Report Lenin Secretary Survived Stalin Purge

Could Tell How Lenin Sought to 'Bombshell' Foe

One of Lenin's personal secretaries, L. A. Fotieva, who collaborated with the founder of the Soviet Union just before his death when he was preparing a showdown struggle with Stalin, has been

reported by Pravda to be still "Yes, Ilyich does not trust alive. The Moscow newspaper Stalin. He wants to come out recently included her name in a list of surviving old Bolsheviks. The information appeared in this country in the April 3 New York Times.

This sensational news is the first that has been heard of Fotieva in many years. When her name was not included in the 1947 list of old Bolsheviks, it was assumed that she had perished in Stalin's monstrous purges.

Fotieva was one of the two secretaries sent to Trotsky by Lenin — just two days before he suffered his third stroke with materials for use against Stalin at the forthcoming Twelfth Congress. In view of his worsening illness, Lenin had already asked Trotsky to see the struggle through. These materials were to help in any way possible although some were in unfinished form. Even as he faced death, Lenin was desperately concerned about the success of the struggle against Stalin.

"He told me," Glyasser, the other secretary, said to Trotsky, "to transmit to you the manuscript material which was supposed to have made up his bombshell for the Twelfth Con-

gress." When Trotsky asked whether the kind of testimony that Lenin had come to the conclusion should be heard by an impartial that it was impossible to "com- Inquiry Commission, as proposed

promise with Stalin even along to the Communist Party by the correct lines," Fotieva replied: Socialist Workers Party.

Text of Lenin's

Last Testament

The following is the full text of Lenin's Testament:

Guard in Russkaya Mysl (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg)

in's latest actions by telling Trotsky that "Vladimir Ilyich is feeling worse and is in a hurry to do everything he can." Among the materials left by Lenin for use in the struggle against Stalin, the most famous today is the last testament. (See

full text below.) Fotieva could now tell how Lenin came to write this important document: why Lenin decided to break off all comradely relations with Stalin; and why Lenin asked Trotsky to join him in war against the sinister UE Strikers leader of the rising bureaucratic usurpers.

at least part of Lenin's last testament in attacking the "Stalin cult." It is clear that Fotieva could prove useful to them in this by explaining the origin of the testament and verifying the

truth about Lenin's real attitude toward Stalin. Fotieva could also verify the truth about Lenin's bloc with

Trotsky against Stalin. This is

Stalin's heirs are now using **Remain Firm** By Tom Denver NEW YORK, April 9 - The

> allies to smash the strikers' resistance.

Local 107 remained on strike after the national UE agreement with Westinghouse on March 28 because the company insisted on

're-arranging" the wage structure at its Lester plant. The "rearrangement" was actually a proposal that the strikers first accept a 20% pay cut before the national agreement offering an

Since the national settlement, Westinghouse has conducted an insuccessful campaign to isolate the Lester strike and force local 107 to accept its unreasonable

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which open the plant by sending car-I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far loads of scabbing engineers through the picket lines. The as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White union's strike bulletin charges

It came about in this way. The

"Yes, our bureaucratism is

so-get drawn into any depart-

THE MULITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE Vol. XX — No. 16 267 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1956 **PRICE: 10 Cents**

Stalin. He wants to come out openly against him before the whole Party." And she confirm-ad what Glyasser had said. "He is preparing a bombshell." Fotieva further explained Len-To Help Alabama Bus Fight

T-Men Raid Daily Worker and CP Offices

177-day strike of local 107, United Electrical Workers Union (independent) against the Westinghouse Corp. at Lester, Pa., remains solid despite all efforts of the company and its capitalist

estimated 3% yearly wage in-crease went into effect.

demands. It is attempting to re-

testing a ruling made by the

IUE local 601.

sonnel.'



offices of the Communist Party and Daily Worker across the country. The paper came out despite this harassment. Farrell Dobbs, SWP national sec. vigorously protested the raid in an open letter to res. Eisenhower. Left, T-men padlock CP office in Party, now on tour in support of Phila.; Right, Worker editor John Gates studies the bus protest movement, is selzure notice on his office window.

Guard in Russkaya Mysl (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party. Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is normality in the second place when the transmission of transmission of the transmission of transmission of the transmission o

ELECTION RESULTS

Dobbs Urges Unions To Respond to Appeal By Opening Up Purses

It will take 100 station wagons to operate an effective transportation system for the Negro people in Montgomery, according to Rev. M. L. King, leader of the bus protest movement in that city.

In an interview with a staff writer for the weekly Afro-American, the Rev. Mr. King disclosed that the Monitgomery Improvement Association had applied for a "jitney service" franchise. In answer to a query by the Afro-American reporter, the Rev. Mr. King, president of the MIA, said: "We were turned down and

plan to apply again. If the franchise is not granted, perhaps we will run a free jitney service.

"I think that we could do with about 100 station wagons. We could operate the free transporation system through contributions in our churches."

Farrell Dobbs, National Secrettary of the Socialist Workers mphasizing the need for station that the bills will put the Demwagons to build the Montgomery Democrats will have to vote for car pool. He is calling on union members and leaders to express their support in the form of collections to buy station wagons for the freedom fighters of Mont-

or against them and either way they will be in trouble-with the Negro voters or with the Dixiecrat wing of their party. On the other hand the Repub-

gomery. At his first public meeting ir licans figure that introduction Detroit, sponsored by the SWP, of this civil rights "program" a committee was established to even at this late date-Congress Samaja Party, which thereby be- Soviet Union and China, making raise funds for the purchase of is three-quarters over-will en-Ceylon a Republic and possibly one or more station wagons for able them to campaign as the (Continued on page 4) Montgomery.

GOP Baits **Campaign Hook For Negro Votes** - By George Lavan -

In a cynical election - year maneuver to further discredit the Democrats and to lure Negro voters to the Republican Party, the Eisenhower Administration sent three civil rights proposals to Congress.

Neither Eisenhower nor any-

body else expects the bills to be

passed-that isn't the point at

all. They do expect, however,

ocrats on the spot. Northern

its instability is possible, and if there cannot exist an state Department of Labor and agreement between those classes its fall is inevitable. In Industry that for eight weeks such an event it would be useless to take any measures or the Lester strike was actually in general to discuss the stability of our Central Com- a company lockout. This ruling not only sent Ceylon's capitalist mittee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future, and too improbable an event, to talk about.

I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a series of considerations of a purely personal character.

I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability - from this point of view - is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes, in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted, in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, (Continued on page 3)

In the interval between his of educational workers sent a

first and second strokes, Lenin delegation to Lenin and me with

could work only half as much as the request that I take over the

before. Slight but none the less commissariat of education in ad-

blood-vessels reached him off same way that I had taken

At one of the meetings of the transport for a year past. Lenin

some one a note-Lenin always about it. I told him that in the

exchanged notes this way to educational field, as in every

little. I noticed it only because from the administrative appar-

after him. It must have been should not-or at least I think

ly the document that later be- mental work besides the mili-

-Ed.]

By LEON TROTSKY

his face changed expression in- atus.

stantly. This was one of many

warnings from his vital centres.

then that he formulated mental-

it was at this time-during the

came known as his "Will." And tary."

entitled the strikers to collect class reeling but has brought unemployment compensation

consternation to the U.S. State checks for that period. Department. In three days of Two weeks ago Westinghouse's voting the people of that Southcapitalist allies came to its sup- east Asian country repudiated port. Some 70 companies, in- the U.S.-backed government of cluding such giant corporations Sir John Kotelawala and put into Sama Samaja Party, 14; Federal as Ford, General Electric, U. S. office a neutralist reform coali-Steel, Bethlehem Steel, etc., tion pledged to nationalizations demonstrated that they had a of foreign-owned tea and rubber stake in breaking the Westing- plantations and to a break with Anglo-American foreign policy. house strike by filing a similar So decisively was the ruling protest.

Despite this union busting at-United National Party defeated tack, local 107 continues its that it now does not even occupy militant strike and has rallied the place of Cevlon's second most support from important sections | important party.

Why Lenin Asked Trotsky to Help Him Fight Stalin

of the AFL-CIO in the area, in-The second highest number of language, elimination of British air and naval bases on Ceylon cluding financial aid from rival seats in parliament was won by the Trotskyist Lanka Sama establishing relations with the

By John Thayer

A smashing election defeat has

comes the country's official opposition party.

taking it out of the British Commonwealth, and nationalization o foreign-owned plantations.

Results of the polling for the The United Peoples Front composed of three groups plus 95 seats in Cevlon's House of Representatives were as follows: individual politicians who jumped United People's Front, 51: Lanka on the bandwagon, First and me important is Bandarahaike's owr party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, 10; United National Party Party, which has been the secon 8; Communist Party, 3; Tami largest party in parliament an Party, 1; Independents, 8. therefore the official opposition Leader of the United Peoples party. This is a capitalist party Front, which won the election and like Nehru's Congress Party in will form the new cabinet, is India. It is nationalist and Solomon Bandaranaike, a wealthy neutralist. Its chauvinism toward landowner and intellectual, who Cevlon's Tamil minority was campaigned on a platform o making Sinhalese the only official shown by its "Simbalese-ordy" language plank. Second element in the United

(Continued on page 2)

Do CP Leaders Really Wish to Expose Stalin?

