

# For a Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialists!

## A Programmatic Basis for Unity Discussions

(The following is the text of a Statement on the Regroupment of Revolutionary-Socialist Forces in the United States adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.)

The discussion now going on in the radical movement about a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces is a welcome development. It opens a hopeful new stage in the difficult task of constructing a party in the United States capable of guiding the struggle for socialism to success.

The discussion was precipitated by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where the monstrous crimes of Stalin were publicly admitted by his heirs and accomplices. These revelations plunged the Communist Party of the United States into a profound crisis. The upsurge of revolutionary socialist struggle in the Soviet orbit following the Twentieth Congress deepened the crisis. Revolutionary-minded members of the Communist Party began to draw the logical conclusion to their bitter experience with Stalinism by seeking a regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces in America.

Interest in the question of revolutionary regroupment, it has turned out, is not confined to Communist Party members and sympathizers who have become aware of the nature of Stalinism. The question is also being discussed among the youth in the Social Democratic sphere. This is due in part to interest aroused by the ferment in the Communist Party, but more importantly to opposition to the recent reactionary shift in the Social Democracy toward the wing "closest to the State Department and the Democratic Party, as signalized by the fusion of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

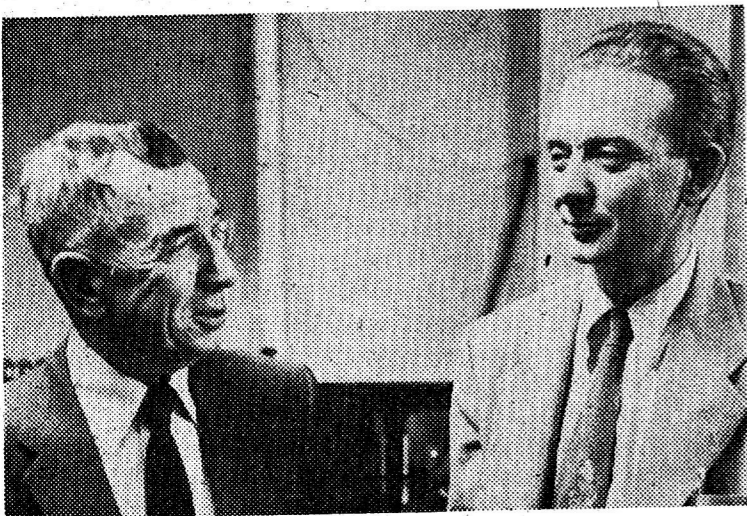
### The Next Stage

In addition, thousands of former supporters of the Progressive Party, presently unaffiliated idealistic youth and class-conscious workers are interested in building a re-invigorated revolutionary-socialist movement in America.

The discussion has gone on somewhat haphazardly, remaining — properly so up to now — at the level of general consideration of the feasibility of regroupment. In the next stage of the discussion, two different ways of proceeding are counterposed: (1) Shall we first attempt a general unification, leaving the discussion and clarification of programmatic questions for a later time? Or (2) shall we first explore the different views, clarify the various positions, and try to reach agreement and unification on at least the minimum fundamentals? It seems to us that the latter procedure is preferable and that the

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### A Good Precedent



V. R. Dunne (left) of the Socialist Workers Party and Carl Ross, Minnesota chairman of the Communist Party, share platform at a Jan. 11 symposium in Minneapolis on problems of socialist regroupment. The turnout was the largest of any radical meeting held in the area during the past decade.

## Kremlin Policy Favors Foster Faction in CP

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Feb. 5 — Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster has received another major assist from the Kremlin in his drive for control of the CP convention which convenes here this weekend. Moscow's move came in the form of a Feb. 3 article in the paper Soviet Russia, which levels a special blast at what it and Foster has branded as the "right wing" of the American CP — the Gates tendency.

Charging the Gates wing with revision of Marxist-Leninist theory under the pressure of "bourgeois ideology," the Kremlin organ utilizes a typical old-fashioned Stalinist frame-up of lumping the Gates wing with John Foster Dulles, since both allegedly advocate "national communism."

Singled out for special attack is Daily Worker foreign editor Joseph Clark, a leading figure in the Gates faction. Included in the same broadside are Polish

and Yugoslav CP's who are charged with favoring "national communism" and attempting to "split the international Communist movement into two opposing groups: Stalinists and anti-Stalinists."

Coming after the Kremlin attack of last November on the Daily Worker for daring to question its role in Hungary, the present crude Kremlin intervention on behalf of Foster underscores the fact that despite Khrushchev's promises at the 20th Congress the prospect remains bleak for Moscow establishing a relationship of independent and equal relations between itself and the Communist parties in the rest of the world. The move to whip the Gates tendency back into line is not an isolated development but part of the campaign of the Kremlin high command to shut off the wave of criticism that broke out in the Communist parties internationally following the 20th Congress.

