## **Report from the Montgomery, Ala., Battlefront**

## Ala. Legislature Seen in Action **On Racist Bills**

### By William Bundy

MONTGOMERY, ALA., March 4 — The Alabama legislature is presently meeting here in a special session. convened March 1, to discuss the educational budget, but kept alive to be ready to counter ?-

any anti-segregation moves the all-Negro Alabama State quickly. College with an enrollment of

2,500 was cut \$250 000). Some of the solons lounged in Opening day a number of bills attacking desegregation were introduced. One, which passed the their leather-padded chairs, read-Senate without dissent and is now ing newpapers and drinking cokes. before a house committee would A few listened attentively. One

through the legislature would withdrew Alabama from the establish a committee to in- Union of Sovereign States was passed Jan. 11, 1861." vestigate any group "suspected I couldn't really blame the

of having subversive tendencies." lounging law-makers, the discusspecifically mentions the NAACP and the Communist sion was dull. At length, one Party. This bill is expected to athletic looking young represenathletic looking young represen-tative took the mike to speak Second Term for pass. It would allow the racist legislators to subpoena witnesses against further cuts for the University of Alabama: and records.

Alabama.'

A third measure would make 'how courageously the president available to the racist legislators of that University faced a court the names of those Alabama Unilecision ordening him to do someversity students who petitioned the school to re-instate Negro coed Autherine Lucy.

### THE LAW-MAKERS

I attended the March 2 session of this legislature to see these representatives of the "Southern Way of Life" in action. When I entered the capital, both houses were in session together as a committee-of-the-whole to discuss cuts in the proposed educa-

State Prison inmates who open tional budget. A committee member was reading a report listing the proposed cuts. (The all-white Uniof the people."

The white majority is not versity of Alabama with 7,000 enrolled was cut \$205,000, while (Continued on page 2)





Vol. XX --- No. 11 a 267 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cente

# **Racists Handed Big Victory** ask the U.S. Congress to spread "Negroes among the several Northern and Western states, the areas where Negroes are wanted." Another which is hallfway through the legislature would

### New Chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee

# "We must remember," he said, Pres. Eisenhower

"The announcement by President Eisenhower of his intention Business to continue its control

The people of Allabama! They Farrell Dobbs, presidential candiare poorly represented here. One date of the Socialist Workers

Negroes, are not represented at "Under Eisenhower and his all. The only Negroes present billionaire cabinet," Dobbs added, here were white-jacketed Kilbee "Big Business has been able to brazenly loot the resources of windows and turn on fans for the the country for the private profit

comfort of these "representatives of monopoly interests. The services of the Democratic Party, useful to the monopolists when they required a concilatory, check

> time being are not wanted. "The Republican Party, as in 1952, will try to represent Eisenhower as a man of peace. 'Didn't the Democrats run the administration during two world wars and the bloody Korean debacle?' they will say. It was Eisenhower's demagogic promise to end the Korean war - which had already been lost --- that gave him his popular support in the

talist system to maintain itself against the growing revolt of the people throughout the world. The Both fact that the Republicans bear equal responsibility for these



**Eastland Appointment Brings Sharp Protest From Negro Leaders** 

### By Harry Ring

MARCH 7 — Both gains and setbacks were registered on each side of the battle line as the struggle for civil rights raged across the United States last week. Support

grew for a March 28 "Deliver-, ance Day" of prayer and protest these "reports" have now been against the arrest of leaders of dispelled.

the Montgomery, Ala., anti-Jim Crow protest movement. At the same time the white supremacists scored a major victory in Washington, D.C., when the U.S. Senate voted to hand the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee to racist Senator Eastland of Mississippi

with but two dissenting votes. Clarence Mitchell, Washington epresentative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, bitterly assailed the Senators who voted for Eastland as "guilty of looking he other way when a mad dog is loose in the streets of jus-

tice." The Judiciary Committee has immediate invisduction ave almost all civil rights legislation. The immediate responsibility or handing this new prize to the 'mad dog" rests squarely on the houlders of the Democratic party. The disgraceful action in sity of Alabama to reinstate the Senate was unanimously pro

posed by the Democratic steer-

brig

PROMISES CANCELLED The authoritative N.Y. Times reported today that the Justice Department has decided to hold back any recommendations to Congress on civil rights "to avoid growing racial tensions in

the South." How phony can these politicians get with their excuses? There is a campaign of terror against Negroes in the South. The Administration promises to present legislation to protect the Negro people against the terror. And then the legislation 's dumped because the terror is mounting!

The continuing refusal of the federal government to enforce the U.S. Constitution has greatly emboldened the Southern racists. On Feb. 29 a Federal District Judge ordered the Univer-Miss Autherine Lucy who had been stoned from the campus, 6, and then



third of the state's population, the Party.

on the labor movement, for the

1952 campaign," Dobbs recalled.

"War is required by the capi-

**Monopolists Want** 

Striking workers at the Westinghouse Electric Corp. plant in Pittsburgh file claims for jobless pay following ruling of Penn. Unemployment Compensation Board that the strike is a lockout.

Twenty-six officials and mem- but refused to pay it. "We go to bers of Local 107, United Elec- jail," said Carl Gray, local presitrical Workers, independent, were dent, "rather than permit our railroaded to prison, March 2, for members to be deprived of a an indefinite term on contempt single bite of food of the modest of court charges. The local has relief aid we can give them from the contributions of area resibeen on strike against Westingdents. house Corporation at the Lester,

Pa., plant since Oct. 14 for higher Workers at nearby plants imwages and other contract changes. The unionists had been ordered after the jailing. UAW workers parties. They will create a party friendly fashion by the audience.

to pay \$22,000 in fines for at a nearby Ford Assembly plant of their own, a party for labor, They applauded his mention of allegedly violating a court in- pledged \$5,000 and the deed to the farmers and the minority gains made in past years and peoples," Dobbs predicted. junction against mass picketing, their union building.

capitalist-made wars - the fact At Civil Rights Confab that foreign policy has always been a bipartisan affair — is not even mentioned by the Big Business dominated press," Dobbs

observed. "Only the Socialist Workers Party can lay legitimate claim WASHINGTON, D.C., March 6 to being an anti-war party. It alone conducted a principled struggle against the imperialist wars of the last two decades. For way the 2,500 delegates played our opposition to imperialist war off two top politicians — one a we served time in 1944 in the

Republican, the other a Demofederal prisons of the U.S. crat - against each other, thus "We are confident that the exposing both parties on the American people in the near

civil rights question. future will see through this fraud This occurred last night when created by the greatest publicity Paul M. Butler, Democratic Nacampaign in U.S. history. The tional Chairman, and Republican working class, forced by its own Congressman Hugh Scott of need to defend its organizations Pennsylvania appeared before from the growing union-busting the Assembly to woo Negro votes attacks of Big Business, will join for their respective parties. the Negro people who are already

By George Lavan

his attacks on the Democratic

Other speakers took the floor

in order to confirm in effect

from the Azerbajan Soviet Re-

Rep. Scott, chosen for the task engaged in a militant struggle for their civil rights. The work- by the Republican managers because he has supported some ing people will see through the mediately pledged new support deceptions of the two capitalist civil rights bills, was received in

was for use of federal troops to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South. Dr. Howard said:

ment should issue an ultimatum to the South or the President or the Department of Justice should make a very strong statement. Then if there is no compliance federal troops should be sent.'

-One of the high spots of the by the reception, Scott, at the interviewed by a youth delega-Civil Rights Assembly, which end of his prepared speech, cited tion from East Germany: "Alconcluded here today, was the from his own experience how most their first question was

otaging all moves to get a vote America.

on civil rights bills. Encouraged

**Parties Exposed** 

leadership in Congress for sab-1 to be taunted about Jin

whether segregation was still embarrassing it was abroad for being practiced on railroads in salesmen for the "free world" the U.S. and what was being done about it." The audience broke into great applause and Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant Negro leader from Missis-

shouts for the question of the sippi told a press conference in East German vouth. One dele-New York March 8 that he gate, whose voice carried throughout the auditorium, advised: "All you had to do was answer 'nothing.'" Similar anecdotes by Scott about his trip to "I believe the federal govern-Asia evoked tremendous response from the audience.

Democratic National Chairman Butler, perhaps disturbed by the response given his Republican opponent and emboldened by the mowledge that he was the last speaker, tried to outdo Scott in (Continued on page 4)

Mikoyan listed the "damage"

ng committee. But the Republithe University officials. Within cans are determined not to be outdone in grovelling before the 12 hours after the reinstatement order the Board of Trustees racists brazenly expelled Miss Lucy be-

In his January message t cause she had charged they had Congress, Eisenhower specifically promised to present a civil right. program in short order. Since He told how in Berlin he was that time there have been re ports on a "stiff" civil right:

program being drawn up by At

torney General Brownell, All of

conspired with the mob to get per off the campus. The same day this same ugly ontempt for law was expressed n Columbus, Georgia, where a (Continued on page 4)



Dear Brothers Meany and Reuther:

Many times you have said you were against racial discrimination and for a complete end to Jim Crow.

Now the time has come for you to do something about t. Increasingly, the Negro people are going into organized action to win their rights, and they urgently need your help.

Leading Negro clergymen have proclaimed March 28 as Deliverance Day of Prayer and Protest. There is a growing movement of nation-wide scope for all Negroes on that day to stop work for one hour in protest against the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott arrests.

This would be a powerful blow at the racists. But here is also uncertainty and opposition to the plan. Your commitment is needed to put the action across.

The New York Amsterdam News - a leading Négro newspaper — declares editorially, March 3: "There is one element in our society whose support could well insure the support of the majority of the country's Negroes in a one-hour work stoppage. If labor's leaders would state unequivocably that they will support this one-hour protest it would be highly effective."

All you are asked to do is guarantee union protection to every Negro worker striking for one hour for his people's democratic rights. Though not asked to do so, you could do even more: You could declare a nation-wide work stoppage of all labor in solidarity with the Montgomery boycotters.

But will you do even as much as you are asked? "Now is the time, while the movement is in its organizing stage, Kaganovich, First Deputy Pre- party, resting on the vanguard Khrushchev led off by repudia- our study of Marxism-Leninism for these leaders to speak out," says the Amsterdam News. Work stoppages are no new idea to labor which has used this means often in the past to reach their ends."

