspired by the movies, the thought also recurred intermittently that I would somehow rescue a rich man's daughter from certain death and marry into her fortune.

My first boss was a man by the name of Wolf, which in retrospect I think was appropriate enough. He and his wife, who served as his assistant, looked at me with the tender solicitude of a couple of wolves about to devour a young lamb. "Young man," Mr. Wolf said to me in our first interview, the memory of which I will always cherish, "You're a clean-cut chap and if you're honest and ambitious, you'll go far."

He didn't say how far, but I soon found out when I carried his heavy packages around town. Every day the packages kept getting heavier and heavier and even one

block began to seem too far. I started wondering if the boss hadn't mistaken me for a horse.

Each day I felt like cutting short my promising career with the Wolfs, but how could I go home and tell my mother I had quit my job? Especially since I was bringing home \$8 a week.

Finally, in desperation, just when my arms seemed ready to fall off, I quit. The Wolfs were terribly disappointed in me. "Why didn't you let us know the packages were too heavy for you?" they cried. "All right, son, we'll give you lighter packages from now on."

But by this time I hated the sight of the sanctimonious pair, and I felt a great weight lifted from me as I left.

On the way home to tell my mother the sad news, I felt determined to find a new and better job which would be easier and would pay more. Little did I know how many more jobs and bosses I was to have. My next employer was the subsidiary of a big public utility. But that's another story and another column.

# N. Y. Negro Mothers Debate Racists at School Brd. Meet

By Joyce Cowley

On Jan. 17, several hundred people crowded into the Board of Education's public hearing on school integration in New York City. The hearing lasted almost six hours and there were 87 speakers representing major social, civic, labor and religious groups. This hearing was the result of a three-year fight on the part of organizations representing the Negro people and other minorities, backed up by the determination and hard work of the parents themselves.

Most of the demands raised during this fight were incorporated in two reports of Subcommittees of the Board of Education, on Zoning and on Teacher Assignments. Such a widespread organizational support had been mobilized to put pressure on the Board that approval of the recommendations seemed almost certain. But opposition developed from numerous teachers' organizations. Almost without exception, they spoke against the integration proposals. Their opposition was mainly due to fear that they might be assigned to "difficult" schools. (They consistently referred to schools attended by large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children as "difficult.") A Negro veteran, representing the 369th Veterans Association, pointed out that the attitude of the teachers may create much of the difficulty.)

## WCC MATERIAL

Support for anti-integration teachers came from William Pfeffer of the Cambria Heights Association, claiming to represent 200 Queens home owners. He denied that segregation actually existed in New York and said that children in some schools were "difficult" because of improper home training. He felt that any change would bring "hardship" to white parents and children by disproportionately favoring Negroes. "Why," he asked, "should we be subjected to a sociological experiment? . . . After all, many of the great Negro leaders came from the segregated schools in the south." A young man describing himself as a "citizen of Queens" backed up Pfeffer and declared that it



JOYCE COWLEY

was the "communists" who favored school integration.

If Pfeffer and his friends sound like good material for White Citizens Councils in the North, so did many of the teachers. Miss Ella Rose of the Teachers Alliance said that immigrants who came to this country lived in the same neighborhood because they spoke the same language and "they were never unhappy or considered themselves segregated." Mrs. May Healy, of the Joint Committee of Teacher Organizations, said: "Such localities (i.e. ghetto neighborhoods) are natural. They are the result of origin, pride, etc. . . They cater to the social customs and recreational habits of the people. 'Like' people want to live together and it is their right to do so." She concluded that it was also their right to move out of such a neighborhood if they wished.

One of the Negro mothers, representing a Brooklyn P.T.A., pointed out that if it was possible for Negroes to move to other neighborhoods, there would be no need for this hearing on integration in New York City schools. The Board of Education is presumably impartial. However, in spite of announcing a five-minute time limit, it permitted

speakers like Mrs. Healy, and Mrs. Concetta Roy of the High School Teachers Association, who opposed the recommendations on integration, to take from ten to fifteen minutes.