Answering the attack by

Soviet Russia, the Feb. 5 Daily Worker declared that "American Communists will make up their own minds" and that the DW would not be prevented from thinking independently. Such a declaration surely echoes the sentiment of a large body of CP members. But they will have to firmly insist that this time the Gates-wing leaders on the DW staff live up to their promise.

The DW editors raised the banner of independence from the Kremlin bureaucrats last April following admissions in Hungary that the trial and execution of Laszlo Rajk, CP leader purged for "Titoism" in 1949, had been a frame-up. They did so again last June, when the New York Times published the Khrushchev "secret-session" speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

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

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## Fast Ends Membership In the CP

Attributing his decision primarily to the Khrushchev revelations, novelist Howard Fast has broken his long association with the Communist Party. In a Feb. 1 interview with the New York Times, the author of Freedom Road and other best selling works said that he was "neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Communist, but I cannot work and write in the Communist movement."

A supporter of the Communist Party since the Thirties, and a party member for the past 15 years, Fast apparently made his resignation known only through the Times interview. The Feb. 3 Daily Worker, in announcing his break reported that it had verified the Times story in a telephone conversation with Fast.

### SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Fast, who had been a regular contributor to the Daily Worker, discontinued his column last June at the time the Khrushchev speech was published in this country. He indicated to the Times that he has spent the period since that time reconsidering the question of his party membership.

The two principal factors causing him to break, he said, was the Khrushchev speech and the revelations of Soviet anti-Semitism which were given international publicity after the Warsaw Jewish-language paper, Folksstimme detailed the annihilation of leading Jewish cultural figures in the Soviet Union beginning with the liquidation of the leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

Discussing the Khrushchev speech, Fast said: "It was incredible and unbelievable to me that Khrushchev did not end his speech with a promise of the reforms needed to guarantee that Stalin's crimes will not be repeated, reforms such as an end to capital punishment, trial by jury, and habeas corpus. Without these reforms one can make neither sense nor reason of the speech itself."

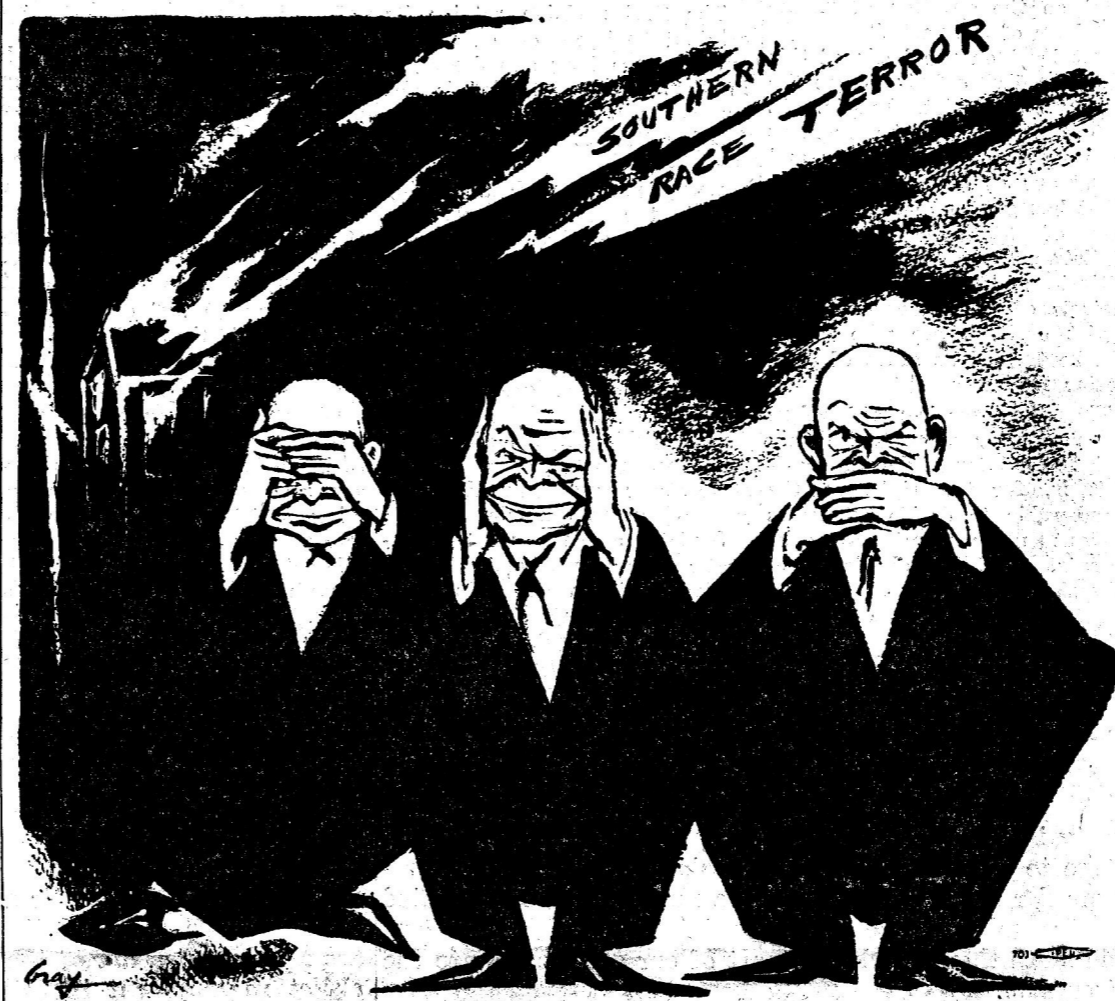
Regarding the persecution of Soviet Jews, Fast said, "I knew little about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union before the Khrushchev speech. That little troubled me, but I repressed my doubts. Then the article appeared in the Folksstimme last spring telling what actually happened. It was not an easy thing to live with."