> "With their support, the Deliverance Day of Prayer could be a complete success. We are waiting anxiously to hear from them."

Brothers Meany and Reuther, you have the floor.

## What the Kremlin Now Admits About Stalin

21)

By M. Stein and J. G. Wright | the working class. Trotsky long | No. 38-39, February 1934.)

At the 20th Congress of the ago laid bare the essence of Kremlin bureaucrats found them- Stalin. selves compelled to repudiate the Stalin cult. They were unable to deny any longer the harm done ably poses the question of the Jan. 26 to Feb. 10, 1934, Trotwhole record of bureaucratic sky wrote the following: rule under Stalin. It brings to the fore the struggle waged evident connection between deifyagainst the Soviet bureaucracy ing the leader and the leadersby Leon Trotsky.

He was the first not only to within the limits of a definite take up the struggle against territory - and the violation of Stalin but also to analyze and the party statutes, the suppresexplain the process whereby the sion of criticism of the top lead-Bolshevik party was destroyed ers, the convocation of conby the bureaucracy which be- gresses at arbitrary intervals, as an active political whole." As is accompanied by individualism. came transformed into an all- after even more arbitrary purges powerful, privileged caste. Trot- of the party. All these phensky showed what the social con- omena in their entirety mean the ditions were that facilitated bu- liquidation of the party as an reaucratic ascendancy, enabled active political whole that Party Congress the Central Comthe caste to seize the apparatus checks, elects and renews its ap- mittee raised boldly — and I flatterers, sycophants, as Trotof the workers' state and to paratus. The first question which mean ideological boldness, bold- sky had charged. transform the party and the arises before the 17th Congress ness in principle and theory -

Twenty-two years later Miko- correct, Marxist-Leninist, party yan, First Deputy Premier, answer. The cult of the indivi-Russian Communist Party, the Stalin's rule and the cult of mounted the rostrum to admit dual is a harmful cult, it minithat: "In the course of about mizes the masses, the party and its axis. Literature and art of etc. He not only attacked Stalin 20 years, we in fact had no col- its leading cadres" (Pravda, Feb. WHAT BECAME OF PARTY?

In an article entitled, "On the lective leadership, instead there to the Soviet Union by Stalin's Eve of the Congress," i.e., on the flourished the cult of the indirule. This repudiation inescap- eve of the 17th Party Congress, vidual, condemned already by and this, of course, could not but |"self-evident connection" between exert an extremely negative in- the leader cult and the liquida-

"There is an absolutely self. fluence on the situation within tion of the Bolshevik party. For the party and on its activities." | example, Mustafayev, delegate (Pravda, Feb. 18, 1956). local leaders are likewise deified

Mikoyan, one of Stalin's early public, said: "The cult of the enchmen, thus confirmed that individual has dealt enormous for at least the last twenty years harm to the correct education of

liquidated the Bolshevik party. mier, said, "After the 19th of the workers, had been re-

under Stalin, one-man rule had the cadres in our Republic, bebeen substituted for the "party cause the cult of the individual Trotsky charged, Stalin had egoism, careerism, flattery, sycophancy" (Same source). Lenin's

HISTORY FALSIFIED The leader cult caused havoc n the "ideological front."

the Central Committee gave it a opera, the cinema, painting, can find little it can salvage.

sculpture, even agricultural ex-

ting the "History" of the CPSU, placed by self-seekers, careerists, published in 1938, with Stalin the brief [Stalin's] course of as editor and by issuing a direc-

tive for the publication of "a popular Marxist textbook on The leader cult set the norms state machines from weapons of is: Where and why did the Bol- the question of the struggle not only for the party and the party history, based on historical the working class into weapons shevik party disappear?" (Bul- against the cult of the individual. state machines but also for art facts." In the ideology of the of bureaucratic violence against letin of the Russian Opposition, This is not an easy question. But and culture. "The novel, the whole Stalin era, the bureaucracy

[Leo Tolstoy] wrote about Stalin: Thou bright sun of the nations, The unsinking sun of our times, And more than the sun, for the sun has no wisdom ...."

(Stalin, a biography by Leon Trotsky, page 394).

> the history of the party as the sole textbook. This is, of course,

> > vrong.'

There has been literally a flood of Soviet textbooks on (Continued on page 3)

Marx and afterwards by Lenin, what Trotsky had called the Tolstoy, who bears the name of "By the way, I cannot but note the mightiest and most indepenthat certain other propositions dent of the country's writers in the 'Economic Problems, when rigorously examined, also require deep study and critical revision from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism by our econ mists." (Pravda, Feb. 18).

hibitions, everything has to re- in economics, in propaganda

volve around Stalin as around work, in history, in philosophy,

the Stalinist epoch will go down by name as having made a false

in history as examples of the economic analysis of postwar

most absurd and abject Byzan- imperialism in his Economic

tinism. The great writer, Alexis Problems of USSR, but added:

Mikovan then blamed the "un satisfactory condition of our propaganda work" primarily on Stalin's "History" of the CPSU.

"One of the main reasons for it," he announced, "is this, that is conducted as a rule by using

Page Two -

### THE MILITANT

Monday, March 12, 1956

### Stalinism In the U.S. By Art Sharon

What do the ranks of the American Communist Party think of the recent developments in the Soviet Union? What are their thoughts as they read of the campaign opened against the Stalin cult? D

From the pages of their news- | ism can take on meaning only paper, the Daily Worker, they when the class nature of its poli- ferent. As a stage in technology, are getting the news in small tics and program is probed. Withand well-spaced doses. The DW out such an examination all talk from the previous stages, esfirst broke the news on Feb. 20 about cultism remains up in the with a report on Mikoyan's air - exactly where Khrushchev speech. DW readers were told and company want to keep it. Stalinism is above all the polithat Mikoyan criticized Stalin's economic thesis and further that tics of petty-bourgeois reformist opportunism within the internathere were certain weaknesses in Soviet historical writing. tional labor movement. To as-

Then after two weeks of alsess its true nature it will be most complete silence on this necessary for the serious comtheme the Daily Worker, March munist workers and youth to 5. reported the speech of German study Stalinism in the test of Communist party leader Walter war and revolution, in the U.S. Ulbricht, who attacked Stalinand abroad. Such an assessment directly and denied his writings must include the following: a place among the Marxist clas-On the world arena: the role of the Stalinist theory of "a bloc sics.

of four classes" in the Second

Chinese revolution, 1925-27; the

Union Committee in the British

of Stalin's theory of "social

1933; the Stalin-Laval pact of

strategy of peoples' front in the

ing the Stalin-Hitler pact in

demoralizing the revolutionary

ocratic imperialist line followed

the function of Stalin's deals

Yalta in derailing the post-war

revolutionary uprising of the

European working class; and the

bureaucratic-military policy of

Stalin in Eastern Europe which

resulted in the frame-up of the

Titoists and the suppression of

the June 17, 1953, East German

DW gave the item a bare four inches on page two and introduced it with, "according to role of the Anglo-Russian Trade press agency dispatches yesterday from Berlin." No comment, General Strike, 1926; the role -no explanation.--no promise to give further information-noth- fascism" and "united front from ing. The CP member must turn below" in the victory of Hitler to the capitalist press and get over the German working class the more extensive quotations.

Then central criticism made of 1934 which sold French imperial-Stalin at the 20th Congress was ism the support of the Commuhis "cult of personality." What nist party in return for a miliis this cult? Where did it come tary agreement; the Stalinist from? How did it become established? These obvious ques- Spanish Civil War and the tions spring up at once but ap- | French General Strike, 1936; the parently there is no one on the function of the line adopted durstaff of the DW to hazard an answer.

The Stalin cult was the crown- vanguard, 1939-41; the pro-deming achievement of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet during World War II, including Union. It is part of the whole ideology and politics known as with Churchill and Roosevelt at Stalinism.

#### A WORLD-WIDE CULT

The Stalin cult came into existence through a sanguinary civil war that tore the proletarian heart and guts out of the Bolshevik party. Stalin established his rule through police ter- uprising of the entire industrial ror. His regime became firmly established only after the devoted and critical-minded Russian Bolsheviks were either murdered. deported, or terrorized into submission. These are the well established historical facts. And we can count on their being grudgingly confirmed by the

Khrushchevs as the campaign STALINISM IN THE U.S. against the Stalin cult unfolds. But this was not something confined to the Soviet party. The Stalin cult became a world-wide movement shaped the basic line power in the Communist parties of the American Communist everywhere. Communist parties party at every stage. The wreck were taken over, reorganized, or smashed. Leaders who parroted the Stalin line were put into control. Later these were removed and others took their place in endless purges directed against any independent thought or initiative. The American party was no pledge"; they joined in the red-exception. It fell victim to the baiting and FBI-hounding of Stalin cult very early in its his-tory. Jay Lovestone, who had tacked the strike of the coal the majority of the American miners as treason; they supportparty supporting him in 1929, ed strike-breaking and speed-up; was summarily removed through they supported and cheered the the device of a telegram from the chiefs of the Stalin cult. Foster was appointed in his place. Earl Browder was elevated and he in turn built a Browder ful role played by the Stalinists cult that ruled the American CP until his turn came, and to the bewilderment of the party ranks he too was thrown out. Then Eugene Dennis became the top leader. This was the Stalin cult opposition, through the "third in operation. The process was brutal and demoralizing. This explains, in part, why so many demoralized with a capitalist savior in the functionaries whose communism was never more than skin deep turned informer when the heat was turned on. Such a regime the trade union bureaucracy, only succeeded in building machine men — it could never build and educate cadres of revolutionary leaders.

## What Is Automation?

**By Robert Chester** Exactly what is automation? is the heart of automation. Although the term was coined ess than a decade ago, it has been used to describe so many heat, light, color, thickness, placed.

things, that the coiners themselves find it hard to pin down. The only proper approach is to extract out of the whole development what is new and difautomation must be separated

pecially that of mechanization. Almost everyone has marveled at mechanical wonders from the time of his childhood. The automatic bread bakery, cigarette maker, car loader or automatic printing press are nothing new.