NEW YORK, April 9 — At this writing no reply has been received by the Socialist Workers Party to its April 2 letter to the Communist Party of the U.S. proposing that

both organizations join "in initiating a demand for the con- purge, former deputy Premier of Bulgaria, Taicho Kostov, has stitution of an impartial Combeen "rehabilitated." Kostov was mission of Inquiry into Stalin's executed in 1949 on the charge purge trials within the Soviet of high treason. Kostov's case was notable for the fact that he Union and elsewhere."

their position was."

ies of

repudiated his "confession" in The SWP letter cited an edicourt. After he was hanged the torial in the Daily Worker con-Stalinist authorities announced demning the "frame-up of Rajk that just before the rope was and other Hungarian Communist placed around his neck, he "adleaders" as a "betrayal of the mitted" his "crimes." Now the socialist movement" and assert- Central Committee of the Buling the "right to demand that garian Communist Party has dethe investigations in Hungary clared Kostov innocent.

and the Soviet Union shall be The admission that the confull and complete and shall fessions of both Rajk and Kosbring to book those responsible tov were monstrous frauds, for injustice no matter how high sharply poses the necessity of a review of the infamous Moscow

"confession" trials of the Thir-The frame-up and execution of Laszlo Rajk was part of a ser- ties. At these show trials vir-"confession" trials in tually the whole leading staff of Eastern Europe in 1949. Rajk, the Russian Revolution of 1917 who was Hungarian foreign min- were accused of "espionage," ister, "confessed" to having con-"sabotage," "terrorism" and spired with Marshall Tito of "counter - revolutionary plotting," Yugoslavia, Recently, as part of and were put to death on the the Kremlin's campaign repudi- evidence of their own 'confesating the Stalin cult, Rajk was sions.' Leon Trotsky, who was declared the victim of a frame- later murdered by a Stalinist pick-axe assassin in his Mexico

exile, was the chief target of these staged confession trials. trial, were imprisoned and exe-

The present Kremlin leaders, who were closely associated with Stalin in the perpetration of his crimes, want to limit their exposures to the absolute minimum. The proposal of the SWP for an pertinent records is the only way to achieve a "full and complete" investigation as the Daily Worker editorial of April 2 de-

following excerpts are stroke-that Lenin and I had a He had a limited amount of he was talking to understood faction as the backbone of the they should not be reproached from Leon Trotsky's autobi- long conversation about my work strength to give to the work of him completely, he would dis- bureaucracy, and for creating for their pasts. Bukharin is not ography, My Life, written in in the future. Because of its direction. He had three deputies pense with the conventionalities such conditions in the party as a Marxist but a scholastic; he 1931, describing the events and political importance, I immedi- "You know them. Kamenev is, of conversation, and touch open- would allow me to become Len- is, however, a sympathetic perconditions surrounding Lenin's ately repeated this conversation of course, a clever politician, but | 1 on what was the most im- in's deputy, and, as he intended, son. Pyatakov is an able adminwriting of his "last testament." to a number of people (Rakovwhat sort of an administrator is portant and disturbing. Lenin's testament is still sup- sky, I. N. Smirnov, Sosnovsky, he? Tzyurupa is ill. Rykov is After thinking it over for a pressed by the Stalinist bureau- Prycobrazhensky, and others). If perhaps an administrator, but he moment, Lenin put the question ple's Commissaries. cracy. The full text is publish- only because of this repetition, will have to go back to the Su- pointblank: "You propose then ed in this issue of the Militant. the conversation has been very

preme Economic Council. You to open fire not only against the clearly recorded in my memory. must become a deputy. The situ- state bureaucracy, but against ation is such that we must have the Organizational Bureau of the

central committee of the union a radical realignment of per- Central Committee as well?" I "SHAKE UP APPARATUS"

Again I pointed out the "apominous warnings from his dition to my other duties, in the paratus" that made even my Stalin's apparatus. work in the war department in-

will be your chance to shake up called the thing by its right amount of friction. He talks Politbureau, as he got up to hand wanted to know what I thought the apparatus," Lenin retorted name, "if that's the case, then I about every one most guardedly, LENIN AND STALIN quickly, hinting at an expression offer you a bloc against bu- softening the most devastating Lenin came to know Stalin that "any investigation carried Tens of thousands of revolution-I had once used. I replied that reaucracy in general and against judgments. At the same time he really only after the October out by those clearly associated ary workers, who never came to speed up the work-he reeled a other, the difficulty would come I referred to the bureaucracy the Organizational Bureau in qualifies with reservations the revolution. He valued his firmnot only in the state institutions, particular."

but in the party as well: that the cause of all the trouble lay something monstrous," Lenin re- in the combination of the two replied. Lenin had no illusions on this plied, picking up my train of apparatuses and in the mutual

all points of view how the work I came back to work . . . It is groups that gathered round the I think over the organization short of annihilating. would go on without him, and just because of this that you hierarchy of party secretaries. end of the question. He planned Of Zinoviev and Kamenev,

Lenin listened intently, and to create a commission attached Lenin writes, with an effect of of general secretary of the party world workers' movement" would with full power to review all the confirmed my suggestions in to the Central Committee for casualness, that their capitula- against the will of Lenin, who be required "as a basic prethat deep tone which came fighting bureaucracy. We were tion in 1917 was "not an acci- acquiesced only so long as he requisite of a 'full and complete' straight from the chest, a tone both to be members. This com- dent"; in other words, it is in himself headed the party. But investigation."

that would break through in him mission was essentially to be the their blood. Obviously such men after his first stroke, when he Lenin proceeded to state his last weeks before his second plan with passionate conviction. only when, sure that the person lever for breaking up the Stalin cannot direct the revolution, but

his successor to the post of istrator, but a very bad politichairman of the Soviet of Peo- cian. It is quite possible, however, that these two, Bukharin and

ablest is Trotsky; his defect is Only in this connection does his excess of self-confidence. the full meaning of the so-called Stalin is rude, disloyal, and "Will" become clear. Lenin capable of abuse of the power couldn't help laughing, this came | names only six people there, and | that he derives from the party so unexpectedly. "That seems to sums them up briefly, weighing apparatus. Stalin should be re-

with the imprisonment and exe-

honor to form a good bloc," I place. Only in his analysis of And yet, at every step, Lenin ing class opinion." It was there-Stalin does one feel a different struck at Stalin's ignorance, at fore urged that "an impartial We agreed to meet again some tone, a tone which in the later his very narrow political hori- Commission of Inquiry composed score. He kept pondering from thought. "I was appalled when shielding among the influential time later. Lenin suggested that postscript to the will is nothing zon, and his exceptional moral of men and women of unquescoarseness and unscrupulousness. tioned integrity who command

Stalin was elected to the post the confidence and respect of the impartial Commission of Inquiry This week another victim of

(Continued on page 3)

The SWP letter pointed out too definite indication of the one ness and his practical mind, cution of innocent persons would cuted.

the East European anti-Titoist manded.

LENIN'S WILL



Pyatakov, will still learn. The

er Matyas Rakosi.

"With a good man, it is an whom he thinks entitled to first which is three-quarters cunning. carry no weight with world work-

be it." The Organizational Bu- each word. Unquestionably, his moved to avoid a split. This is reau meant the very heart of object in making the will was to the substance of the "Will." It facilitate the work of direction rounds out and clarifies the pro-"Oh, well," Lenin went on, for me. He naturally wanted to posal that Lenin made me in up by Hungarian Stalinist leadand on throughout this period. charge of the commissariat of creasingly difficult. "Well, that obviously pleased that we had do it with the least possible our last conversation.

Page Two -

THE MILITANT

Monday, April 16, T956



By Tom Kerry

In an article bristling with denunciation of "rotten elements," Pravda, official organ of the Russian Com- reaction in the Stalinist press to munist Party castigated critics in the Soviet Union who the junking of the Stalin cult in presumed to go beyond the lim-

its imposed by the Kremlin reluctant easing of the bureaubureaucracy in the discussion cratic vise.

in cult." The April 5 issue of the ingly and only under extreme paper lashed out in all directions compulsion. As under Stalin all CP. Their viewpoints are exshowering derogatory epithets on decisions were "unanimous." pressed in several publications those who sought to take advan-| Stalin was made fair game and including Monthly Review and tage of the "discussion" to criti- open season was declared on the The American Socialist. How do cize party policy and leadership. "Stalin cult." But the sacrosanct

Cracking the bureaucratic whip, Pravda called for "Bolshevik martial irreconcilability toward these anti-party sallies.' "The party organ," says a Moscow dispatch in the April 6 New York Times, "gave no indication of what had been said by the critics beyond accusing them of critics beyond accusing them of echoing 'hackneyed slanderous TIDE OF DISCONTENT

inventions of foreign reactionary propaganda.' "

The language of Pravda under Under Stalin, also, there were and self-criticism" usually terminating in a bloody purge and a stem the pent-up mass dissatisreshuffling of the bureaucracy. Stalin always found convenient scapegoats for the crimes of the bureaucratic caste.

MOUNTING PRESSURE

savage bloodletting under Stalin was not entirely the result of one man's personal aberration. as the present day Stalinists would have us believe. On the contrary. It was the reflex of a untold misery and repression man who personified the bureau- visited upon the Soviet workers cratic Kremlin caste reacting and peasants. All of which is the present Soviet rulers - say like a barometer to the mount- true, but ing pressure of the dissatisfied

and social weight of the work- present leadership, for the most Stalin. In 1953, echoing the proing class, the extension and strengthening of the Soviet bloc, with Stalin for many years," Huberman and Sweezy stated, the rise of the colonial revoluimperialism, all brought increasing confidence and self-assurance to the Soviet masses.

The mass pressure for a radical change acquired explosive proportions. Stalin's very name the Moscow correspondent of the was a curse and a malediction. Daily Worker, March 25, now youth in the Communist party

Reaction of the Fringe Stalinists To Moscow's Ending of the Cult

By Daniel Roberts

they ract to the 20th Congress

Soviet Union? How do they ex-

plain what happened? What do

they propose socialist-minded

destruction of the Stalin cult?

