

Class Politics And the Negro Movement

An Editorial

With the movement of the Negro people for equality at a peak level, it would be expected that the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which concluded in San Francisco July 1, would have been more than a "business as usual" gathering. Yet that is essentially what the convention was.

The convention reiterated in effect the traditional policy of relying primarily on court action and lobbying to cut down Jim Crow. It avoided taking a stand on proposals to incorporate in the NAACP program the new methods of struggle represented by the Montgomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla., bus boycott movements, and referred the issue to the Board of Directors for "careful consideration."

The Montgomery and Tallahassee movements certainly warrant the most careful study. But what better place was there for study and decision than the meeting of the NAACP's highest body, its national convention?

Montgomery and Tallahassee are the true symbols of the new South. The Montgomery Improvement Association and the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council are mass organizations of historic significance. Originally formed to fight for the most elementary demands they have already gone beyond the limits of the old-line organizations and committees. In these cities the ranks of the Negro community are actively involved in struggles that challenge the basic structure of Jim Crow.

The MIA is now organized on a permanent basis. It has maintained its solid boycott for seven months and its pressure has won significant court victories. It is now moving to take on Jim Crow in housing and other fields.

The Tallahassee organization, unmoved by a campaign of police intimidation, has in five short weeks forced suspension of operations by the local bus company.

While both movements have found the boycott a powerful weapon, they have also come to understand its limits. They have found themselves in battle not simply with the bus companies but even more so with the city and state administrations whose function it is to preserve Jim Crow. The Negro people of Tallahassee and Montgomery now recognize they must fight fire with fire — they must challenge the political rule of the white supremacists.

Both the MIA and the Inter-Civic Council have organized energetic campaigns to register the entire Negro community to vote at the polls. But in doing so they have run smack into a major problem. Once registered, who would they vote for?

Pointing out that all of the candidates support Jim Crow, one prominent MIA leader voiced the attitude of the most militant section of the movement by saying, "I could not vote for any of these and still live with my conscience. They all stand for the same thing. So if I voted, I would be voting for what I am fighting against."

The problem is not confined to the one-party South. Nationally, the Democratic and Republican parties stand

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Myra Weiss to Speak In New York and N. J.

NEW YORK — Election rallies here and in Newark, N. J., July 20 and 21 with Myra Tanner Weiss, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party as the principal speaker, will kick off concentrated election campaigning for the SWP branches in this area.

The New York and Newark rallies will wind up Mrs. Weiss' nationwide speaking tour which began two months ago. The program of the Socialist Workers Party reached workers and students and radio, television, and newspaper audiences from coast to coast.

"America's Road to Socialism — Class Struggle or Class Collaboration?" will be the subject at the New York meeting Friday, July 20, 8:30 P.M. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue (near 14th Street). Following questions and discussion at the rally, open house will be held at SWP headquarters, 116 University Pl.

The New York rally will cover the 1956 election campaign, its importance and its lessons for American workers.

"I have never seen an election campaign so devoid of issues," Mrs. Weiss states, "so incapable of arousing the interest of American workers. Yet while the Democrats and Republicans avoid a discussion of civil rights, civil liberties, unemployment and the war economy, the national press is filled with political debate — the question of socialism or capitalism for the future of the world. Never before has the capitalist class and its press felt such compulsion to 'refute' Marxism."

Mrs. Weiss will discuss the role of the various radical parties in this election, especially the Communist Party. She has talked to rank and file members of the CP in all parts of the country, and will report her first-hand impressions of the current crisis of Stalinism in the U.S.

In Newark the following night, July 21, "The Polish Uprising and the Khrushchev Report" will



MYRA TANNER WEISS

be discussed by Mrs. Weiss at 52 Market Street, second floor, at 8:30 P.M. Questions, discussion, and a social period will follow the meeting.

Mrs. Weiss, a young but veteran socialist campaigner, spoke in Boston July 6 to an audience consisting in the majority of workers hearing the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism for the first time. There was a lively discussion at the Boston meeting and some controversy on the question of the Americanization of the radical movement and the importance of events in the Soviet Union to American workers.

"When discussing socialism with American workers," Mrs. Weiss said, "it is necessary to analyze such questions as the Khrushchev speech and the Poznan uprising. This applies to all audiences, including trade unionists because these are the things they question in relation to socialism."

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Stalinist Admissions Shatter Their Poznan Frame-Up Lies

Steel Strikers Ready For Drawnout Struggle

By Fred Hart

JULY 12 — The 650,000 members of the Steelworkers Union, now in the twelfth day of their strike against the steel trust, are determined to keep the mills shut down as long as is necessary to preserve their hard-won gains. This fact is confirmed by reports from every major steel center.

The magazine, *Business Week*, which really speaks for business, candidly reports in its July 7 issue, "The industry firmly believes it has a principle at stake in forcing the union into reciprocal bargaining, and in teaching it that once it has forced on management the expense of closing the mills it's in for a tough fight."

"The union gives no sign of backing away from such a drawn-out test of strength. As it set up its picket lines, it reminded its members of the 57-day steel strike in 1952 and — what is vividly remembered in Pittsburgh — the 156-day Westinghouse strike this year. There were no reports of rank and file grumbling about what might lie ahead."

PROVOKED STRIKE

It has not been difficult for the workers to recognize that the corporations deliberately provoked the strike. The provocation

was carried out by the simple device of proposing to handoff the workers to a completely unacceptable long-term contract precisely at a time when the industry is entering a period of economic uncertainty.

The solidarity of the steelworkers is a high tribute to their union consciousness and their understanding of the bosses' game. Their own leadership has offered them nothing positive to fight for or shown any capacity to effectively counter the strategy of the bosses.

To this day union President McDonald has not revealed to the ranks what demands he has put before the companies. Throughout his tenure of office, McDonald has been so busy preaching to the workers about their "harmony of interest" with the bosses that he has never been able to develop effective means of defending the workers' interests against the rapacious steel barons.

McDonald now complains, and rightly so, that "the steel industry forced this shutdown." This is the history of McDonald's leadership. Throughout, he has lacked the guts to take the offensive. Each time he has permitted the bosses to choose the time and place of battle — and the issue.

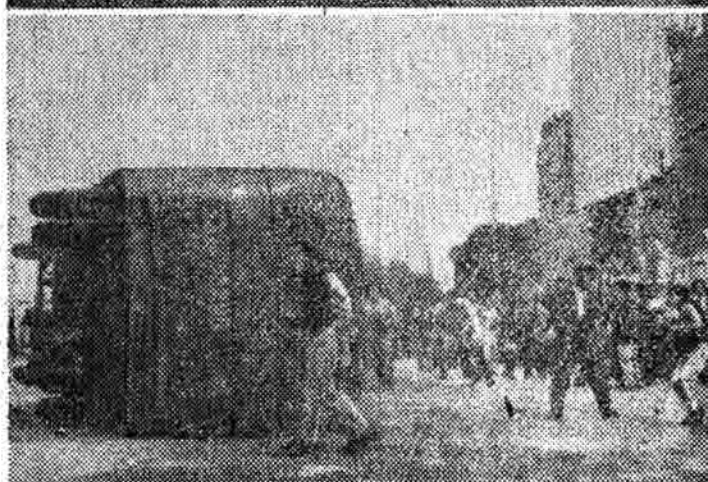
The steel barons current "test of strength" is made, of course, at the expense of the steelworkers and the labor movement generally. Already over 30,000 miners in the steel-owned "captive pits" have been laid off, as well as an additional 50,000 in other steel-dependent industries.

WALL STREET CHEERFUL

The bosses, of course, are free of hardships. Quite the contrary. The N. Y. Times reported yesterday, "Traders on the N. Y. Stock Exchange continued to take a cheerful view of the steel situation. The prices of leading steel stocks went up again, apparently in anticipation of higher steel prices and increased company earnings after the strike was settled."

But the steelworkers constitute a mighty power. Even with the deck stacked against them they will give a good account of themselves. And once they build a new leadership based on a militant working class program, they will quickly wipe the "cheer" from the bosses' faces.

Peru Students Fight Fare Rise



High School students in Lima, Peru, staged a demonstration protesting a rise in transit fares. Top photo shows police arresting a young demonstrator; below, a bus is overturned on Avenida Abancay. Thirteen vehicles were destroyed and 82 others were damaged during the fighting.

Big Meetings Sweep Japan Against U.S. Okinawa Bases

More than 10,000 Japanese jammed a downtown Tokyo park on July 4 in a five-hour demonstration against violation of Japan's independence by U.S. imperialism.

While the crowd listened to speeches denouncing U.S. retention of military bases on Okinawa, a U.S. heavy cruiser in the harbor boomed a 21-gun "salute to independence day."

The demonstration was part of a mounting wave of popular protests which began about three weeks ago with the leaking in Washington of the Price report. Supposedly designed to "rectify some injustices attending United States Army rental of land in Okinawa used for military bases," the report actually supports measures making the military occupation of Japanese territory officially permanent.

The nature of the "rental" is revealed in a July 6 *Christian Science Monitor* report: "Okinawans now are recalling such documented cases as one in which an Okinawan farm family awakened one morning to find (U.S.) Army bulldozers leveling its land, and a truck standing by to take the family away — without any prior notification."