AUTOMATIC CONTROL What is new is the development of a whole range of methods of automatic control, whereby a mechanism can adjust itself by self-regulation to changing conditions. These automatic

controls operate through a syswhich he prefers to the abused tem of feed-back, where inforterm automation. "We have demation about the output is relayed back, automatically corcontrol and communications recting any errors or deviations. theory," he wrote, "whether by This ability, the self-control over a multitude of individual machine or animal, by the name

**Negotiators** 

A study of these questions will ead inescapably to the social and economic roots of the rise of Stalinism in the USSR and the struggle between the bu-

ist left opposition.

reaucratic caste and the Trotsky-

working class.

In the United States: the poli tics of Stalinism as a worldwide tendency in the workers' 'he company refused to back

and connected machine processes, number of operations each tool Automation: "... nothing is as performs. When the tool's life worthless as an operating re-Automatic controls can inspect expectancy is exhausted, a red port a month old. How can we and feed-back corrections on light flashes and the tool is re- expect good control of expenses unless costs are known quickly

"The line will turn out 70 and corrections made quickly .. viscosity, mechanical flaws and many other qualities. In hand-fully machined blocks an hour An office must automate just as with the expenditure of less than the factory does." ling materials between machines, controls can sort out, clasify or a third of a man-hour of human small production as well as reject. There are few processes labor on each. 'The work' is acin modern production that can- complished with only 27 men. large. Automation magazine not be adapted to automation. In a few months with further notes: "Price tags on automatic machines go from above \$1 mil-There is, in addition, an en-automatic controls the number tire class of controls that can will be cut to 21." fying at the Senate-House Subgive complex "orders" to ma-The first effect of automation chines. Foremost among these is to displace workers. Former Buckingham, Jr., Associate Pro-

are the computers, the "electron, workers are either retrained or ic brains." They can solve intrisqueezed out, while fewer workcate mathematical problems in ers, more highly trained, operate at Georgia Institute of Technola remarkably short time and and maintain the new equipment. transmit their findings to ma- In this respect automation has chines for action. the same effects as did mechani-

Thus automation can be dezation in previous decades, except automation speeds up the fined as machines that are selfcontrolling or operate under the process. Another effect is that producguidance of automatic controls. Dr. Norbert Weiner of Massativity is so enhanced that everincreasing segments of the econchusetts Institute of Technology coined the word "cybernetics" omy are forced to adopt automation under pressure of com-

petition, thus increasing its gencided to call the entire field of eral impact. SKILLED WORKERS HIT Skilled workers, like tool and die men, are as subject to dis-Cybernetics, which we form from the Greek word steersman. We placement as a production line

also wish to refer to the fact worker. The MacLean article says: that the steering engines of a 'There's a million dollar maship are indeed one of the earlichine being installed at the Conest and best developed forms of

vair plant in California which is feed-back mechanisms." The technology for automation vas developed during the Second World War, in the atomic projects, in building electronic ly designed part, which no one to its old one at a large and are not the only sector of the hating record of the Los Angeles controls for firing and tracking can punch out instructions on a equipment as well as for guided missiles. By 1947 scientists and tape which will tell the electronengineers were studying their ic brain what tool strokes are application to industry. By 1952 required to make it . . . this a leading union and Socialist cago, is a powerful nation-wide director, R. Stewart Moore, is the techniques were in practice. machine can switch from one figure in the Northwest, took up transit trust with a long and also involved in the management

#### A GOOD EXAMPLE

maphined. At one station a

automated plant was presented by Norman Depoe, writing in MacLean's Magazine Oct. 11, 1955 under the title, "Will a Machine Take Your Job?" "The Chevrolet plant at St. is probably the largest and most out: "Prudential Life replaced famous machine in the world blocks long and carries its own any one time 104 rough-cast V-

IUE negotiators Robert Nellis and James B. Carey arrive at Washington office of federal mediator Joseph Finnegan for another attempt to settle the Westinghouse strike. According to latest reports March 7 the "package deal" proposed by federal mediators is still unacceptable to strikers.

capable of eighteen different Los Angeles Local of the Social- with an effective anti-Jim Crow Vincent R. Dunne, formerly chairman of the Minnesota SWP

Lines, with headquarters in Chiand for more than four decades his new duties at the head of odious anti-union record. Board of Directors is manned by some of the biggest financial chairman in LA for the past two tycoons in the country. Information gathered by Robert search director for the Illinois New York. Karolyn Kerry, a National Association for the Ad- Chicago. He is at the same time vancement of Colored People,

The banquet was attended by facts about National City Lines: RULES IN 40 CITIES company with wholely owned subsidiaries in more than 40 cities time in the SWP hall and hear-"National City Bank put a ing the party's program for the investments in other transit com- trade uinon movement? When

tional passengers. The principal address of wel-Its Board of Directors include Kerry was given by James P. ts chest and if it groans in a counting department. J. W. included Dunne, Tom Kerry, in the quarter billion dollar that its own self-interest dictates

### Who Owns Buses In Montgomery? By Herman Chauka

The Negro people in Montgomery who have conducted the effective boycott against the bus system in protest against Jim Crow are fighting a notorious union-busting outfit dominated by Northern 3

capiltal. A study of the profit in- Shamrock Oil is controlled by the Mellon family of Pittsburgh. terests involved in the Mont-

Another big wheel on the Nagomery dispute reveals two tional City Lines is C. Frank lion to as low as \$1,500." Testi- things: The union of Big Busi-Reavis, also of Wall Street. ness interests in the North with Reavis is also on the board of committee hearings, Walter S. the Southern segregators; and such corporations as the Northsecondly, the need for the union west Airlines and the Bohack of the Montgomery Negroes grocery chain. In addition he is a fighting Jim Crow and the labor member of the board of the Philamovement of the North who have delphia Transit Company which has waged war for years against For thirty-six days the Bal-

the Transport Workers Union. Mr. Reavis, along with other National City Lines directors, is on the board of the struck Baltimore transit outfit.

Another National City Lines system. The Baltimore transit director is D. H. Pratt. In addition to his seat on the board of the Balltimore line, Pratt is President of the Philadelphia Transit Company.

ATLANTIC TO PACIFIC

On the West Coast, where National City Lines operates the transit system in more than a dozen California cities, one of their directors is an E. C. estimated minimum of \$3,000 a Houghton of Los Angeles. Houghton is also connected with the Los Angeles Transportation System, which is controlled by The Baltimore transit workers

National City Lines. The laborlabor movement that is being Transportation system equals strengthened by the Montgomery that of its parent organization. boycott movement. National City

The same Houghton, along with another National City Lines Its of the Key System Transit Lines, which operates the lines connecting San Francisco with Berkeley, Oakland and other Bay Area communities.

The president of National City Lines is E. Roy Fitzgerald of chairman of the board of the St. reveals the following important Louis Public Service Corporation. In addition he holds directorships in the Baltimore line as well as the subsidiaries in Los Angeles

This giant trust is a holding and San Francisco. Can there be any question that the Negro people of Montgomery, that handle over four million in their fight for justice, are lendpassengers a day. It has major ing direct aid to the American they succeed in trimming National City Lines down to size in Montgomery, can there be any doubt such figures as Laurence M. that this will strengthen the hand investment banker and former this union-hating outfit? This fact

"You don't seem to under-

stand," one young student said.

"Nothing is going to scare us."

And another: "I think very few

lost jobs. It was just a rumor to

scare people, but it only made

And another: "These depart-

ment stores and businesses down-

town aren't going to fire anyone.

They could be too easily affected

machining operations. All that is ist Workers Party welcomed a boycott. needed is a blueprint of a new- new chairman and bade farewell has ever made or seen. Engineers enthusiastic banquet tonight. kind of a part-making to another as fast as instruction the LA organization. Tom Kerry, A graphic description of an tapes can be changed." efficient clerk or accountant.

Office workers are also sub- and one-half years and a veteran ject to the inroads of automa- unionist and Socialist fighter left tion. The computer has shown to assume new tasks in the L. Birchman, publicity and rethe ability to displace the most National Office of the SWP in Writing in the July 23, 1955, militant Socialist for many years, Catherine's, Canada, houses what Nation, Bernard Nossiter points also left for NY.

86 machines with one Interna- the largest audience at a Socialtoday. It is almost two city tional Business Machines (new- ist Workers Party affair in sevest model) '702.' It will service eral years. After the speeches, railroad within its bowels. At 80,000 claims a day, sending out two sympathizers applied for annually ten million premium membership in the party. Sev-8 cylinder blocks are riding it notices and accounting for an eral others, present for the first from station to station, being equal number of remittances.

block will be drilled, at another trial problem to an IBM device first time, expressed interest in pamies handling millions of addimilled, at a third inspected and that normally requires 1,000 man joining in the near future. so on, through 555 operations. hours; the machine did the job At one station it will be turned in nine and one half minutes. come to Vincent R. Dunne and and tilted for a boring cutter to Prudential's machine now does farewell to Tom and Karolyn Marks, a big-time Wall Street of labor in their dealings with get at it and then up-ended and the work of 200 people." shaken to get the chips out. In In the retail field electronic Cannon, founder of the Socialist governor of the New York Stock alone should be sufficient to make another, an instrument will tap clerks are moving into the ac- Workers Party. Other speakers Exchange. Marks has a big finger the union movement understand



Automation is moving into

fessor of Industrial Management

ogy, cited twelve cases of auto-

mation, from chocolate manu-

facture to railroad traffic con-

trol, where the reduction in em-

ploye requirements ranged from

There is no disputing the fact

that automation can cause pro-

found changes in American in-

dustry. The question that re-

the same enemy.

timore transit workers have been

on strike. On March 6 they voted,

under protest, to return to work

after the Maryland governor

"seized" the struck transit

### With Big Banquet LOS ANGELES, Feb. 18-The day for the last three months

13% to 92%.

#### STALINIST POLITICS

The stifling of party democracy and its replacement by the rule of a bureaucratic machine is only one aspect of the Stalin cult. An examination of Stalin-

**Twin Cities** Labor Forum Milton Siegel Packinghouse Worker and **UPWA** Leader Speaks on Revolt in the South: Struggle Against Segregation Fri., March 16, 8 P. M. 10 So. 4th Street Minneapolis, Minn. Auspices: Twin Cities Labor Forum Committee Admission Free

ing of the CP as an independent revolutionary party culminated in the dissolution of the party during World War II and its prostration before American imperialism. The American Stalinists became the most strident

advocates of the "no strike 🔳 🔳 imprisonment of 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act. To this day the radical workers remember the shameduring the war. Thus, everything in the history

of the American CP, from the expulsion of the American left period" of dual unionism, through the support of Roosevelt's New Deal, through the adventure Wallace party, up to the present

policy of supporting the Democratic party and conciliation with must be subjected to a thorough study and criticism. Stalinism took shape and grew strong in an epoch of ebb-tide

of the world revolution. Now with the powerful rise of the revolutionary tide following World War II, expressed above all in the anti-capitalist victory of the Chinese revolution, Stalinism is beginning to crack up.

