Cannon Explains the Death of the Stalin Cult

Shows Pressure Of Soviet People On Bureaucracy

By James P. Cannon

(Speech given March 9 at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum.)

goes. And it is the first official truth that has come out of Moscow for more than 30 years. Truth is a slow starter. Mark Twain said a lie can travel halfway around the world while the truth is putting its shoes on. But the Foster Says Don't truth has more endurance than the lie, and eventually catches up with it. The truth is on the march again --even in Moscow.

According to press reports, after the Kremlin bureaucrats had repudiated and buried the cult of Stalir by official decree, they wound up the Congress by sing ing "The International." But I think their tongues must have twisted over the chorus, which says that those who have been naught shall be all. The chief business of their Congress was to say that Stalin, who had once been shock. They are literally reeling "all," was henceforth to be nothing. The prophecy of from the effects of the pro-"The International" was shifted into reverse gear at the nouncements coming out of the Moscow Congress, and the cult of Stalin happened to be in the way and got run over. The Stalin cult is dead, never to rise again.

One of the Moscow correspondents of the Associated ed myth of Stalin's infallibility Press reports that he asked a Congress delegate what has been shattered. would now be done about all those plaster monuments of Stalin standing around in Moscow and all over Russia, and the delegate answered: "The monuments can stand." But he's mistaken about that. They will stand for a while until somebody gets the idea for a badly needed road program in the Soviet Union, and looks at all this plaster standing around for no good reason, and says it ought to be put through the rock crusher and ground disciples in the leadership of the up into material for concrete. That's where the monuments of Stalin will eventually end.

There is even a rumor that Lenin addressed a message to the Congress through a spiritual medium. You the Stalin myth was to accept know, in a mistaken impulse right after the death of Stalin, his successors buried him in the Red Square right beside Lenin. According to the rumor, Lenin sent a request to the Congress to have him moved out of there, because, he said: "I don't want to be found dead in the same mausoleum with Stalin."

Shakespeare must have been looking ahead to this day when he wrote:

"But yesterday the word of Caesar might



(Speech given March 9 at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum.) Three years ago Stalin, the bloodthirsty tyrant, the betrayer of revolutions and the murderer of revolution-ists, "the most sinister criminal in the history of man-hind," unfortunately died in bed. Two weeks ago his personally selected and hand-picked heirs, the benefici-aries of his monstrous tyranny and the accomplices in all his crimes, used the occasion of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party to denounce the cult of Stalin and to declare that his dictatorial rule for 20 years was wrong. The Congress pronouncement is true, as far as it goes. And it is the first official truth that has come out

Tear Stalin to "Political Shreds"

By Tom Kerry

Members of the American Communist Party, along with their co-thinkers throughout the world, are suffering from acute 20th Congress in Moscow throw ing overboard everything they had been taught to believe for a whole generation. The cherish-

For 30 years members of the Communist Party have been taught to accept every devious twist and turn in Stalinist policy. Despite their misgivings they were taught to accept because Stalin said it was right and good and necessary for the defense of the Soviet Union. His various sections ruled by right of their unquestioning adherence to the Stalin myth and obedience

to his command. The essence of without thinking, or in violence to one's from thought, in defer-ence to the court of last resort - Stalin, the infallible. What

'JOLTED"

The leaders of the American Communist Party confess they are at a complete loss. Their

contradictory explanations exlain nothing. They say they

Freedom is Rising in the South

Westinghouse Retreats From Union-Busting Try

By Daniel Roberts FEB. 20 - The strike of 45,000 and (2) their refusal to permit labor movement today, the Westmembers of the International the company to speed up hourly inghouse workers should have scored a victory on all demands Union of Electrical Workers workers and in record time. But the Carey leadership in the IUE, which was In addition, the union had to forced to undertake the strike compromise a crucial demand by the pressure of the workers, the end of World War II. The aising out of the strike itself never stood firm on their demands Joseph Clark, foreign expert Company used every strike-break- nimely, that the company reinand this encouraged the company

Dobbs Calls On Unions To Back Up Movement Against Segregation

By Farrell Dobbs

MONTGOMERY, March 22 — The trial of Rev. Martin L. King, leader of the history-making bus protest in this Deep South city, has just closed with a verdict of guilty. Judge Eugene Carter sentenced him to a fine of \$500 or 140 days at hard labor and costs. The spirit of the Negro bus boycotters was typified by a statement I heard a Negro woman make as I left the courthouse. "I walk from now on," she declared, "if my feet give out, I will crawl." Rev. King was released on \$1,000 bond. All the other cases of the boycott leaders will be postponed pending the outcome of the appeal in King's case.

* * *

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 20 - In full solidarity with the indicted leaders of their bus protest movement. the embattled Negro people of this city came in strength to the mass trial that opened 3

here yesterday. Long before the ants is Mrs. Rosa Parks, an second floor countroom opened alteration tailor, whose arrest Dec. they packed the corridors and 1 for refusing to give her bus formed lines down the stairs seat to a white man set off the toward the outside where waiting protest movement. Also included crowds gathered. are two victims of the first wave

Few gained entry to the courtof terror against the protest room where the 90 defendants action. They are Rev. M. L. King Jr., and E. D. Nixon, a railroad filled over half the spectators' seats. Those turned away went to union man, both of whose homes have been bombed since the an empty room in the adjacent wing of the U-shaped building protest started. They are leading where they crowded to the figures in the movement.

windows, peering across the Another victim of earlier attacks areaway for a glimpse of the sits among the defense counsel. trial scene. He is Fred D. Grav. a vound lawyer who was first reclassified Apart from reporters, witnesses and bailiffs, few white people from a ministerial status to 1-A have appeared in the segregated in the draft and then arrested for courtroom. The handful present filing a suit against the state's segregation laws allegedly withas spectators are seated inside out authorization from all clients the nail in the space usually he claimed to represent. reserved for lawyers, defendants At the counsel table nine Neand the press. gro lawyers for the defense flank WORLD COVERAGE the three white prosecutors. De-Reporters are here from France, fense counsel includes Robert England, India and many parts | Carter of New York, a member of the United States. Newsreel of the NAACP legal staff, and and television cameras are set up Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, at the court house entrance to who also represents Autherine interview the principals in the Lucy in her fight for admission to the University of Alabama.

Have stood against the world; now lies he there, And none so poor to do him reverence."

Not even the poor American Stalinists do reverence to Stalin anymore, and they're about as poor as you can | Worker, says he was "jolted" get. I noticed in the Daily Worker a piece about the 75th and any Stalinist who says other- 156 days. It was the longest and birthday of William Z. Foster, the chief and chairman wise is either a crook or a fool. lished an autobiography which he entitled, without for the same paper, is confused ing device at its command but stille 93 workers fired for alleged in its union-busting attempt. knowing what was coming, "From Bryan to Stalin." In and disturbed. To Walter Ul- could not break the union. After peket line violence. In the settlethe Daily Worker article relating Foster's accomplish- bricht, leader of the East Ger- the return of a few hundred scabs ment, the company agreed imments this volume is not listed among the products of man Stalinist party, and 20th during the first weeks, the strike indiately to reinstate 57, but 36 his pen.

The article states that Foster "was in the forefront of the struggle" against Jay Lovestone, and also in the a lot more candid if he had only forefront of the struggle against Earl Browder, and then admitted that he himself had Valley union-busting plan used it stops. It doesn't say that Foster was in the forefront (Continued on page 2)

A Note to CP Rank and File

James P. Cannon, whose speech on the Stalin cult we publish in this issue, is a pioneer American revolutionary socialist. Before World War I he was a left-winger in the Socialist Party and a front-line

class.

ism, with Chiang Kai-shek and

with Hitler, was incompatible

with the task of building a revo-

lutionary party of the working

The American Stalinist leaders

inswered these arguments with

the dogma that criticism of Stalin

the federal government convicted

18 SWP leaders for their op-

position to imperialist war in the

first Smith Act trials in Min-

Now that the Kremlin itself

neapolis, 1940.

fighter in the IWW. After the world socialist revolution, it Russian Revolution of 1917 he betrayal of the defense of the Soviet Union. its frame-ups. helped to found the Communist Party of the U.S. and was a member of its Central Committee. deals with "democratic" imperial-

In 1928, after attending the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Cannon announced his support of the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky in the Soviet Communist Party. At the Sixth Congress he had studied the basic criticism Trotsky made of the program of Stalin's bureaucratic

faction. Cannon told the Communist workers in the U.S. that support of Stalinism would doom the party in the U.S. to failure as an | They built a frame-up and slander independent revolutionary instrument of the working class. For this he was expelled, together with hundreds of the best Communist militants by the American adherents of the Stalin cult -William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder.

has begun to admit the crimes of In 1938 the American Trotsky-Stalin in an effort to evade the ists formed the Socialist Workers wrath of the Soviet workers, it is Party. The new party continued the duty of serious American to explain to the Communist Communist workers and youth to Party rank and file that support examine first hand the views of of the Stalin cult, with its cynical Trotsky and the Socialist Workdisregard for the interests of the ers Party.

are shaken, bewildered and dismayed - that much we can accept and understand. Alan Max,

managing editor of the Daily (AFL-CIO against the Westinghouse Corp. ended today after hardest fought major strike since Congress critic of the Stalin cult.