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"When Communism Comes to America"

By LEON TROTSKY

Not a Shred of Proof Produced to Support Charge of "Spy Work"

By William Bundy

JULY 11 — The immediate result of the Poznan uprising of June 28, which was put down with tanks and bullets plus mass arrests, has been the opening of a double

campaign of concessions and repressions by the Polish Stalinist regime. The campaign is designed to weaken and head off the rising mass movement against the Kremlin-appointed rulers.

The government rushed extra food to Poznan where two weeks ago the workers marched into machine-gun fire shouting, "bread, bread, bread." Direct cash payment of back taxes has been made to workers at the Stalin Locomotive Works, a storm center of the June 28 events. Julian Tokarski, head of the ministry of Auto and Tractor works, the government department in charge of the Poznan Stalin plant, has been dismissed. "Tokarski is said to be personally unpopular among factory workers," the *London Times* says.

At the same time, the government refuses to release the names of arrested workers, officially reported to be about 600. And by sticking to its frame-up charge that provocateurs and spies led the general strike the Stalinists are obviously attempting to lay the ground for heavy reprisals against the leaders of the workers' movement.

STALINIST INVESTIGATION

The Polish government announced July 4 the organization of a commission to "investigate the riots." Thus, after a full week of proclaiming to the world that the general strike was the work of imperialist agents, the regime opened an investigation to make a "fair and impartial" inquiry into the facts.

So far there hasn't been a shred of evidence to back up the charge of provocateurs being responsible for the outbreak. On the contrary, in Gordon Cruickshank's dispatch to the *Daily Worker*, July 11, datelined Warsaw, we read the following: "To date there is no evidence that arms were imported." Cruickshank says, "More is now known about where the rioters obtained their arms. Some were taken from the local Polytechnic and other high schools where both arms and ammunition are kept by students receiving military training. Others were seized from the militia men, who being prohibited absolutely from using their arms in the first hours of the dis-

"THE PEOPLE SAY"

Who started the shooting on June 28? In the *Daily Worker* July 7 Cruickshank reports: "One woman, a trade union representative, said: 'We were entitled to demonstrate, but there should not have been shooting.' When I asked her who she thought started the shooting: 'The Government says the hooligans and provocateurs did, but the people say the security men did.'"

Kremlin 'Answers' Togliatti, Thorez and Dennis

By Tom Kerry

The uprising in Poznan on June 28 marked a turning point in the "Stalin Cult" discussion raging in all sections of the world Stalinist movement. The discussion was triggered by the shattering revelations which emanated from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, meeting in Moscow last February.

On June 30, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, made public the text of a resolution purporting to contain a "Marxist" explanation of the origin and development of the "cult of Stalin" and what their role had been during the period in which Stalin was consolidating his "one-man" dictatorship.

The resolution was ostensibly intended to answer the questions directed at the Khrushchev regime by Stalinist leaders Palmiro Togliatti of Italy, Maurice Thorez of France and Eugene Dennis of the United States. These "critics" had issued statements expressing dissatisfaction with the explanations contained in Khrushchev's report to a se-

cret session of the 20th Congress in which Stalin was made solely and personally responsible for all the crimes of the bureaucracy.

The "dissatisfaction" of the Stalinist tops was only a pale reflection of the seething discontent in the ranks. The sharpness of their questions were in direct proportion to the degree of pressure to which they are subject. Of the critics, Togliatti was the sharpest, Thorez less so and Dennis the mildest of the lot. Their statements were compounded of three main elements: complaint, praise and plea. Complaint of the manner in which the Khrushchev revelations were made public, praise for the accomplishments of the Khrushchev regime, and a plea for a plausible explanation to allay the ferment stirred up by the assault on the "Stalin cult."

Preliminary to the publication of the Central Committee resolution, Pravda, official newspaper of the Soviet CP had published excerpts from the Thorez statement, nothing of Togliatti and all of Dennis, with one small deletion. They cut out of the

Dennis statement part of a sentence condemning the Stalin regime for "snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures." Khrushchev has not yet admitted that antisemitism was among the crimes of which the Stalinist bureaucracy was guilty and so the reference was taboo.

The unprecedented action in publishing the Dennis statement in Pravda was understood to pre-empt an answer from the Kremlin to its "critics." The assault on the "Stalin cult" had unleashed a storm of criticism going far beyond the limits prescribed by the Kremlin, especially in the East European "People's Democracies." In Hungary, the regime of Matyas Rakosi, longtime Stalinist hatchet-man, was under heavy attack. In Czechoslovakia, students and intellectuals, sensitive to the widespread mood of mass discontent, were pressing the Stalin-appointed rulers for elementary social reforms and for rehabilitation of the frame-up victims.

In East Germany, scene of the 1953 June uprising against the Stalin-appointed regime, Walter Ulbricht and his cohorts were trying to keep the lid on for fear of a recurrence of the June days. And in Poland, where the post-20th Congress process of "democratization" was reputed to have been carried the farthest, the workers of Poznan entered the "discussion" on their own behalf and in their own way, articulating their grievances in the language of working class revolt against intolerable conditions aggravated by bureaucratic indifference.

Whatever plans the Kremlin may have had for a leisurely discussion pegged on the Thorez, Togliatti, Dennis, "criticisms," were upset by the action in Poznan and the growing manifestations of militant dissent in the East European countries. The Dennis statement appeared in Pravda on June 27. On June 28 the Poznan uprising occurred. The Soviet CP resolution appeared on June 30.

The resolution stigmatized the Poznan action as the work of paid provocateurs. The strike demonstration, it asserted, was

financed by funds appropriated by the American Senate. "It is clear," asserted the resolution, "that the anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan were paid from this source."

ANOTHER FRAME-UP

In language reminiscent of the Moscow frame-up trials, the resolution stigmatized the striking Poznan workers, who, with arms linked had marched into the machine-gun fire of the security police, as "provocateurs and . . . diversionists who were paid from overseas funds," and who "had only enough courage for a few hours."

The resolution also laid the basis, in advance, to slander any workers' struggles against the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet zone, as actions paid for by American gold, by saying: "Subversive activities in the people's democracies will . . . continue to fall in the future, although such actions are generously paid for from monies appropriated by American monopolists."

And, the resolution adds in an admonition to the Stalinist bur-

reaucrats who rule the East European states, "All this demonstrates that one must not show a careless attitude towards the machinations of the imperialist agents, who are trying to penetrate into Socialist countries for the purpose of undermining the achievements of the workers."

The ruling bureaucracy did not need much prompting. The July 1, N. Y. Times reports that throughout Eastern Europe, "radioes warned that any rebellion similar to Thursday's bloody riot in Poznan, Poland, would be dealt with ruthlessly." How "ruthlessly" is indicated by the announcement over Radio Prague that: "Anybody who raises his hand against the regime will have his hand chopped off." Even Stalin himself could not have put it more delicately!

With Poznan the Stalinist bureaucrats reverted to type. Arrests and expulsions swept Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The Kremlin's admonition "that one must not show a careless attitude," was followed with a vengeance. While reports dis-

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LEON TROTSKY'S FORECAST

What Communism Would Be Like in America

[The following article by Trotsky, first published in the March 23, 1935 Liberty Magazine, has always been of keen interest as an example of a popular Marxist treatment of America's socialist future. It is of particular interest in the light of the current discussion in the Communist Party of the U.S. on America's road to socialism. — Ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

Should America go Communist as a result of the difficulties and problems which your capitalist social order is unable to solve, it will discover that Communism, far from being an intolerable bureaucratic tyranny and individual regimentation, will be the means of greater individual liberty and shared abundance.

At present most Americans regard Communism solely in the light of the experience of the Soviet Union. They fear lest Sovietism in America would produce the same material results as it has brought for the culturally backward peoples of the Soviet Union.

They fear lest Communism should try to fit them to a bed of Procrustes, and point to the bulk of Anglo-Saxon conservatism as an insuperable obstacle even to possibly desirable reforms. They argue that Great Britain and Japan would undertake military intervention against the American Soviets. They shudder lest Americans be regimented in their habits of dress and diet; be compelled to subsist on famine rations; read stereotyped official propaganda in the newspapers; serve as rubber stamps for decisions arrived at without their active participation; keep their thoughts to themselves and loudly praise their Soviet leaders in public through fear of imprisonment and exile.

They fear monetary inflation, bureaucratic tyranny, and intolerable red tape in obtaining the necessities of life. They fear soulless standardization in the arts and sciences, as well as in the daily necessities of life. They fear that all political spontaneity and the presumed freedom of the press will be destroyed by the dictatorship of a monstrous bureaucracy. And they shudder at the thought of being forced into an uncomprehended gibberish in Marxian dialectic and disciplined social philosophies. They fear, in a word, that Soviet America will become the counterpart of what they have been told Soviet Russia looks like.

American Tradition

Actually American Soviets will be as different from the Russian Soviets as the United States of President Roosevelt differs from the Russian Empire of Czar Nicholas II.

Yet Communism can come in America only through revolution, just as independence and democracy came in America. The American temperament is energetic and violent, and it will insist on breaking a good many dishes and upsetting a good many apple carts before Communism is firmly established. Americans are enthusiasts and sportsmen before they are specialists and statesmen, and it would be contrary to the American tradition to make a major change without choosing sides and cracking heads.