When the world revolutionary tide reaches the shores of the U.S., as it is bound to do, hundreds of thousands of young revolutionary militants will flock to the radical movement. These militants will seek answers; they will not accept half-truths and evasions; they will demand the truth and the whole truth. PREPARE NOW

Now is the time for the American revolutionary-minded work- know how to deal with them ers to prepare themselves ideo- kind." It is this minority that logically for this new wave of radicalism. The first task in such as well as Negroes.

a preparation is to study the the conclusions. The "forbidden talk about Miss Lucy more freely books" of Trotsky will have to be

from finding these books.

sick way, will throw it aside. Corey, president of the Reliance Karolyn Kerry and Milton Alvin. Brooklyn Savings Bank and is a that it throw its full weight down on its firing of union All this without a man to help. . Electric and Engineering Com- Howard Rowney acted as toast- director of Shamrock Oil & Gas behind the people of Montgomery militants on charges of alleged Company of Amarillo, Texas. who are "walking for freedom." "A 'toolometer' counts the pany writes in the magazine master. picket line violence.

## . Report from Alabama Legislative Session

| front pages of the newspapers. | except official statements and | people I saw on the streets looked | the day before Miss Lucy was to | (Continued from page 1) But there seems to be reluctance legal actions, and has adopted a represented either. A few thousand votes from the nural areas events. dominated by the plantation owners send more representatives here than the state's major population centers. pany. I left the ancient hall and went into the streets of Mon'tgomery

to ask a few people what they mands?" thought of the legislation in-"No." troduced the day before. The bill to "spread the Negroes through the North" was

taken seriously by no one. Said a white gas station attendant: "Those fellows on the hill must be getting panicky. I wish they wouldn't do things like that. I'm for segregation, but you can't make people leave their homes. A white taxi driver commented, "If they cancel my debts

and give me a train ticket, I'll leave Alabama too." The other two measures, to establish "subversive" investigation and to reveal the names of

petitioners were taken more seriously.

"TIE 'EM UP IN THE LAW" Said one lean white man: "I don't think they'll get anywhere with this boycott. That Lucy gal didn't get anywhere. This legislation ties 'em up, and throws a scare into 'em. That's about what we've got to do. Tie 'em up in the law. They won't get nowhere." This man spoke calmly, without apparent anger, as did all the whites I talked to with the ex-

ception of one. He said, "I'd like to get my hands on that list of reinstatement of Miss Lucy]. We dominates by terrorizing whites

Most whites simply wouldn't history of the movement, to talk with strangers about the common in the December issues learn the lessons and to draw Montgomery bus boycott, but they of the paper. Even the editors Certainly there is no obvious groes had "legitimate grievance." Since the three-man city comopened to accomplish this vital wide-spread hysteria at the

task. And we are confident that present moment. Life goes on as mission joined the White Citiand asked him what he thought bureaucratic edicts of the Stal- usual, and ordinary subjects start zens Council, and the Mayor about the Montgomery situation inist functionaries will not pre- conversations off. It often touches announced his get tough policy, the first thing he said was vent serious Communist workers the Lucy case or racist legisla- however, the paper has blacked "There sure are a lot of smiles. tion, which subjects appear on the out all news of the movement This I observed also. The Negro

to speak about the Montgomery friendly tone toward the WICC. One of the protest leaders told I asked a white carpenter what me, "When it became known that. he thought of the "boycott." He a certain white woman had of the Negroes are seen on any said: "I don't own the bus com- helped us out a little when this bus. protest first began, she was

"Do you think the bus comhounded by phone calls in the pany should grant their de- middle of the night, and threats, and I don't know what all. Why they made that poor woman so

"Then what do you think the nervous she had to leave this bus company should do?" town she'd been living in all her life. She had to go away to get "I don't know. I don't own the a' rest." ous company. As far as I'm con-

cerned they can keep walkin' for-Everyone agrees that the strength of the WCC has grown least not in Montgomery. That is ver. It don't hurt me none." considerably since the Mont-Some whites dare to express gomery and Tuscaloosa events. sympathy to the "protest." Its membership in this county Aubrey Williams, publisher of has been estimated at 12.000. the Southern Farmer and an outspoken opponent of Jim Crow for

THE MIDDLE CLASS many years, appeared at the The meeting held here Feb. 10 courthouse to offer bond for the

arrested protest leaders. His was attended by about that money was not needed. However, many. A white reporter who had he was the only white to do so been there said, "I was surprised at the character of the people

"TAKE A TAXI" there. I had expected a bunch One white woman behind the of ignorant farm hands and counter of a store where I had factory workers, but the crowd stopped hesitated when I asked appeared almost entirely middle how to get to a certain address. "Well," she said, "There's a bus class.'

Applications for WCC membergoes out there. That is if you want to take a bus." She hesitated ship are easy to get. I picked one again. "If you've got the money up in the white waiting room of a railway station. Ads from the vou can take a taxi." I thanked her and turned. As I passed WCC occasionally appear in the through the door she called after newspapers.

"I always walk myself, This is pre-election time here mė. lately. It's spring, you know." and statements from politicians The files of the local paper, the that they are willing to "die" Montgomery Advertiser, reveal for segregation are not uncomnigger lovers [the petitioners for | that at the beginning of the mon, but I have yet to hear a protest movement last December white worker say anything like there was widespread sympathy that. As I have said, they don't talk freely with strangers, but among whites with the protest. Letters to the editor citing in- in my opinion that is also signifistances of rudeness toward Necant. I have talked to many white groes on the buses are not un- racists before, and they were al-

ways obnoxiously outspoken about their attitude. This is certainly themselves admitted that the Ne- not the case here among th ordinary people. When I met a Negro reporter

very happy, as if it were a attend her first class at Allabama University. "We just all went wonderful holiday. And they had good reason to out and watched it. No one ran to be smilling. None, absolutely none

boycott.

The WCC's are semi-secret organizations, controlled from the top. They are not yet a mass movement, but are capable of effectively intimidating by eco-

Negroes for equality. But they can't intimidate the Negroes, at the big thing here. And it has many of the white racists confused. The old weapons just don't work anymore.

hide. These things don't scare us anymore," said one student. Another student said, "As

nadequate as this little Jim Crow College is for the needs of Negroes in Alabama, many of our finest graduates move out of the state, and our people never get

Chicago

"Jim Crow and the

Two-Party System"

**Pioneer Publishers** 

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

the benefit of their education. nomic pressure and physical You can't blame them. I had violence any whites who symplanned to move out myself. But pathize with the struggle of the this boycott has changed my mind. It might change others. We've acquired dignity, and we are going on to get justice." I asked them about the reported firings of Negroes who

had participated in the bus

### THE FEAR IS GONE

A number of students at the at which Senator Eastland spoke Negro Alabama State College here told me that a cross had been burned on the Negro campus

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS** 

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.



### by a boycott themselves." Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

them mad.'

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Friday, March 16, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207 Donation 25c. Free for Unemployed

LOS ANGELES **Friday Night Forum** 

Fri., March 16 -Zionism and the Arabian National Struggle Speaker: P. Allan

Fri., March 23 -Democratic Rights and the FBI Speaker: Al Jackson .

Fri., March 30 -Youth and Delinquency Speaker: Della Rossa

Fri., April 16 -Soviet-American **Relations** Today Speaker: Milton Alvin

1702 E. 4th St., 8:15 P. M. Donation 25c.



### Natalia Trotsky Demands Justice

On Feb. 22, Natalia Trotsky sent the following wire to the presidium of the 20th Congress, CPSU, Moscow:

"Taking note of declarations at Congress establishing falsification in history of revolution and of party, and in condemnations of leaders of revolution and of party who were falsely accused as enemies of the people. Among them [the falsely accused] my late husband Leon Trotsky who was called public enemy number one and my son Leon Sedov. As practical consequence of these declarations, I demand review of trials in order to vindicate memory of victims before international public opinion."

In addition to this telegram, Natalia Trotsky sent the following letter to the Soviet government addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: K. E. Voroshilov, Kremlin, Moscow:

"Numerous news items have appeared in the press announcing the liberation of persons who have been held in prisons and camps. It is said that some among them have had the right to return to their homes

"Therefore, I ask you to tell me the fate of my son Serge Sedov who for a time lived in the Kremlin.

"Twenty years have passed since the moment when we learned that Serge had been arrested. Since then, I have received no direct news either of the place where he stays or of his fate, having had only indirect indications according to which Serge had been deported to Novosibirsk, then to Vorkuta, and that from there he had been transported in the direction of Moscow, and after that nothing.

"I turn to you with this endeavor, in the feeble hope that my son is still alive

Hue and Cry over Tanks

• One of the most sickening spectacles of recent times was the hue and cry raised by the liberals over the revelation that the U.S. State Department was sending 18 M-41 tanks to Saudi Arabia. Here is what was involved:

When news of the tank shipment broke, Feb. 16, the Democratic party liberals screamed in protest. They charged it was a move to strengthen Saudi Arabia militarily against Israel.

Secretary of State Dulles explained to

and perhaps is to be found among those who have been freed after review of their itary base in the area. Its need cases. I hope that I will be given this information.'

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Moscow, March 5, reports: "A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press department said today he had no information Legion. about an appeal by Mme. Trotsky to the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party to reinstate her husband's name. The outlook, he said, is that no reply will be made to her entreaty."

Natalia Trotsky's demand for elementary justice must be supported vigorously. She has taken the Kremlin leaders at their word and demanded that they produce a deed. If the Stalin cult did lead to falsification of history and the frame-up of revolutionary leaders, as Khrushchev and Bulganin admitted in the case of Tito and have now extended to cover 20 years of Stalin's rule, how can the Kremlin fail to meet Natalia Trotsky's demand for a review of the case of Trotsky and Sedov? And the case of Trotsky and Sedov opens the cases of tens of thousands of revolutionists who perished in the blood purges and show trials of the Thirties.