Clark directs the pointed com-In the course of the five months, Westinghouse instituted a modern ment: "Ulbricht would have been version of the notorious Mohawk contributed to sponsoring the in the 1930's. This included police cult of the individual.'"

bricht, sounded an ominous note picketing court injunctions and c victims. Big Business will be ous policy of the top labor buas it whistled by the ear of William Z. Foster, titular head of the American Communist Party. Westinghouse to retreat in its ging on strike. It was over Foster rushed into print in the union-busting try, the union did scepting the reinstatement terms Daily Worker of March 16, to not win its basic demands. It was tat the IUE strike committee admonish Stalin's critics, that forced to compromise on the two slit - a minority proposing to "our task is neither to rush in- main issues of the strike. These intinue the strike until the comdignantly to the defense of Stal- were (1) the workers' refusal to any agreed to take all workers all-out aid from the rest of labor

| sign a five-year contract - they | ack. (Continued on page 3)

front remained solid to the end. ohens are "indefinitely suspende" and their return is to be ngotiated at the local level. If

Judging from past experiences sympathy strikes that would have violence (which killed one striker), i such matters, the company will quickly forced Westinghouse to Clark's barb, aimed at Ul- "back-to-work" movements, anti- kely be able to claim a number open federal aid to the company. | ale to hold these up to deter any While the IUE workers forced der group of workers from

Nor did the top leaders of the AFL-CIO mobilize the labor movement for victory at Westinghouse. They passed resolutions of support and solicited funds, but feared to mobilize all unionists to empany and union then fail to man mass picket lines and feared trial. The national Negro press aree, the cases go to arbitration. to call for 24 - hour general is heavily represented.

Those indicted include officers and executive committee members of the Montgomery Improvement come to terms. It is the treacher-Association, among them twenty reaucraits that cheated the IUE five ministers. The Association is workers of the full victory their heroic struggle on the picket line defense of the democratic rights of the Negro people. Also arrested entitled them to win. are several drivers of the car pool The strike of 10,000 United Electrical Workers (Ind.) against formed to provide transportation

Westinghouse continues. It needs to Negroes declining to ride Jim-Crow buses. Prominent among the defendto secure its victory.

IMPRESSIVE GROUP

The Negroes present in the courtroom - defendants, lawyers and spectators alike - conduct themselves with great dignity, a voluntary group dedicated to determination and manifest pride in their people. Their morale is high: their discipline as a movement superb; their ability as strategists tacticians and organizers impressive.

The defendants have waived (Continued on page 4)

Khrushchev Tell Truth Trotsky About mands

MARCH 21 - The Socialist | chev, Soviet Communist Party | ther to the Soviet government, | all charges concocted during the | and a thorough review of their | leader asked vindication and Workers Party today demanded secretary, Joseph Hansen, former atalia Trotsky also asked for infamous Moscow trials. ble revolutionists, its opportunist that the Kremlin go all the way demanded the following "The son Serge Sedov in its repudiation of Stalin's reports you have branded Stalin hion she learned of 20 years of her son's fate be answered at dictatorship with complete ex- as murderer. If so please publish posure of the frame-up trials details how Stalin organized against Leon Trotsky, the lead- murder of Trotsky. Also answer cher of these messages. ng Bolshevik who refused to Natalia Trotsky's request for

capitulate to the "Stalin cult" and rehabilitation mames of her husband and son, falsely accused in ought the tyranny of the dictator until his death at the hands frame-up trials, and news of fate tlay to Nikita S. Khrushchev, of Stalin's assassin in 1940. The of her son Serge."

Trotsky's widow wired the the Socialist Workers Party was an attack on the Soviet Union SWP demanded the full restoraand equivalent to serving fascism. tion of Soviet democracy that presidium of the 20th Congress id: They spread the methods and prevailed under the leadership of of the Communist Party of the "Your admissions about the ons and camps who were vicpolitics of the Stalin cult within Lenin and Trotsky, beginning Soviet Union on Feb. 22 asking imes of Stalin can have mean- timized during Stalin's reign of the radical movement in the U.S. with the immediate release of all machine and cheered loudly when labor camps.

In a cable to Nikita S. Khrush- international public opinion." In a porters, are fully cleared of political prisoners in the USSR against the Titoists. The SWP

"We request: (1) That Natalia demanded the following: "Press | hose disappearance in the Soviet | Trotsky's demand for information co. His fate is still not known. OBBS' LETTER

once. Allso her demand that Leon p reply has been received to Trotsky and Leon Sedov's names be cleared of all false charges. "(2) Full information regard-

ing Stalin's organization of the In another communication sent murder of Trotsky, a number of his secretaries and family be Irrell Dobbs, National Secretary presented in detail.

"(3) There are thousands of revolutionists in Soviet prisfor a complete review of the g only if the principal target terror on charges of 'Trotskyism' political prisoners from forced Moscow trials and vindication of (Stalin's murder machine, and later of 'Titoism.' We demand lin bureaucrats acknowledged the the "memory of victims before mely, Leon Trotsky and his the immediate release of all frame-up charges, fabricated

cases before world public opinion. liberation of these post-War II "(4) It has been reported that victims purged as "Titoists" and "Trotskyists." There was no reply to this cable.

by the extent and the speed with which you present the full truth about Stalin's crimes and rehabilitate his victims."

Dobbs also recalled the cable he sent to Khrushchev in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, last June 1, 1955. Alt that time the new Krem-

you explained the complicity of the present leaders of the Soviet Union in Stalin's crimes by the fact that you feared execution by Stalin if you protested. The sincerity of your present repudiation of Stalin can be tested



LEON TROTSKY



THE MILITANT

Monday, March 26, 1956

Cannon Explains the Death of the Stalin Cult

of the struggle against Trotskyism, hand in hand with up; the cult of Stalin has followed him in death after Union.

Browder and Lovestone. It doesn't say that he was the only a brief three-year interlude. promoter of the cult of Stalinism. On the contrary, it and Foster's services to Stalin.

Page Two -

about that. Even the third anniversary of Stalin's death Stalin's regime had been wrong for 20 years before his more is what is intended. on March 5 was ignored by the Soviet press. The Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reports under that inism in that long time. date: "The Soviet press, radio and most of the people made no comment today on the third anniversary of the death of Stalin . . . Only foreigners seemed to be aware of today's anniversary. An effort to bring up Stalin's name in conversation with an English-speaking Soviet citizen brought only a nod of the head."

mention the third anniversary of Stalin's demise. And generation in all history - were framed-up and murderthe blanket of silence covered China too. A March 5 dis- ed by Stalin. They have not yet said so specifically, but events in the Soviet Union. patch from Hong Kong in the New York Times says: by inference they have repudiated all the frame-ups and "The Chinese Communists maintained a discreet silence all the murders. They have even begun to rehabilitate on Stalin today. Neither the Hsinhua news agency nor the Peiping radio marked the anniversary."

I mention these news items 'neither in sorrow nor in anger. Whatever the reason for this action of the Soviet Congress, the repudiation of Stalin by his heirs is big news and good news - the biggest news and the had happened. Another victim of the purges, the best news since the death of Stalin himself three years Ukrainian, Kossier, is now discovered to have been falseago. We can recognize this without exaggerating the ly accused and framed-up in the great purge. The leadersignificance of the Congress action or deceiving ourselves ship of the Polish Communist Party, which was expelled laugh. Nobody in the world believes that - except Dulles; and others about its purpose.

In the Name of Lenin

It does not mean the end of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and on the international field. Far from it. The assembled bureaucrats at the Congress, who are the product of the abominable system and the representatives of its privileged beneficiaries, hope to preserve Stalinism by unloading Stalin and repudiating the hateful cult associated with his name. But the repudiation by Trotsky. of the cult may very well mark the beginning of the end of the system just the same.

It is remarkable how differently the successors of Stalin treat his name, than Stalin found it necessary to treat the name of Lenin. Stalin, the imposter, treated the name of Lenin with a great outward show of reverence. He claimed to be the best disciple of Lenin. The whole development of Stalinism, which was a counterrevolutionary reaction against the heritage of Lenin, was passed off as a continuation of Leninism. The international revolution, the heart of Lenin's program, was betraved by Stalin in the name of Lenin.

All this deceitful pretense of reverence for Lenin was necessary because Lenin lived in the memory of the Russian masses as the personification of the great revolution, and the masses loved his name for that. But how different it is with the name of Stalin. The bureaucrats revolution in 1936, and the murder of the Spanish necessary and expedient, only three years after the

says - this is really rich, and it must have been an going and unconditional, and included everything con- fools and traitors may suggest, but it was an incident on afterthought that they put in after the proofs were al- nected with his name after he came to power. That was the road to it. A faltering, hesitant reflection in the Soviet superficial observers as all-powerful because it ruled by ready drawn, and they got the reports from the Moscow possible because Mussolini himself was executed by his tops of a mighty revolutionary impulse from below; a Congress -- "Comrade Foster has fought at all times for enemies, the revolutionary masses of Italy, and revolu- promise of reform in the police state regime, a verbal collective leadership in the party." No mention of Stalin tions do not stop at half measures. The repudiation of gesture of appeasement in the hope of heading off the

The Stalin cult is a dead duck; there is no question more limited. They were willing, so far, to say only that Congress are really intended to signify. That and nothing than anything else to the defeats of the international death, without naming the most atrocious crimes of Stal-

The Moscow Trials

Those 20 years which they have now proscribed and repudiated, include the 1936-1937 period. The years dur-

ing which they say his rule was wrong, are the years in The press of the American Stalinists also forgot to which the Old Bolsheviks — the noblest, the most heroic some of the victims of the purges, specifically by name.

> in 1938, is now declared to have been framed-up - 18 and he doesn't believe it either - he only says it. years after the event.