However, the American Communist Revolution will be insignificant compared to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, in terms of your national wealth and population, no matter how great its comparative cost. That is because civil war of a revolutionary nature isn't fought by the handful of men at the top — the five or ten percent who own nine-tenths of American wealth; this handful could recruit its counter-revolutionary armies only from among the lower middle classes. Even so, the revolution could easily attract them to its banner by showing that support of the Soviets alone offers them the prospect of salvation.

Everybody below this group is already economically prepared for Communism. The depression has ravaged your working class and has dealt a crushing blow to the farmers, who had already been injured by the long agricultural decline of the postwar decade. There is no reason why these groups should oppose determined resistance to the revolution; they have nothing to lose, providing, of course, that the revolutionary leaders adopt a farsighted and moderate policy toward them.

Who else will fight against Communism? Your corporal guard of billionaires and multimillionaires? Your Mellons, Morgans, Fords and Rockefellers? They will cease struggling as soon as they fail to find other people to fight for them.

The American Soviet Government will take firm possession of the commanding heights of your business system: the banks, the key industries, and the transportation and communication systems. It will then give the farmers, the small tradespeople and business men a good long time to think things over and see how well the nationalized section of industry is working.

Production Miracles

Here is where the American Soviets can produce real miracles. "Technocracy" can come true only under Communism, when the dead hands of private property rights and private profits are lifted from your industrial system. The most daring proposals of the Hoover commission on standardization and rationalization will seem childish compared to the new possibilities let loose by American Communism.

National industry will be organized along the line of the conveyor belt in your modern continuous-production automotive factories. Scientific planning can be lifted out of the individual factory and applied to your entire economic system. The results will be stupendous.

Costs of production will be cut to 20 percent, or less, of their present figure. This in turn would rapidly increase your farmers' purchasing power.

To be sure, the American Soviets would establish their own gigantic farm enterprises, as schools of voluntary collectivization. Your farmers could easily calculate whether it was to their individual advantage to remain as isolated links or to join the public chain.

The same method would be used to draw small businesses and industries into the national organization of industry. By Soviet control of raw materials, credits, and quotas of orders, these secondary industries could be kept solvent until they were gradually and without compulsion sucked into the socialized business system.

Without compulsion! The American Soviets would not need to resort to the drastic measures which circumstances have often imposed upon the Russians. In the United States, through the

science of publicity and advertising, you have means for winning the support of your middle class which were beyond the reach of the Soviets of backward Russia with its vast majority of pauperized and illiterate peasants. This, in addition to your technical equipment and your wealth, is the greatest asset of your coming Communist Revolution. Your revolution will be smoother in character than ours; you will not waste your energies and resources in costly social conflicts after the main issues have been decided; and you will move ahead so much the more rapidly in consequence.

Even the intensity and devotion of religious sentiment in America will not prove an obstacle to the revolution. If one assumes the perspective of Soviets in America, none of the psychological brakes will prove firm enough to retard the pressure of the social crisis. This has been demonstrated more than once in history. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the Gospels themselves contain some pretty explosive aphorisms.

The Unconvinced Millionaires

As to the comparatively few opponents of the Soviet Revolution, one can trust to American inventive genius. It may well be that you will take your unconvinced millionaires and send them to some picturesque island, rentfree for life, where they can do as they please.

You can do this safely, for you will not need to fear foreign interventions. Japan, Great Britain and the other capitalist countries which intervened in Russia couldn't do anything but take American Communism lying down. As a matter of fact the victory of Communism in America — the stronghold of capitalism — will cause Communism to spread to other countries. Japan will probably have joined the Communist ranks even before the establishment of the American Soviets. The same is true of Great Britain.

In any case, it would be a crazy idea to send His Britannic Majesty's fleet against Soviet America, even as a raid against the southern and more conservative half of your continent. It would be hopeless and would never get any farther than a second-rate military escapade.

Within a few weeks or months of the establishment of the American Soviets, Pan-Americanism would be a political reality.

The governments of Central and South America would be pulled into your federation like iron filings to a magnet. So would Canada. The popular movements in these countries would be so strong that they would force this great unifying process within a short period and at insignificant costs. I am ready to bet that the first anniversary of the American Soviets would find the Western Hemisphere transformed into the Soviet United States of North, Central, and South America, with its capital at Panama. Thus for the first time the Monroe Doctrine would have a complete and positive meaning in world affairs, although not the one foreseen by its author.

In spite of the complaints of some of your arch-conservatives, Roosevelt is not preparing for a Soviet transformation of the United States.

The NRA aims not to destroy but to strengthen the foundations of American capitalism, by overcoming your business difficulties. Not the Blue Eagle but the difficulties which the Blue Eagle is powerless to overcome will bring about Communism in America. The "radical" professors of your Brain Trust are not revolutionists; they are only frightened conservatives. Your President abhors "systems" and "generalities." But a Soviet government is the greatest of all possible systems, a gigantic generality in action.

The Socialist Dollar

The average man doesn't like system or generalities, either. It is the task of your Communist statesmen to make the system deliver the concrete goods which the average man desires: his food, cigars, amusements, his freedom to choose his own neckties, his own house, and his own automobile. It will be easy to give him these comforts in Soviet America.

Most Americans have been misled by the fact that in the USSR we had to build whole new basic industries from the ground up. Such a thing could not happen in America, where you are already compelled to cut down on your farm area and to reduce your industrial production. As a matter of fact your tremendous technological equipment has been paralyzed by the crisis and already clamors to be put to use. You will be able to make a rapid step-up of consumption by your people the starting point of your economic revival.

You are prepared to do this as no other country. Nowhere else has the study of the internal market reached such intensity as in the United States. It has been done by your banks, trusts, individual business men, merchants, traveling salesmen and farmers as part of their stock in trade. Your Soviet Government will simply abolish all trade secrets, will combine all the findings of these researchers for individual profit, and will transform them into a scientific system of economic planning. In this your government will be helped by the existence of a large class of cultured and critical consumers. By combining the nationalized key industries, your private businesses and democratic consumer co-operation, you will quickly develop a highly flexible system for serving the needs of your population.

This system will be made to work, not by bureaucracy and not by policemen, but by hard cold cash.

Your almighty dollar will play a principal part in making your new Soviet system work. It is a great mistake to try to mix a "planned economy" with a "managed currency." Your money must act as regulator with which to measure the success or failure of your planning.

Your "radical" professors are dead wrong in their devotion to "managed money." It is an academic idea which could easily wreck your entire system of distribution and production. That is the great lesson to be derived from the Soviet Union, where bitter necessity has been converted into official virtue in the monetary realm.

There the lack of a stable gold ruble is one of the main causes of our many economic troubles and catastrophes. It is impossible to regulate wages, prices, and quality of goods without a firm monetary system. An unstable ruble in a Soviet system is like having variable molds in a conveyor-belt factory. It won't work.

Only when Socialism succeeds in substituting administrative control for money will it be possible to abandon a stable gold currency. Then money will become ordinary paper slips, like trolley or theater tickets. As Socialism advances these slips will also disappear, and control over individual consumption — whether by money or administration — will no longer be necessary when there is more than enough of everything for everybody!

Such a time has not yet come, though America will certainly reach it before any other country. Until then, the only way to reach such a state of development is to retain an effective regulator and measure for the working of your system. As a matter of fact, during the first few years a planned economy needs sound money even more than did old-fashioned capitalism. The professor who regulates the monetary unit with the aim of regulating the whole business system is like the man who tried to lift both his feet off the ground at the same time.

Soviet America will possess supplies of gold big enough to stabilize the dollar — a priceless asset. In Russia we have been expanding our industrial plant by 20 or 30 percent a year; but — owing to a weak ruble — we have not been able to distribute this increase effectively. This is partly because we have allowed our bureaucracy to subject our monetary system to administrative one-sidedness. You will be spared this evil. As a result you will greatly surpass us both in increased production and distribution, leading to a rapid advance in the comfort and welfare of your population.

In all this you will not need to imitate our standardized production for our pitiable mass consumers. We have taken over from Czarist Russia a pauper's heritage, a culturally undeveloped peasantry with a low standard of living. We had to build our factories and dams at the expense of our consumers. We have had continual monetary inflation and a monstrous bureaucracy.

Fullblooded Democracy

Soviet America will not have to imitate our bureaucratic methods. Among us the lack of the bare necessities has caused an intense scramble for an extra loaf of bread, an extra yard of cloth by every one. In this struggle our bureaucracy steps forward as a conciliator, as an all-powerful court of arbitration.

You, on the other hand, are much wealthier and would have little difficulty in supplying all of your people with all of the necessities of life. Moreover, your needs, tastes, and habits would never permit your bureaucracy to divide the national income. Instead, when you organize your society to produce for human needs rather than private profits, your entire population will group itself around new trends and groups, which will struggle with one another and prevent an overweening bureaucracy from imposing itself upon them.

You can thus avoid growth of bureaucratism by the practice of Soviets — that is to say, democracy: the most flexible form of government yet developed. Soviet organization cannot achieve miracles but must simply reflect the will of the people. With us the Soviets have been bureaucratized as a result of the political monopoly of a single party, which has itself become a bureaucracy. This situation resulted from the exceptional difficulties of Socialist pioneering in a poor and backward country.