The April Monthly Review

greets the 20th Congress with

During the last several weeks The Militant has reported the the Soviet Union. On the fringes of the Stalinist movement there

are groupings that proclaim Concessions were made grudgthemselves "independent socialorganized to demolish the "Stalists" although sympathetic to the

"general line" could be question- of the Communist Party of the ed only under pain of courting bureaucratic displeasure. The limits prescribed by the bureaucracy are circumscribed and workers should do to hasten the fixed. Such is the "democratic" discussion in the Soviet Union

utter silence. This is not to be wondered at. In junking the Stalin cult, the Kremlin bureau-

However, the significant thing crats were compelled to expose about the abusive Pravda article the frame-up character of a is not only that it accurately number of blood purges engi-Khrushchev is little different reflects the Stalinist mentality neered by Stalin. This happens to from that employed under the but that it also records the ir- place the Monthly Review edimurderous Stalin regime. The resistible pressure to break tors - Huberman and Sweezylanguage is similar but the sit- through the arbitrary limits im- in a highly embarrassing posiuation is altogether different. posed by the bureaucracy. Hav- tion. For they endorsed every ng opened a crack in the top one of the Stalin frame-ups periodic campaigns of "criticism bureaucratic crust the parasitic from those in Moscow in the late Kremlin caste will be unable to 1930's - in which a whole revolutionary generation was destroyed faction boiling up from below. - to the purge trials in One can surmise the nature Eastern Europe 1949-52, to the and extent of the long-repressed frame-up of the Soviet docrievances from comments aptors in January 1953 on the eve pearing in the Stalinist press. of Stalin's death. They proclaimed all "confessions" genuine, al-Stalin was indicted for the The grinding repression and frightful losses suffered in the though the Dewey International late war with Soviet casualties Commission of Inquiry had alestimated at forty million. Stal- ready exposed in 1937 the mech-

in was guilty of murdering anism whereby false "confesthousands of innocent people. sions" have been extracted. Stalin was responsible for the

ON THE RECORD Now Stalin's accomplices

Even Stalinist stalwart, Wil-

were fake. The self-styled "in- lic reconciliation with Stalinism and discontented Soviet masses. liam Z. Foster, head of the dependent" editors of Monthly took place after Stalin died. The death of Stalin, the tre- American Communist Party, is Review have for the time being There is nothing on the record mendous industrial expansion of constrained to report that "work- nothing more to say. As with tying them to the Stalin cult. the Soviet Union with its con- ers everywhere," are insistently their support of Stalin's frame- They feel all the more free to comittant increase in the size demanding "to know what the ups so with their adulation of snuggle up to the present Kremlin rulers and try to refurbish part, who worked side-by-side nouncements of the Stalin cult, the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste.

"There can be little doubt that The Cochranites preach conwere doing when all of the listed tion and the weakening of world crimes were committed. The an- history will ... honor him as long fidence in Khrushchev, Bulganin swer is obvious. Side-by-side with as the human race survives." But and the rest of Stalin's former Stalin they participated in per- even Stalin's heirs - let alone henchmen with a claim that they petrating the most monstrous the human race - are now revilare in the process of carrying crimes in the annals of history. ing him, and this only three out a self-reform. The 20th Congress has sent them into ecstasy.

"This frank discussion," writes years after his death. Socialist-minded workers and "The Twentieth Congress represents the climactic point in the As the personification of the taking place in the Soviet Union, or periphery who are making the new leadership's attempt to rebureaucracy he represented is "triumphant proof" that "after end of the Stalin cult a starting vamp the archaic structure, to everything that was hated and a lapse of 20 years, true de- point for serious examination of stabilize the post-Stalin regime reviled. Animated by the de- mocracy has been restored." Not revolutionary politics have noth- on viable foundations, and modtermination to preserve their quite! But having embarked on ing to learn from the Monthly ernize its workings all along the larly been described in the Its complete rejection of Prime power and privileges at all costs, the road of struggle against the Review. These "independent so- line in tune with the new prob- capitalist press of the U.S. and Minister Sir John Kotelawala, the

Picket Circus

ANELINE SECTION REFUSES. IEFUSE8 OLL CO TIVE BLLECTIVE MRCAININC SARC ADDING TARKET AN ISS UNRICAN CUILO OF a 1000 00 0 1977 9 990 1980 0 1989

Members of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters and the American Guild of Variety Artists picket the Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey Circus outside Madison Square Garden in drive to organize circus employes. Injunction ordered pickets removed for the opening night performance of the show's one-month stand in New York.

zealous promotion of the Stalin | ning to mellow . . . the trend is cult, not so the editors of the in the right direction . . His-American Socialist. It is true torically, the new regime has to cies! that Cochran and his colleagues be considered a transient stage say nothing about their desertion toward the establishment of a believe in the regeneration of from revolutionary socialism full political democracy of so- the Soviet Union and have strug-when they split in 1953 from the cialism . . . When enough cir- gled for it unwaveringly since Socialist Workers Party. This cumstance in the form of peo- the emergence of Stalin's bloody ples understanding, high level rule. But unlike the Cochranites included abandonment of revoluof culture and economic ad- and other apologists for Stalintionary opposition to Stalinism. confessions in a number of trials But happily for them their pubvancement mature, the irrepressible desire for freedom will in's heirs to accomplish the task. break through and demand satis- They rely solely on the revolufaction."

These words were no sooner international working class.

TROTSKYISTS

fare of the peasants, its well-(Continued from page 1) remembered role as leader of the Peoples Front is a Buddhist party, led mostly by monks, and using great Hantal of 1953 (see book

a name which translates to review on this page), as well as 'Language Front." As its name its able campaigning served to indicates its main plank is to bring the workers of both namake Sinhalese the country's only tionalities to their senses. Though Ceylon is a small official language despite the fact

country - it is almost as big as that only 70% of the population Ireland and has three times as is Sinhalese. The third component of the much population - it is stra-United Peoples Front has regu- tegically and politically important. **General Strike** In Spain

crack down on what they called APRIL 11 - A general strike is in progress in the 'rotten elements" - namely, northern Spanish city of Pamplona, capital of the Navarre the Soviet masses - who are region. Thousands of workers are defying the Franco not satisfied with paper promregime's labor laws which forbid D ises of democracy and a bureau-

cratically conducted liquidation hem to strike. of the Stalin cult but want genuine political freedom. (See article by Tom Kerry elsewhere in this issue.) region. Furthermore, "it is ex-The Cochranites present an

"mellowing"

uttered when the

Kremlin overlords began to

plected that later today the main entirely perverted picture of the centers will have followed the true relations between the So-Pamplona lead.' viet masses and the bureaucracy. SHUT DOWN TIGHT They present the Kremlin dicta-

tors as setting the pace in the Everything in Pamplona is shut down tight. The strike began ransition to political democracy and the people as eventually yesterday when several hundred catching up. But reality shows workers in shoe factories quit in that it is the Soviet working protest against a too meager people who are fed up with the wage increase granted by the government. In fascist Spain, the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste. They are forcing the government regulates wages. Kremlin to make concessions, Then the strike spread to 35 other factories and industrial which the bureaucrats hope will enterprises including a construcstave off its overthrow. Revolutionary socialists have tion company employing 2,000 workers. Stores are closed down every reason to welcome the

junking of the Stalin cult as an and transportation suspended indication of the powerful stirring of the Soviet working class auit and as a harbinger of a politi-The present militancy of Spain's

cal revolution. They do not flatworkers was clearly foreshadowed last August at a national labor ter the cynical bureaucrats who seek to perpetuate the hated diccongress. Even though handpicked by the government, the union tatorship, but make ever greater demands upon them. More exleaders yielded to the pressure posures of frame-up trials! More for a minimum living wage, rehabilitations of Stalin's vicgreater participation in profits tims including the chief victims, the Trotskvists! More economic and a voice in management policy. These demands have not concessions! Grant political libbeen met by the government. erty to all working class tenden-

MOUNTING UNREST revolutionary socialists The Then on Jan. 1, Dictator Franco rebellion against his regime, when I ism, they do not look to Staltionary action of the Soviet and

tory over the Falangists (Franco According to today's New York fascists) in elections for leader-Times, the Pamplona strike is ship of the students' union. spreading to other towns of the Previously the Franco dictatorship also showed itself to be without student support at the University of Barcelona. Despite arrests of opposition leaders, the revolt has continued to grow in

he university districts. Already in 1951, a general strike in Barcellona over bus-fare increases showed that the Spanish working class had recovered from the defeat inflicted by the fascists in the Civil War of 1936-37. The Franco regime survived the Barcelona strike by means of

epressions. But judging from developments during the last months, police measures have now lost their effectiveness. The Spanish working people are placing the overthrow of the services when bus conductors fascist dictatorship on the agenda.

READY TO STRUGGLE

Referring to an earlier manifestation this year of the Spanish people's readiness to struggle, the Jan. 9 Millitant said: "Throughout of the workers and voted demands the world this report of the mdomitable revolutionary temper of the Spanish people will be joyfully received by all those fighting to eliminate capitalist oppression. By the same token it comes as the worst kind of news for the focal point of world reaction — the American capitalhimself disclosed the mounting ist class and its government. . . The U.S. government has poured he devoted his entire New Year's millions of dollars into a desperate effort to maintain the 'stability' of Franco's hated

message to the need for "national solidarity." He admitted that regime. . . The report from Madrid there was unrest among workconstitutes due notice that Wall ers, students and intellectuals. Street's reactionary efforts, in At Madrid University, last this case as in many others, is February, an independent slate of candidates won a crushing vic- headed down the drain."