Declarations were made at the Congress that Stalin's Four Signs of the Trend "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union"

is false and has to be re-written. That follows from the present decision to repudiate the last 20 years of Stalinism. But that still leaves ten years unaccounted for --

and repudiating the specific crimes that were committed in the name of that cult; without repudiating the whole theory and practice of Stalinism on a national and international scale since the death of Lenin. They haven't yet said anything about the long, monstrous record of Stalinism in the international labor movement.

Why Did They Do It?

That record includes the betrayal of the Chinese said anything yet about the betrayal of the Spanish carried through.

The Moscow Congress was not the revolution, and it The repudiation of the Mussolini cult was thorough- does not signify the restoration of Soviet democracy, as represented a national-reformist adaptation to them. the Stalin cult, by the friends and heirs of Stalin, was storm - that is what the pronouncements of the Moscow

form may be entirely different than the Stalinist bureau- blution. crats at the Congress intended. It has happened that way more than once in history. An outlived autocracy whose continued existence is made impossible by new objective conditions, can hasten its own downfall by inadequate concessions as well as by ineffective terror. Reforms

The Congress repudiation of the Stalin cult was Europe and China. prompted by internal Russian conditions, not by external ones. The whole world is laughing at the claim of Dulles I read one dispatch which said that Bela Kun, the that he caused the Moscow turn by shooting off his big Hungarian leader who perished in one of the purges, has mouth. The claim that the Washington imperialists comnow been officially recognized as falsely accused; and a pelled the repudiation of the Stalin cult; or that they eulogistic article was published in Pravda as if nothing care a hoot about it; or that, as a matter of fact, in the present world situation they are in any position to compel serious concessions of any kind from the Soviet bloc and the colonial people, is really enough to make the world

No, that part of the Congress - the repudiation of the Stalin cult — was determined by internal considerations. It was meant as a concession to the Soviet masses — and the crucial first ten years when the regime of Stalin was in part perhaps, as a concession to the democratic-minded consolidated in the course of a political counter-revolu- workers in the capitalist world, and to the colonial masses, Stalinist regime. It is meant above all as a gesture of They swear off the cult of Stalin without specifying conciliation with the deepest sentiments of the Soviet workers and the workers in the satellite countries - offered in the hope of heading off the gathering storm by the promise of reforms.

> The Congress action is not the first indication of this storm. As I see it, we have already had four signs of the real trend of thought in the Soviet masses since the death of Stalin — two of them from the top and two from below.

The first indication, from the top, intended to forestall the masses, was the promise of reforms in the regime

as soon as the successors of Stalin took over. Before they revolution in 1926; and the betrayal of the German had the tyrant buried they were promising a relaxation workers in 1933, which made possible the victory of of the Stalinist terror. Hardly a week had gone by when Hitler and all its terrible consequences for the German they announced that the big case against the Jewish docworking class and for the people of Europe. They haven't tors had been exposed as a frame-up and would not be

The first promises of reforms in the regime had a assembled at the 20th Congress, who are the true heirs revolutionists by the Stalinist gunmen sent there for double effect. They not only encouraged the Soviet masses revolution of their own in the Thirties, they have built a of Stalin and owe their positions to his favor, are already that purpose. They haven't mentioned yet the Stalin and the workers of the satellite countries to demand more. great trade union movement of 17 million, and are on the ashamed and afraid to acknowledge him. They found it Hitler pact, which precipitated the Second World War They also nourished some delusions in our own ranks eve of the next advance to political and class conscious-They haven't mentioned the policy of social patriot, about the "self-reform" of the Soviet bureaucracy, and ness. tyrant died, to repudiate his name at a formal congress. ism adopted by all the Stalinist parties allied with the prepared the way for the capitulatory treachery of a There was a profound reason for their action, and Soviet Union during the Second World War. Under this wretched little group of turncoats who have been snugpolicy the shameful Stalinists in this country joined the gling up to Stalinism in the pages of the American Socialist. camp of the imperialist masters and became the chief The Soviet workers were not taken in by this counsel advocates of the no-strike pledge and the most zealous strikebreakers. In the service of Stalin they applauded of treachery about the voluntary self-reform of the Stalinour prosecution in Minneapolis in 1943 - the first prose ist bureaucracy. The second and third powerful indications of their real sentiments came from below. The East cution under the Smith Act-and appealed to the German workers rose in revolt in June, 1953. That was unions to refuse contributions to our legal defense. followed — in July, 1953, and as a result of it — by the The Moscow Congress didn't say anything about the betrayal of the revolution in Europe immediately after mass strike in the Vorkuta forced labor camp. There can the war. The French partisans and the Italian partisans be no doubt that these momentous actions, lightning more than 48 million. Its ranks have been multiplied ten, had power in their hands, but they were disarmed by the flashes of the coming revolutionary storm, were sparked policy of Stalinism. The communist workers were demory by the death of Stalin and the first promises of reforms alized by the Stalinist policy of collaboration with the by his successors. The revolt of the East German workers bourgeoisie. Representatives of the Communist parties in and the strike of the prisoners in the Vorkuta forced labor Italy and France went into bourgeois cabinets and helped camp, were deadly serious revolutionary actions - glorious harbingers of great events to come. to stabilize the regime and stifle the revolution. The fourth indication and recognition of the anti-They haven't yet repudiated another typical manifes. The fourth indication and recognition of the anti-tation of Stalinism here in the United States. That is the Stalinist sentiment of the masses in the Soviet Union, present policy of the Communist Party, advising the comes now in a new set of promises from the top by the workers to be good Democrats and join the Democratic 20th Congress. They are far more sweeping than the orig-Party along with the bankers and the industrialists and inal promises of three years ago, and their effects can the Dixiecrats, and vote for the Democratic Party in order be all the greater. We ought to see these decisions in their true light, as another incident in the interaction of to serve the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin gang.

capitalist powers. The monstrous phenomenon of Stalinism grew up out of these unfavorable conditions, and

Stalinism, which impressed the philistines and the terror, in reality arose in the Twenties out of the weakened position and the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union, and the defeats of the workers and colonial peoples on the international arena. Stalinism contributed more revolution, and it flourished on these defeats. Stalinism But the results of the gesture and the promise of re- was the reactionary ideology of the ebb tide of the rev-

All the old conditions that favored Stalinism in that time are changed now. The laws of permanent revolution, elucidated by Trotsky, proved to be stronger than the Stalinist terror and treachery. Despite Stalinism, isolated, backward peasant Russia, thanks to the revolution that granted in the hope of staving off a mass revolt can, by gave it birth, has become the second industrial power in their revelation of fear and weakness, act as a spur to the the world. Despite Stalinism and its theory of socialism revolt. This can also be the result of the new turn of in one country, the capitalist encirclement has been broken by the extension of the soviet system to Eastern¹²

The colonial revolution is on the rise everywhere. The labor movement of Western Europe is strongly organized and militant, and since the end of the Second World War has been restrained from revolution only by Stalinism. Only the cursed influence of Stalinism stands today between the European workers and their victory over their own capitalism. But the great masses of the revolutionary workers, who have been deceived and be-2 fuddled by Stalinism, are also changing and are also demanding a different policy.

I pick up this issue of the Sunday New York Times. Here's a dispatch on the front page about the revolutionary developments in the ranks of the Stalinist party of Italy. It is headed "Dissident Red Bloc in Italy Protests 'Soft' Party Line" — and the first two paragraphs read as follows:

"ROME, March 3 - Six hundred avowed but rebellious Communists, wearing cloth caps and red scarves as a kind of uniform, marched through the streets of Rome tion against the heritage of Lenin, which was defended who have been repelled by the police-state terror of the this morning shouting protests against their party's leadership. They accused it of being inept and lacking in the courage to lead the Italian proletariat in a revolution against capitalism.

"The 600 marchers, who boasted that they represented 1,000,000 Communists, were delegates from all parts of Italy to a meeting of self-styled Democratic Communists. This is a movement that aims to lead communism back to its Marxist and Leninist line."

Good news from Italy, right after the good news from Russia!

Russian and American Workers

And the American workers, who were an atomized mass when Stalinism first came to power, without even trade union organization, except in a small stratum of skilled workers - these same American workers have arisen out of nothingness in the meantime. Out of a semi-

that reason is the key to the riddle. I think it is clear now, as Trotsky always said, that the cult of Stalin was the cult of the privileged bureaucrats. It was never the faith of the masses of the Soviet workers. Despite all the years that Stalin ruled after the death of Lenin; despite all the falsification of history, all the crooked, lying propaganda; all the suppression of free opinion, all the terror, all the frame-ups and murders; all the attempts to bury the murdered opponents of Stalin under tons of official slander, and the official deification of Stalindespite all that, the cult of Stalin never took hold among the Soviet workers. They never believed it.

That is now implicitly recognized by the proclamations of the 20th Congress. The simple fact that the Congress felt impelled to repudiate Stalin, bears testimony to a powerful revulsion of the Soviet masses against everything connected with his name. That revulsion of the masses against the name and the memory of Stalin was the mass pressure behind the Congress. And now, with the stamp of "legality" placed on the true sentiments of the masses, this pressure will grow stronger and will bring far greater repercussions than this first formal action.