But Rose Russell of the Teachers Union was cut off after five minutes. She protested the ruling of the Chair, because she represented the only teachers' organization fully supporting the recommendations, while all those opposing it had received extended time. Although she was finally forced to leave the platform, the audience applauded her enthusiastically for several minutes. An hour later, a ruling suddenly came through granting her an additional five minutes.

## NEGRO MOTHERS SPEAK

A representative of the Socialist Party took this opportunity, not to discuss school integration, but to differentiate herself from "communist-type" organizations like the Socialist Workers Party whose stand favoring integration I had presented. [See excerpts from Joyce Cowley statement, this page — Ed.] The SP representative attacked "communists" for "selling the Negro down the river" and seemed to think the most important reason for integrating the schools was to make anti-communist propaganda abroad "more effective."

An inspiring contrast to the chauvinism of the teacher organizations and the Queens "home owners," and the red-baiting of the Socialist Party, was the militancy of Negro mothers who patiently waited many hours for their turn to talk. They told how they had gone to Jim Crow schools themselves and were determined their children should not suffer the humiliation of inferior, segregated education. They movingly described their children's experiences in the Jim Crow schools of New York.

Mrs. Mallory, representing P.S. 10 in Manhattan, spoke of the prejudiced attitude of the teachers and their indifference to the children's academic progress. On one occasion, her son's only homework assignment had been counting the pipes under his kitchen sink. Even the physical safety of the children is jeopardized in

the dilapidated old buildings (which always seem to be located in "difficult" neighborhoods), the overcrowded classrooms, the lack of lunchroom and recreational facilities. Just the week before, she said, a small boy was killed at lunchtime—hit by a truck. He was playing in the street because there is no playground at P.S. 10 and no lunch-hour supervision.

## EFFECT ON TEACHERS

Parents booed and laughed when speakers said that people in the ghetto neighborhoods were "happy" and it was "natural" for them to want to live together. They reprimanded teachers for their unwillingness to transfer to Negro neighborhoods.

"When they thought there was a crime problem in Harlem," one of them said, "they sent in extra cops. No one asked these cops if they wanted to work in Harlem."

"The unfortunate effects of segregated schools are obvious," another said, "when you see what it did to these teachers who prob-

ably never had the advantage of attending an integrated school."

In answer to Concetta Roy who objected to the use of buses to take Negro children from over-crowded schools to half-empty schools in white neighborhoods, it was pointed out that buses had been used for years for the opposite purpose—to take white children out of mixed neighborhoods to all-white schools.

When Mrs. May Healy declared: "We are very much afraid that the recommendations, if carried out to the letter, will produce new hostilities, conflicts, resentments and separations of peoples," Rose Shapiro, chairman of the zoning commission, advised her to "learn courage from the teachers of Clinton, Tennessee."

Well-organized and determined, these parents are confident that they can carry the fight to a successful conclusion regardless of the outcome of this particular hearing.

## Cowley Statement At School Hearing

(The following are excerpts from a statement favoring school integration made by Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, at the public hearing, Jan. 17, of the Board of Education. See Joyce Cowley's story on the hearing, this page.)

"On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to make a statement about the problem of desegregating New York City schools. The present hearing is the result of a three-year fight on the part of various organizations representing the Negro people and other minority groups, backed up by the determination and hard work of the parents themselves. The Socialist Workers Party supports this struggle, as it supports every struggle of the Negro people for full equality; we oppose and combat all forms of segregation in education, in housing, in employment. . .

"Almost three years have passed since the Intergroup Committee first charged that segregated education was not exclusively a southern institution, but that most minority children in New York City were attending segregated and inferior schools. It has taken the Board of Education all this time just to make recommendations for integrating our schools and to date, no action has been taken."

"The Board of Education at first denied there was any segregation in New York and insisted that Negro and Puerto Rican children were attending better schools, and receiving more attention, than white children. But pressure from Negro and Puerto Rican organizations, and from the parents whose children were attending Jim-Crow schools, forced the Board to start an investigation, an investigation which it took them almost two years to complete. Their findings bear out all the original charges made by the Intergroup Committee."