It is not a question of speculating about the sincerity of the Kremlin leaders. They have not repudiated the Stalin cult out of a sense of revolutionary justice, but as terrified bureaucrats hoping to throw a sop to the masses and thereby postpone the day of reckoning. It is a question of bringing to bear the weight of world opinion of the radical and labor movement and thereby helping to tear down the whole Stalinist system of frame-ups and lies. That will be a real service to the Russian working class and to the world socialist revolution.

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military analyst comments, "In this conclusion the Secretary of State is probably correct. There has been considerable restlessness and some open rioting in Saudi Arabia, and resentment has been expressed against the

British. A few tanks might add immeasur- ask, "that having lived almost ably to the prestige and police power of 40 years after October we do the government."

Not one word of protest was uttered by on the history of the October the liberals regarding this explanation. Revolution and the Soviet state, The "freedom loving" liberals think it is which would show, without varperfectly all right to send tanks to shoot

rights to the population of the island of Cyprus — its last milto hold on to Cyprus was driven home again last week when Jordan's King Hussein gave walk-

ing papers to British Lt.-Gen. John Bagot Glubb ("Glubb Pasha"), builder and head of the British-financed Jordinian Arab

of 20,000 created by British imperialism as a police force against Arab nationalism in the Middle East. Hussein acted following mass demonstrations in Jordan last December and Janu-

COMMAND POST

carry atom bombs as well.

umes, by N. Popov, had passed by 1934 through 16 editions, revised over and over again, but still found inadequate. In 1938

history.

"Is it normal," he went on to not have either a brief or a com-

is Archbishop Makarios, who becomes all the more determined against the Arab independence speaks for the Greek Orthodox not to yield self-determination movement and in Wall Street's Church, the Cypriotes in general war plans against the Soviet and the Greek mainland. He ad-Union. But the effectiveness of vocates passive resistance and Cyprus as a strong NATO base has been handling negotiations is reduced when the troops have with England. Despite his own

to be used to quell uprisings on lack of militancy, he is under Cyprus itself. This is what has pressure from both the terrorist been happening for the last year. wing of the enosis movement, The Cypriotes, seeing the solid the working class and the stu-British entrenchment on their dents not to sell out to the island and Britain's predicament British.

in the Middle East decided to This is a modern armed body raise old issues of their own for settlement. The main one of these is enosis, or independence leading to union with Greece. Last Spring, the first open attacks began on British rule. defender of imperialism in Ma-These took the form of terroristic attacks on British installaary against the country's joining tions. The moves were conductthe Baghdad anti-Soviet Pact. ed by an underground right-

wing terror group, the E.O.K.A., Previous to its defeat in Jorapparently financed by the Greek dan, the British empire lost government.

strongholds in Palestine, Greece WORKERS AND STUDENTS (where they turned over control However, of far greater signito U.S. imperialism) and Suez. When England abandoned the ficance is the struggle for enosis waged by the strongly organized Suez Canal base - pushed out working class. (Communist Party by the Egyptian revolution-she

mayors run the second, third and made Cyprus her Middle East command post, moving all her fourth largest town on the isequipment and troops from the land.) On Sept. 29 the Stalinist-Canal to Cyprus. Millions have controlled labor federation (membase at the Episkope Bay. Airrival non-Stalinist confederation handle not only conventional strike for "enosis." It was call-



(Continued from page 1) party history. To cite only a single instance. The Outline History of the CPSU, in two vol-

Stalin issued his "History" and that ended the writing of party

"Scientific work," declared Mikoyan, "in the field of our party history and the history of Soviet society is the most backward sector of our ideological work."

plete Marxist-Leninist textbook

nishing, not only the facade but

**Revolutionist** and Bureaucrat



any time.

NIGHT OF TERROR

Cyprus figures not only in the crisis of imperialism in the Middle East, but also in a breakend. It has disrupted the Turkish-Greek alliance promoted by the United States and created strong anti-U.S. popular sentington's support of the British stand in Cyprus. Of the 500,000 Following the general strike, Cypriote population, 400,000 are the British government put Cyof Greek descent, and 100,000 of prus on a war footing. It dis-

Turkish. Claiming the need to patched Field Marshall Sir John safeguard the Turkish minority, Harding to the island as Govthe Ankara government backs ernor. His bloody record as a British determination to hold on to Cyprus. On the night of Sept. laya and Kenya made him the 6 it instigated savage race-riots right man for the job. Harding rushed more troops into Cyprus against the Greek population living in Turkey.

and now commands a force of "This night of terror was kept nearly 20,000 (including paratroopers brought in last month on ice for weeks," wrote Noel Barber in the London Daily Mail, for possible action in Jordan). "organized just as a sort of D-He proclaimed the death penalty Day to be let loose at a given for any Cypriotes carrying arms, public whippings for disobedipropitious moment. All the evidence points to an exact, perance of orders and wholesale fines for villages refusing to fectly co-ordinated attack. The co-operate.

Harding opened direct negotiations with the Greek government and Archbishop Makarios on the issue of Cyprus. The looted, old women and men tor- trying to put down colonial rebeen spent in building a huge bership, 18,000) united with the British government is willing to tured and beaten to death, tomb- volts simultaneously all around concede "self-rule" within the stones and mausoleums ripped the world. In their magnificent drome runways are made to of workers in a 24-hour general Commonwealth. This, however, open and the bones thrown into struggle to determine their own would retain complete control of the streets. Greek churches were fate, the Cypriotes join with all bombers but aircraft which can ed in protest of the United Na- foreign affairs and military mat- gutted and sacked. For good other peoples fighting for nations Security Council's refusal ters in British hands. Last week measure the mobsters handed a tional independence, shaking Cyprus-40 miles from Turkey, to put the Cyprus demands on negotiations between Makarios beating to the Jewish and Ar- world capitalism to its very 60 miles from Syria and 260 its agenda. In addition the stu- and British Colonial Secretary menian minorities as well.

Cyprus a British possession, it was the last straw as far as the Greeks were concerned. "Greece must leave NATO," wrote the editors of the right-wing newsdown of NATO at its eastern paper Ethnos in Athens. "Greece cannot remain inside this jungle of crooks and blackmailers." A wave of neutrality sentiment swept over Greece, and there is

ment in Greece because of Wash- no doubt that the Cyprus crisis contributed heavily to the strong anti-U.S. showing in the Feb. 19 Greek elections. The Democratic Union, a popular front of seven parties, including the Stalinists won a 52% majority of the popular vote. The National Radical Union of Premier Karamanlis, committed to support of U.S. imperialism, won control of the Chamber of Deputies only because of a tricky election procedure.

Cyprus is only one link in a chain of many colonial revolts. For imperialism is not just in crisis in one area or country. Its malady and decay is worldwide. Up to a year ago it was the Asian revolution that took flame that swept the city was the center of world politics. Toignited at a hundred different day it is the Middle East and points at precisely the same zero North Africa that is ablaze. hour." Shops were burned and Soon world imperialism will be foundations.

the cult of the "collective lead-land principles. In their turn, the ership." All the speakers from ideas and principles do not fall Khrushchev down paraded as from the sky, but have profound Leninists." Their repudiation of social roots. That is why one Stalin was made in the name of must take, not the psychological 'restoring" Marxism - Leninism. abstraction of Stalin as a 'man, But all of them kept silent on but his concrete, historical personality as leader of the Soviet the decisive questions, namely: bureaucracy. One can understand How and why did the Stalin cult arise? What were its social the acts of Stalin only by startcoots? What social function did ing from the conditions of existence of the new privileged strait perform? Why did it domitum, greedy for power, greedy for nate for so many years? material comforts, apprehensive Without correct answers to

for its position, fearing the these questions there can be no masses, and mortally hating all genuine struggle against the opposition. eader cult and against its re-

its social ulcers, the cruder the

social group for whom lying has

The cult of Stalin was to en-

dure for 16 years after the above

until the tyrant died. Stalin's

successors have already admitted

enough of the abominations and

crimes committed under his sway

for every thinking worker and

appearance in other forms. Stal-"The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which in's successors shy away from the Marxist analysis of the lead- that bureaucracy itself calls Soer cult precisely because it is cialist is not only contradictory, nseparable from the rise of the but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the Octobureaucracy itself.

ber overturn-which laid bare In September 1936 Trotsky answered the foregoing questions all social falsehood-to the presas follows: "The increasingly in- ent situation, in which a caste sistent deification of Stalin is, of upstarts is forced to cover up

ture, a necessary element of the Thermidorian [counter - revolu-

regime. The bureaucracy has tionary] lies. It is, consequently,

need of an inviolable super-arbi- a question not simply of the in-

er, a first consul if not an em- dividual depravity of this or that

peror, and it raises upon its person, but of the corruption

shoulders him who best responds lodged in the position of a whole

'strength of character' of the become a vital political neces-

leader which so enraptures the sity. In the struggle for its new-

literary dilettantes of the West, ly gained positions, this caste

is in reality the sum total of has reeducated itself and simul-

In Stalin each one easily finds terests" (Stalin's Frameup Sys-

himself. But Stalin also finds in tem and the Moscow Trials, page

the substance of his political lines were written. It flourished

"Neither Stalin nor I find our- youth to undertake a review of

selves in our present position by the whole record of the struggle

accident. But we did not create between the Soviet bureaucracy

a Congressional committee, Feb. 24, that "There is no problem ... about those tanks ever being used against Israel, because the desert makes them impassable for these tanks."

"The purpose of the tanks," Dulles said, "is to maintain internal security."

East Germany and the Stalin Cult

When Stalin died the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany said in its March 20, 1953 message to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "Stalin was the immediate militant colleague of the great Lenin. He brilliantly continued and further enriched Lenin's cause. His work is immortal."

Now, three year later, Stalin's "immortality" has expired. Walter Ulbricht, East Germany's Stalinist chief, has taken the cue from the 20th Congress of the CPSU and denounced the Stalin cult. In an article published March 4, Ulbricht savs:

"When one is asked by comrades, 'Does Stalin belong to the classical authors of Marxism?' one can only reply: Doubtless, after the death of Lenin, Stalin rendered significant service in the building of socialism and in the fight against the hostile groupings of Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. Neverthless, when Stalin later placed himself above the party and fostered the cult of the individual, the Soviet Communist party and the Soviet state incurred serious damages. One cannot reckon Stalin among the classics of Marxism."