The American Soviets will be fullblooded and vigorous, without need or opportunity for such measures as circumstances imposed upon Russia. Your unregenerate capitalists will, of course, find no place for themselves in the new setup. It is hard to imagine Henry Ford as the head of the Detroit Soviet.

Yet a wide struggle between interests, groups and ideas is not only conceivable — it is inevitable. One-year, five-year, ten-year plans of business development; schemes for national education; construction of new basic lines of transportation; the transformation of the farms; the program for improving the technological and cultural equipment of Latin America; a program for stratosphere communication; eugenics — all of these will arouse controversy, vigorous electoral struggle, and passionate debate in the newspapers and at public meetings.

For Soviet America will not imitate the monopoly of the press by the heads of Soviet Russia's bureaucracy. While Soviet America would nationalize all printing plants, paper mills, and means of distribution, this would be a purely negative measure. It would simply mean that private capital will no longer be allowed to decide what publications should be established, whether they should be progressive or reactionary, "wet" or "dry," puritanical or pornographic. Soviet America will have to find a new solution for the question of how the power of the press is to function in a Socialist regime. It might be done on the basis of proportional representation for the vote in each Soviet election.

Thus the right of each group of citizens to use the power of the press would depend on their numerical strength — the same principle being applied to the use of meeting halls, allotment of time on the air, and so forth.

Thus the management and policy of publications would be decided not by individual checkbooks but by group ideas. This may take little account of numerically small but important groups but it simply means that each new idea will be compelled, as throughout history, to prove its right to existence.

Science, Art, Philosophy

Rich Soviet America can set aside vast funds for research and invention, discoveries and experiments in every field. You won't neglect your bold architects and sculptors, your unconventional poets and audacious philosophers.

In fact, the Soviet Yankees of the future will give a lead to Europe in those very fields where Europe has hitherto been your master. Europeans have little conception of the power of technology to influence human destiny and have adopted an attitude of sneering superiority toward "Americanism," particularly since the crisis. Yet Americanism marks the true dividing line between the Middle Ages and the modern world.

Hitherto America's conquest of nature has been so violent and passionate that you have had no time to modernize your philosophies or to develop your own artistic forms. Hence you have been hostile to the doctrines of Hegel, Marx and Darwin. The burning of Darwin's works by the Baptists of Tennessee is only a clumsy reflection of the American dislike for the doctrines of evolution. This attitude is not confined to your pulpits. It is still part of your general mental make-up.

Your atheists as well as your Quakers are determined rationalists. And your rationalism itself is weakened by empiricism and moralism. It has none of the merciless vitality of the great European rationalists. So your philosophic method is even more antiquated than your economic system and your political institutions.

"A New Breed of Men"

Today, quite unprepared, you are being forced to face those social contradictions which grow up unsuspected in every society. You have conquered nature by means of the tools which your inventive genius has created, only to find that your tools have all but destroyed you. Contrary to all your hopes and desires, your unheard-of wealth has produced unheard-of misfortunes. You have discovered that social development does not follow a simple formula. Hence you have been thrust into the school of the dialectic — to stay.

There is no turning back from it to the mode of thinking and acting prevalent in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

While the romantic numskulls of Nazi Germany are dreaming of restoring the old race of Europe's Dark Forest to its original purity, or rather its original filth, you Americans, after taking a firm grip on your economic machinery and your culture, will apply genuine scientific methods to the problem of eugenics. Within a century, out of your melting pot of races there will come a new breed of men — the first worthy of the name of Man.

One final prophecy: In the third year of Soviet rule in America you will no longer chew gum!

Why Stalin Failed To Heed Warning

The Soviet people are now being told part of the truth about Stalin's criminal failure to prepare for the near-catastrophic invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's army in June 1941. A film, "Immortal

Garrison," which shows how terribly the Russian people suffered because of the failure to prepare for the attack, is now being shown throughout the Soviet Union. The film lays to rest the Stalinist myth that the invasion was anticipated and that the casualty-ridden retreat of the Red Army at the time was part of a planned "active defense."

The theme of the film corresponds to Khrushchev's 20th Congress indictment of Stalin which excoriated the late dictator for ignoring warnings of the impending attack made to the Soviet government by Winston Churchill in April 1941. In his indictment of Stalin, Khrushchev detailed some of the enormous cost paid by the Soviet people for Stalin's blindness.

What Khrushchev didn't explain is why Stalin refused to recognize the Nazi threat and why he ignored the persistent warnings, not merely of the imperialist Churchill in 1941, but of Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the Red Army, who from his exile sounded the alarm over and over again, starting in 1931.

The reason for Stalin's blindness to the imminent Nazi attack was because he was following the policy of "peaceful co-existence" with German imperialism. In December 1939, shortly after the infamous Stalin-Hitler Pact was signed, Stalin proclaimed: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has all the grounds to be prolonged and stable."

"A MATTER OF TASTE" So drunk with the "success" of their pact was the Stalinist high command, that Molotov was able to drink his toast with Nazi foreign minister Von Ribbentrop, declaring, "Fascism is a matter of taste."

While these vile declarations were emanating from "realists" in the Kremlin, Trotsky, the "agent of fascism," according to the Moscow frame-up Trials, was assessing the pact, the division of Poland and the acquisition of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union, as follows: "In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR, Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries, is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the West are only preparation for a gigantic move to the East." ("The Kremlin's Role in the

War," June 17, 1940. Fourth International, October, 1940.) Trotsky's realism, based on his Leninist view of imperialism and its driving forces, enabled him to predict and warn of the inevitability of a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union at the very outset of the Hitler regime, and, in fact, even before it came to power. In 1931 he wrote: "Once Hitler comes to power and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the workers, pulverizing and demoralizing the proletariat for years to come, the Fascist government will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR." (Germany, The Key to the International Situation.)

On July 16, 1932, Trotsky utilized the pages of Liberty magazine to warn again: "To make intervention (against the Soviet Union) possible, a great, highly industrialized, and, moreover, continental European empire would be needed . . . to be more accurate—a country would be needed which had nothing to lose. A glance at the political map of Europe will convince you that such a mission could be undertaken only by a fascist Germany. More than that a fascist Germany would have no other road left to go . . . A war against the Soviet Union would grow out of these circumstances with fatal necessity."

Trotsky went on to outline the course the USSR should follow in the event fascism triumphed in Germany: "In my opinion, this is how the Soviet Government ought to act in the event of a fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of army reserves. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable light-mindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the West but from the East—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger."

The tragic verification of Trotsky's prognosis bears important lessons for today. While Khrushchev flays Stalin's paralysis at the time of the Nazi attack, he continues the political policy responsible for it. Like Stalin, Khrushchev stakes the future of the USSR, not on revolutionary internationalism, but on the class-collaboration policy of peaceful co-existence—this time with the organizer of the cold war, U.S. imperialism.

... Kremlin "Answers" the CP Leaders

(Continued from page 1)

close that a number of prominent Communist Party members were summarily purged, there has not yet been uncovered one bona-fide "imperialist agent" so far as the available information goes up to the present time.

So far as the CPs of the West were concerned, the Soviet OP resolution hailed the "approval and wide response" which the "condemnation by our party of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences," had evoked among them. It singled out Thorez and Eugene Dennis for a special pat on the back for their understanding support and then selected a formulation by Togliatti for special criticism.

In criticizing the explanation given by Khrushchev on the rise of the "Stalin cult," Togliatti had written: "At one time, all that was good was due to the superhuman positive qualities of one man; now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering defects of the same man. Both in the one case and in the other, we are outside the criterion of judgment which is proper to Marxism."

"The real problem," he added, "escapes notice, such as the method by which, and the reason why, Soviet society could and did stray so far from the legality which it had traced out for itself, arriving as far as degeneration . . ."

"Above all," Togliatti concluded, "we recall the fact that Lenin, in his last speeches and writings, emphasized the danger of bureaucracy which was threatening



THOREZ

the new society. It seems unquestionable that Stalin's errors were linked with an excessive increase in the weight of the bureaucratic apparatus of the economic life and political system, and perhaps above all in the life of the Party."

As the above comes dangerously close to the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state in which a bureaucratic caste has usurped the power and uses it to defend its privileged position, it is no wonder that it became cause for concern by Stalin's heirs. They

could only view the line of inquiry opened up by Togliatti with dread foreboding as an ominous turn in the "Stalin cult" discussion.

The Soviet CP resolution "corrects" Togliatti with a neat bit of verbal sleight-of-hand worthy of a Jesuit. "One cannot," the resolution argues, "agree with Comrade Togliatti when he asks whether Soviet society has not reached 'certain forms of degeneration?' There are no foundations for such a question." Why? Because, says the resolution, "in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti says quite correctly: 'It must be deduced that the essence of the Socialist regime was not lost, since none of the preceding gains were lost.'"

The "essence of the Socialist regime" are the socialist property forms established by the October revolution as distinct from the bureaucratic apparatus of the Soviet state which rests upon the nationalized property. The two are not the same. The bureaucrats see an identity where there is profound difference. That the Soviet Union was able to survive the difficulties of capitalist encirclement, intervention and war, compounded by the crimes, atrocities and bureaucratic mismanagement of the Stalin regime, is due solely to the strength and viability of the property forms established by the October revolution and not to the early genius of Stalin, as Khrushchev and Company would have us believe. It was not out of love of Stalin

that the Soviet masses endured untold hardship and shed their life's blood to preserve the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration but out of unconquerable determination to defend the social conquests of the great October revolution.