### IN THIS ISSUE:

Portrait of Union "Boss" James Hoffa

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# Senate Mail Runs 8 to 1 Against Mid-East Plan



NEWS ITEM: Rejecting demands of Negro leaders that Eisenhower speak in the South against the present wave of racist violence, a presidential spokesman asked that they make available to the government any information that might indicate interference with civil rights.

## Letters Convey Strong Protest Against Moves Toward a New Conflict

By Fred Halstead

The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to the Eisenhower Doctrine according to mail being received by United States Senators. The doctrine, approved by the House of Representatives last month and now being considered by the Senate, grants authority to the President to start a war in the Middle East without consulting Congress or notifying the American people. Office staffs of both Republican and Democratic Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee reported this week that mail was running "eight or nine to one" against the Eisenhower proposals.

### A HEAVY MAIL

The Senate office staffs agreed, according to the Feb. 2 New York Times, that there is "considerable public interest in the issue," that the mail is running overwhelmingly against the doctrine, although there is no organization behind it. The volume of mail is large from all parts of the country, and is particularly heavy from the Middle and Far West.

Opposition is being expressed in other ways also. The Hammond Times of Hammond, Indiana took a poll of 1,000 readers which ran four to one against the doctrine, according to one Senatorial assistant.

The Senate, however, is expected to flout the will of the people and approve Eisenhower's Mid-East proposals sometime this month. In addition to the war-making powers, the proposals grant the President an additional \$200 million to be used to buy off such Arab rulers as may be induced to serve the aims of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. An example of the reactionary purposes to which this money will be put is the present wooing by Eisenhower of King Saud of Saudi Arabia and of the Hashemite Kings of Jordan and Iraq.

The Arab masses, however, cannot be bought off. They are

determined to gain their independence from imperialism and they will resist any attempt by U.S. capitalism to "fill the vacuum" created by the British-French defeat at Suez. The Eisenhower Doctrine threatens a new Korean-type police action against this rising Arab national independence revolution. It is this threat of war that is being vigorously opposed in the letters of the American people to the Senate. As one New Yorker wrote to a Senator: "A slip of the foot and that brink is a point of no return."

### Freedom Rally



FARRELL DOBBS, SWP National Secretary, shown addressing rally, last month, organized by Negro community of Buffalo commemorating 93rd anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. For excerpts from Dobbs' speech see page 4.

## Local 600-UAW Paper Hits Probe of Unions by Congress

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 7 — Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600, provided the correct answer to Congressional plans for "investigating" labor racketeering in the Feb. 2 issue of Ford Facts published by the local. To the accusations of labor racketeering, Stellato countered the fabulous profits being raked in by the capitalists. "Cash dividends announced by corporations hit a new high in 1956," he pointed out. In that same year "the cost of living jumped 2 1/2 per cent."

"While all of this is going on," Stellato said, "Senator McClellan is conducting a 'probe' of alleged labor racketeering. . . His companions in this probe are Senator McCarthy (Wisconsin) and Senator Mundt — two anti-Union Senate leaders who have suddenly decided to protect the workers from their leaders."