The Logic of Concessions

We see proof every day that the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools in ing trial on the charge of murder. the United States stimulated the struggle of the Negro people for equal rights all along the line. So, in the same way, we can expect that the Moscow Congress action will encourage the workers in the Soviet Union and as the promise.

dancing in the streets of the forced labor camps. The political prisoners of Stalinism, who number millions in the Soviet Union, look forward now to the end of their long agony. There can be no doubt that the Soviet masses will seize upon these Congress pronouncements as a banner in their struggle to end the long nightmare of police-state tyranny which bears the name of Stalinism

History does not know another repudiation of a cult coming so soon after the death of the individual who personified it, without a revolution accompanying the death of the tyrant. It is true that the cult of Mussolini

They have repudiated the cult of Stalin but they movements from below and gestures from the top; as a haven't yet repudiated Stalinism and the crimes of Stalin-possible, and indeed, probable factor in the acceleration did in 1917. The appearance of the mighty Soviet proism. That is something like a professional criminal plead of the whole process, which is moving toward the goal of letariat as an independent force on the international ing guilty to spitting on the sidewalk in the hope of avoid a complete political revolution in the Soviet Union.

The Moscow bureaucrats have made a start — that Will Capitalism Benefit? cannot be denied, or ignored. They have confessed some-

thing, but they haven't confessed enough yet. They said The political revolution against Stalinism in the Soviet spire a revival of the revolutionary movement in America. "A," but they choked over "B." But in the political alpha Union will give no support to the imperialists' dreams of the satellite countries to demand the real thing as well bet, "B" follows after "A," and we can be confident that a capitalist restoration. On the contrary, it is an essential it will be said in due time. If the heirs of Stalin cannotpart of the international revolution against capitalism,

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the long- yet say "B," because to do so they would have to repudi-and will coincide with it. The destruction of Stalinism scale. That, plus the other forces already maturing, would oppressed Soviet workers have received the Congress ate themselves, the Soviet workers, whose burning hatredbrings with it the destruction of capitalism.

reports as tidings of great joy, and have lifted up their of every memory of the Stalinist regime is the driving Stalinism is the most monstrous perversion of the hearts in hope. There is jubilation in the factories and force behind these first partial disavowals, will say it forworkers' movement ever known in history. It has been and remains the chief support of world capitalism, and them — and against them.

The repudiation of the Stalin cult at the Moscow Con-the chief obstruction to the revolution in the labor movegress is an echo in the top bureaucratic circles of thement of the world. But Stalinism's days are numbered ominous rumble of the coming political revolution in thenow. The basic conditions for its emergence and triumph Soviet Union. Nothing less than a complete political rev-have radically changed, and are still changing in the same olution will do there. It is not merely the cult of Stalindirection. The Russian workers - and this is the big new as a person, but Stalinism as a political system, that mustfact — the Russian workers today are no longer the weak the whole colonial world; and the mighty working class be repudiated and overthrown. That can be done only byand scattered mass of a few million, surrounded by a of the United States and Europe - here in these three a revolution of the Soviet workers.

The goal of this revolution is the unconditional re-years ago. pudiation of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one At that time their ranks had been decimated in the for freedom, peace and socialism. country," which was the motivation of all the crimes and revolution and the long civil war and the war of inter died with him on the same day, on the same meathook betrayals, and the reaffirmation of the Lenin-Trotsky pro-vention that followed it, and the survivors were worn from which the fascist monster was hanged upside down gram of proletarian internationalism; the overthrow of theout from their super-human exertions. At that time the beginning of the vindication of Trotsky. His theory of on the public square by the revolutionary partisans of Stalinist police-state in the Soviet Union and the restora-international revolution, to which they had looked for revolutionary development is finding confirmation in world Italy. Stalin escaped the fate of Mussolini, which was tion of Soviet democracy; the abolition of the privilegedaid and reinforcement, had been defeated and pushed events in one country after another - and now once his due. Stalin didn't die in the right way, and that caste; a complete review of the frame-up trials and purgesback all along the line. World capitalism had attained a again in Russia. All that he foresaw and explained to us. caused a slight delay in the burial of his cult along with and a vindication of their victims. These are the demandshew stabilization after the first post-war upheavals. and

While all these favorable changes take place in the camp of the working class and of the colonial people, the decaying system of world capitalism is plunged deeper into a crisis from which it cannot escape, and grows weaker by the day.

This radical change of the whole world situation is the objective basis, first, for the formal repudiation of the Stalin cult in words, and next, for the revolutionary overthrow of Stalinism in deeds. And there is the power to make good that program.

The Soviet proletariat today is a new young class of times in the 30 years since the first rise of Stalinism. It has become a skilled and trained working class, grown, strong and self-confident in great achievements in the Second World War and in the post-war reconstruction. These 48 million Soviet workers are a mighty power, Taking all their resources together, they may be an even greater power than the American working class in the big events next on the agenda, for they are inspired by the memory and the tradition of three revolutions in the past 50 years.

The tradition of revolutionary victories in the past multiplies the powers and potentialities of the class. Once they begin to move again, after the long suppression and the long terror, they will shake the world again - as they arena, which is now clearly foreshadowed, can qualitatively change class relationships on a world scale in favor of the workers and the colonial peoples.

Once again, as in 1917, the Russian workers can in-And the politicalization of the American workers, which would be the first result, in turn would add all that is, needed for the victory of socialism on an international signify the end of capitalism and the beginning of the socialist reorganization of the world.

The perspectives before us are breath-taking. And they are not the perspectives of a dim and distant future, but of the epoch in which we live and struggle now. We should take heart, for we have great allies. The Russian workers, breaking out of the prison of Stalinism and taking the road of international revolutionary action once again; great China and the revolutionary movement of peasant sea, who succumbed to the Stalinist terror 30 forces is the invincible "Triple Alliance" which can change the world and rule the world, and make it safe

The end of the Stalin cult, which is a part of the revolutionary development in the world, signifies the

(Continued on page 3)



A New Threat to Freedom of Speech

The AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers took the lead March 17 in blasting the Johnson bill now before Congress. This omnibus bill, dealing with election practice, would among other things eliminate free debate on the air waves.

The bill is jointly sponsored by 63 senators of every section of the Republican and Democratic parties ranging from the so-called liberal senators, like Wayne Morse, to the extreme right wing of Eastland, McCarthy and Jenner.

Pushed by the lobby of the big radio and TV chains it is painted up in typical double talk as a bill to insure free electronic debate on public issues. This strangling measure would above all insure the elimination of any real debate from the air.

On the biggest issue agitating the country today, that of civil rights, this bill's passage would insure a conspiracy of silence.

The two Big Business parties through their principal candidates are cooking up a "gentlemen's agreement" not to permit civil rights to become an issue during the campaign. Both parties are so covered with guilt for the denial of basic civil rights to the Negro people that they want, above all, to keep this burning issue buried during the campaign.

At the present time under the provision

of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act any time given or sold to one candidate must be offered to all other candidates. This rule, which has been enforced more as an exception than otherwise, is, however, a legal right that the radio and TV chains are forced to recognize. Through this act, for example, millions of citizens were permitted to hear the candidates of the Socialist Workers Much has been written on the Party.

These candidates brought to the air waves genuine debate and refreshing relief from the usual canned demagogy of the typical capitalist candidate. Invariably during these broadcasts the professional personnel of stations concerned with programming would remark on the introduction of real life whenever an SWP candidate would appear on the air. Now the bill if passed would make this appearance almost impossible. A series of clauses defining "political candidates" would to all intents and purposes eliminate all except the Democratic and Republican candidates from the air.

Radio and TV ownership is passing into ern, formed in the tough school Johnson bill passes, the billionaire's monopoly of the air will join with the monopoly of political expression to choke off the last vestige of freedom from the air.

Faulkner Abandons Freedom Fight

William Faulkner, famous novelist and Mississippi liberal, has aired his views on the current struggle of the Negro people in "A Letter to the North," appearing in the March 5 Life magazine, and in an interview in the Reporter, March 26. In both, Faulkner plays — whether consciously or unconsciously is unimportant — the classically traitorous role of the liberal when the chips are down.

He warns the Negro people and their supporters to desist from further struggle for civil rights in the South. He threatens that if the pressure against the Southern Jim Crow system is not tapered off now federal intervention will result and then he and other Southern liberals, who have deplored and criticized certain aspects of the white-supremacy system, will be forced onto the side of the white supremacists. "As long as there's a middle road, all right, I'll be on it. But if it came to fighting I'd fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the streets and shooting Negroes." the Nobel prize author warns.

"A. Absolutely. To produce cotton we have to have a system of peonage. That is absolutely what is at the bottom of the situation.

"Q. Are the psychological rationalizations for prejudice something grafted onto feet on the ground. He is linked brought it down." the root?

"A. Yes. I would say that a planter who has a thousand acres wants to keep the Negro in a position of debt peonage and in order to do it he is going (to name only him) incarnate to tell the poor class of white folks that the Negro is going to violate his race and labor." daughter. But all he wants at the back of it is a system of peonage to produce

his cotton at the highest rate of profit."

sions of the injustice, illegality and brutal material base of Jim Crow, will tend to

(Continued from page 1) for Faulkner's candor. If unwary, he may, shreds, as some in our ranks to Marxist theory and practice, as was intended, continue nodding agree-ment with the conclusion — that the Ne-

three weeks ago, I spoke to a white man who was well informed on the events and peronalities in the Montgomery anti-segregation protest movement. In the course of a discussion on the role of the labor movement in the civil rights struggle, he told me that he knew of an old time Negro trade unionist in Montgomery who was, as much as any other single person, "at the bottom of the whole movement there."