Stalin was the most hated man in the Soviet Union. To the Soviet masses he was the symbol of tyranny and oppression. The establishment of the nauseating cult of Stalin was not of their doing. They were not "cultists" for they had nothing to benefit thereby. They were the main victims of the Stalin cult. Because they were, the erstwhile practitioners of cultism find it possible and convenient to utilize Stalin as a scapegoat for all the crimes committed by the bureaucratic caste which Stalin headed.

After disposing of Togliatti's criticism the Soviet CP resolution presented its "explanation" of how and why the Stalin cult arose and why they failed to combat its criminal manifestations. The purported explanation was nothing but a rehash of the one contained in the Khrushchev report to the 20th Congress, with one slight variation.

In the version contained in the Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress the reason given for the failure of the present leaders to "assert themselves against the cult of the individual" was fear. Fear of their own hides prompted them to refrain from "asserting themselves." Not too complimentary but at least it had the merit of credibility.

In the later version, the explanation given is that Stalin was too popular and anyone who acted against him "would not have received support from the people." Stalin the monster is transformed before our very eyes to Stalin the beloved. For bureaucrats holding state power anything is possible. "These are not honest men and this is not an honest regime," remarked the journalist I. F. Stone after a recent visit to the Soviet Union. It cannot be denied.

With the publication of the Soviet CP resolution the "critics" tripped all over themselves in their haste to express their agreement. Togliatti voiced "unreserved approval." Thorez added his "amen," and Dennis said "me too."

The Kremlin made it clear it would not tolerate any criticism going beyond the limits fixed in the discussion of the "Stalin cult." It called for the "ideological unanimity" of all the Communist Parties and reminded the Stalinist leaders, who prate about their new-found "independence," that although "the Comintern and Cominform ceased their activities, it does not follow from this that international solidarity and the need of contacts between revolutionary and brotherly parties which adopted the position of Marxism and Leninism have lost significance."

The next day after publication of the resolution Pravda described the "answers" as "clearcut" and indicated that the matter was closed.

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The Steel Strike

The United Steelworkers of America, 650,000 strong, is a powerful union. Its strike has effectively shut down the nation's basic industry. Its membership can be relied on to wage the strike with solidarity and discipline.

Such a union is capable of wresting major concessions from the bosses. Yet it finds itself in a position where the steel barons can make a completely unacceptable offer and deliberately force a strike. Why is this?

In challenging the Steelworkers, the companies in no way underestimate the union's power. What they are banking on is the present union misleadership as represented by President David J. McDonald. The bureaucratic way in which McDonald conducted the pre-strike negotiations and is now leading the strike itself is the basic source of the present arrogance of the steel magnates.

The steelworkers are faced with profound economic problems. Production cut-backs loom large. In addition, the steel industry is introducing automation to reduce the number of workers employed and is demanding exclusive control of speed-up.

These facts indicate the need for the widest possible discussion in the union ranks in the formulation of contract demands. But McDonald has prevented this. The membership was denied voice in drawing up demands and in determining the terms of a settlement. McDonald has not even revealed precisely what he is asking of the companies.

With a few local exceptions, meetings are rarely called, and those held are so cut and dried that many members don't attend. Many of the workers are not familiar with the strike issues. There is much understandable distrust of the leadership.

... Negro Struggle and Class Politics

(Continued from page 1)
fundamentally united in opposition to the abolition of Jim Crow. Both their civil rights records were summed up for the NAACP convention by Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins who said, "They have been scratching each other's backs and we have been left out in the cold."

Wilkins urged the delegates, "Use your votes in behalf of civil rights." But that was all he could advise. The big question — precisely who to vote for in behalf of civil rights — remained unanswered.

At the root of this dilemma is the political policy of the official leaders of the Negro people and the trade unions, a policy of dissipating the political strength of the Negroes within the capitalist two-party system. So long as this policy prevails the tragic contradiction of an anti-Jim Crow movement that supports pro-Jim Crow candidates will not be resolved. Negro people will continue to feel they are cutting their throats in the voting booths.

The struggle of the Negro people for equality is essentially anti-capitalist. Only the factory owners and big landlords are real gainers from Jim Crow. Every blow against Jim Crow is a blow against a capitalist class that rules over a divided and thereby retarded labor movement.

By the same token, each new stage in the struggle for equality has drawn the Negro and labor movement more closely together in a natural alliance against the common enemy — the capitalists and their political agents.

In addition, the Negro people have come to correctly see themselves in alliance with the colonial freedom fighters throughout the world. This sentiment was reflected in the declaration of MIA President Martin Luther King: "Whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great movement of history. . . The vast majority of the people of the world are colored. . . Up until four or five years ago most of the one and a quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West. . .

The Christian Science Monitor July 5 reports these comments from strikers at the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Ind. One complains, "I sure wish I knew what this was all about. I wish I knew exactly what McDonald wants. No one has ever told me what the issues are."

Another says bitterly, "No. I don't know what McDonald wants. I think he is in cahoots with management. I think we are entitled to know what he wants. No, I never go to a meeting. Why should I? There is a clique that runs everything." A 30-year man adds, "Sure. They're just a bunch of 'yes men' at the union. I used to go, used to be an official at one time."

But despite this the men have reacted instinctively against company efforts to shackle them with a long-term contract that would leave them open to increased speed-up and the threat of automation layoffs.

McDonald, on the other hand, wants only "peace" with the steel trust. He has been compelled to oppose the five-year pact but has indicated a willingness to accept a three-year agreement and has not informed the membership what he will settle for on the basic demands.

As in the past, he undoubtedly intends to wheedle the best terms management will concede and then confront the membership with a "package" settlement, banking on their accepting it for lack of a clear alternative.

Internal union democracy is indispensable to the solution of the Steelworkers' problems. It is needed to develop rank-and-file understanding of the issues confronting them. It is indispensable for the elaboration of a program to realize their interests and to mobilize the power necessary to write such a program into a union contract.

Today many are free and the rest are on the road. . . We are part of that great movement."

In the days ahead this fact of life enunciated by Rev. King will assume even deeper significance for the front-rank fighters against Jim Crow. They will begin to see the pattern of the world anti-capitalist development. Movements like Montgomery and Tallahassee will one day acknowledge a profound debt to the Russian working class and its Bolshevik party that in 1917 set off a chain reaction whose reverberations throughout the globe are still being felt. For it was the Russian Revolution that gave the impetus for the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle of today and chartered the road for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited everywhere.

While the very logic of the struggle leads the masses of the Negro people towards a break with capitalist politics, their official leaders are tied to the ideology of capitalism. Like the labor bureaucrats the social position and material advantages of the official Negro leaders bind them to the capitalist status quo from which their privileges derive. While the most conscious of the Negro militants identify themselves with the world movement against imperialism, the top official leadership finds itself in the role of apologist for imperialism. This is the objective meaning and result of their support to the political representatives of the Wall Street imperialists.

This conflict of the pro-capitalist politics of the leaders and the anti-capitalist interests of the ranks must ultimately be resolved by the development of a program and leadership firmly based on an anti-capitalist outlook. The first long step in that direction will be the building, in alliance with the trade unions, of an independent Labor Party capable of doing battle against the twin Jim Crow parties of capitalism.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

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The Role of the National Question in Poland

By Morris Stein

In Poznan, as in East Germany in June 1953, the spark that set off the explosion was economic. The masses rebelled against the conditions of work imposed by arbitrary bureaucrats. But these rebellions became generalized into political movements almost from the beginning. The Poznan workers boldly inscribed on their banners, in addition to the demand for bread, the demand for freedom.

This is quite natural and in the best tradition of workers' struggles. The workers need the broadest possible democracy to defend their interests and move forward toward the socialist road.

There was yet another demand raised in Poznan: The demand that the Russians get out of Poland. It is also reported that the old flag of capitalist Poland was hoisted atop a government building and that national songs were sung.

There is no way of checking the accuracy of this information. The Polish government prefers to pass over this part of the affair in silence. It is too embarrassed to admit that the masses consider it a Russian puppet government. The U. S. State Department and the capitalist press try to exaggerate and distort this phase. They see in the nationalist aspect of the Poznan struggle their greatest hope for a return to a capitalist Poland and for a base of support to the imperialists in case of war.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION

It is safe to assume that there was a heavy nationalist ingredient in the Poznan uprising. It would be unnatural if it weren't present. Nationalism is nurtured and spread by national oppression and Poland has been historically the most abused nation on the European continent. Prior to World War I it was divided between imperial Germany and Czarist Russia. It was ruled by foreign appointees who sought to impose their domination and culture.

After some 20 years of national oppression following World War I mainly under French hegemony, Poland was one again divided up. This time the division of the country was part of the short-lived deal between Stalin and Hitler in September 1939. This cynical pact between the Soviet dictator and the Fascist beast, was the curtain raiser for World War II of which Poland was only the first victim.

But once Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the brief period when Stalin sought to profit from Poland's desperate plight receded into the background. The national struggle of the Polish people was directed mainly against the Nazis. The fierce resistance struggle continued for five years. When the Soviet armies succeeded in turning the fortunes of war against the Nazis, the Polish people took heart in these victories and intensified their resistance. The Nazis intensified their repressions.