It is significant that Ulbricht is the first Communist party leader outside of the Soviet Union to join in the Kremlin's repudiation of the Stalin cult. In East Germany the Stalinist rulers came face to face with the political revolution. On June 17, 1953 the entire industrial working class joined in the general strike in a brilliantly organized movement that demolished the East German native Stalinist regime. Only the tanks, firing squads and troops of the Kremlin forced the workers to retreat and prepare for a new opportunity.

The Stalinist slander that the East German uprising was sponsored and provoked by agents of Western imperialism was disproved not only by the explicit demands and socialist character of the movement. and by its all-embracing mass scope, but

down workers and peasants who oppose imperialism, but they suspect that Dulles omitted to say that the only is not telling the whole story, and that the tanks will also be used to buy Arab support against the American liberal-backed Revolution, written by him in Israeli faction of imperialist agents in the exile Middle East.

by the repercussions it had within the Soviet Union.

At the labor camp in Vorkuta, where hundreds of thousands of political prisoners were incarcerated by the Kremlin, the June 17 East German uprising was greeted with joy as a revolutionary socialist attack on Stalinism. One month later the Vorkuta general strike broke out.

Stalin's heirs, first under Malenkov and then under the "collective leadership" of official conception of Leninism Khrushchev, have been forced to take changed from year to year, bethese events into account in their strug- coming more and more adapted gle for bureaucratic self-preservation. By a combination of concessions and repres- tory, to the October Revolution, sions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet or to the theory of Leninism, Union they have sought to cope with the were revised annually. I have adrising tide of opposition to the abomination duced an example from the lit-erary activity of Stalin himself. of the Stalinist system. The new areas of In 1918 he wrote that the victhe Soviet orbit in Eastern Europe have tory of the October insurrection brought fresh sections of the international was 'principally and above all' working class into the process of political assured by Trotsky's leadership. revolution against Stalinism.

At the same time the victory of the special role in the October Rev-Chinese revolution has further broken the olution. To this tune the whole sense of isolation of the Soviet working historiography was adjusted. class and has helped to stir them to new hundreds of young scholars and position and all of the works of confidence and political activity. The thousands of journalists were Second World War, the growth of the systematically trained in the Soviet proletariat, the emergence of a spirit of falsification. Whoever carried out by the bureaucracy fresh and undefeated new generation, have Frameup System and the Moslikewise contributed to arousing new hope cow Trials, pages 123-24.) and vigor among the Russian workers. All this is indirectly reflected in the fact that the Kremlin has been forced to repudiate Stalin and to hint that it did not approve of his crimes.

By chopping off the head of the dead it would follow that a sorrier ed at the 19th Congress in 1952 tyrant the bureaucratic caste hopes to condition is hard to imagine. In save its own neck. But the bureaucrats bureaucracy is a carbon copy of want to put limits on their repudiation of its dead leader. "Stalin's first has likewise been shaken up. The North Italian working class move-Stalin. This is expressed in Ulbricht's qualification was a contemptuous main reporter Khrushchev alstatement that Stalin performed some service in fighting Trotskyism. By Trotskyism the Stalinists mean the program of the world socialist revolution, including the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan genuine Marxist book on the October Revolution is Leon Trotsky's History of the Russian

"Up till now," continued Miko-"we have had no genuine van. Marxist works on the period of the Civil War, either.'

TROTSKY'S EXPLANATION d. etc. Before the Dewey Commission

investigating the Moscow Trials Trotsky explained why there were in the USSR no Marxist works on party history, Soviet history, history of the Civil War, editions of his Collected Works etc. "From the time that I entered into opposition to the bu reaucracy, its courtier-theoreticians began to call the revolutiontion" ary essence of Marxism - 'Trot-

skyism.' At the same time, the cal opponents and others unfato the needs of the ruling caste "Books devoted to Party hisin broke, on his deathbed, with a united force. Stalin and demanded his remov-

al from the post of Secretary; there is Lenin's voluminous correspondence with Trotsky, during and after the Civil War.

The genuine restoration Marxism-Leninism is indeed the burning need in the USSR. A necessary precondition for such

restoration is the publication sky could not have played any n the USSK of all the previous-Leon Trotsky.

The repudiation of Stalin was resisted was stifled." cording to the Kremlin's own claims, it was prepared by the 1953 purge of the "Beria gang" Mikoyan dismissed the Soviet and of the secret police, and by philosophers with a scornful comment that they "were even the party "cleansing" in preparmore in debt to the party than ation for the 20th Congress. About one-third of the members the historians and the economof the Central Committee electists." From Mikoyan's own words

luded to this purge as follows: attitude toward ideas" (Stalin, "Regardless of who was involvby Trotsky, page XV).

gate from Moscow, A. M. Pank- to Bolshevik criticism at its ratova, editor of the magazine Plenums the activities of a num-Questions of History to disclose, ber of party organizations and among other things, that many individuals. Certain workers who

of Lenin's writings had been did not justify the high trust at the meeting, the rebels ac- last of such manifestations.

Leon Trotsky (left) together with Lenin, led the workers revolution of 1917 in Russia against the Czar and the capitalists. Stalin (right) who headed the bureaucracy that developed in later years, crushed the revolutionary democracy of the young workers' state and built the cult that is now being repudiated by his heirs in the Kremlin.

suppressed, Lenin's role minimiz- | placed in them by the party, have been removed from the the collective pressure of a caste taneously reeducated - or rather "Many important documents ranks of the Central Committee. which will stop at nothing in demoralized—its leaders. It rais-

by Lenin," she admitted, "still It is hardly necessary to prove defense of its position. Each one ed upon its shoulders the man remain unpublished. Certain of that the unity of the party did of them at his post is thinking: who best, most resolutely and Lenin's articles and letters, in- not lose but only gained there- l'etat-c'est moi (I am the state). most ruthlessly expresses its included in the second and third by." (Izvestia, Feb. 15.)

Under Stalin, ostentatious and and in the Sborniki (Leninist bloody mass purges came each Archives) were for some reason time the bureaucracy executed excluded from the fourth edi- one of its zigzags in policy. (Pravda, Feb. 22). The Noteworthy of the purge under truth is that all of Lenin's writ- Stalin's successors is the ostenings favorable to Stalin's politi- tatiously "mild" manner in which it was carried through. The buvorable to him have been sup- reaucracy closed ranks to conpressed. Chief among these is front the Soviet masses, their enin's Testament in which Len- further demands and pressure, as

### WHY THE STALIN CULT?

these positions. Each of us is and Trotskyism. As Trotsky once In place of the Stalin cult, the drawn into this drama as the said: "History here merges dibureaucracy hopes to introduce | representative of definite ideas | rectly with living politics."

with all its elements of carica-

to its claim for lordship. That

each one a small part of his own 123).

spirit. Stalin is the personifica-

ion of the bureaucracy. That is

personality" (The Revolution Be-

In April 1937, before the Dew-

ey Commission investigating the

Moscow Trials. Trotsky said:

trayed, page 277).



An apparently long-brewing | cused the party directorate of | A gulf divides the party leaders. made up of the worst sort rebellion inside the Italian Com- abandoning the Marxist-Leninist ly suppressed writings of Lenin; munist Party - largest CP out- line, of giving up the fight against of careerists and opportunists, all the suppressed documents of side the Soviet bloc - flared in capitalism and of behaving not from the party's working class This signifies in practice that the martyred Russian Left Op- the open on March 3. Six hundred like revolutionaries but like cadre, numbering in the tens and delegates to a conference of reformist socialists who believe possibly hundreds of thousands. Democratic Communists marched that socialism may be attained It is thanks to this cadre that the

through the streets of Rome by purely parliamentary means. Italian CP enjoys its great influence in the industrial working shouting protests against the CP They also accused the party leadership. According to Arnaldo leadership of violations of demo-Cortesi in the March 4 N. Y. cracy in filling the top posts of Times, they accused the Stalinist the party's leadership. They made restive against repeated sellouts party tops "of being inept and it clear that they did not want to by the Stalinist top leaders whose lacking in courage to lead the break from the Communist Party only concern is to execute Italian proletariat in a revolution but to obtain a voice in its councills. Above all, they want the against capitalism."

party to hold democratic elec-Most of the rebel leaders are former officers of partisan forleadership.

mations that fought the Nazis in have been removed; the party Northern Italy after Mussolini's its theoretical bankruptcy the apparatus of several Soviet re- fall. The partisans, recruited in publics, provinces and districts the main from the resurgent ment, were led principally by Communist party militants. What they wanted to achieve through It was left for a woman dele- ed, the CC, CPSU has submitted the defeat of fascism was the creation of a workers' Italy. CHARGE BETRAYAL

According to Cortesi's speeches

class. This cadre wants to fight for socialism and is growing maneuvers towards the Italian capitalist class decreed by the Kremlin.

tions for top posts in the party

According to a report from The criticism and aspirations of Cortesi on the following day, the the proletarian wing of the party were given voice last year in Democratic Communist delegates. Andre Marty's book, The Marty At the session of March 4, only Case. Marty - a legendary hero 200 were in attendance and these to the French working class be-

Sea fleet, when sailors refused to fight against the Soviet Union up in a flasco, this will not be the - had been expelled from the party in 1952 for "Trotskyism."

A similar profound division between leaders and working class cadre exists in the French CP.

CP bureaucracy brought tremendous pressure to bear on the cause of his leading role in the seemed in a hurry to conclude their deliberations. Allthough it 1919 mutiny of the French Black may be that the particular conference of oppositionists wound

### The Negro Struggle

## THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 12, 1956

### By Jean Blake

### Montgomery: The Power of Mass Action

Ever since the Southern white supremacists opened their campaign to maintain and extend Jim Crow patterns despite the Supreme Court ruling that public school segregation is illegal, Negroes all over the country have been asking, "What can we do? How can we fight back?"

The Mississippi trial and whitewash of the murderers of Emmett Till was a frustrating experience. Additional murders of Negro leaders added to the bitterness and demoralization.

Then came the magnificent boycott movement of 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, in protest against discrimination and mistreatment by the Montgomery City Lines.