Nothing but enthusiastic re- asked to sell the paper to one ports have been coming in from of the trade unions. We are all all over the country on the ex- pleased as Punch with the re-

cellent articles | sults." From Seattle Helen Baker being printed in The Militant. writes: "The bundle arrived in Ruth Aaron plenty of time to cover the meeting. Nell McGrew and I sold says: "San Francisco and Oakthirteen on the street before the land have really meeting and 20 in our regular Sunday work. Ann Martin sold been pitching re-

campus."

THE MILITANT ARMS

cently. Last week a total of 24, I sold 17." "Last week-end 140 copies of 21 papers on the the March 19 issue were sold in

front of churches and union

meetings," writes John Collins

from Detroit. "360 copies were

distributed on Wayne University

Winifred Nelson writes from

the Twin Cities: "Our sales of

the March 19 issue of The Mil-

itant seem really impressive to

us and not a small part of it

was the wonderful eye-witness

account of the Montgomery Im-

provement Ass'n. meeting that

William Bundy wrote about so

movingly. It was an impressive

account of an impressive meet-

ing of a group that is making

history - and this stirred the

salesmen who sold, as well as

the people we sold to. Seven of

us at four churches in St. Paul

and Minneapolis sold a total of

105. The reaction was very good.

One old man said: 'I know all

about what's going on in Mont-



the bureaucracy seized upon bureaucratic Kremlin gang we cialists" know only how to tail- lems and realities," they rhap-Stalin's mummified corpse as a can be certain that before they end the Kremlin line. scapegoat for their crimes. But stop "true democracy" really If Huberman and Sweezy are policy or method, and only a Union.

sodize.

". . . With Russia's rise as there was no change in basic will be restored in the Soviet driven into temporary silence the second industrial power, the because of their previous over- harsh political regime is begin-

When the Storm Broke in Ceylon

ernment

anyone has been misled by paci-

fist and Quaker wishful thinking

Publishers.

The masses of Ceylon, to the demands for Ceylon's independ- mediately. It was a notice served dismay of the U.S. State Departoffice the capitalist United Na-LSSP leaders made a dramatic longer." tional Party in a landslide elecescape from prison and carried tion. A principal agent in the Trotskvist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), which has emerged from the election as the country's second party and leading representative of the working class.

The American reader has no better way of understanding the recent election and the continuclass battle the Asian island has ously unfolding social revolution in Ceylon than by reading the



HARTAL! By Colvin R. de | pamphlet "Hartal!" The author, | village and town together, rep- | surrectionary heights in many Silva. Ceylon. 20 pp. 15 cents. Colvin R. de Silva, is a founder resented nothing less than an parts of the island. American distributors: Pioneer and leader of the LSSP. During active vote of no-confidence in

LSSP general staff, he helped

lead the hartal — the greatest

Plan

April Selection

A Discussion of

Civil Liberties

and

Slavery in the U.S.

(1830 to 1860)

By Russel B. Nye

Published at \$4.00

Special April price

\$1.00

(plus 15c. mailing charge)

order

116 University Place

New York 3, New York

vet seen.

The great hartal was precipi-World War II he was imprisoned the UNP government and a detated by the deceit of the capiby the British for his unyielding mand that it should resign im- talist UNP which had held of-

fice since the country achieved ence and denunciation of the im- on the UNP government that political independence. Shortly ment, have just kicked out of perialist slaughter. He and other the people could tolerate it no before, the UNP had won the general elections on a program

The capitalist United Nationof promises it had no intention on their revolutionary work from al Party, backed by British and of keeping. On the contrary, it debacle of the UNP was the India. After the war he, with U.S. imperialism, tried to cheat tried to solve the problem of the with a reactionary stand on the other LSSP leaders were elected history but succeeded only for a country's creaking capitalist econto Ceylon's parliament. There, as year and a half. The police reomy at the expense of the poor. well as in the struggle to union- pressions and reprisals and all the Food and clothing prices were ize workers and educate them to political tricks and bribery servincreased, the rice ration cut the socialism, he has done brilliant ed only to reinforce the people free lunch and milk program for

work. In August 1953, on the of Ceylon in the resounding ver- school children was abolished, dict they had given in the 1953 the price of rice was increased hartal-out with the UNP govfrom 25 to 70 cents a measure. ernment. Last week's election STORM BREAKS

was but a formal registering on ballots of what the masses had Then the storm broke. All demonstrated physically a year classes, except the native capitbefore-out with the UNP gov- alists, and all races, castes, and frenzy. The LSSP fortitude in religions, except the white for- bucking both Sinhalese and Tamil Hartal is an Indian word eigners, were drawn into the

meaning non-cooperation. But if hartal. their language on one another This pamphlet not only desor partition the country into cribes the course of the hartal, separate nations has been the nto believing that this method how the UNP cabinet hiding out principal factor in the abatement

of struggle developed by the on a British warship in Colombo of the frenzy. masses of Asia is passive or pa- harbor, tried to master it with The LSSP stood for abolition cifistic, a reading of "Hartal," martial law, but how the LSSP of English as the official language will soon disabuse him. Among succeeded in forging a united since that is the language imworkers the equivalent of the front of all working class parties posed on the country by the formhartal is the general strike. And and unions to sponsor the great er British rulers and is spoken in Ceylon's hartal, the working struggle. only by the small upper class and sections of the middle class

class shut down the factories The recent election results and workshops and prevented bear out the conclusions reached | with formul education. Instead of scabs from going in. But in in 1953 by the author, a few "Sinhalese only," it called for Asian countries there are great samples of which follow: "Thus on August 12th a new official languages with equal masses of small peasants, shopkeepers, etc. These and other factor reentered our politics. status. elements-unemployed, students, This is the factor of direct mass LSISP speeches and papers ham-

houswives and others without intervention in the political unions-participate by engaging arena: itself the basic factor in ployment meant the same in both the revolutionary process. Our languages, that the price of food in the hartal. The hartal means a cessation politics can never be the same

of all work and transportation as before. The sense of mass as a means of political protest. power generated in the masses Those engaged in the hartal stop themselves as well as in their respect Tamil minority rights, as trains and buses-by pacific opponents ensures this . . . means, if possible, by fighting "But the UNP government it was the Tamil workers' dut back, if attacked by scabs, police has been struck a blow from

which it can never recover. or troops. Asian hartalists do not turn August 12th not only set it reelthe other cheek, but defend ing but also shattered its moral themselves militantly. In Ceylon basis. August 12th also narrowed the fighting reached almost in-lits mass base irreparably."

panty." This is incorrect. Known profound influence in Asia. in Ceylon politics as the Philip Gunawardene group, it is a small Kotelawala was denounced during political formation grouped about the campaign for his role at the Gunawardene, who many years Bandung Conference where he ago split off from the Trotskyist served U.S. imperialism by his Lanka Slama Sama ja Plarity. Since attacks on Communist China. Secretary of State Dulles tried then his group departed from to build up Kotelawala's prestige Trotskyism onto the twisting by visiting Ceylon in the midst road of opportunism. Among other things he collaborated with of the election campaign. The visit probably cost Kotelawala the Ceylonese Stalinists and accepted an official invitation to even more votes.

tour the Soviet Union. During the Indicative of Wall Street's reacrecenit wave of communalism tion to the election was the New which turned Sinhalese worker York Times editorial of April 8 against Tamil, religion against after the first day's voting inreligion, and caste against caste, dicated the landslide. Entitled his group bowed to the pressure. 'setblack in Ceylon," it began: Now it has ended up in a coalition 'We may as well face the unwith a liberal capitalist party pleasant facts in the case. We cannot greet the election return from Ceylon, at this point, with vital language question.

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

news story in the same issue of It must be emphasized that the the N. Y. Times correctly predictreal Trotskyist party of this ed: "Today's polling threatened Asian island was not part of to push the Government party the United Peoples Front but ran even out of second place. The independently and has emerged Trotskyite Ceylon Equality party as the main opposition party. Its [LSSP] won five more seats and program was one of class strugits total stood at nine. . . The gle and unswerving opposition second most important politician to the reactionary communalist in the country now may be Dr. N. M. Perera, the Trotskvite leader, and former mayor of chauvinists, who would force Colombo."

> Communalism, as the Hindu-Moslem riots in India have so tragically demonstrated, is the greatest threat to the progress of the workers and peasants of Asia. The LSSP's principled stand for solidarity of all peoples and national minorities' rights can best be appreciated when the communalist wave which threatened to enguilf Ceylon is described.

Kotelawala called the elections when the communalist frenzy was making both Sinhalese and Tamil at its height in the hope of riding back to power on the "Sinhaleseonly" issue. Both his UNP and the United Peoples Front tried mered on the theme that unem- to make language and religion main issues. There were threats to send the Tamils "black to was no lower whether it was India," to refuse them jobs, asked for in Sinhalese or Tamil. prevent them from buying land that it was the socialist duty of Moreover capitalist elements the Sinhalese majority (70%) to among the Tamil minority responded with threats of secession. The LISSP, which has long to reject chauvinist plans of been attacked as anti-Buddhist secession to join India. The and irrelligious, was denounced as LSSP's long and heroic record of a pairty of Tamil-lovers. The struggle against imperialism, its LSSP not only stuck to principle veoman work in organizing and helped abate the frenzy but unions and fighting for the wel- was vindicated at the polls.

streets of a perialism, has already had a working class area. Last Sunday at a meeting in Oakland called by the Minis-

terial Alliance together with the NAACP a total of 232 Militants and 87 Desegregation pamphlets were sold by ten people. Frank B. was tops with the sale of 55 papers, and Bill Morgan headed the pamphlet sellers with a to-

tal of 35. The meeting was called in solidarity with the Alabama bus boycott. We got a terrific response to both the paper and the pamphlet."