Stellato then concluded, "I am quite certain that labor can clean its own house. And labor certainly looks with a jaundiced eye when the enemies of labor try to do the job for us. We will be opposed to a 'labor investigating Roman Holiday' which is so characteristic of anything Senator McCarthy has a hand in."

The International, Executive Board of the United Auto Workers at its Jan. 23 meeting adopted a resolution to ask the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to consider "urging Congress to authorize an appropriate Congressional committee to conduct a thorough and exhaustive investigation . . . and to expose without fear or favor corruption in labor, in industry and all other aspects of the problem."

Walter Reuther's stand, just the opposite of that taken by Stellato, meets the threat of an anti-labor "probe" by inviting Congressional interference in the internal affairs of the labor movement. Reuther's invitation gives sanction to an anti-union campaign that will have as its primary object to discredit, isolate and weaken the union movement.

The racketeering that exists in the AFL-CIO will not be seriously affected by any Congressional investigation. Rack-

eteering is an integral part of American capitalist society. "Angles" for getting rich grow inevitably out of a system that is fundamentally based on the "right" of an individual to enrich himself at the expense of his fellow man.

In the ruling class, there is little unselfish devotion to the common welfare. In the struggle against the class that dominates society, on the other hand, the working class places a high premium on selfless devotion. When that struggle is in a low ebb as today, the labor movement loses this characteristic and takes on more and more of the qualities of the society in which it operates.

An impartial investigation of "racketeering" would have to begin at the very pinnacles of society. When it begins with labor it can only have one objective. That is to destroy the labor movement.

## Protest Ban Of Lawyer For Sobell

FEB. 6—Legal arguments for a hearing or for acquittal of Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz on charges of "conspiracy to commit espionage," were postponed today for the second time this week by three judges in the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The first postponement was granted on Feb. 4 at the request of Sobell's lawyers who reported that Dr. Louis Sanchez Ponton, noted Mexican lawyer, had been unable to obtain a visa from the U.S. embassy in Mexico City. Dr. Ponton was retained to aid the Sobell lawyers in the preparations for argumentation. The judges granted the postponement until Feb. 6 in the hope that Dr. Ponton would be permitted to enter.

Interference with the entry of Dr. Ponton, a professor of law at the University of Mexico and a former Minister of Education, was protested Feb. 4 in a telegram sent to President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles by Vera Rony, National Secretary of the Workers Defense League. The protest was made on the basis of Sobell's right to counsel. (The WDL has not taken a position on the merits of the Sobell case.)

News of the delay in granting Dr. Ponton a visa—if he will yet be able to obtain one—was given widespread publicity in the press of Mexico. The New York capitalist papers, however, informed last Saturday of this development and the protests of Helen Sobell, the prisoner's wife, have as yet not carried a word of the visa denial.

The second postponement was granted at the government's request. However, the U.S. Attorney asked for postponement until Monday, Feb. 11, which would bring the Sobell motions before a different panel of judges. This request was denied and postponement granted only until Feb. 8, still in the hope that Dr. Ponton will be granted entry.

### Asks Justice



HELEN SOBELL for six years has fought to free her husband, Morton, who she states was framed-up with the Rosenbergs during the atom-spy hysteria.

## Negro Leaders Condemn Gov't Inaction on Terror

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 5 — Eisenhower's refusal to speak out for civil rights in the South, coupled with the Justice Department's rejection of an urgent request by Southern Negro

Department of Justice" concerning civil rights violence. On Feb. 1, the Justice Department publicized the arrogant reply by Sherman Adams on behalf of Eisenhower, that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement as you asked." The Associated Press reported, Feb. 4, that Eisenhower hopes to leave this week end for Thomasville, Georgia, the visit may last up to two weeks—he will go quail hunting and golfing.

Eisenhower is ready to ring the world with U.S. armed forces to support reaction in the name of democracy. With the victims of murder and bombings in Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama he cannot be bothered. "All we asked for was just a word from the President," said Rev. King. But neither Eisenhower, nor any other major Big Business politician, has that one word of encouragement for heroic human beings whose very lives are in

### PRESIDENT GOES GOLFING

On Jan. 11, Negro leaders from ten Southern states called on Eisenhower to speak out publicly in the South against the rampage of violence. They also requested an interview with Attorney General Herbert Brownell, on the "responsibility of the

Department of Justice" concerning civil rights violence. On Feb. 1, the Justice Department publicized the arrogant reply by Sherman Adams on behalf of Eisenhower, that "it was not possible for the President to schedule a speaking engagement as you asked." The Associated Press reported, Feb. 4, that Eisenhower hopes to leave this week end for Thomasville, Georgia, the visit may last up to two weeks—he will go quail hunting and golfing.