For more than three months now, nothing — arrests of leaders, bombings of their homes, threats by the White Citizens Council, mass indictments of boycotters under the state anti-conspiracy act, false rumors of settlements and sell-outs by leaders — nothing has been able to weaken the boycott.

Transportation is organized and operated by the Negro community. Contributions taken up in the churches and sent by sympathizers from other states are used to buy gasoline and service a fleet of 300 automobiles which make regular runs from 46 pick-up points in the Negro districts.

Conscious of their strength, the Negro masses of Montgomery use their economic power in other ways, also.

According to the Mobile Beacon, Feb. 4, the White Citizens Council "let it be known that Negroes identified as leaders of the movement or supporters of the boycott would be fired from their jobs. This an-

nouncement caused Negroes to threaten a boycott of Montgomery's business establishments. White merchants immediately denied all support to the White Citizens Council and declared that they would not discharge any Negro employe for his participation in the bus boycott."

What is the secret of the strength of this remarkable Negro rights movement? The Cleveland Call and Post admitted editorially on March 3: "Nobody, and that includes a lot of skeptical Negroes up North, expected the bus boycotters to make more than a spasmodic protest against the long-term indignities they have suffered at the hands of those who operate Montgomery's transportation system. Montgomery has no strong Negro press, no outstanding NAACP branch, and in the past, no single voice of established leadership to emerge as a modern Moses.'

The key to the success thus far of the Montgomery boycott movement - and it holds an important lesson — is precisely the fact that it is based on direct mass action by Negro workers who are depending on themselves. They have not entrusted their fate to a conservative, compromising middle-class leadership. They are not inhibited or misled by Democratic or Republican ward-heelers urging them to rely on their liberal friends, on the courts or the legislatures.

When the whole working class follows portrayed the Republican Party suit, boycotts its oppressors and organizes as the true friend of the Negro tion for its own use, that will spell the end | gains have been made in the not only of the White Citizens Councils, the Democrats deserved the credbut of the whole parasitical and tyrannical it for the Negro people's hardclass that lives by exploiting others.

Propaganda War in U.S.

VOLUME XX

Al Benson, Chicago disc jockey, hands 5,000 copies of the U.S. Constitution to air pilot. They were showered on Jackson, Miss. The propaganda bombing was returned by disc jockey Allen English of Oxford, Miss. who dropped 20,000 paper Confederate flags March 2 on Chicago.

### .. Civil Rights Rally

| liquor ads' "man of distinction." | assembly occurred Sunday night (Continued from page 1) when victims of the Southern demagogy. Whereas Scott had but flushed and obviously upset. Butler threatened not to answer terror told a mass meeting their unless the shouting ceased. As stories. There "witnesses" were not only transportation, but all of producvitation of Mr. Wilkins to descene of battle and determined to bate with Mr. Leonard Hall return to the South. (Chairman of the Republican The "witnesses" included Rev.

Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the Party). I do not propose to in-Every time Butler exposed one sult you by debating with any leaders of the history-making bus lesser spokesman tonight." Here boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. f his opponent's claims, the he was interrupted by shouts of He described the events leading audience applauded heartily, as "Eastland! Eastland! What about up to the mass protest and how it had when Scott was exposing Eastland?" and "What Would it had become much more than You Say Down South?" protest against the barbarous bus regulations but a challenge When the audience had again to Jim Crow itself. quieted, Butler began, "About Next L. A. Blackman of Elloree Mr. Scott's silly question about

South Carolina, narrated the whether I would make this same gliding over the fact that Conspeech down South . . ." Here dramatic story of the resistance is Democrat-controlled, of the Negroes of his town to the he was again interrupted by Congressman Scott took the unshouts of "Would You?" and economic terrorism of the White expected step of demanding time for a rebuttal. Discomfited, But- "Yes or No?" Irritated, he call-Citizens Councils and the Ku

ler announced that he had made ed out, "Listen and I'll tell you. Democratic National Committee released my speech to every pressure — the destruction of his

major press service in the coun-Scott: "I have a few questions try to be distributed to every part of the country." Taken in by this tricky evasion, a part of the audience be- fashion that his friend, Rev. G. gan to applaud. Seizing the op-This brought the house down portunity. Butler left the speakers stand and took his seat. Nor could the repeated cries of "East-

to the hotspot he had just vaeated Though the final applause, when the chairman concluded to get the Southern Democrat committee chairmen to do their speaker, showed that the Negro and the current within it. duty? What time, Mr. Butler, is people still heavily favor the Democratic Party and will undoubtedly vote again for it if he Republicans are the only his party's Senators did (referalternative, the audience's interence to Lehman and Morse' vention in the speeches and playvoting against making Eastland ing off of one party against the head of the Senate Judiciary other dramatically showed how are substandard according to a Committee) he should at least few illusions it has about them. ask Senator Eastland to step The above account is given not aside so we can get some action only because of its political signifrom that committee on civil ficance but because it was one of from conversion by landlords of At this point pandemonium roke loose. There was cheering. applause, and shouts to Butler of "What About Eastland?" managed procedure. Scott now followed up: "Mr The other high spot of the families.

CHICAGO, March 1-A reso- to capacity. They lined up in work for one hour across the lution calling for a gigantic the back and around the aisles, nation—"to wake up some peomass rally to be organized by overflowed into the adjoining ple that there is a cancer in our labor, Negro, church, community community house and then out society" and again when he conother groups, presented into the surrounding streets demned the policy of "gradualjointly by Willoughby Abner, where loud speakers were set up. ism" held by people in high president of the Chicago NAACP, and Charles Hayes, Director of District One UPWA AFL-CIO was adopted unani- supported by the NAACP. mously at the conclusion of a FBI CONDEMNED jam-packed meeting of over

,000 last night at the Greater Bethesda Baptist Church. The crowd was in a fighting

and

nood and the joint Labor-Negro Church leadership of the meeting was far more responsive than at the Emmett Till mass demonstration in Chicago six months ago. The militant workers and their families filled the church

Dr. T. M. R. Howard, the

guest speaker, summed up the struggle in the South since the given their lives in the fight. Enthusiastically supported throughout. Dr. Howard received thunderous applause when he condemned J. Edgar Hoover for the failure of the FBI to arrest the

guilty of racist murder.

majority.-Ed.)

The meeting was sponsored by places. To a doctor, said Dr. the United Packinghouse Work- Howard, this is as sensible as ers of America and actively prescribing aspirin for a ruptured appendix. Dr. Howard had teen-aged Willis Lee on the platform with

him and demanded of Chicago that it take care of the boy and his relatives who had stood up Supreme Court decision of May so courageously and testified, in 17, 1954 and called the roll on the face of death, against his the Negro leaders who had white masters. The meeting responded generously.

Thousands of dollars were collected at the meeting directly and also union contributions were made for support to the struggle n the South

men in the South known to be Ralph Helstein, international president of the UPWA pointed Mississippi Senator Eastland's out that it is no accident that place as chairman of the Senate in the very Southern states committee in charge of investi- where the attack against Negating un-American activities is groes is most ferocious the wage amusing, said Howard, Eastland, scales are lowest for whites as himself, should be the first one well; and that the law used to investigated for his open flout- indict 115 bus boycotters was ing of the U.S. constitution. The first passed through the Ala-NAACP is proposing that all bama state legislature for the the parliamentary steps be taken specific purpose of defeating a to expel Eastland from the Sen- strike of coal miners.

Russell Lasley, international ate. (Eastland has since been appointed chairman of the powvice-president of the UPWA, erful senate Judiciary Commitwho spoke briefly, expressed the tee by the Democratic Party sentiments of the meeting when ne called on the North to follow

"We are enlisted for the dur- the example of those who are ation," was the message that Dr. leading the militant struggle in Howard brought to the meeting the South. "Let's stop pussyfrom Reverend King and the footing around and start movother leaders of the Alabama ing. This is the midnight hour. protest action against bus segre- | We want the right to send our gation, as their answer to the people to the school of their stepped-up attacks of the White choosing. And it just might be," he said, "that we don't intend

Citizens Council. A tremendous ovation was that when they come out they're given to his call for support of relegated to wrapping their dithe Powell proposal to stop plomas around a mop handle."

#### **"THE DEB'S CENTENNIAL"** prosperous business, threats of lynching - had been brought to ear on him before he was shot FEATURED IN WINTER FI and nearly killed in the same W. Lee had been, and for the same reason — insisting on his

### **By Daniel Roberts**

Another splendid issue of the Marxist quarterly, The audience, visibly inspired, land! Eastland!" bring him back was lifted to its feet when the Fourth International — dated Winter 1955 — rolled off heroine of 1956 - Miss Autherine the press last week. Its feature article is The Debs

### **Double-Duty** Words

There are times when even the warmest supporters of modern capitalism find it a little hard to take, so they try to gloss over some of its harsher aspects with double-duty words that imply one thing and actually mean something quite different. For instance, it sounds a lot nicer when you are talking about murder and terrorization of Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama if you refer to "the traditions and habits of the South." There's another example in the latest issue of one of those confidential reports, "Babson's Salescaster," which has a short article on the increasing "labor surplus."