PASSING THE BUCK

"Recently, in a radio interview, Dr. Morris Krugman of the Board of Education gave the customary excuse. Segregation in New York City schools was not deliberate, he said, but was the result of segregated housing for which the Board is not responsible. The report on zoning which we are discussing today proves that a great deal of the segregation is deliberate and that despite segregated housing, it is possible to make changes in zoning which will disintegrate many of our schools."

"In the primary grades, since young children cannot travel as far as junior high or high school students, it will be difficult to integrate ALL of our schools as long as we have segregated housing, as long as there is no law which makes discrimination in private housing illegal. We need such a law, a law with teeth in it—with not just fines, but prison sentences for violators."

"The SWP is fighting for this kind of legislation as we fight against all forms of discrimination and segregation. At the same time, we call for a fundamental solution to this problem, a socialist solution that will eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in our society. Discrimination is not the accidental result of prejudice on the part of some misguided individuals. It

exists because it is economically profitable. Landlords in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant make a magnificent profit on their miserable firetraps. North or South, Negro and other minority youth provide employers with cheap, unskilled labor, a fact which is closely related to the problem of inferior schools and inadequate academic programs for minority children."

## INFERIOR TEACHING

"It explains why they are shunted off to vocational high schools and discouraged from trying for the special academic schools. Dr. Kenneth Clark, in his original report to the first Intergroup Conference, pointed out that only two-tenths of one percent of high school students who meet basic college requirements are Negroes."

"Educational authorities have told me that the reason there are so few Negroes in the special schools is because they do not pass the competitive tests which are required for entrance. In most cases, they never take the tests. If they do take them, they may fail because the segregated schools which they attend have given them inadequate academic preparation for advanced work. . .

"Dr. Clark charged that when large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans move into an area, the academic standards are automatically lowered, since it is assumed in advance that these children are of inferior ability. Although they may not admit it, this is what many teachers and educational directors really believe. In Brooklyn, for example, when parents demanded advanced classes for bright children, school principals frequently claimed that there were no bright children. The parents themselves had the children tested and proved that the principals were wrong. . .

"The recommendations on zoning, if adopted by the Board of Education, are supposed to go into effect next September. Next November, we will be electing a Mayor and many other city officials, and it will be a good time to give them notice that we are tired of interminable delays and excuses. We can do this most effectively by running independent labor candidates next fall."

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## Sit-Down Strike Wins Pay Hike in N. Y. Plant

By William Bundy

A sit down strike begun by 37 workers, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican women, in a Manhattan book-binding shop, Jan. 15, dramatized the miserable plight of hundreds

of thousands of such workers in New York City. The workers won an eight-cent per hour increase after 25 of them, mostly mothers, had stayed inside the ninth-floor plant a full three days, sleeping on wooden benches and eating food smuggled in past police guards.

The workers struck over demands for a ten cent increase by their union, Local 475 of the International Union of Electrical Workers. AFL-CIO. Negotiations had bogged down and a regular picket line had been planned outside the main entrance to the building. But Tuesday, Jan. 15 was a record cold day for New York City (three degrees above zero) and the workers decided (on their own) to strike inside the factory. A few of their number picketed outside the main entrance to the building with improvised signs that demanded a raise not of ten cents an hour, but of \$10 a week.

Police and company officials attempted to cut off all outside contact for those inside, even the telephone. The sit-downers subsisted on smuggled candy bars and cookies for two days. On the third day, more substantial food was hauled up from street level in a basket lowered on a rope. The mothers called to sympathizers outside to get messages to their families.

Their courageous stand won the workers considerable sympathy and publicity in the city, and the company came to a quick settlement with the official union negotiators. Before the settlement, wages in the shop, the Spiral Binding Co. at 406 W. 31 street, ranged from \$1.05 to \$1.35 per hour. (The average factory wage in the United States is \$2.00 per hour and the wage necessary to maintain a family of four on a minimum standard of health and decency according to government figures is \$2.20 per hour.)

machine operators often receive only the legal minimum wage of \$1 per hour. These classifications are filled mostly by Negro and Puerto Rican workers, whose needs tend to be ignored by the union officialdom.

The action of the plucky handful at the Spiral Binding, is attracting some appreciative attention among the poverty stricken hundreds of thousands in this, the richest city in the world.

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