This statement did not come as a complete surprise to me. identity of interest between the labor movement and the Negro people. In 1948, the noted French journalist. Daniel Guerin. author of "Fascism and Big Business, toured the South in preparation

for an exhaustive sociological Birmingham, Ala., was none study of the United States. His other than E. D. Nixon! I met book was published in its French him later at a press interview edition in 1951 and is soon to be held March 3 in his comfortable released in an English-language brick house on a hill in Montedition. One passage says: "I met a number of them gomery

E. D. NIXON

Mr. Nixon, who still works as (Negro trade union leaders) in the South, and I admired their class consciousness, their matubetween Montgomery and Chirity, their dynamic quality. It is cago, is a slim, dark, very tall incontestable to me that a new generation of Negro cadres is developing, realistic and modfewer and fewer hands. And now, if the of trade unionism, and that the just start asking questions," he they tell you your application effects of this germination will said.

soon be fully felt both in labor and in the Negro community... from the union movement in this bus boycott, Mr. Nixon?" "A living example of this evo-

lution," Guerin wrote, "was pre-"We don't call it a boycott," sented to me by E.D. Nixon of he said in his outspoken manner. Montgomery, Alabama, a vigorous colored union militant who of things over the years. It is said this many times during the was the leading spirit in his city deep-rooted. We always called interview. both of the local union of Sleepit a protest.

ing Car Porters and the local "Yes, we get some help. Judgbranch of the NAACP. What a ing from the size of a contribudifference from other branches tion we got from an Auto Workof the Association, which are ers union up in Detroit they controlled by dentists, pastors, must be interested in us. They and the Mayor wouldn't let them. and undertakers! Nixon has both didn't just send it either, they

to the masses. He speaks their language. He has organized the active in the protest movement work of race defense with the here?"

"We've got all kinds of people precision and method of a trade unionist. Men like E. D. Nixon in the Montgomery Improvement Association. We've got ministers the alliance which has at last and school teachers, and doctors been consummated between the and business men and labor people and union members. Mrs. to go back on the buses and The man of whom my white Ida Mae Cardwell is on the finan- fight it out in the courts, but it friend told me that night in cial committee. She is financial was too late for that. One



nod his head in agreement and admiration in nor to tear him to political for "his noteworthy contributions Khrushchev cult! But the workers of Moscow

secretary of the Amalgamated woman jumped up and said Tim to snap up the charter, and build Clothing Workers Local 490 gonna keep walkin' until I can a non-segregated union . . . but

limb to help those people get that."

WOMEN SPARKED FIGHT "We heard that mostly women

that true, Mr. Nixon?"

and half. Of course, the women are really in there. We never had a man arrested for refusing to give up his seat on a bus or anything. They just got off, or something. The women were the ones who made the stand."

tried to register to vote for ter years, and finally had to sue in 1944. In spite of the court ruling, the battle for the ballot has not been won . . . In 1944 we had 208 registered voters who were Negroes, and part of them had left town or died. Since that

to go down to register, but registered to vote in the whole county. . . . They pull all kinds must be processed and you'll

whites? do, mostly you don't."

let them fall saying, "The white man just goes on doing wrong "This is a protest against a lot to keep from doing right." He

"Where do you think this proprotest movement. "I wish I knew the answer. I

UNION POLICY settle, but the City Commission This all could have been settled if they'd have just sat down like

segregation policy?" after time over this bus situation, but we got nothing but the

'KEEP WALKING UNTIL ... " "When we filed the suit around Feb 1 or 2 we brought a motion

sit in them seats I been stand- some people have a hard time He smiled a little as he said, in' alongside of for all these seeing their openings.'

"Do you think white workers her and that was the end of will go along with desegregated unions?

"I think so, they've got to. The South will never be free and so on to scare people, Mr. until the Negro frees himself and frees the white man . . .

Big business has kept the poor saying: "Now let's have this white man fooled for years by understood right here, they don't telling him that they could get throw bombs just to scare peo-Negroes to work for less . . . ple." He showed us the brick He told a story about the orpillar that deflected a bomb ganization of a plant in Montwhich had exploded in his front gomery. "The Coplin plant had yard. "If that bomb hadn't just trouble getting organized . . . happened to hit that pillar and they asked me to speak to the bounced off, it would have come people out there . . . there was right through the window into a white man working there that this room where Mrs. Nixon was they followed, and he was keepsitting." He described the screen ing them from being organized." which had deflected the bomb He told about checking up on thrown at Rev. Martin Luther this man before the meeting. He King's front window. If it hadn't saw where the man lived. "It been for that screen, he said, was an old wood shack up on that bomb would have exploded blocks with outhouses in back, inside the house where Rev. and his kids had to walk through King's wife and infant child the mud to get to school. At the

were sitting at the time. meeting, I just talked right to "Well, do you think there is that man, and that's what I going to be any more of that?" talked about . . . If they think "It's hard to say. The only so much of you why don't they way we can sleep here at night pay you enough to live in a is to take the phone off the decent house, why don't they hook, we get so many threatengive you enough money to live decent? . . . I live in a brick ing calls at night. They aren't scaring anyone though. Them house . . I make good money days are gone. People don't scare and I belong to a union . . .

"When I was done he got up "Do you get any support from and he used a word I don't like but this is what he said: 'I never

thought I'd see the day I'd be "Not much. I can see their point. Unless a gang of them talked into joining a union by come out they are really up a nigger, but I'm convinced. Let's join.' " against it." He told of a white woman who was forced to leave

ALABAMA BOYCOTT LAW town by harassment from White Nixon spoke angrily now, Citizens Councils because she Why if the State of Alabama had openly sympathized with the

convicts us on this boycott law what's going to happen to the next strike? It's going to be

"Do you think the AFL-CIO illegal, that's what, white or should take a stronger stand in black, it won't have a chance." favor of the announced anti-"How is it that you have been able to stick it out in this city 'Why yes. That's the only for so many years, Mr. Nixon,

thing to do. The AFL has been in spite of your stand on civil bad on this thing, but the CIO rights and unions?' "Well. I've got a good job. If

came in and organized the they were going to fire me Negroes and whites together. Traditions don't change themthey'd have done it a long time ago, so I figured I didn't have selves, you've got to change them. The recent railroad strike to worry about that. We've been was the best chance the Negro threatened so many times I used railroad workers ever had to to get a little disappointed when get out of being 'auxiliaries.' I didn't get one of those phone They needed us in that strike. calls for a couple of weeks. But That was the time to change I've got a wonderful wife. She things. Some people have a hard goes along all the way.

He said that now that there is time seeing an opportunity when a big movement in Montgomery it shows up. When the Alapama teachers pulled out of the fighting for justice for Negroes. national organization because of There is a lot of work involved, its desegregation stand, that was but it is not as lonely as 20 the time for the Negro teachers | years ago.

here."

my baby. I went way out on a organized.

go to the protest meetings. Is

"Oh, I think it's about half

a sleeping car porter on the run we've still only got 2,100 Negroes rawboned man. He introduced of stuff to keep us from getting;

"I kind of think of that local as years.' Everybody joined in with "Do you think there is going

to be any more bomb throwing Nixon?" He sat forward in his chair

He spoke of the long fight for civil rights over the years. "

time we get about 3,000 a year

anymore.'

the reporters to Mrs, Nixon, sat registered. You go down and fill us down in the living room, and out the application with 21 quesgot right to the point: "You tions on it. If you are a Negro,

"Are you receiving any help hear from them. Sometimes you

He raised his long arms and

test is going to go, Mr. Nixon?"

think the bus company wants to

"Are there many union people reasonable people. We met time

runaround.



- Page Three

As the history of the workers' struggle in every country of the globe has shown repeatedly, liberals can serve the oppressors in ways the outright reactionaries can't.

A Senator Eastland can get no hearing from those in favor of civil rights, but a Faulkner can. Scorning and realizing the ineffectiveness of the "master race" and "Southern womanhood" claptrap that Eastland would use, Faulkner concedes that segregation is wrong morally and legally and that the Negroes are right in their demands for equality. He even goes further. Listen to this exchange in the **Reporter interview:**

"Q. Is the basic cause of race prejudice economic, in your opinion?

The workers of Algeria have broken

with the French-dominated trade unions and have set up their own national labor movement. This represents a giant step forward and will help mobilize the organized workers in Algeria more effectively on the side of the war for independence.

Both the Stalinist controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the Socialist dominated Workers' Force (FO) have had the Algerian workers organized as mere appendages to the French Trade Unions. In North Africa both these organizations represent predominantly the interests of the privileged European workers. They have kept the leadership of the union tightly in the hands of the European labor aristocracy, excluding the Algerians from all posts of leadership and genuine representation.

USTA (Federation of Algerian Workers Unions) was set up on Feb. 14. In the statement of its General Secretary, M. Ramdani, it aims to fight not only for the economic interests of the Algerian workers but also in defense of general democratic freedom and human rights. It is significant that USTA, taking a stand against racism, invites European workers in North Africa to join.

By far the strongest French union federation is the Stalinist-led CGT. In breaking with the CGT, Algerian workers are demonstrating also what they think of the leadership of the French Communist

ig uttered. gro people must now call a halt to their STALIN'S DISCIPLE struggle.

Foster owes a great deal to Fortunately, the Negro masses are not Stalin. For approximately 30 going to pay any attention to Faulkner's years he has been a faithful disadvice. They are going to press the strug- ciple and "sponsor of the Stalin

gle for their centuries-long deferred rights. | cult" in the American CP. He This is going to put on the spot not only Faulkner but the Northern liberals, who that day in October 1928 when in the North are echoing his cry of "desist."

Faulkner's line is to place the blame on the Negro people for any further outrages | by James P. Cannon. committed by the racists. The argument will be that they brought it on themselves by their lack of "moderation" in demanding what is legally and morally theirs. thereby inciting the white supremacists, who are only doing what comes naturally in a racist society.