Surplus is a positive sort of word that suggests an abundant supply. It would be too crude to call the situation a shortage of work, or even more concisely, unemployment. But that's what they mean. At present there are 18 major areas and about a hundred smaller localities where there is a substantial labor surplus. They tell salesmen to put less effort into these areas and suggest that they get details from the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security. That's the name of the bureau that gives out figures on how many workers are not exactly secure, or even employed. Another article in the same Salescaster is called, "When a Consumer Loses a Week's Pay." It starts off by saying that the Westinghouse strike reveals a goul deal about the real economic position of the "wage earner," and then proceeds to take up the difficulties of white collar employes making from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year. Because of the strike, they have been working every other week and they are now in serious financial straits because of "inadequate financial reserves." Many cannot even meet the usual rent, phone,

By Joyce Cowley

heat and gasoline bills. No mention is made been working every other week but I sup-

The difficulty, according to this article, is that people have been "living it up," a his speech and would not want Before I made this speech the colorful phrase that suggests a life of time to answer Scott's rebuttal. dissipation and luxury, appealing but un- TALKING TO SOUTH familiar to the average wage earner. I suppose it actually refers to his pay and to put to Mr. Butler. Question he lives that up all right, but on prosaic one: Would he make the same items like rent, groceries and shoes for speech - that he has made here the kid. The Salescaster concludes that tonight - down South?" people ought to "sock more of their earn- with laughter, applause and ings away for that eventual rainy day." shouts of "Would You?" "How

evidently not paying much attention to is short Finther two the slogan at the top of the page: "HIGH Butler, Chairman of the Demo-SALES ACTIVITY IS THE MASTER cratic National Committee, do KEY TO OUR SUPERIOR STANDARD OF LIVING." If people start "socking it away," who's going to buy all the TV your appointment with Senator sets, the appliances and the cars? Failure Eastland? Because if Mr. Butler to sell the stuff will create an even greater can't stand up like a couple of "labor surplus," including salesmen. It will also mean a lot of "surplus merchandise," another one of those misleading terms that implies we have too much of something. It's really merchandise those surplus workers need badly but can't afford to buy. There's another kind of surplus the rights legislation." propagandists don't mention at all surplus value. That's the amount the workers produce but never get because the boss puts it in his pocket and calls it a "fair profit." If the wage earners could get hold of that extra money, they would be able to buy all the TV sets and cars to Washington three years ago, that we're producing, and pay cash, too. It would solve the whole problem except that it would make the boss himself sort of surplus, and he prefers to see the workers in that spot.

of the Westinghouse strikers who have not of civil rights legislation-simply pose their financial reserves are inadequate, too.

The fellow who wrote this piece was About It?" "Answer, Answer."

the Democrats. When Butler wound up with some outrageous whoppers, such as blaming the Republicans for the non-passage gress

von gains.



Chicago Unions, NAACP to Rally

NUMBER 11

Butler has said nothing - no advances - have been made since 1953. If you had come here could you have had this conference arranged so easily?" In unison, the audience responded. county grand jury refused to broadcast, while maintaining his the Negro people, and not merely 'No! indict a white department store support to the Democrats, gave

Scott: "Could you have gone

responded. "No!"

'No!

"Yes."

laughter.

An article next week wid iscuss the achievements and shortcomings of the Assembly, the meeting by thanking each the way it was stage-managed in 1926.

Gus Courts of Belzoni, Mississippi, related how all sorts of

Klux Klan.

ight to vote.

72% of N. Y. Homes IWW published in the Summer Are Substandard to a Historian, dealing with the

early years of the Communist trast." Seventy-two per cent of the esidential buildings in Manhattan Party (another installment of recently completed survey under New York Mayor Wagner's direcof American Trotskyism, pubtion. Many violations resulted lished in 1943.

The Debs Centennial is more the few occasions on which the single units into multiple dwellthan an appreciation of Debs. It delegates to the Civil Rights ings. In block after block, one Assembly were able to break inspector said, houses built Party associated with Debs' name through the carefully stage- originally for one or two families from 1901 until his death. "The now house as many as 25 first rule for such an inquiry," says Cannon, "should be to dig

Eastland Appointmen

Centennial, by James P. Cannon. honoring the memory of Eugene out the truth and tell it; to V. Debs, the great U.S. revolu- represent the Debsian movement tionary socialist leader who died as it really was. Debs' deserves this, and he can stand it, too. This is a companion piece to Even his mistakes were the Cannon's inspiring account of the mistakes of a giant and a pioneer.

In an objective survey they only F. I. It also goes with his Letters make his monumental virtues stand out more sharply in con-

Cannon focuses on Debs' con-Letters appears in this issue of cept of the all-inclusive socialist the miagazine) and his History party. He calls it an experiment and draws the balance sheet once again for the benefit of new generations of socialist militants. He contrasts Debs' idea of the is an evaluation of the Socialist | party to Lenin's conception of a revolutionary combat party recruited on the basis of a sharply defined program. Cannon explains why history gives the right to Lenin's conception, polemicizing on the way against those radicals today who want to revive Debs

ansuccessful experiment.

In The New Precedents in the Kutcher Case, the F. I. editors make a thorough review of 'America's most sensational witch-hunt case in 1955." They summarize the impressive gains for civil liberties when nationwide public indignation two months ago forced the government witch hunters to restore his disability pension to the famous gomery movement was conveyed | Socialist Workers Party fighter for civil liberties.

Trent Hutter, the Militant and F. I.'s capable movie, literary and The editors considered the letter art critic scores again with The newsworthy and published it in Workers' Stake in Bourgeois Culture. He describes the divorce Miss Cunningham wrote: "The of the artist and the public under situation here is something like conditions of capitalist decay, and shows how socialism will again bridge the gap.

Leon Trotsky's essay, Nationalism and Economic Life, is ion that this deal will be seen as reprinted from the April 1934 issue of Foreign Affairs magadecision and that you ought to zine. Trotsky treats of the rebelhave somebody real close here lion of man's productive forces against both private property "I've never seen Negroes 'cool relations and national boundaries. t' like these people. They KNOW He explains how the reactionary they're right and they aren't go- nationalism of fascism and the ing to quit for nothing or no- explosive character of U.S. imbody . . . And they're slowly perialism stem from that rebelrealizing that they've got a key lion. It is not difficult to extend

The books reviewed in the Winter issue are Owen Lattimore's On The Politics of Outer Mongolia, John Perry's The Story ... Forgive the sentimentality, The Challenge of Automation The F. I. sells for 35c.

<b>BOOKS AND PAMPHLE</b>	TS	<b>'I Stake My Life'</b> By Leon Trotsky
<b>By LEON TROTSKY</b>		Leon Trotsky's name is again in the press! The great revolu- tionary socialist leader who
The First Five Years of the Communist International — Vol. 1 384 pages cloth	\$3.50	was murdered by an agent of Stalin in 1940 is still listed in
The Revolution Betrayed308 pages clothpaper	$\begin{array}{c} 2.50 \\ 1.50 \end{array}$	the Kremlin as a mortal foe — his emancipating ideas can- not be buried!
The Soviet Union—What it is—Where it is going		Read why Trotsky made the following sensational promise
In Defense of Marxism, 240 pages cloth paper	2.00 1.50	to an impartial commission willing to seriously investigate
An Analysis of the Reasons for defend- ing the Soviet Union against im- perialist attack.		the charges made against him in the Moscow frame-up trials: " if this Commission de-
The Permanent Revolution 176 pages The author's famous thesis on revo- lutionary policy in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.	2.50	cides that I am guilty in the slightest degree of the crimes which Stalin imputes to me, I pledge in advance to place my- self voluntarily in the hands
In Defense of the Russian Revolution 16 pages 1932 Copenhagen speech explaining the Revolution.	.15	of the executioners of the GPU." 20 pages 15 cents
Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS		PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.		New York 3, N. Y.

nto the hotels equally as you killing of Dr. Thomas Brewer, a stand. "I have a lot of difficulty have now?" The audience again leader in the Negro community in separating the Democratic and former president of the party of Eastland and the Demo-Scott: "In restaurants with Columbus branch of the NAACP. | cratic party of Stevenson," he everybody else?" Audience; As the racists continued to complained. spill blood in defense of South-Scott: "The Democrats are

ern "habits and traditions" re- sity, March 2, Rep. A. Clayton long on promises, but short on performance!" The audience reson, the Democratic Presidential fire at both Eisenhower and sponded this time with a mass aspirant continued his shameless Stevenson. He accused the Prescampaign to curry favor with ident of "passing the buck" and

(Continued from page 1)

owner who had confessed to the vent to his anger at Stevenson's

BACKFIRES the Dixiecrats. With an air of Stevenson of "double talking." Then the Republican Congresssanctimonious piety, Stevenson Does not this whole situation man, who seemed to be playing asserted in Minnesota, March 2, raise point blank the need for that the North must eliminate a break with both parties? Unthe audience like a pipe organ, its own discrimination against til the Negro people in alliance tried a piece of demagogy that broke the spell. Negroes before "we cast a stone with the unions builds a Labor

Scott: "But the Republican at Alabama." The meaning of Stevenson's "double talk" and "passing the Party is the party of performdeclaration was summed up in buck"? ance." Instead of the expected Yes, pandemonium broke out. a March 3 editorial in the Mont-

gomery Advertiser. Reporting NEGROES KEEP UP FIGHT There were shouts of "No! No!" catcalls, hoots and roars of Stevenson's speech, the editorial declared, "The Advertiser bears Adlai Stevenson a new respect and Democrats have not pre-Despite his prior refusal of

rebuttal time, Butler was forced for his honesty and stoutness in vented the Negro people from by shouts of the audience to go remarking on the American race continuing to press their deterto the speakers stand. Even then, issue." The same editorial as- mined fight against segregation. shouts of "Eastland! Eastland! Tell us about Eastland!" con tinued for some time.

No longer looking like the races. A One-Year Subscription he Dixiecrats has provoked a universities. to THE MILITANT sharp reaction even from Negro Only \$3 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

But the neutral-on-the-side-ofracism course of the Republicans

Northern Democrats as allies of to tax-supported colleges and spiritually and psychologically, Meanwhile in Montgomery 50,leaders who support the Demo- 000 Negroes are giving eloquent been prouder of being a Negro. of Standards and a pamphlet,

'conspiracy" charge has served only to increase their solidarity and militancy in the fight. A vivid appraisal of the Mont-Speaking at Howard Univerin a confidential letter to the cently defended by Adlai Steven- Powell (D-N.Y.) had to level his Pittsburgh Courier from its correspondent Evelyn Cunningham.

NAACP, in a March 3 radio will be the mass movement of

court decisions, that will wipe

out segregation. The indictment

of 100 of their number on a

their March 3 issue.

I've never in life seen. It's difficult to believe what these people are doing . . .

"It is my considered . . . opin-Party what else will we get but bigger than the Supreme Court

for the next few months.

ban on segregation in public don't give a damn what the War III. to be martyrs if needs be. "Honest to God, I've never

serts. "The South will ship it- Their pressure was again felt self express to hell in a hand- when the U.S. Supreme Court to the whole race thing right in Trotsky's analysis to explain Wall

basket before it will mix the ruled March 5 that its previous their pockets. In short, they Street's present drive to World

The self-exposure of the schools also applies specifically white people do. They're ready,

cratic party. Thurgood Marshall, expression to their understanding leading legal counsel for the that when the chips are down it but I'm moved."