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# ... CP Convention Faces Queries Our Stand on USSR Issue of Independence

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Soviet troops against the Hungarian Workers Councils.  
That was the furthest advance to independence from the politics of the Soviet bureaucratic caste reached by any Gates-tendency leaders. Since then, the Gatesites have beat a retreat all along the line on this question. Under a combined Foster-Kremlin attack, the Gates leaders caved in with a new "compromise" statement that brought to an end their initial efforts at an independent evaluation of the events. As a result, the DW has not uttered a word against the death-penalty for strikers decreed by Kadar.

The ability of the Gates group to win independence from Kremlin dictation and the "stand-pat" Stalinism of Foster was further crippled by its political line as expressed in the proposal for a Browder-type "political association." This served only to alienate many worker-members who wanted a new deal in the party but were not ready to pay the price of liquidation for it. The ill-disguised opportunist politics of Gates, combined with

the efforts to conciliate all differences with Foster, served only as grist for Foster's mill. Although in full agreement with Gates on the basic programmatic premises from which stem the proposal on "name and form" (co-existence, anti-monopoly coalition, support to the Democrats), Foster has been able to present himself as the "defender" of "Leninism." He has capitalized on the issue of opportunism in his drive to choke off criticism of party bureaucracy and in his attempts to re-establish the old monolithic practices.

To bludgeon his opponents completely into line and to put an end to the stormy discussion in the ranks, Foster is now using the threat of split. A recent step in this direction is contained in his speech to the December National Committee meeting, published in National Discussion Bulletin No. 5, dated Jan. 15.

The split threat is presented in the form of a "unity perspective" and opens with the declaration that "many good Party comrades . . . fear that a serious split is developing." But, Foster assures them, while "obviously there is a danger of a split, I believe that our Party will emerge from the coming convention essentially united."

Then follows a statement of a series of developments which, according to Foster, have reduced the danger of split. Curiously enough, each development is one in which the Gates wing has yielded to him. Or as he puts it: "The unifying trend in the Party . . . has been running very strongly lately against the Right tendency."

Where then is the remaining danger of split? Foster explains: "At the convention the main task in overcoming this Right weakness will be to reject decisively the proposal to turn the Party into a political action association

and to correct current watered-down conceptions of Marxism-Leninism. Such action does not by any means imply the inevitability of a split. That there is a split danger is obvious, but it can and must be avoided."

Stripped of diplomatic double-talk, all of this boils down to a warning to the Gates group: You have retreated on a number of issues on which I oppose you. To that degree the danger of split has been reduced. You have not yet done so on other issues. To that degree the danger of split is still "obvious."

That unquestioned support for the Kremlin, over which Foster hurls "split" threats, is the cardinal issue is indicated by the fact that the very latest retreat of the Gates faction has not brought peace. At the recent New York State convention George B. Charney, a Gatesite, co-sponsored a resolution with Ben Davis, a Fosterite, which gave Foster everything he could want on the question of "name and form of the party."

But hard on the heels of this major "unity" offering came the attack in Soviet Russia. It declared in effect that agreement on such issues as "name and form" are of little consequence. What has got to be ended is the talk of Stalinism and anti-Stalinism. There must be no more critical and independent appraisals of what goes on in the Soviet orbit. Those who do so will be framed as allies of John Foster Dulles.

Thus the issue is posed before the convention delegates: Either a fight for internal democracy — that is, for the right of the membership to decide all issues without ultimatums and split threats. Or blind obedience to Khrushchev and Co. — that is, a return to the days of Stalinist bureaucratic rule over the party.

Editor:

Would you please explain these contradictions which appear in George Lavan's article "Meaning of the Chinese CP's Manifesto Supporting Kremlin" in the Militant of Feb. 4, 1957.

He writes of "USSR," "Soviet" Society and at the same time of the "extinction" of Soviets. He says that bureaucracy is a "caste" not a class and yet the struggle between the workers and this "caste" is "as real as class conflicts in capitalist society."

Again: "The violence and terror against the people by this caste he compares to "fascist capitalism. Hitler."

How can he compare a socialist state (a workers' state) to fascist capitalism, to Hitler? It seems to me that you cannot reconcile these contradictions. It is either one or the other. I would like to see a reply to this in your paper.

A Regular Reader  
New York City

Dear Reader:

The Soviet Union retains its original name even though Soviets were long ago destroyed in that country. Soviet is the Russian word for council. The Russian Soviets were similar to the Workers Councils which recently played such a leading role in the Hungarian uprising. Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants made the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The Bolshevik slogan was "All power to the Soviets" as opposed to support of the provisional parliamentary government of Kerensky. When the Bolshevik Party finally achieved a majority in the Soviets, the latter took all state power causing the Kerensky government to crumble.