French Stalinism and Algeria

Party and its stand on the burning issue of Algerian independence. Again and again the interests of the Algerian workers have been bargained away cynically by the Stalinist leaders as part of the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the French capitalists, who have exploited and segregated the Algerian workers.

Burned deep into the memory of Algerian workers is the fact that it was a Government of the Popular Front of France in 1936 that proscribed their organizations. The Communist Party had ministers sitting in the cabinet at that time. Al- cent 75th birthday he was eulogerians will never forget that in 1945 a gized by other Stalinist leaders C.P. member was minister in the French government that exacted 45,000 casualties in before his death. So much so, from the Algerian fighters for inde- that a prominent fellow-travelpendence.

That the contempt and hatred of the Algerian workers for the French Stalinist leaders is fully justified was proven once again on March 13. On that day, the large rather maudlin testaments. to C.P. contingent of Deputies voted in the French National Assembly for the Mollet Government's request for extraordinary powers to deal with the Algerian situation in typical imperialist fashion. "Socialist" Mollet announced he would use repressive measures and rushed re-enforcements to the colonial garrison in Algeria as soon as leader cult everywhere in the the powers were granted. On March 21, Ambassador to France C. Douglas Dillon put U.S. imperialism's stamp of approval on Mollet's bloody program.

class." And more in the same vein.

FOSTER'S 'EXPLANATION' Now for a Marxist "theoretinever failed "to rush indignantly to the defense of Stalin," since it should be a simple matter to have to be answered. he joined with Lovestone and explain the origin, meaning and Browder to illegally expel from

development of the Stalin cult. the Communist Party the Trotskyist left opposition group led years of deep immersion in its

womb. Let's listen! The Cannon group asked only "Very probably," pontificates that they be allowed to discuss Foster in the Daily Worker, within the party Trotsky's crit-March 16, "all this will be made icism of the Draft Program of clear in the review of this past the Communist Party, adopted in 1928 as the Stalinist world the Soviet Union." And if this program at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. a scientific Marxist explanation, Foster knew that Stalin was in-Foster adds: "We may be content upon suppressing Trotsky's fident, that from this situation, criticism as he was informed that the document in question had to be smuggled out of the

Soviet Union in order to get it before the CP members here. soling! He made his decision then, and has never deviated since, to become part and parcel of the Stalin cult, whose hallmark was the destruction of internal party democracy, suppression and murder of intransigent communist

leaders and members who dared oppose his views, and the creation of the cult of infallibility. And what does Foster say now?

On the occasion of Foster's rein tones reminiscent of the sickening idolatry showered on Stal-

ler, Ring Lardner, Jr., was constrained to demur in a letter to the editor published in the Daily Worker of March 18. "I wonder,"

said Lardner, "if some of the William Z. Foster on his recent birthday are really the most mature and effective way of acknowledging the respect due America's outstanding workingclass leader." Lardner does not seem to understand that the cult of Stalin in Russia required the cult of Foster here and the

world Stalinist movement. In the Daily Worker of March 19 Foster was eulogized by Eugene Dennis in the unrestrained

tional Chairman (who) is a true the same point that Clark directs scientist: having mastered the at Ulbricht. A New York Times social science of the working dispatch, March 19, reports that workers in the Soviet Union are seeking an answer to the ques-

tion: "What were the present leaders of the Communist Party doing during the years of Stalcian, educator and historian," in's misrule and crimes?" A perof Greek descent protesting the and a "true scientist," to boot, tinent question and one that will exile of Archbilshop Makarios. A

For nigh onto 30 years the members of the American Comespecially after 30 pregnant munist Party have been taught to accept without thinking. Now

they are told that this method population. They want enosis was the result of a cult of inunity with Greece. Makarios is fallibility deliberately fostered by the official leader of the enosis Stalin and his henchmen which movement. The British Governhas visited infinite harm upon ment, which has made Cyprus its period now getting under way in the working class movement and command post in the Middle endangered the defense of the East, exiled the archbishop to a doesn't satisfy your hunger for Soviet Union. If serious about small island in the Indian Ocean. fighting cultism, CP members The banning of Makarios also will have to begin to learn to touched off demonstrations by think. And in this connection workers and students in major the Communist Party of the there is no better way to close USSR will draw valuable and than to quote a statement by constructive political and or- Lenin which appeared on the ganizational lessons." How con- masthead of the very first issue of The Militant, November 15, What Foster is here preach- 1928:

ing is what he has been practic-"It is necessary that every ing for 30 years and what is member of the Party should still the poisonous source of the study calmly and with the great-Stalin cult. Wait, he says, in est objectivity, first the subhis truest scientific manner, wait scance of the differences of op-

until Moscow has told us what inion, and then the development to say and do and then that will of the struggles within the be passed along as the distilled | Party. Neither the one nor the essence of Marxist wisdom. Fos- other can be done unless the ter stands ready to accept the documents of both sides are pub-

word and deed of Stalin's closest lished. He who takes somebody's collaborators in Moscow now, as word for it is a hopeless idiot, he did before. For Foster nothing who can be disposed of with a basic has changed. The Stalin simple gesture of the hand."



(Continued from page 2)

his disciples, is being demonstrated in life as true. And says Hughes, "in a country where most whites particularly we, who have fought long years under his banner, salute the farmers . . . are more than his glorious name again today. We are surer than ever anxious to retain their African that we have been right. We have more reason than ever labor in white areas, the prosto fight without compromise for the full program of pect of a segregation slowdown Trotskyism. And we have more reason than ever for which would assure them labor but which would ensure conconfidence in victory. tinued white supremacy might

Our victory will be more than the victory of a faction win even more support for the or a party — for the factional and party struggle is and government. Likeliest outcome has been the expression of the international struggle of therefore, is continued utilizaclasses. The vindication and victory of Trotskyism will tion of non-white labor in white areas, with continued withholdcoincide with, and fully express, the victory of the intering of political advancement national working class, in the struggle against the capitalfrom non-whites on the grounds ist exploiters and the Stalinist traitors, for the socialist that they do not belong there.' language of a cultist. Among reorganization of the world. In short, South Africa will have



* * *

BRITISH PARATROOPERS ON | the same Jim Crow system as CYPRUS used tear gas to break the U.S. in the South. up demonstrations of Cypriotes

BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRI-CAN governments are schedulgeneral strike, March 11, paralyzing talks "to improve the milited the island and remained solid ary defense of sub-Saharan [that in the face of British threats to is, Negro] Africa," reports the use force. Greek Cypriotes make March 15 Christian Science Monup four-fifths of the island's itor. The talks are motivated by fear of Soviet aid offers to such countries as Liberia and strong Egyptian bids for leadership of the African anti-imperialist struggle. Radio Cairo has been onducting a steady propaganda campaign "for the liberation of this great and wealthy continent from the imperialist foreigners."

* * *

cities of Greece and clashes with IN FINLAND, a three-weekslong general strike ended March the police. The British flag was burned in Athens and Salonika, 19. Though terms of settlement and the government posted solwere not announced, indications diers around the British and U.S. are the 200,000 members of the mbassies. Slogans on banners Trade Union Federation who included, "America help us or get waged the strike won substanout of Greece!" and "Englishmen tial gains. At the start unions equal Nazis, Eden equals Hitler!" had demanded a 6.7% wage increase to make up for food price

rises. The employers association IN SOUTH AFRICA, "aparfinally conceded this raise on theid," or race segregation, is March 16. The labor leaders being "modified," according to then demanded an additional 5 John Hughes in the March 15 to 9% increase to be included Christian Science Monitor. The in new collective bargaining program of Prime Minister agreements, with the employers Strijdom, on the basis of which offering up to 3% as of that he won the 1953 elections, was date. The strike halted all transto separate completely the Neportation and mail deliveries. groes from the whites, including Newspapers were shut down, as their economy. However, "pracwere industries employing metal tical" difficulties stand in the workers, machinists, paper and way of complete territorial segpulp workers. regation - namely, the fact that



The Negro Struggle By John Thayer

The Big Question

Cowardly silence or incoherent mumbling by Northern politicians followed the defiant manifesto of 100 Southern Senators and Congressmen pledging reversal of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. This shows how little the pro-civil rights protestations of Northern liberals before Negro and labor audiences weigh against their corrupt alliance with the white-supremacists in Congress.

Some Negro leaders are now urging an end to the 20-year support of the Democrats and a switch to the Republican ticket in the coming elections. Negro Republicans are redoubling their propaganda with telling effect. What answer, for example, is there to a cartoon in the March 24 Afro-American which proclaims: "Beware - Every vote for a Democratic Senator is a vote for Sen. Eastland"? It is indisputable that the election of a Lehman or Wayne Morse may give Democrats the majority which means Democratic organization of the Senate - and hence Eastland as head of the important Judiciary Committee and racists heading practically every other committee. The same goes for the House. A Democratic president would permit the Southern wing to get its snout further into the executive department.

Some leaders are toying with a plan to switch the Negro vote to the Republican Party. The New York Herald-Tribune on March 19 front-paged an article entitled: "Negro Leaders Veer to Republican Party." It mentions among others L. E. Austin, editor of the militant Negro paper, the Carolina Times of Durham, N. C., and an unnamed "top figure in the NAACP." Such men, disgusted with the Demo-



anti-labor. They may be fooled, like white workers, into voting for the anti-labor ization as a voluntary movement Democratic party because of its Northern of Negro people who are tired of liberal window dressing but they will not getting "second class treatment follow leaders to the Republicans.