STALINIST BETRAYAL

The heroic uprising of the Jewish Ghetto of Warsaw broke out in April 1943. Almost the entire Jewish population of Warsaw was murdered. In the summer of the following year, as the Soviet armies approached Warsaw, the people rose against the Nazis and engaged considerable forces in a long battle for control of the city.

At this juncture something peculiar happened. The Soviet armies instead of pursuing the retreating Nazi armies suddenly stopped at the very gates of Warsaw and made no effort to enter it until some five months later. This gave the Nazis the time to drown in blood the uprising of the Polish resistance forces within the city.

This sudden halt of the Soviet offensive was interpreted by the Polish people as a deliberate stab in the back by Stalin. They cited such facts as the appeal of the Soviet radio to the people of Warsaw to rise up against the Nazi oppressors. But when they did not get the support of the Soviet armies. On the contrary, the Kremlin denounced the uprising as ill-timed and vilified the insurgent masses as provocateurs.

In his report on Stalin to the 20th Congress, Khrushchev did speak of Stalin's crimes in relation to other nationalities. He mentioned the banishment of entire nationalities to Siberia. The assault on Jewish cultural life and the murder of its best representatives have been admitted by others. The Kremlin's criminal role against the Poles is being admitted only indirectly. The Warsaw uprising against the Nazis in the summer of 1944 is no longer vilified and its survivors are no longer persecuted. On the contrary, some kind words are spoken about them. The present Polish regime has been trying to unload yet another of Stalin's crimes weighing

heavily upon it. It has been trying to rehabilitate and establish kinship with the old Communist Party of Poland which was disbanded by Stalin in the late 1930's.

The Polish Communist Party had always been severely persecuted by the reactionary Pilsudsky government as well as by his successors. It was compelled to function underground and many of its members languished in jail. When Stalin dissolved it, at least 7,000 members of the Polish Communist Party were in prison and most of the leadership in refuge in the Soviet Union.

During the Moscow trials the leaders of the Polish Communist Party were arrested by Stalin's secret police and shot. Among them were such prominent heroic fighters as Adolf Warsky, Rosa Luxemburg's close collaborator and a veteran of 40 years of struggle.

Even such a man as Julian Lensky, who faithfully purged the Trotskyists in the Polish Communist Party and adhered strictly to the Stalin line, did not escape Stalin's executioners.

Stalin dissolved the Polish Communist Party and executed its leaders under the charge that the party was "riddled with spies, Pilsudskists, Trotskyists," etc. The result was that the old revolutionary leadership, men of proven ability and standing among the masses were annihilated. The new leadership which arose during the years of resistance to the Nazis, either perished in the ill-fated Warsaw uprising or were vilified and persecuted.

FACELESS BUREAUCRATS

Stalin had finally triumphed. After the defeat of the Nazis, Poland remained in the palm of his hand. He constituted a puppet regime of faceless bureaucrats and set them up to rule over the country. He proceeded to introduce into Poland the Soviet economic forms. The capitalists and the landlords were expropriated, the means of production were nationalized and planned economy was introduced. The social transformation was accomplished by bureaucratic and military means.

What is the result?

The surprise nature of the Poznan workers' uprising revealed once again, this time on Polish soil, the deep gulf separating the masses from the governments in the countries ruled by Stalin's heirs. The June 1953 days in East Germany and the June 1956 days in Poznan revealed this cleavage most dramatically. But it is also part of everyday life.

The governments of the self-styled People's Democracies, as that of the Soviet Union itself, have no real intimate ties with the masses and are, on the contrary, in sharp collision with them.

Poznan and East Germany

demonstrated that when challenged, the regime could fall back only on military force. In the showdown the government could not rely on any section of the population aside from the troops and secret police to defend it from the angry masses.

The "unity of the people" the Stalinist bureaucrats always boast of, and in the name of which they seek to justify their totalitarian regimes, exists in fact. However, it is not a unity behind the government but against it.

WHAT SOCIAL DIRECTION?

The Poznan and East German uprisings were explosions which brought to the surface the deep hatred for a regime which is alien to the people. The accumulated bureaucratic abuse of the masses over the years has served to unite the masses in opposition to the regime. But it still leaves open the question of the social direction such insurrectionary movements as Poznan can take once they succeed in overthrowing the Stalinist regimes.

Revolutionary socialists have the deepest attachment to the economic foundations of present day Poland. These are the foundations which guarantee the country's economic development and upon which a socialist Poland will be built. The foundations must be defended against the counter-revolutionary schemes of the imperialists.

Revolutionary socialists have at the same time been the most consistent opponents of Stalinist rule and tireless fighters for workers' democracy. They oppose Stalinism because it derailed the masses from the forward march to socialism begun with the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which claims to represent the masses in their march to socialism is in reality anti-socialist to the core. It fosters inequality; it is anti-democratic and tyrannical. It has promoted Great-Russian nationalism and abused the national aspirations of the many nationalities within the Soviet orbit. Stalin's crimes have given aid and comfort to world imperialism.

Capitalist restorationist elements will of course, seek to take advantage of any insurrectionary movement against the Stalinist regime. They will try above all to exploit the national feelings of the masses in order to subjugate them to the imperialists. Revolutionary Socialists do not close their eyes to this danger. Socialists champion the legitimate national grievances of the Polish as well as other oppressed people.

BITTER CONTEST

This is the surest way to combat any attempt to direct the national feelings of the Polish people into the old reactionary course of Pilsudsky's Poland.



ROSA LUXEMBURG (1871-1919) was the founder of the Polish Marxist movement and a leading figure in the left wing of the Second International. Her close collaborator, Adolf Warsky, was murdered by Stalin during the Moscow Trials along with the entire Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party.

There will no doubt be a bitter contest between the genuine revolutionaries and reactionaries for influence over the masses. The final outcome will be determined in the struggle itself.

In favor of a revolutionary outcome is the fact that neither capitalist nor Stalinist reaction could afford the Poles' national independence. A solution of the national question for Poland as all other countries lies only on the socialist road.

One thing is certain. The pres-

ent situation cannot endure. The discredited bureaucracy cannot long remain in power. It's attempts to gain support by renouncing Stalin serves only to direct attention to its own complicity in Stalin's crimes. For Poland to be assured of a socialist future, the working masses must come to power in their own name and in pursuit of their own interest.

Poznan was a beginning stage of this struggle. It served to reveal all the component parts of the social conflict in Poland as well as internationally. It served to reveal the power of the workers' resistance to the bureaucracy as well as its weaknesses. Above all Poznan, like East Germany three years earlier, revealed the unpostponable need for a workers' vanguard party.

The Stalinists destroyed the old workers' parties. In their place there is only one party—the party of the bureaucracy, Stalinist terror has prevented so far the emergence of Marxist parties. But the revolutionary resurgence of the countries of the Soviet orbit are now experiencing offers the greatest opportunity yet for the speedy re-emergence of Bolshevik parties.

This is the next indispensable step to assure that the struggle against the bureaucracy will succeed and at the same time guarantee the defeat of the imperialist attempts to exploit the workers' mass resistance for reactionary ends.

World Events

BRITISH AUTO LAYOFFS
have resulted in a strike call against Britain's largest auto manufacturer, the British Motor Corporation. Four hundred auto union stewards demonstrated outside the House of Commons July 9 calling for a strike against the whole motor car industry. A promise to support the strike against British Motors, which laid off 6,000 of its 55,000 workers on two days notice, came from the large Transport and General Workers Union.

INFLATION IN BRAZIL was protested July 6 by 150,000 workers in Brazil's southernmost state when they walked out in a 24-hour strike with the demand that their \$22 a month wages be raised to \$44. They had been granted 2,700 cruzeiros (\$34). However, the workers declare that the inflationary spiral is moving upward even before the new salaries go into effect. A Rio de Janeiro newspaper said that a family of five needed about 4,500 to live, and concluded that in the capital of Brazil one lived "on stubbornness, accumulating hungers, debts and unsatisfied necessities."

FRANCO'S MINISTER OF LABOR, Jose A. Giron, promised the Spanish workers a wage increase by fall. In a widely publicized speech July 8, he took what the New York Times called "a surprisingly realistic approach to the problem." He advised the six million workers in the government-controlled "unions" to seek the advice of the former leaders of the left-wing union organizations outlawed by the fascist regime. "Those men," the Minister said, "the natural leaders of the workers in their communities. . . have the key to many solutions." These unprecedented remarks were regarded by close observers as efforts of the Franco regime to conciliate the turbulent workers movement which recently has waged illegal strike struggles in protest against inadequate wage concessions by the government.

A GENERAL STRIKE in Calcutta tied up the Indian seaport for ten hours July 7 in support of a demand that state lines be redrawn to unite the two sections of West Bengal, where Calcutta is the dominating city. This would require conceding a part of the state of Bihar and Calcutta workers demand that this be arranged by the governments of the two states on the

basis of language and cultural affinities. Prime Minister Nehru has been attempting to weaken the political power of the working class by a process of gerrymandering the state lines. This has resulted in the outburst of political strikes during the last year in all parts of India.