Soviets, are the most democratic form of workers' self-government the world has seen. Delegates to them could be recalled and replaced at any moment a majority of the work-

ers in the factories, etc., they represented so desired. It was this form of government that the Soviet Union had in its early days under Lenin and Trotsky.

As Stalinism grew the Soviets were steadily undermined, shorn of power and in the mid-Thirties, when the new Stalin constitution was adopted, the facade of Soviets was dropped in favor of a pseudo-parliamentary facade.

The Soviet Union is a contradictory society. It is not socialism, but a workers' state halfway between capitalism and socialism. This may explain why descriptions of it themselves seem contradictory. The old capitalist and landlord classes were expropriated by the revolution and the land and means of production were nationalized. Yet we see wage differences as great or greater in the USSR than in capitalist countries. The privileged bureaucrat lives in a large luxurious apartment and has one or more summer homes. He has several cars, expensive clothing, the best of foods, servants, etc.

The unskilled worker lives in a crowded slum, no car, insufficient and shoddy clothing and a bare diet. To protect their high incomes and standard of living the bureaucracy has expropriated the workers politically.

Does this make the bureaucracy a new ruling class as some maintain under theories of state capitalism, "managerial revolution" or "bureaucratic collectivism"? Trotsky (See the Revolution Betrayed) and other Marxists have said that while in many ways the bureaucracy resembles a class, it is not.

Classes in history have played an organic, necessary role in their societies springing naturally, as it were, from the underlying social relations. This the bureaucracy does not do — its role actually is that of a parasitic growth on Soviet social relations. It can be swept away without altering the economic or social basis of the USSR. On the

other hand real classes in history such as the feudal or capitalist could not be swept away without a social revolution — a revolution which destroys the old economic and social base.

Perhaps a comparison with the bureaucracies of the trade union movement in the U.S. will shed some light on the problem. In corrupt unions such as the East Coast longshoremen's and the teamsters' the leaders are often described as not being labor leaders but "capitalists" because of their fantastically high incomes (most of which come from selling out the workers and looting the union treasury). They have their pent houses, limousines, etc., etc. Despite appearances, however, they are a parasitic growth on the labor movement, not an organic, necessary part of it. And indeed, as long as their ill-gotten wealth comes principally from the union movement they are not capitalists but corrupt labor bureaucrats.

Despite such leadership the union remains a union — just as the USSR remains a workers' state. The workers' interests dictate not the destruction of the union and a return to open-shop conditions but a "political revolution" inside the union that sweeps the parasitic bureaucracy out and leaves the union basis not only intact but better able to function. Similarly with the Soviet Union.

Can the Stalinist regime legitimately be compared to that of Hitler? Yes, if one makes it clear that their social bases are completely different; the former being a workers' state — a historically progressive stage in history — and the latter capitalism stripped bare of all democratic or progressive pretense.

In methods of rule these regimes, based on opposite social systems, were symmetrical. Hitler's method of rule was that of the police state — concentration camps, firing squads, secret-

police terror, stifling of the slightest expression of opposition, no unions but one big company union, deification of the leader, etc.

It might also be asked, is it permissible to compare the brutality and violence used by labor-hating employers in the U.S. with methods used by corrupt union bureaucracies? The methods of Rockefeller's thugs against the miners and their families in the Ludlow Massacre, the methods of company-owned sheriffs in the South unfortunately find their parallel in the gangsterism employed by the bureaucrats of some of the most degenerated American trade unions against the rank and file. That does not imply an equating of such unions, as I tried to make clear above, or their corrupt leaderships, with company thugs or company-owned sheriffs. Similar methods, but different social bases.

To defend what is progressive in the Soviet Union, China and the East European Countries it is not necessary to shrink from any of the facts, bitter though they may be, or to conceal anything. In facing these facts and drawing the necessary political conclusions one is preparing the workers movement for the regeneration of the Soviet orbit and giving support to the regenerating forces. This is today's most important form of defense of the Soviet Union and the guarantee of its future.

Fortunately, as events in Poland, Hungary and inside the USSR itself show, these forces are now on the march and, disdaining any thought of a return to capitalism, they are striving for a new, honest workers' democracy that will lead to socialism.

George Lavan

## Chinese CP Leader in Warsaw



Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left) is photographed with Gomulka during Warsaw visit last month. The visit was credited with contributing to Gomulka's election victory. The price of Chou's support was a pledge of Polish support to the Kremlin puppet regime of Kadar in Hungary.