Who really runs the present Congress? The Southern Democrats and the reac- | first come, first served basis. They tionary Republicans! Who played footsie want Negro drivers hired on bus with Gov. Byrnes and the Dixiecrat Negro neighborhoods. racists? Eisenhower! What about the two Republican Congressmen from North Carolina? They, too, signed the Southern trial for each of the 90 defendmanifesto.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell has raised the possibility of a third party. This would still going on. No defense witbe a good first step. If the all-important nesses have as yet been called to the stand. Negro vote were cast for an independent third party then the labor leaders would PROSECUTION STRATEGY

soon have to join it or resign themselves to getting even less crumbs from the Democrats than they now do.

the prosecution tactics as time-Whether there will be such a third party tested union-busting methods now in 1956 is problematical. But it is certain directed against the Negro movethe Socialist Workers Party will be in the ment. They fall under the usual blanket charges of "conspiracy' race. Enemies of Jim Crow who cannot under which each defendant is stomach either the Democrats or Repubheld liable for all acts alleged licans can make a significant and effective against the movement as such. protest by voting SWP. Association are compelled to take

THE MILITANT MONDAY, MARCH 26, 1956

NUMBER 13

.. Montgomery Fighters Still Undaunted

vational union movement which in | into the labor movement on the basis of full equality.

its own self-interest should rally behind the Negro protest action. Negro fighters with the courage Labor should take heed at the growth of the White Citizens Councils which are more than aniti-Neerro. None other than the AFL-CIO executive council has termed them anti-union as well. And they are right, for the employers are using statements by White Oitizens Council leaders to oppose unionization of the

South Last February Senator Eastthe WCC and the progressive white workers who want to find

a basis for solidarity with the Negro workers?

In court here an anti-boycott law is being sharpened by use on the Negroes for future attacks on

the Southern union drive. Why then aren't the top union lawyers here to solidarize themselves with the Negro defense counsel in fighting the law as an unconstitutional device of the white ruling class?

White unionists are being drawn into the WCC through lack of leadership from the national ofis the mood of the Negro people ficials of their own organiza-

of this city. They say they have tions. Progressive whites who been patiently waiting 91 years want to follow a correct union to get their democratic rights and policy are intimidated by the WCC. Where are the scores of they don't intend to wait another 91 years while "moderation" forein this city giving leadership to action that really worries the stalls any hasty upsetting of 'traditions older than the repubthe white workers, drawing them lic." They are tired of being into a solid alliance with their pushed around. They want results Negro class brothers in opposition to the open shop?

now, not "gradually." The Negro people of Mont-Victory for the bus protest gomery are far from being alone movement means an advance for in that view. As the trial opened unionism in the South. A defeat would mean a bad setback for the here a Negro pastor in New unions as well. Why then isn't Orleans said, "It is Montgomery today, but it could be any place material aid from the union movetomorrow, even here in New ment pouring into Montgomery Orleans." Similarly the eyes and to help maintain the car pool hopes of Negroes throughout the which is so vital to the protest country are on this local protest movement? movement charting a vanguard The South will never be organ-

course for mass action in defense of Negro nights. Not only their brought into the unions. Today one in every four Southern workhopes but also their loval support, materially as well as ers is a Negro. As the rise of the morally, is with the Montgomery CIO demonstrated, their full allegiance to the unions can be

fighters. won, their full fighting power pects of a union drive in the The main thing missing here is the unqualified su

of those sparking the protest movement here will never be impressed, much less inspired, by union leaders who talk cautiously and act timidly, as do the top leaders of the AFL-CIO. They are men and women in whom the vital substance of vision, grit and determination flows. They want

The fight for Negro rights and the campaign to organize the South are inseparably connected. The unions and the Negro movement must march forward

shoulder to shoulder, mingling their powerful voices in the twin battle slogans: Full equality to the Negro

people! Complete unionization of the

and need and will follow leaders South!

similarly endowed



CHICAGO. March 17 - "The issue of civil rights is the main issue in the 1956 election." stated Jean Simon, author of the pamphlet, Desegregation! Labor's Stake in

the Sitnuggle for Negro Equality, at a well-attended public meet-**New York Forum** ing sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. "In spilte of the Aids Bus Boycott Democratic and Republican politicians the Negro movement has made it the Number One issue. In Montgomery The Negro masses have entered the pollitical scene . . . in battles like the Trumbull Park fight NEW YORK, March 18 - The which have exposed the hypocrisy contagious effect of militant of the Northern Democraits for

two years. flected here tonight at a meet-Calling for independent political action which in 1956 means a vote ing of the Militant Forum in for the SWP candidates. Mrs. Simon pointed out that "it is this union organizers who should be danger of independent political

segregationists." As an indication of their fears she quoted from the Wall Street Journal which stated: "While the Montgomeny bus boycott has become a Cross, Negro educator, and Miliwell-nublicized stalemate, it is worth examination because of two things it reveals - the tendency of a boycott's goals to enlarge after it gets started and its daily evidence that a Southern Negro community can stage an effective mass movement. 'This one is economic, but the next one may be political or social,' observes a while husinessman who classes ized until the Negro workers are himself among the South's mod-

able capital, is reduced in each

rates.'

audience response was expressed in a contribution of \$75.00 which has been forwarded to the Montgomery Improvement Association. Both speakers stressed the need for organized labor to get behind the Montgomery civil rights fighters, and to rush them urgently heeded defense funds. Contribu-A lively discussion followed the tions should be sent to the Montspeaker's presentation with spegomery Improvement Association, cial interest shown in the prosc/o Rev. M. L. King, Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala,

solidarity in struggle was re-

support of the inspiring Mont-

gomery movement to drive Jim

Seventy-five people white and

Negro, turned out in a heavy snow

storm to hear eyewitness reports

from Montgomery by Dr. Lonnie

tank staff writer Tom Kerry. The

Crow off the buses.

Lesson of Dalton, Georgia

By George Lavan

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

the newspaper, The Southerner, by Don West and the Church of God of the Union Assembly in the core of militants in the eager for unions and opposed to racism, welcomed this voice of the progressive aspirations of the poor white workers and farmers, and its editor out as prime targets.

Naturally the spearhead of the stake in defeating the union drive middle class, did not dare be seen which was inspired by The South-

In two previous installments we | CIO union leaders that they were | ultimatum was "get rid of West have described the founding of in the same battle as West and if you want credit." On Jan. 10, Rev. Pratt told the that it would be foolish to let the leaders of the church that the

enemy split them up. Moreover, The Southerner and previous night he had been awakened by a vision in which Dalton, Georgia. It achieved a Church of God were a tower of God spoke to him about Comconsiderable circulation not only strength to the embattiled pickets munism. He immediately had in the local, low-pay, open-shop at General Latex. Finally, the written out a non-Communist oath textile area but throughout the pro-labor membership of the to be taken by all church officials. South. While people in the South, church was the solid base of the He had called the county proseorganizing drive in all the plants, cutor in the middle of the night This decision on the part of the and asked him to administer the leaders of the textile drive was oath at the church services that undoubtedly hastened by the week-end. West objected that this the forces of reaction marked it obvious fact that West, instead of was capitulating to pressure . sinking in the estimation of the the Dalton press had just come workers, held his own under the out with a six-page supplement

devoted to the attack on West fierce attack or maybe even attack was the local textile mill gained in their regard. While - but agreed to take the oath owners who had a large material elements in town, mainly in the to preserve church unity. On the appointed day the church speaking to him, and while per vas full. The proceeding

transactions with him. A resolution adopted at a protest meeting is introduced. An official of the bus company testifies that Negro patronage has dropped off 95 percent. Testimony is introduced to show the existence of a car pool serving former bus riders. A total of three Negroes, from a population of 50,000, are brought to the stand to testify that they have been "threatened" for riding the buses. Several bus drivers claim shots were fired into their buses. A special detective put on the city payroll since the protest started relates his findings in an investigration" of the situation. At each stage the defense has

VOLUME XX

(Continued from page 1)

their right to a jury trial and the

verdict will be rendered by presid-

ing judge Engene W. Canter. Con-

viction can bring six months in

jail and a \$1,000 fine under an

strikes and labor injunction pro-

ceedings will quickly recognize

Officers of the Improvement

the stand, bringing their records

with them. A banker is called to

testify on the Association's

protested this heaping up of allegations against one man, Rev.



King. Voicing most of the objections to this procedure under the rules governing "conspiracy," attorney Peter Hall of Birm-Any unionist experienced in

ingham said ". . . we know the latitude is wide, but just how

wide?" His objections have been repeatedly overruled by the judge. If the defendants are convicted, an appeal seems certain while the protest movement continues. Such

erner. They used the local newstions and out-of-state McCarthyites, such as Edgar C. Bundy, bers of the pro-labor church American Legion witch hunter rallied around him and so did the from Illinois, in a red-baiting new union members unconnected campaign against West and his with the Church of God of the newspaper. Yet this did not turn Union Assembly. the trick.