Howard Mayhew writes from Chicago that everyone there is delighted with the exceedingly fine quality of the recent issues. They have been doing well enough in that city to have sent rush orders for 500 copies of one issue, and a thousand of ananything short of dismay." A other.

Here in New York, John Tagomery but when your people bor reports that "300 papers are helping my people, I want were sold at the Manhattan Cen- to help you.' While some of us ter meeting. The spirit of Montwere at the churches others were knocking at doors in neighgomery seemed to be lacking here. However, E. D. Nixon was borhood work, selling 97 this given the most applause because way. Another 42 were sold in the he was the symbol of struggle." Los Angeles "sold 554 copies shops and union. Altogether we sold a total of 265." of the March 19 issue with 24 salespeople, three of whom were tops. The work that had been done on street sales and other

meetings showed up here. Many

"All of us here were very glad to see Cannon's speech on the death of the Stalin cult printed people knew The Militant and in The Militant, and all of the were pleased to see us. We were other stories on the same topic."



If this is the first time you have ever read The Militant, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read The Militant regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1.50 for a 6 month subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y

•																																																
Name				•	•		••	••	••	•••	 •••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	••	•••	•••	•	•••	••	••	 ••	••	•	•••	•	•••	••	••	••	•	•••	•••	•••	•••	••	•••	••	•••	•••	•••		•••			
Street					•	•••	••	••	••		 •••	•••	•••				••		•••			••	••	 ••	••	•	••	•	••	••	•••		•	•••	•••		•••	••	••	•••	•••	•••	•••	••		ispi		
City	•	••	••		••	••	•••			•••	 		••			•••	••		••	••	•	•••	••	 ••	••		•'•	•	••	••	•••	••		•••	•••	•••	•••	••	•••	•••	••1			•••				•
State	•	••			••	••	••				 		••	••			••			••			••	 •••	••	•				•••	••	••	•				••	-0.0	7	0	n	e		•••			-	
																																									de la	5.	1	in the	an's A la	1	1	



Will Eisenhower Send U.S. Troops?

Current administration moves in relation to the Middle East crisis are loaded with deceit and fraud against the American people. Washington is attempting to jockey the country into a position where it can again be plunged into war against the will of the people.

Secretary of State Dulles announced April 3 that "in an emergency in the Middle East" U.S. forces might be sent into action without Congressional authority. The next day President Eisenhower gave solemn "assurance" that he would never commit U.S. troops to war without consent of Congress.

Eisenhower's statement was motivated by the knowledge that U.S. public opinion, with the memory of Korea still fresh is deeply opposed to any more "police actions." He was attempting to placate antiwar sentiment while laying the groundwork to thwart it.

Carefully inserted in his statement was a loophole big enough to drive a tank through. "There are times." he explained. "when troops, to defend themselves, may have to, you might say, undertake local warlike acts. . ."

With the Sixth Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean and an additional 1,800 marines recently dispatched there, it would not require much conniving to deliberately put them in a position where they would have to "defend themselves."

In a new policy statement, April 9, Eisenhower announced that the U.S. was prepared to "resist aggression" in the Middle East. Again he assured that this would be done "within Constitutional means."

The next day Dulles met with the congressional leaders of both parties on the issue. After the meeting it was reported that the administration would not ask Congress for troop action now. But, it was explained, if the crisis continues, as it probably will, the President must not be left with his hands tied when Congress adjourns in July. Therefore, the President | the analogy between the Stalinwould most likely have to request from Congress before it adjourns a pre-dated authorization to use troops at his discretion.

To cut through these maneuvers, the the aberration of individuals, American people must demand two things. First, the pretext for war based on an "attack" on American troops must be eliminated. And it can be done by simply withdrawing all U.S. troops from foreign state to safeguard and extend soil. Such a move would be welcomed by its power and privileges, and the people of the occupied countries, the troops themselves and would reduce the war danger.

Secondly, even if the Administration decides not to move without authorization from Congress, this is far from any guarantee that peace is assured.

Korean "police action" without a murmur. in the Soviet Union to the sim-Last year it granted Eisenhower a blank check to declare war on China if Formosa is "attacked." It is not likely to demur in of the Soviet Union. Every critic granting the same dangerous power in of Stalin's brutal rule was stigthe explosive Middle East crisis.

To curb the war-makers, the American people should demand that the war-making power be taken out of the hands of the capitalist politicians and that the people themselves shall have the right to vote, by popular referendum, on the questions of war and peace.

No Gain for Capitalism

The highly political Big Business oracle. the New York Times, has been straining to construe the Kremlin's recent repudiation of the Stalin cult as some kind of victory of capitalism over socialism.

During the period of the rise of Stalin and his bloody campaign against the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition headed by Leon Trotsky, the capitalist - class - conscious Times made sure to send correspondents to Russia who always favored Stalin as against the revolutionary internationalists.

Now that the heirs of Stalin have been forced by the new revolutionary mood of the Russian working class to disown the murderer of revolutionists and the betrayer of revolutions, the editors of the

the bureaucratic ruling caste, including the repudiation of Stalin, in no way beclouds the position of the Soviet working class on this question of capitalism

and socialism. What better demonstration of this could be asked than the anti-Stalinist uprising of the Soviet East German workers in June 1953? It was a brilliant and powerful attack on the Stalinist bureaucracy. But it didn't yield an inch to Western capitalism. And as it turned out there was absolutely no profit in it for the capitalists.

workers of Eastern Europe are not in-terested in going back to capitalism. They . . . Why Lenin Asked Trotsky's Aid No. The Russian workers, as well as the conduct a fight against the corruption and rottenness of bureaucracy in the same spirit as workers in capitalist countries fight their union bureaucracy — with no thought of returning to open-shop slavery. As a matter of fact, the new vigor and revolutionary energy of the Soviet masses, which alone explains the retreats and maneuvers of the Khrushchevs and Bulganins, arises in great part from the anti- definite shape. capitalist revolutionary tide that has risen new stage of the revolution in Russia, now post of general secretary, but probably have been doing time the world capitalist system. It will infuse of monopoly of foreign trade, matters is not Stalin, but the stroke was near; it was prethe revolutionary masses of Europe and on the national question, on forces that he expresses without Asia and the class-conscious vanguard of questions of the regime in the the international working class with new party, of the worker-peasant inhope and courage.

have been casting about frantically for plausible answers to the many embarrassing questions the ranks are insistently asking. Party members demand to know above all how this monstrous Stalin cult came into being, why it flourished so long, what their leaders had done to

combat it. In last week's Militant I dealt with one answer George Morris gives in the Daily Worker. He borrows from the Trotskyists ist bureaucracy and the trade union bureaucracy. Morris then mutilates this analogy by depicting both, not as the product of social environment, but as

especially as they grow old. By this method, George Morris seeks to conceal the existing so cial conflict between the bureaucracy using its control of the the Soviet masses struggling to rid themselves of their parasitic away. The Stalin bureaucracy oppressors.

THE STALIN CULT

Heretofore, the Stalinists have sought to conceal the existence of the Soviet bureaucracy by means of the Stalin cult. They Congress approved Truman's illegal tried to reduce all political life ple equation: Stalin is the So- for the interests of the working consistently supported one or viet Union. Anyone against class. Stalin was pilloried as an enemy

> matized as anti-Soviet. A mere whisper against the oppressive and is bourgeois, precisely bebureaucracy was considered an cause the Stalinist bureaucracy

act of high treason. The Stalin cult is now taboo. The 20th Congress declared that geois privileges within the Sothe cult of the individual is alien to Marxism-Leninism. That sciously or otherwise supported the ideology of the working placed himself in the service of class in its struggle for social- the bureaucracy against the inism. As the only class hostile to terests of the Soviet people and all forms of inequality and op- against the interests of the pression, the working class can construct a socialist society. But

ticipation in industrial and po- an individual is just as alien to to an existing bureaucracy. Often litical life. The Marxist party expresses

substitute itself for the class either before or after a revolution. After the October 1917

(Continued from page 1)

indermined, Lenin applied him-

self to the entire problem of

leadership. This accounts for the

during which the situation took

Lenin was now preparing not

of control, he was systematical-

Rally of Ceylon Trotskyist Party

A crowd of 30,000 turn out to a rally of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyist) in Ceylon. In recent elections the pro-Wall St. Prime Minister was thrown out and a neutralist coalition brought to office. The LSSP, running independently, made great gains and became the country's second biggest party.

the ruling class until such time | against another. This is one of as class society would become the methods by which the Amerioutlived and the state wither can workers are prevented from building their own class party. usurped the political power, de-It is no accident that the stroyed Lenin's Bolshevik Party, American CP has at one and the and substituted the leader cult. same time been an integral part The ideology of the leader of the Stalinist as well as of the

cult is bourgeois. It is the ide- capitalist confidence game. In ology of a privileged minority the U.S. they have long ago seeking to immobilize the workabandoned any pretense of pur ing class as a political force and suing a consistent class struggle to substitute its own interests line. On the contrary. They have

another capitalist politician. In-ALIEN TO MARXISM class consciousness, they are

In other words, the Stalin cult promoting capitalist consciousis alien to Marxism-Leninism ness inside the working class via the Democratic Party. To conceal the anti-working is alien to the working class and class nature of the bureaucrac is instead the bearer of bour- is just as criminal as to concea the anti-working class nature of viet Union. Anyone who con- the capitalist parties. With the Stalinists these two crimes go is true. Marxism-Leninism is the Stalin cult by that fact hand-in-hand.