THE SOVIET UNION'S economic output, together with that of the East European states, will forge ahead of Western Europe's within the next two decades at the present rate of growth. This prediction was made by Robert R. Bowie, Assistant Secretary of State, July 10, at a New Jersey meeting of Soviet and American bankers. Bowie declared that the Soviet leadership was "clearly counting on this material progress to shift the balance of power in the world."

AN AFRICAN-LANGUAGE newspaper in Kampala, Uganda, has been charged with "sedition" by the British colonial government and a wave of prosecutions has followed in an attempt to hold back Uganda's burning desire for self-government. The newspaper, Gamba, (freely translated "The Answer") was fined for quoting, "All of us should strike for self-government. Foreigners pack up and go home. The people of Uganda should unite to clamor for self-government and if we are to die then we shall die until we are exterminated." Another paper, the Uganda Post, paid a fine for printing a letter with references to "racial discrimination, being made to work like slaves and being cheated in a cunning manner."

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Communist Party on the Negro Question

The world-wide effects of the re-entry of the Russian workers on the political scene are just beginning to be felt in the United States.

Khrushchev, Stalin's successor, only opened the door to criticism of the dead tyrant so the Russian bureaucrats could get the masses off their necks, but the workers stepped in and tore the door off its hinges.

The result has been exposes, admissions and confessions that have shaken up the Communist parties throughout the world.

American Communists are no exception. After they recovered from the first shock of seeing the horns beneath Stalin's halo, many began to try to understand how they could have accepted so much on faith instead of testing the party's policies by scientific socialist standards.

Now, the more thoughtful are re-evaluating past positions and actions of the party on American issues, as well as Russian and international questions.

One phase of the struggle against capitalism that requires careful re-examination is the Communist Party line on the Negro question. The whole history of the party's policies must now be reviewed from the standpoint of whether they were based on the needs and aspirations of the Negro struggle and the relationships of class forces, or on the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Was the slogan of "self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt" of the South and a Negro state in America valid,

or was it a mechanical application of the demand of oppressed nationalities in Europe to this continent?

More important from the point of view of learning from past mistakes in order not to repeat them: were the policies of building or destroying a whole series of Negro struggle organizations designed to strengthen the Negro movement against Jim Crow, or to use it as a pawn in the bargaining between Moscow and Wall Street?

Was it correct to dissolve the old Negro Defense League in 1938-39? To attack the March on Washington Movement in 1941? To condemn Negroes and the Socialist Workers Party for vigorously pressing the fight against Jim Crow during World War II?

Is it correct to advocate support of the Democratic Party of Eastland and Stevenson in 1956? Is this policy of class-collaboration going to advance the Negro struggle, or progress, or socialism one bit more than support of the other party of Big Business, the Republicans?

Negro Communists in particular, who have felt and expressed the conflict between the party line of supporting the Democratic Party, and the burning need to call for denunciation of both Jim Crow parties and formation of an independent labor party, should speak up.

It is not too late to rectify the current mistake, to adopt a principled position on political action in 1956.

"Crowded Paradise"

By Trent Hutter

There are 500,000 Puerto Ricans living in New York — most of them in overcrowded slums, exploited by landlords who cash in on prejudice since prejudice makes it tough for Puerto Ricans to find adequate apartments at reasonable prices. In New York discrimination against Puerto Ricans is as burning a problem as the Negro question, the struggle for the rights of Puerto Ricans as important as the struggle for the rights of the Negro.

"Crowded Paradise" is an independently produced motion picture about Puerto Ricans in New York and their enemies. Directed by Fred Pressburger, it was filmed on location in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in New York. It is a good picture with fine performances by Hume Cronyn, Mario Alcide, Enid Rudd, Nancy Kelly, Frank Silvera — the story of a young Puerto Rican mechanic coming to New York in order to marry his fiancée and to make a living. We see him experience widespread discrimination and even a certain prejudice of his fiancée's father, a long-time Puerto Rican resident of New York, who is proud of the position he has conquered in 20 years of hard work and looks down on the newcomer. It is also the story of a janitor, an ex-con who hates Puerto Ricans and is linked to a racket dealing in Puerto Rican birth certificates.

How often do we hear people say: "This neighborhood is getting real bad with all those Puerto Ricans moving in!" A majority of the persons who say so does not

even belong to the upper class, but to the petty-bourgeoisie who desperately try to keep up their bourgeois front and group cohesion and are afraid to be submerged by a proletarian wave; while some other Puerto Rican-haters — like the janitor in "Crowded Paradise" — are neurotics and degenerates suffering from an inferiority complex and glad to find a group they think they can look down upon.

In my opinion the only questionable point in "Crowded Paradise" is the role of the police. The police officer in this picture wants to help Puerto Ricans as much as he can. He shows genuine understanding and friendliness. Let us grant that there are a few police officers like him, but they are not typical: the New York police are not the Puerto Rican's friend!

Yet, as I said before, it is a good picture. I wanted to find out how accurate a portrait of the Puerto Rican's life and problems in New York it is and asked a Puerto Rican what she thought about "Crowded Paradise" after she had seen it. "It is true," she replied. "Things really are like that. It's a very fine picture."

I hope many people are going to see "Crowded Paradise" and to do some serious thinking about discrimination — especially those who like to affirm their belief in equality and civil rights, but who, the very next moment, tell you: "This neighborhood is getting real bad with all those Puerto Ricans moving in!"

Youth in Jail

By Joyce Cowley

Right now there are around 500 young people between the ages of 16 and 21 "detained" in New York City jails, according to a report by Gertrude Samuels in the New York Times. They are not prisoners, although they wear prison clothing and live in heavily barred six-by-eight foot cells, frequently in the same cell block with adult criminals. Young girls are sent to the Women's House of Detention where they share cells with convicted prostitutes and narcotics pushers.

These youngsters may be awaiting trial, or a court transfer, or a formal complaint from the injured party. A judge may be investigating their cases. Sometimes the youth's crime is homelessness, and the only spot for him while waiting for "placement" is the city jail.

One reason for detention is that some judges feel sending these boys to jail for a few days will "do them good." It's an obvious violation of their constitutional rights, but the Times points out that most of them come from "the city poor" and can't afford a lawyer.

The courts are slow, and a great many delays occur because the staff is too small to take care of investigations and paper work. There are fifteen different courts that deal with youth problems, and each judge decides for himself whether a youth will be treated as a criminal or non-criminal offender. The tough type like Judge Samuel Leibowitz considers it "soft-headed insanity" to classify youth as such just because of their age. "Many are punks... who can give older criminals hearts and spades in this business."

Other judges use high bail as a form of punishment. The working-class youth generally can't raise the money, so he has to stay in jail while he waits for trial. One boy of 17, deserted by his parents, was supporting himself at a \$40-a-week job. He was arrested for going through a subway turnstile without paying. He couldn't raise bail and waited 25 days for trial. He was dismissed with a warning, but of course his job was gone.

The majority of these young people wind up in jail because there's no other place to put them. There are no shelters, youth hostels or homes. Social service agencies already have more cases than they can handle and nobody wants to board youngsters accused of crime or prostitution. According to Mayor Wagner: "The judges themselves, to my knowledge, haven't asked for new buildings or demanded shelters for this group." Money has been allocated in the 1956 budget to start surveying and acquiring land for shelters but the Mayor concedes that this will take many years.

In the meantime, when the Youth Court Act goes into effect next February and youth cases are consolidated in the County Courts, the court calendars will be even more crowded and "justice" will move even more slowly than in the past. There will be hundreds of boys like Robert, who spent 65 days waiting for his case to come to trial. But then, as Robert himself admitted, the time in jail was not entirely wasted. He said that while he was there he "learned an awful lot about how to commit crimes better."

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McAvoy's Speech at Brooklyn Symposium

[We publish below excerpts of the speech made by Clifford T. McAvoy, former ALP candidate for mayor of New York, at the Brooklyn Compass Club symposium, June 24. The symposium topic was: Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections. Other speakers were: Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, W.E.B. Du Bois, historian and educator and David Goldway, executive secretary of the Jefferson School. In the last two issues of the Militant we published the speeches of Farrell Dobbs and David Goldway.]

By Clifford T. McAvoy

... It is my conviction today, as it was in 1936 when I was one of the founding members of the American Labor Party, that labor must have its own party, that there is no possibility in any ultimate sense, of labor obtaining any goal by supporting candidates of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. I say this not as a theoretician, because I don't consider myself a theoretician. In fact I should probably plead guilty to being somewhat of a pragmatist in the field of political action. I have had some ten years of experience as a vice-chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, duties which consisted of going from state to state, city to city and county to county building political action committees in local unions, international unions on a state and county level. And in trying to interest the workers first of all in taking an active part in politics of any kind, whether capitalist or socialist.

Now I approach this question of working class policy in the 1956 elections from the other end from which Mr. Dobbs approached it. I believe he approached it from the theoretical end and insofar as he spoke from theory I think he is entirely correct. But in speaking from the practical side of it I would first start with issues.

What can labor do, what can any American do in the 1956 elections to advance the cause of peace. When I say peace I don't mean static peace, the kind of peace which exists now between the United States and the Soviet Union, but a constructive peace which includes the exchange of delegations on every level — of workers, of farmers, of musicians, actors and actresses, authors and all other possible phases of life in both the Soviet Union and the United States. A constructive interrelationship between the two greatest countries in the world. Because I think there can be no peaceful coexistence unless it includes that kind of approach.