TEXTILE UNION

papers blasted away at West in Inlitially the conservative leaders of the CIO Textile Workers every issue and the grand Union, whose drive in Dalton was | jury ominously investigated for based on the spade work done by months, the ranks of the workers The Southerner, displayed a held firm. What did turn the trick tendency to shy away from West for the employers was economic and his paper, hoping thus to pressure. The Chur h of God has evade the terrific attack which had been launched. Though in siderable bus mass interests in the private they spoke highly of West, they thought discretion the better part of valor. Grim reality

had long been invested in farms, minds. The attack on West was really

aimed at the union drive. Ruthless | tion, super-market, chain of anti-labor tactics of the local auction houses, etc. The businesses were all solid bosses, intervention of Governor and for years had regularly been Marvin Griffin's (Talmadge machine) special squad of scab- granted credit by the local banks.

hending state troopers in a small In November all the banks in strike which had broken out, and Dalton refused Rev. Pratt the screaming red-baiting of the CIO accustomed credit for his enterumion itself - all this showed the prises. It was understood that the

broadcast. The prosecutor haps some workers also refrained papers, radio, veterans organiza- from advertising their feeling of ill-fame among the workers because of his attempts to railroad sympathy towards him, the memthe head of the CIO drive and eight strike leaders - entered, accompanied by the editor of Dalton's two papers. Over one hundred ministers and officials of

stage.

tion

Although the two Dalton news NO INFORMER Before administering the oath the prosecutor asked, knowing full peasant relations that had kept well that this applied to West, if any present had ever refused to answer questions before a grand

jury. West replied that he had. The prosecutor then announced that he would give the oath to Daliton area. Under guidance of everyone present but West. He 76-year-old Rev. Charlie Pratt, would let West take the oath only founder and undisputed leader of after he swore to appear before soon made them change their the pro-labor sect, church funds the new grand jury Monday morning and answer all questions a restaurant, motel, filling sta- that it might see fit to put to

him West objected that this was

not the oath agreed upon and appealed to Rev. Pratt to back him pers. They provided the new inup. Pratt refused and West explained to the audience why he refused to do what the prosecutor demanded, how it would force him into the position of informing on other people and why

the Fifth Amendment is a bul-

wark of freedom against tyranny.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS By LEON TROTSKY

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Indust Revolut utoma duction. If with a new machine | with its huge

By Robert Chester ond Industrial Revolution" as Parallel with this grew a new many industrial experts claim? level of machine industry and To answer this it is necessary to technology. review the "first" Industrial **Revolution.** the church marched onto the big

The Industrial Revolution flowered in the first half of the 19th century. It was prepared by the breakdown of feudal landlorddomination over every section of the peasant tied to the land. political life of the country to and production geared mainly to

LANDLESS PEASANTS

local needs.

Rapidly expanding world trade this development. the 18th century spurred the lemand for large quantities of manufactured goods which necessarily led to the organization Peasants were driven off the child labor often displaced adult land and driven into towns, forming a helpless mass of pauer. The growth of a whole generation of stunted Englishmen dustrial work force for the growing industries. forced the growth of unionism

These vast changes spurred a as a necessary defense. The govseries of technical advances, ernment was forced to enact crowned by the invention of a laws to preserve the nation

UAW HEARS ROSA PARKS

Pratt, remaining adamant that West should agree to the prose cutor's conditions, the editor of DETROIT, March 16 - Mrs. Lended here in America, all that Rosa Parks, the 43-year-old seam- money that is sent over-seas age life of 10,000 operations The Southerner resigned from the church. West soon announced his might do more good than it does stress from Montgomery Ala. plan to carry on the fight by now," she said. whose arrest for refusing to Six hundred dollars, collected starting up a New Southerner and relinquish her seat on a bus there is at present engaged in raising from the unit's Negro and white precipitated the Montgomery prothe necessary funds for publicaworkers in the shop during the test movement spoke at the Ford week, was presented to Mrs. Local 600 United Auto Workers This chapter in the emerging Parks for the Montgomery prohall today. struggle of the poor white workesters. She told the unionists

"Our fight is not just for that the protesters are not disers of the Deep South is very instructive. It shows that there is Montgomery Negroes to get a seat on the bus," she told about a definite, receptive audience 300 members and guests of the help. among the white workers of the South for a pro-labor, anti-racist | Frame and Cold Header Unit of newspaper. It shows that the the giant Ford Rouge local. "As mass of the workers in a typical long as we just took segregation," Southern mill town could not be she said, "the Southern white stampeded by six months of man had the excuse that the witch-hunt and racist propaganda. Negroes were satisfied, but we are It also shows that there are staying off the buses to show some courageous, self - sacrificing | the whole world that we aren't Southern whites, who scorn the satisfied.

"We want to know now - right tradition of deploring conditions in hushed tones in their living now, not later on when we have eager to organize the white work- are full American citizens. . . The ers and farmers against their mations of the world, especially 15 years said that the NAACP is the Asiatic nations are watching growing rapidly in Montgomery oppressors and their oppressors' most deadly weapon - racism. If injustice against Negroes were bers last week," she said. (End of a series.)

flexible, easily controlled source against the rapaciousness of the Does automation herald a "Sec- of power, the steam engine. individual manufacturers. The Industrial Revolution therefore was not simply the 'revolution of dark satanic mills," In their meteoric growth to

as Norbert Weiner claims, but a supply the expanding world mar- social and political as well as ket the capitalists, as a class, technical revolution. This proacquired new stature. They recess was made the subject of a organized the whole industrial most careful, penetrating and system, secured their economic this process. brilliant analysis by Karl Marx.

the economy and adapted the LABOR THEORY OF VALUE MACHINE APPENDAGE The Industrial Revolution saw Marx's labor theory of value,

the first general use of machine CRISIS DEEPENED their needs. Thus was instituted which capitalist economists have production. The former hand the system of modern capitalism vainly tried to refute for over that we know today. England 100 years, establishes that only became the classic example of the application of useful, living labor adds new value to a prod-The plight of the workers in uct. The worker, while performing the necessary technical work the Industrial Revolution is one of the blackest stories in the to transform raw material into of the large-scale workshop and history of civilization. Whole a useful product, at the same the expansion of capitalism. families were forced to labor 14 time adds a social quantity, to 18 hours a day. Woman and value, in proportion to the the worker now became an ap-

"red, only if they can come South

amount of time spent. The capmales because they were cheap- italist, under whose control he works, is not interested in the vate owner of the machines, the social benefits of the product, only in the quantity of profit he can gain.

The capitalist provides the plant, machines, other tools and raw materials. The value of this limits, the production process the banks, promoted the growth past labor" does not add new value, as does the labor of the from the requirements of pro- ed the system of "free competiworker. It is only transmitted duction alone. Machines and fac- tion" into a fiction.

tories grew larger and more comwithout change to the product. Thus if a machine has an averplex as workers were displaced the province of the individual from one operation after another. artisan, working with his own then one ten-thousandth part of Proving that this process was inherent in capitalist production, uct, has moved progressively its value is transmitted to each article worked on. This "past Marx projected the development toward becoming a social prolabor" was termed by Marx of the factory into a "huge cess involving the cooperation of automaton" as its most perfect- thousands of workers in many 'constant capital." The wage ed form. All that is needed is to parts of the country, or the paid to the worker was termed add an "i" and dot it to bring world. Automation does not 'variable capital" and became the analysis up to date, includ- change any of these factors, the source of a deeper analysis. ing automation. Treated as any other commod-

Automation marks a new quality, workers were hired, not on couraged, but that they appreciate tative technical stage in the prothe value of what they produced, encouragement and need financial cess of production. The worker but on the value of what was necessary to produce them, train no longer is in the role of Money for the Montgomery protesters may be sent to the them and maintain their families. machine operator but is shifted cess begun with the "first" In-Montgomery Improvement Asso- The value of the workers' "labor to the role of machine supervisor

ciation, c/o Rev. M. L. King Jr., power," their standard of living, and maintainer. However the 309 S. Jackson, Montgomery, Ala. | was a result of both the produc- | social position and role of the "We have decided to go on no tive level of the entire system worker is not changed one bit. matter what the cost. Even if it and the struggle of the workers He still has to sell his labor takes our lives, we are going on to raise it against the opposition power on the shrinking labor of the employers. The difference market. to the end," she said.

The capitalists find themselves Mrs. Parks, who has been active between the wages paid and the confronted with a different probin the Montgomery branch of the new value produced, the "surplus rooms. These elements are fighters | passed off the scene - that we | National Association for the Ad- | value," was the source of profit lem. As the investment in new machinery, constant capital, rises vancement of Colored People for for the capitalist. Competition for the market in proportion to wages, variable and the quest for profit compel capital, the new value added by this. They are dark peoples too. now. "We took in 800 new mem- the capitalist to introduce new the workers, falls and the rate of machines and methods of pro-profit tends to fall. Automation,

is until his competitor catches must find the means to expand up or surpasses him. Then a new his market as well as increase race begins. The driving force his rate of profit through cutof the new system of production ting wages. Automation thereprovides the motive power for fore, instead of providing an improved standard of living for the workers, drives the capitalist into a wholesale attack upon it.

causes a rapid speeding up of

the amount of labor time, vari- ments for far fewer workers,

article, the rate of profit for the this declining tendency in the

capitalist tends to go up, that rate of profit. The capitalist

The tremendous leap in proworker was converted into a ductivity causes production to nachine operator whose activ- increase faster than the market ties were governed by the needs can absorb the products. This of the machine. With that con- factor is bound to aggravate the version a social change took conditions that lead to the peplace as well. Whereas previously riodic crises under capitalism the individual owned his own The cycle of boom, bust and tools and sold his own products recovery has always been paralleled by the cycle of hiring, dispendage to the machine with placement and widespread unemno control over the product. He ployment that periodically ravwas the wage slave of the pri- aged the workingclass.

Economic crises afford the capitalist. The implications of bigger capitalists the opportuthis social change were also put nity to shake out the small comunder scientific analysis by Marx. petitors. Domination by ever Free from human physical larger corporations together with was viewed in a new light - of huge monopolies and convert-

> Production, which once was tools and selling his own prodonly speeds the process a little faster.

> > Automation therefore is not a Second Industrial Revolution" but is a final stage of the produstrial Revolution.