THE REAL PROBLEM

world working class. The attempt by George Morris tively against it. In a trade and others to explain the Stalin union, groups organized in opposition

Marxist ideology as the cult such groups have as their sole itself. This method of explana- platform substitution of more these interests. It never seeks to 'tion is also borrowed from the "honest" men, men of greater ideologists of the capitalist integrity for the incumbents class. The men-of-good-will con- After election these "honest" cept of politics is the method men, these men of "integrity" revolution the Bolshevik Party by which the bourgeoisie seeks turn out to be no different than and its leadership inspired and to conceal its class rule and de- their predecessors. Why? Be educated the working class to ceive the masses into supporting cause the problem of bureaucradischarge its responsibility as one capitalist politician as tism is not resolved by replacing

should have been victorious

How solid the victory would

have been is, of course, another

and in the party itself. That is

Lenin's wife said in 1927 that

In 1922-23, however, it was

still possible to capture the com-

manding position by an open at-

being formed of national social-

separate and large theme.

rect part in the struggle.

eturned to work with his health even if Lenin had taken no di-

conversation with me. Hence, question. To decide that, one

too, the Will. Its last lines were must take into account a number

written on January 4. After of objective processes in the

that, two more months passed country, in the working class,

only to remove Stalin from his if he had been alive he would

with workers' rule. When Stalin's successors The real question facing the nounce the Stalin cult, they do worker members of the Com- it to maintain themselves in munist Party is not how good power. The Soviet workers will an explanation one or another not be satisfied with this limited of their leaders can think up in concession. The repudiation of 'explaining" the Stalin cult, but the Stalin cult can only be the what they propose in its place. opening phase of a struggle Are they for Lenin's dictum that which will lead to the definitive every cook must learn how to defeat of bureaucratic rule in govern — an aphorism intended the Soviet Union and the victory to emphasize the principle that of the Soviet workers.

power must reside in the work-The worker members of the ing class itself — or are they Communist Party must ask: attacking the Stalin cult only to Does George Morris and his kind ustify some other form of show them how to link their oureaucratic rule? struggle as socialists with that The Communist Party memof the Soviet masses, or do the pers. taught to believe that Stal-CP leaders continue to try to n and the Soviet Union were an exploit their socialist aspirations identity, that they were one and in behalf of a self-seeking the same thing, have been bureaucracy alien to socialism. shocked and confused by the re- The overwhelming evidence is pudiation of the Stalin cult at that George Morris and Co. rethe 20th Congress. They face main unreconstructed.

even more profound shocks in But the worker members are the future. The Soviet workers, searching for answers that the once helpless before the power time-servers of the Kremlin of the bureaucracy, have grown bureaucracy are unable to progreatly in numbers, in culture, in vide. These answers are availself-assurance. They are through able. They can be found in the being the object of the bureau- exhaustive Marxist analyses concracy's politics. They are strug- tained in the writings of Leon gling to enter the political arena Trotsky.

Text of Will

(Continued from page 1)

has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I stead of promoting working am not sure that he knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways and Communications, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities - personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee — but also by his far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

> These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

I will not further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee. want to say a few words about Bukharin and Pyatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest) and in regard to them it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never





Times hope to extract something useful for capitalism out of the situation.

They are barking up the wrong tree. And what's more, they know it, and therefore they don't have their hearts in the project. In an editorial April 6 they say: "The Soviet people are asking the same questions that people all over the world are asking." And among these questions they list: "Is there not something basically rotten and corrupt with a system in which Stalinism could come to flower?" The Times would have been more accurate, not to say honest, if they admitted they hoped this was a question the Soviet people would ask. Actually, all the evidence shows that the Soviet people have decided irrevocably that they are opposed to capitalism and in favor of socialism. And the nise of an anti-Stalinist revolutionary movement of the Russian workers. which in its initial stirring has already forced concession after concession from

The montality rate of Asian prime ministers who become too closely identified as "friends" of the American State Department is rising. The latest, but by no means the last, is the recently ousted prime minister of Ceylon, Sir John

In an editorial published in The Militant, Dec. 13, 1954, entitled, "Parade of Prime Ministers," we reported the visit to Washington of dignitaries seeking aid in exchange for their support of American imperialist foreign policy. They were: (1) Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan — he had to cut short his visit and hurry back in a futile attempt to head off a palace revolution against him. (2) Shigeru Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, ousted from office following his junket to Washington, and (3) Sir John Kotelawala.

Kotelawala.

Despite the weight of evidence against it. Sir John believed he could use American dollars to bolster his waning prestige with the people of Ceylon. He was prepared to pay Washington's price for American aid and was ready to utilize every opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to Anglo-American imperialism. His "good will" trip to Washington in Dec. 1954 was intended to prove that he could be depended upon in a pinch.

So, our advice to the Times is to stop ly preparing to deliver at the tack on the faction then rapidly. wasting its time looking for something good for capitalism out of the death of the Stalin cult. There's nothing there for them.

Dulles' Kiss of Death

At the Bandung conference in 1955 he carried the ball against Red China and "Communism." He refused to allow entree and one of them was quite fresh to China's diplomats and even went so far as to deny entree to Soviet astronomers who wanted to observe an eclipse of the sun.

These efforts did not go unappreciated. When the election campaign began, Secretary of State Dulles made it a point to make a "good will" visit to Ceylon and to promise some U.S. financial aid. Both Dulles and Kotelawala believed this would cinch the U.N.P. campaign.

Just the opposite happened. The Ceylonese judged the Dulles visit as an decision as unanimously as it The very thought of this made ominous sign of their becoming involved had adopted it. On December 21, me shudder. I considered that it in some more of his "brink of war" plans. Their reaction to imperialism is no different from that of the rest of the masses position without a single shot, painful a price for it even in of Asia. They want no part of Wall by a mere maneuver. I suggest case of victory. Street's design to keep the colonial countries from achieving their independence. They figured that they would have to pay for any deals Sir John concluded with Dulles.

The colonial peoples are on the road to independence and will not be stopped. hinder them is met by immediate hostility. Dulles' visit to Ceylon proved to be not a boost to Kotelawala but a kiss of death.

twelfth congress a crushing blow at Stalin as personifying bureaucracy, the mutual shielding among officials, arbitrary rule and general rudeness. Would Lenin have been able to carry out the regrouping in the party direction that he in mind and significant. In November, 1922, while Lenin was

a decision that dealt an irreparable blow at the monopoly of foreign trade. Both Lenin and I sounded the alarm, independently of each other and then wrote to each

Lenin wrote triumphantly to me: that we do not stop but press the attack."

COULD TROTSKY WIN?

ist officials, of usurpers of the apparatus, of the unlawful heirs of October, of the epigones of Bolshevism. The chief obstacle

even realizing it.

was Lenin's condition. He was expected to rise again as he had after his first stroke and to take planned? At that moment, he part in the twelfth congress as undoubtedly would. There had he had in the eleventh. He himbeen several precedents for it, self hoped for this. The doctors spoke encouragingly, though with dwindling assurance.

The idea of a "bloc of Lenin still convalescent and living in and Trotsky" against the appathe country, and while I was ab- ratus-men and bureaucrats was sent from Moscow, the Central at that time fully known only to Committee unanimously adopted Lenin and me, although the other members of the Politbureau dimly suspected it. Lenin's letters on the national question and his Will remained unknown. Independent action on my part would have been interpreted, or, other and co-ordinated our ac- to be more exact, represented as tion. A few weeks later, the my personal fight for Lenin's Central Committee revoked its place in the party and the state.

would have brought such a de-"Comrade Trotsky, it seems that moralization in our ranks that we have managed to capture the we would have had to pay too

LENIN'S ROLE

In all plans and calculations, there remained the positive ele-Our joint action against the ment of uncertainty-Lenin and

Central Committee at the begin- his physical condition. Would he ning of 1923 would without a be able to state his own views? shadow of a doubt have brought | Would he still have time? Would us victory. And what is more, I the party understand that it was Every attempt of the imperialists to have no doubt that if I had come a case of a fight by Lenin and forward on the eve of the Trotsky for the future of the twelfth congress in the spirit of revolution, and not a fight by "bloc of Lenin and Trotsky" Trotsky for the place held by against the Stalin bureaucracy, Lenin, who was ill?

Because of Lenin's exceptional has fully understood, the dialectic).

position in the party, the uncer-And then Pyatakov — a man undoubtedly distintainty of his personal condition guished in will and ability, but too much given over to adbecame the uncertainty of the ministration and the administrative side of things to be condition of the entire party. The relied on in a serious political question. ndefinite situation was being

prolonged. And the delay simply Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely played into the hands of epiwith a view to the present time, or supposing that these gones, since Stalin, as general two able and loyal workers may not find occasion to supsecretary, became the majordomo of the apparatus for the plement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness. entire period of the interregnum. December 25, 1922 It was the beginning of March

Postcript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely 1923. Lenin was lying in his to disqualify him before the in a Stalin prison. I think she room in the huge building of the supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes opening, will strike staggering blows at party as well. On the question was right. For the thing that courts of justice. The second insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove ceded by a series of lesser Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man shocks. I spent several weeks in who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority bed with lumbago in the former Kavalersky building, where we — namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more had our apartment, and was attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumseparated from Lenin by the stance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that enormous courtyard of the Kremfrom the point of view of preventing a split and from the lin. Neither Lenin nor I could point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky reach the telephone; furthermore, the doctors strictly forwhich I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a bade Lenin to hold any teletrifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

Lenin



phone conversations.

Get the Facts about the

SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN

This 48-page pamphlet, containing the full text of Lenin's famous last testament, plus background material by Leon Trotsky, is must reading for everyone interested in the origin of the Stalin cult. Trotsky reveals the inside story of why Lenin came to break with Stalin and how he started the struggle against the future dictator.