VOTE FOR DOBBS

Is there any candidate now on the horizon or likely to be nominated by either the Democratic or Republican parties who has any such approach to the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union? Of course the question answers itself. For that reason I personally shall cast my vote for the candidate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in the 1956 elections. [Applause]

I do so even though I disagree with the foreign policy platform of the Socialist Workers Party. I believe in peaceful coexistence, as I have tried to describe it to you — a constructive peaceful coexistence of a long lasting interrelationship between the two countries. With peaceful competition in the economic field as well as the cultural field. Because I believe fundamentally in socialism I have no doubt as to the final outcome of such peaceful competition.

But first of all we must attain a situation where such competition is possible. And the first step in that direction is of course a multilateral, that is universal disarmament of all the countries of the world, with the abolition of nuclear weapons, the abolition of the H-bomb, the A-bomb and of all types of nuclear weapons by both the Soviet Union and the United States and all of the other lesser countries through the United Nations. [Applause]

The second greatest issue, on which of course peace depends and all other issues depend, is the issue of civil liberties, the issue here in America of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. ... I don't believe that any one of us should support any candidate for Congress if he does not take an unequivocal position on the Bill of Rights, and that means complete freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of association, freedom of meeting for every single political position now represented in the United States — of course first of all the Communist Party because that is the most persecuted party in the Uni-

ted States at the present time, and including every other single political party in the United States.

Now there are very few congressmen that I have run across, and I've had a considerable association with congressmen for some 15 years, who take that unequivocal position of full support of the Bill of Rights with full freedom for political opinion for every political party. Where there is a congressman who has the courage of his convictions to take such a position, then I don't think we should be doctrinaire and refuse to support such a congressman if he happens to be running on the Democratic ticket or the Republican ticket. But I certainly would not advocate coalition with a congressional candidate on the Democratic ticket who supports the Humphrey Act, the Communist Control Act, who supports the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Act, who supports the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. I would demand an unequivocal opinion on the part of every candidate for Congress in New York City [Applause] before I would give him any sup-

port whatsoever. Because nothing can be more fundamental than the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. What could possibly be more American than that?

And then of course the great question of civil rights. It's very difficult to say which of these questions comes first. Peace I think must come first because on that depends our existence or our annihilation. And civil liberties should probably come next because without the freedom of advocacy, nothing can change in this country and the monopolists can continue to perpetuate the situation as it is today. But certainly right behind those two great questions comes the question of civil rights which is also a constitutional question.

COALITION WITH EASTLAND?

How can we support any political party which has as the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee the unequipped Senator Eastland of Mississippi, one of the leading members of the Democratic Party in this country. [Applause] How can we advocate coalition with such a party when it's perfectly obvious to

any realistic student of political affairs that the most progressive, if one can use that term in connection with these gentlemen, of the delegates to the Democratic convention will at best advocate appeasement of the Dixiecrat wing of that party. There is no cause in the United States today more holy to the realization of American ideals than absolute first class citizenship without any qualifications whatsoever for the Negro people and the Puerto Rican people and people of all the minority groups. [Applause]

And we should demand of a candidate for Congress or for the State Assembly or State Senate, whether he be on the Republican or Democratic ticket, again an unqualified, an unqualified support of the militant, brave and courageous fight of the people of Montgomery for first class citizenship in Montgomery, Alabama; for complete, unqualified support for carrying out in acts the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court with respect to the public schools, and the schools and colleges of the nation, and to an end of discrimination of all kinds right here in our own city, without bothering

to go down to Montgomery, Alabama. . .

Now, I don't think it's too late to begin the building of the labor party. . . In my opinion history will show that one of the greatest mistakes that was made by the radical movement in the last 20 years was the deliberate and conscious liquidation of the American Labor Party by probably a majority of the present members of that party when the need for an independent political party, when the need for an independent labor party was never greater than it is today. . .

What can we do then between now and November, 1956? Well I think most of us regardless of what political parties we now belong to should begin to initiate discussions of this kind. And I think the Brooklyn Compass Club, as my colleagues have said, deserves the highest credit for initiating this kind of discussion. It is a matter of great regret to me; it's a matter of sorrow, that all four of us here tonight, although we have differences, are not all fighting in the same party to build an independent American Labor Socialist Party. [Applause]

STEPPED UP PAYMENTS NEEDED ON FUND DRIVE

As our scoreboard shows, payments to the Socialist Publication Campaign Fund is substantially behind schedule. With the drive two-thirds over, collections to date represent but 41-percent of

the goal.

During the past several weeks the rate of contributions has stepped up. Needless to say, if the quota is to be completed on schedule this process must be accelerated even more sharply. With one month to go in the drive, every supporter of the Fund will really have to pitch in to make up for the slow start.

Throughout the history of our movement, the publications program has always been of primary importance. Over the years we have continually strained our financial and technical resources to publish and circulate the writings of the great Marxist thinkers. By this process we have built up an impressive body of literature embodying the teachings of Trotsky, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

We have had virtually the sole responsibility for making available the writings of Trotsky, and in actuality we have never been able to fully meet the demands for his works. A whole series of his writings have been long out of print and have long commanded top prices from out-of-print dealers when available.

In assuming the obligation for the continued circulation of Trotsky's works, we have helped to meet a need not only in the U.S., but throughout the English-speaking world. Marxists in other countries have engaged in similar publishing programs and we have always co-operated with them on this. But while our own financial resources are meager they are even more so in other English-speaking countries, and that has meant a special obligation for us in this historic work.

Today, with the great discussion in the ranks of the Communist Party and the radical movement generally as a result of the new revolutionary developments in the Soviet orbit the requests for Trotsky's works has sharply increased. From every part of the country and from abroad comes reports of members and supporters of the Communist Party now turning to Trotsky in their search for a Marxist explanation of the degeneration of the Soviet Union.

We are now expending a maximum effort to make available again the many works of Trotsky which are indispensable for the present discussion, and are using every means at our disposal to do so as quickly as possible. We have reprinted already his pamphlet on the Kirov Assassination. We made available through the pages of The Militant the chapter from The Revolution Betrayed on Socialism and the State, while working on plans to re-issue the book itself.

When we launched the current publications fund two months ago the special need for a stepped-up publications program was understood by all. Each day that has passed since that time has underscored the urgency of this project. And that means of course the special need to complete the fund drive in full and on time.

Correspondence from throughout the country indicates that the lag in payments arises from a variety of individual difficulties and not from any lack of enthusiasm for the project. We are confident that, as in the

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Allentown	\$ 85.00	\$ 60.00	70%
Twin Cities	1,320.00	822.00	62
Chicago	1,560.00	1,064.60	61
Cleveland	350.00	210.00	60
San Francisco	650.00	365.00	56
Detroit	825.00	450.00	55
Los Angeles	3,300.00	1,477.00	45
Youngstown	250.00	100.00	40
Milwaukee	250.00	102.00	40
Newark	200.00	83.00	31
New York	4,000.00	1,239.00	31
St. Louis	85.00	25.00	29
Seattle	300.00	85.00	28
Buffalo	1,760.00	600.00	28
Boston	500.00	85.00	17
Philadelphia	400.00	62.00	13
Oakland	200.00	—	—
Akron	140.00	—	—
General		80.00	—
Totals	\$16,175.00	\$6,770.50	41%

Bar Association Report Rips "Security" Abuses

By Shirley Clark

The conservative New York Bar Association through its nine-member Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security Program July 8 published its 301-page report on

pay of employees under suspension; the power to subpoena both Government and defense witnesses; payment of lawyer's fees for those accused who are cleared; abolition of the Attorney General's subversive list unless reduced to those organizations that have been given a hearing and then to specify that individuals are not proven guilty by membership alone.

Were these recommendations to be accepted by the Eisenhower administration, the witch-hunt would be seriously curtailed and the American people would regain some of their traditional liberties. So far the voice of the New York Bar Association is only one more expression of the growing popular demand for an end to the persecution of people for their political ideas.

CONCERN FOR WORLD OPINION

It is interesting to note that prominent among the considerations of the lawyers' Committee is its concern for the appearance of U.S. liberty abroad. Liberty must be upheld not only here,

the report says, but as "a continuing appeal to the oppressed in every land." Just as the Big Business rulers of this country are embarrassed by the specter of Jim Crow when they face the insurgent people in the colonial world, so these Big Business legal advisors are embarrassed by the destruction of civil liberties at home when they are trying to appear as the champions of democracy abroad.

In moderate conservative language the report charged that the administration of the security program had slowed scientific and technological advancement, hurt the reputation of the U.S. abroad, injured employees' morale and blunted "our national concern with freedom of speech and fair hearings, although that is clearly on the rise again."

These lawyers, who know the extent of the violation of constitutional rights that is involved in the witch hunt, are reluctant to propose the full restoration of civil liberties. They confine their attack on the government "risk" program to the more obvious abuses. It will take an aroused labor movement to end the police powers grabbed up by the capitalist politicians by eliminating altogether the dictatorial institution of a "subversive" list.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Fri. July 13: - No Forum

Friday July 20 — 8 P. M.

Hear
Rita Shaw

Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan

"Can the Democratic Party Be Reformed?"

Hear why the Democrats cannot solve the economic and social problems of the workers
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HEAR
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SWP Candidate for Vice-President

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