**Bulletin**  
FEB. 8 — Today's Daily Worker reports a statement of the CP National Board which "takes note of a regrettable story at large that some purported basis exists for a challenge . . . regarding the delegates elected at the New York State Convention. . . . We view any rumor or act to challenge the delegates election outcome in New York as a serious and utterly illegal procedure which could only have a disruptive and all-sidedly damaging consequence to the unity, work and good conduct of the coming National convention."

# ... SWP Statement on Socialist Regroupment

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serious elements taking part in the discussion will agree that programmatic issues have to be considered and clarified before durable organizational conclusions can be reached.

The effort to determine what the programmatic aims of the regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should be is not a matter of splitting hairs in a search for a new dogma. It is a very real problem, for the program that is eventually agreed upon will most certainly shape the movement and ultimately determine its success or failure in the coming period when the American working class again swings into action and turns toward socialist leadership.

## Kind of Discussion That Is Needed

A vital stage in the process of regroupment is thus, as we see it, the free exchange of views among those interested in the regroupment. This exchange, coupled with willingness to listen, to study and to learn from each other will greatly facilitate the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in America. It will at the same time constitute, we are convinced, invaluable preparation for the next great upsurge of radicalism in America when all the questions of program and theory that are now under examination will become the guiding lines for practical action on a mass scale. All positions and proposals should be considered without prejudice or preconceived notions as to their possible merit. Scientific objectivity in the discussion is the first requirement that must be met in establishing a solid foundation for a new advance of revolutionary socialism.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers

Party is of the opinion that it would prove fruitful at this stage to try to focus the discussion of the proposed program for regroupment around a number of clearly stated key issues. We have definite opinions on these questions and state them frankly as part of our contribution to the discussion.

This should not be taken to mean, however, that our minds are closed to opposing views. We are open to argument and persuasion and to the weight of facts that may be called to our attention. We think all programmatic positions should be put on the table where they can be easily examined, and we hope other participants in the discussion will take the same position. In our opinion, this is the only realistic and principled way to proceed toward serious regroupment. Otherwise we do not see how a fruitful discussion can be held and clashing views finally resolved.

We list below a number of issues which we think are most important:

(1) **International Outlook.** Revolutionary socialism is, in our opinion, international by its very nature, for its aim is to free world technology not only from the limitations of class rule but from the barriers set up by artificial national frontiers. The international solidarity of the working class stands on the real foundation of this common socialist aim. Thus it would be wrong in principle and futile in practice to attempt to narrow the outlook of the regroupment to nothing but the "American" scene and its national politics. At a time when United States imperialism is reaching out into all parts of the world, it is particularly unrealistic for the labor movement, above all its socialist sector, to put on the provincial blinders of a purely national outlook.

## Socialist Internationalism

(2) **Foreign policy.** The bi-partisan foreign policy of Big Business must be clearly recognized as imperialist. American capitalism inherently tends toward wars of increasingly destructive character. The struggle for peace therefore requires as its starting point irreconcilable opposition to the predatory foreign aims of Wall Street and Washington.

(3) **Colonial revolutions.** In our view the anti-imperialist movement of the colonial peoples is progressive and must be supported even where it is under the temporary leadership of Stalinist parties or bourgeois-nationalist figures. We hold at the same time that it would be a violation of socialist principles to place political confidence in such parties or individuals as they are invariably ready to sell out to imperialism.

(4) **The defense of the economic and social conquests in the Soviet bloc.** The ending of capitalist rule, the abolition of capitalist private ownership of industry, the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade and the construction of planned economy are progressive, we are convinced, despite the extreme distortions they have suffered under the Stalinist bureaucracy. We stand for the defense of these conquests against the imperialist drive to liquidate them.

(5) **The struggle against Stalinism.** The parasitic bureaucratic caste in the Soviet bloc has proved, next to the advance of socialism, to be the worst obstacle to the advance of socialism. The police rule of this caste has been marked in the Soviet bloc by monstrous frame-ups, the murder of revolutionary socialists and mass purges of the working class. On the international field the Kremlin bureaucrats regard the Communist parties as small

change in their diplomatic maneuvers and are ready at any moment to sell their support to the imperialists in exchange for a diplomatic agreement. A clean break with Stalinism and a repudiation of its crimes and betrayals are a necessary part of the program of revolutionary socialist regroupment in this country. This signifies also support of the struggles of the workers in the Soviet bloc which are leading up to a political revolution. The aim of this political revolution is to overthrow the reactionary rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it by workers democracy on the basis of the nationalized industries and planned economy.