Stalin himself was forced at the October 1927 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to admit the existence of Lenin's last warning. He read aloud the postscript designating the General Secretary as "too rude" and proposing to remove him from his post. "Yes, comrades," said Stalin, "I am rude towards those who are rudely and disloyally destroying and disintegrating the Party. I have never made a secret of it and shall not do so now." But Stalin soon decided to make a secret of Lenin's last testament. He refused to publish it, putting it instead on the list of forbidden reading for rank-and-file Stalinists.

Get your copy of the document Stalin tried to bury, together with Trotsky's illuminating revelations and Marxist analysis of how it came to be written. Only 25 cents.



The Negro Struggle By Fred Hart

Uncle Toms Abroad

- 284

the infamous utterances of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the jackrabbit politician, at the Bandung Conference that Jim Crow was a thing of the past in the U.S. and instead of being a social stigma in the U.S. it was now a distinction to be a Negro.

Bishop Nichols was lying for "his" government at the expense of his people. For he surely knows what the census reveals if he hasn't understood what his eyes have seen. U.S. Negroes on the whole receive much lower pay than whites and have poorer jobs; Negro housing is predominantly overcrowded, overpriced, dilapidated, ghetto housing; Negroes, because of the lower standard of living forced on them and lack of equal medical attention, have shorter lives than other Americans.

While Bishop Nichols was saying that Negroes could now go to any school in the U.S., Miss Lucy was risking being lynched in her effort to enter Alabama University.

Public opinion against American Jim Crow is widespread in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is a powerful ally of the Negro people in their struggle for equal rights here at home. Any Negro - official, unofficial or self-appointed - who goes abroad to tell foreigners they are wrong to condemn American Jim Crow is scabbing against the Negro struggle just as much as if he were riding the buses in Montgomery.

These statements are on a par with

At the beginning of the capitalist era

Sir John Wotton, a famous English

diplomat, gave a definition which has lived

in history. "An ambassador," he wrote,

"is an honest man sent abroad to lie for

his government." In our epoch we are

seeing more and more Negroes sent abroad

as official or unofficial "good will"

ambassadors. This is because U.S. im-

perialism's propaganda that its foreign

policy is motivated solely by the pure

desire to spread democracy is disbelieved

by foreigners who know about and abhor

this country's undemocratic Jim Crow

While a foreign audience frankly dis-

believes speeches of white "good will"

ambassadors denying that U.S. Negroes

are second-class citizens, the same denials

from American Negro speakers carry

The New York Times and the Negro

press has recently carried accounts of

statements made in the Soviet Union by

Negro Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the

AME Church. In a speech to Russians,

translated sentence by sentence, he said

such things as, "U.S. Negroes lived as well

as any other racial group," and, "The

Supreme Court, the highest court in our

land has made it possible for every Negro

to attend school anywhere in the United

system.

more weight.

States of America."

For **Great Roar!** By Harry Ring

American labor is offered good food for thought in the April issue of The Educator, organ of the Mechanics Educational Society, AFL-CIO. A full column editorial, levels solid criticisms against the politics of the AFL-CIO officialdom and spells out the need for a labor party.

Labor will be compelled by sheer necessity in the next few years to work out a full scale list of demands, the editorial points out. The very words "automation," "high prices," "Taft-Hartley," "Right-to-work laws" and a host of others indicate how true this is.

The Educator is on firm ground when it predicts: "Inevitably labor will not be satisfied with the limited support it will receive from the Democrats and with a loud fanfare of trumpets a Labor Party will be born."

The Educator is also looking ahead clearly when it points out "even this will be dangerous if Labor forms a Party without a program." The experience of the British Labor Party over the past decade, we think, demonstrates the correctness of the point. In 1945 the British Labor Party was swept into office and had the chance to end the capitalist system of wage slavery. Eleven years later the English workers are still compelled to "pull in their belts" to maintain capitalist profits. This situation is a direct result of the fact that the conservative leadership of the party has fought all efforts to elaborate a genuine socialist program for the movement.

the coming party. It explains, "With a clear cut radical program, calling for a complete change in our economy, a Labor Party would have a long, rough road before it and it would be difficult to visualize some of the fat cats of the big unions Industrial Revolution" Robert trampling along this rocky road."

Once the wheels are in motion, we don't think the job of the Labor Party will be extremely difficult. But there's no arguing that it would certainly be a rough haul for the "fat cats." For example, George Meany, who boasts that he's never walked on a picket line in his life, most likely Revolution . . . " "Automation wouldn't have the legs or stomach for the marks a new qualitative stage in haul. But this isn't too big a problem. The the process of production." What ship of industry. The planning withhold milk from sale to the odds are that once the ranks of labor get | on that road they won't be looking to the Industrial Revolution does not Meany's to lead them.

Another article in the same issue of the Educator declares, "It is time to throw off the cloak of company unionism (in polithe result of a lack of clarity in tics), to stand on our own feet. . . We of terms, through which a sound the M.E.S.A.-AFL-CIO are ready - cer- argument is addressed to the tainly we do not stand alone. President Meany has stated he hears no cry for a labor party. We say 'Let him hear it -Let him hear it with a great roar!" We vote for that and would like to submit an amendment that will help carry it out. Formation of an independent labor party and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government in the U.S. is the central plank in the platform of Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate on the Socialist Workers ticket.

VOLUME XX

Takes Exception to

Automation Article

By Robert Chester

If it were true that Automa-

tion did not represent a "Second

Chester's arguments "Automa-

tion: New Industrial Revolu-

tion?" The Militant (March 26,

1956) by no means prove that

point. In fact, several of his key

statements lead to the opposite

conclusion: "Automation . . . is

the final stage of a process be-

gun with the 'First' Industrial

Chester does prove is something

quite different: that this New

make capitalism progressive,

does not give capitalism a new

life, a new reason for going on.

The confusion in this article is

Editor:

(1) The application of "feedand even ultra-stable for an indefinite number of variables and ndefinite degrees of variation.

(2) The ability to program these applications into increasingly "vast" and complex functions. (3) The determination of the

possibility of designing self-repairing, self-improving machinecomplexes.

This Second Industrial Revolution, as it absorbs entire industries, will make meaningless the whole system of private ownership, as it requires destruction of the "lines" of private ownerand construction of vast assem- affected plants. The two plants, worn joke of the capitalist banking and finance system and will

improvement will reduce the ers. The FSBA appealed for amount of socially necessary la- | help from the labor movement in | dredweight. By Friday, March economy based on a system of hundredweight.

Michigan Farmers Gain In Militant Milk Strike

allowing any milk to leave their | point by police and 500 specially farm to battling police and recruited MMPA "supporters," MMPA strikebreakers, on the the FSBA called off the pickethighways. Many of the farmers ing.

stayed up for days at a time, and resulted in a milk strike nere which was more successful than almost anyone expected it to be.

Milk is one of the few major agricultural commodities that is still produced largely by small independent farmers. Practically all of the 1,300 milk producing farmers in the Detroit milk shed belong to a marketing organization called the Michigan Milk Producers Association. This outfit operates the receiving stations which take milk from the farmers and distribute it to the

large dairies in the cities. The MMPA is supposed to be a cooperative organization owned by its farmer members. Actually the farmers claim that it is a "company union" controlled by the rich farmers and the dairies. Said one farmer: "We are supposed to get about \$4.41 per hundredweight for fluid takes its cut we end up with around \$3.75. Then, too, we don't get the full price for all our tion. Our members cannot violate milk. The MMPA decides how much of our milk is surplus and

pays us less for that part of it. We have to pay income tax on wack" and other techniques to the 'share' of the MMPA that make machine-processes stable we are supposed to own, but we never get any dividends."

STRIKE IS CALLED

The milk strike was called by a rebel group called the Fair Share Bargaining Association which was formed last September. Its most prominent leader is Homer Martin, ex-president of the UAW. Martin now operates a small farm outside of De-

troit and holds the position of "advisor" in the FSBA. On Sunday, March 26, the FSBA announced that it would picket two major dairies in Detroit and asked all farmers to

blies will make a pitiful, out- Borden and Ira Wilsons and Sons STRIKE EFFECTIVE Dairy Co. were probably chosen In spite of the failure of the because they are each organized labor bureaucrats, the strike was require a socialist conception of by one of the two major unions effective. The MMPA meeting in his trouble. He doesn't know credit and planning. The intro- in the industry, the Teamsters convention during the week was duction of self-repair and self- and the CIO United Dairy Work- forced to threaten a strike in its why they kicked him out of the own name demanding \$5 a hun-

bor power to the point that an its strike. It demanded \$6.50 per 30, the major dairies had grant-

Many of the farmers were in rushing from one trouble spot to tears as they broke up their another, stopping milk trucks, picket lines. A meeting was called for that night in Brighton,

That night the streets of led by FSBA pickets at the high Brighton were filled with farmers' cars. On some were chalked

conferred with FSBA leaders "On Strike!" In front of the but gave no real support to the American Legion hall where the embattled farmers. A few UAW meeting was to be held a sound ocals voted moral support to truck blaned the song "16 Tons." the strike, and some UAW men Inside the hall there was stand-

SURPRISED WORLD

picket lines were strongest, both AFL and CIO drivers refused on the state of Michigan, and even their own to cross the lines, but yourselves," said FSBA presiunion plant workers and deliv- dent Roland Brengle as he openery men continued to work on ed the meeting. "The \$5 is entirely due to your efforts." The orders from their leaders. George McLean, secretary crowd cheered assent. "Today treasurer of the CIO Milk Driv- we laid the groundwork . . . the

ers Local 83 summed up the at- FSBA is going to be here from titude of the bureaucrats in a now on ... We are going to get milk, but by the time the MMPA statement Tuesday, March 27: out publications . . . next time 'The farmers are not members we take action we'll be well orof an organized labor organiza- ganized."