(6) **The struggle for peace.** Many people believe that the slogan, "peaceful coexistence," simply advocates an end to the cold war and to the threat of a third world war — an objective endorsed by all opponents of imperialist war. We believe, however, that this slogan as advanced by the Kremlin bureaucracy is deceptive and aims at maintaining the status quo in a world of irresistible change. It means the maintenance of capitalism and the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy. It therefore undermines the socialist struggle for peace and plays into the hands of the warmongers. Instead of the delusory slogan of "peaceful co-existence," or maintenance of the status quo, we advocate depending on the development of the class struggle. Deepening the class struggle can, as a by-product, win deferment of imperialist war while at the same time hastening the advent of socialism with its final guarantee of a world that will no longer know war or any of the other horrors of capitalism in its stage of decay.

(7) **Independent political action.** The class struggle is above all else a political struggle. For that reason we believe that it is a violation of socialist principles to support any candidate on the capitalist party slates, even though they are endorsed by the trade-union bureaucracy. The great task that confronts the American workers today is to break from the capitalist political machines and build their own party — a labor party based on the unions in alliance with the Negro people and the working farmers. It is the job of revolutionary socialists to explain this patiently day in and day out. Above all they must set an example, refusing to cross the picket lines in politics, or support the parties of the class enemy in any way.

(8) **Socialist electoral activity.** The most consistent advocates of independent working-class political action, in our view, are revolutionary socialists. In fact for some years they have been the only candidates to urge formation of a Labor Party in the United States. We feel that every effort should be made to provide candidates running on a socialist program with the widest possible public forum and to give their campaigns maximum effectiveness. As the movement toward regroupment proceeds, special attention must be paid, we think, to socialist electoral activity to make sure that the voice of revolutionary socialism is heard in election campaigns in opposition to the capitalist candidates.

## What Type of Party?

(9) **Party organization.** The general principles of Leninism are applicable, we think, to America. We favor a Leninist-type party. By a Leninist-type party we mean a party that holds firmly to socialist principles, refusing to compromise them for illusory passing gains. In this respect a Leninist-type party is the diametrical opposite of the parties dominated by the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies. A Leninist-type party combines

full internal democracy with unity in action and in this respect, too, is the opposite of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. We think that a party that knows how to stick to principles, to guarantee the democratic rights of minority groupings among its members, and to participate in the class struggle as a cohesive force is essential to the victory of socialism in America.

(10) **Policy in the unions.** We believe the strong position of the union movement in America today is a result of the militant struggles of the past and the readiness of the rank and file workers to defend their organizations from attack. Nevertheless the years of prosperity have softened up the unions. The top bureaucracy feels free to boast of its class-collaborationist policies, although they undermine the hard-won gains of the past and block the struggle for new advances. The Social Democratic leaders have long been part of this class-collaborationist bureaucracy; the Stalinist leaders give every evidence of seeking to be accepted by it. Those who favor the regroupment of revolutionary-socialist forces should, in our opinion, oppose the policy of class-collaboration in the unions and stand for the policy of the class struggle.

(11) **The Negro struggle.** The struggle of the Negro people for full equality is by itself completely progressive, and the labor movement has a direct interest in its success. If the unions threw their weight into the scale through financial help and militant action, the fight to end segregation and discrimination in all its forms could be carried to victory in short order. This victory would at the same time be the best guarantee for successful organization of the South. Revolutionary socialists, we think, can play a vital role in mobilizing labor support for the Negro struggle and should put this problem high on the agenda for action.

## United Action for Civil Liberties

(12) **The defense of civil liberties.** We are convinced that no exceptions can be made in the struggle to preserve civil liberties. The refusal of the trade unions to rally to the defense of members of the Communist Party who have been victimized by the witch hunt is a blot on the record of the labor movement, and it weakens labor's general defenses against reaction. To point to the crimes of Stalinism as an excuse for refusing to defend these victims of the witch hunt only plays the game of the witch hunters who deliberately selected this target as the most vulnerable in the labor movement. It is high time, we think, to once again popularize the old slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and the ones best equipped to take the initiative in this are the revolutionary socialists.

A unified front of common action for civil liberties and civil rights need not wait for programmatic agreement. Common action on agreed-upon issues are essential for the defense of all victims of racism and reaction. United efforts in the arena of action can provide a helpful supplement to the programmatic discussion now in progress.

\* \* \*

These twelve issues seem to us to be the central ones in the discussion on the proposed regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces; but this does not at all mean that we feel other issues should not also be discussed. We propose these twelve only in hope of helping to make the discussion more concrete, thus facilitating the regroupment. We invite all who are interested in a socialist regroupment to a free and critical discussion of our proposals in the press and on the platform.

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