In the audience two teen-age their contracts by refusing to farm boys nodded to each other cross picket lines put up by peo- at this. Said one: "They never ple not directly connected with would have got a truck through here if we'd have been a little Said one young farmer on the better organized. We were walkpicket line in front of Borden's ing over those deputies for a

Martin spoke very long. Said

one white-haired farmer to his

companions: "That always was

while." Detroit plant: "If that's the la-Leo Van Born, chairman of bor movement, I'm disgusted the strike committee spoke. "Our with it. Reuther runs all over the place making speeches about objective is a contract. Collective bargaining is our primary purhow the labor movement is the friend of the farmer and when pose. It is not a lost cause because I know you are here to it comes to the time when he support further action." Cheers. can show it, he lets CIO drivers Homer Martin was the main cross our picket lines."

speaker. He outlined plans for Said another: "We got moral building a national dairy farmsupport from the Teamsters but that's all. The guys in there (he ers organization. "You'll be lost pointed to the dairy) are with if you don't organize. This is the us; they tell us so, but they can't last stand of the small farmer. Let's call it what it is. People do anything without the union's ok. If the labor movement would call what you did 'economic action.' Well, it looked like a strike really help us, this thing would be over in 24 hours." to me; I'm going to call it just that—a strike!"

when to shut up. I think that's CIO." Martin ended the meeting with

a prayer. A collection was taken ed the \$5 demand. The FSBA up (the FSBA has no dues yet),

Strike leader Sam Bailo talks to dairy farmers in the Imlay City, Mich. area, who cut Detroit's milk supply to a trickle before an injunction ended the nine-day stoppage. Many trucks were overturned and gallons of milk were dumped by the farmers who struck for a raise in the price of milk to them from the creameries. **Our Readers** Take the Floor

Dairy Farmers Strike

MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1956

By William Bundy The discontent of the small farmers has taken militant or-

ganizational form in Michigan

and picketing plants. The main MMPA receiving about 40 miles from Detroit. station was completely controlpoint of the strike. Teamsters and UDW officials the words: "Fair Share!" and

were seen on the picket lines, ing room only. but the union leadership followed a hands off policy. Where

"You've surprised the world,



NUMBER 16



THE MILITANT

The Educator takes a hard-headed approach to the problem of leadership for

A significant vote for Dobbs will really add to the roar in Meany's ears.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY On the Soviet Union and Stalinism

"Is it normal that having lived almost 40 years after October we do not have either a brief or a complete Marxist-Leninist textbook on the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet state, which would show, without varnishing, not only the facade but the whole many-sided life of our Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan, First Deputy Prime Minister, at 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMIN- TERN — Documents and speeches of the first four congresses of the Communist In-	STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS \$1.00
ternational before its Stalinist degeneration. 2 vols. Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50	EUROPE AND AMERICA — (includes "Per- spectives of World Development" and "Whither Europe") \$.50
Vol. II (paper only) 3.00	
Both for 6.00	IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM — An exposition of the Soviet Union in World War II, its
THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED — An analysis of the social relations within the	class nature and the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. cloth \$2.50
Soviet Union, the rise of the Stalinist bu- reaucracy, the Stalin cult, the position of the	paper 2.00
working class, the peasantry, etc.	THE SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN
cloth \$2.50	\$.25
paper 1.50	LEON SEDOFF — written on the death of his son \$.25
STALIN An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence (Originally published at \$5.00)	STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM \$.15
Special price \$3.50	
STALIN — a biography (cloth) \$3.50	THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION — Copenhagen speech \$.15
THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COM- MUNIST INTERNATIONAL — a criticism of fundamentals (with explanatory notes),	I STAKE MY LIFE — speech on the Moscow trials \$.15
Trotsky's basic work on the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country (paper) \$.25	THE OCTOBER REVOLUTIONFromOctober to Brest-Litovsk\$1.00
PIONEER P	UBLISHERS
116 University Place	New York 3, N. Y.
110 Oniversity I lace	11CW 101K 0, 11. 1.
have been and have been and the Constraint of the second second second second second second second second second	the second se

wrong issue. As a result of this approach, he seems to have equated the First Industrial Revolution with capitalism to the degree of making it a kind of alpha and omega of the capitalist epoch. He mistakenly identifies automation with automaton. The term, automation, is often used in industry and engineering to indicate automaton - ism. This carelessness is due partly to ignorance and partly sales-bologna -a way of dumping fancy gad-

getry into the tooling programs of naive manufacturers. Marxists. however, must make more careful distinctions. The First Industrial Revolu-

tion is defined simply as that part of the capitalist process in which the muscular power of the worker was replaced with the mechanical application of power in a machine, a process in which Answer to Problem the worker remains to supervise and control the individual stage of production as an appendage of the machine. This process

production.'

the capitalist machine to control this revolution, to "tame" it to capitalist ends. The task of the this Second Industrial Revolution in its historical perspective. Second, to explain the contradic-

tions between it and its capitalist environment. Third, to explain its role in the Industrial Program of the Socialist Revolu-

tion. L. M. New York **Of South Is Found**

In The Militant Editor: neither deep-going or new nor evolved from the capilitalist sys-The first thirty-five years of tem of hand-tool manufacture. intended to prevent recurrence my life were spent mostly in Now, as Bob correctly states: "Automation marks a new quali- the South. I developed into a class conscious worker and some- | for: 1) creation of a six-man | to the Attorney General. This in | involved." tative stage in the process of thing of a socialist under typi- bi-partisan commission with sub- itself would mean absolutely Automation - for want of a cal southern conditions. I have better term-produces a qualita- felt for a long time that socialism was the only answer to the tively new relationship between the productive process and the problems of the South, but my mind has always been filled with worker, a relationship fully as

R. C.

REBELLION

Rm. 207

Donation 25c.

Free for Unemployed

St. Louis

too many questions and too few new, even more radical than the change effected by the First In- answers when I thought about dustrial Revolution. From the southern problems. The atmosstandpoint of dialectic rigor, it phere is so different from anywould be intolerable to accept thing else I have ever seen or the First Industrial Revolution read about.

Late issues of The Militant and deny the Second. At the have been supplying the answers same time, it is important to recognize that this emergent in- I have long looked for. Keep up dustrial revolution is suffering the great work.

violent distortions and deformation because of the burden of dead capital and the capitalist property relationships in which Detroit Fri. Night it emerges. It is necessary to make a dialectical discrimination Socialist Forum between the emergent form and THE EASTER WEEK the distortion imposed upon it. The Second Industrial Revolution represents a process by Commemorating the 40th anwhich individual machines, facniversary of the heroic Irish tories are successively combined struggle led by the socialist to form one machine-up to the James Connolly point that the entire productive Friday, April 20, at 8 P. M. economy becomes "one machine." While the "final," "perfected" At 3000 Grand River result is some time distant. the immediate possible results in this direction are no less than titanic. Their possibility is demonstrated by several principles:

use-values must arise. The pro-Monday morning hundreds of properly claimed - and got and people passed out of the gram of the Second Industrial hall. They were in a serious and farmers showed up in front of credit for the increase, but con-Revolution is the Industrial Prothe struck plants. The response tinued the strike and the dequestioning mood. Said one young gram of the Socialist Revolution. | was beyond the expectations even | mand for \$6.50. man: "Well, I guess we ain't A Second Industrial Revolu-Over the weekend, the state dead vet." of the FSBA leaders. The strike

the company."

tion has begun to emerge in the quickly spread to the other "Do you think they'll get anypolice escorted large numbers of final phase of the capitalist dairies. Pickets were dispatched milk tankers into Detroit (in where?" asked another. "Well, epoch. Now, we are witnessing a something's got to be done,' from the FSBA office on the spite of the promise of Demodesparate but futile attempt by outskirts of Detroit. Farmers cratic Governor Williams that soneone answered. "I'm not exfrom all over the state telephon- state troopers would not be used actly for unions, but something's ed in to find out what they could as strikebreakers). On Monday, got to be done. I'd feel a lot betdo in the strike. Their partici- April 2, after the FSBA block- ter about it if we'd got some socialist is, first, to understand pation varied from simply not ade had been broken at a crucial help from Detroit."

GOP Baits Hook

(Continued from page 1) knows that Negroes in Missis- ments in the present weak and 'true" friends of the Negro sippi and other parts of the South inadequate law are proposed are being prevented from voting. there is also a dangerous retreat

people. The need is not for "study" of Phony and cynical as the administration maneuver is, there this but for action to stop it. preventing a person from voting is no question but that it will Even present laws would permit should go to jail. In his accomfurther damage the Democratic the administration to take some panying letter to Congress. At-Party which is already in deep action if it wanted to, but it torney General Brownell wrote: crisis over the civil rights issue. | prefers to make demagogic election-year proposals instead. The Eisenhower proposals are

of the Till lynching or the Miss Justice would be made a di- field charged with emotion are Lucy case. Specifically they call vision with its head an assistant extraordinarily difficult for all poena power to investigate alle- nothing except a few more jobs a law, it is possible to foresee, in gations that Negroes are being for some lawyers. Even the view of the "enforcement" the deprived of the right to vote and present civil rights section has capitalist parties have given are suffering unwarranted eco- had time to kill because Eisen- civil rights laws heretofore, comnomic pressure; 2) making the hower's Attorney General (like present civil rights section of Truman's) has never given it he Department of Justice into any real work or permission to a division with its head an as- go ahead. Instead of using existsistant attorney general; 3) ing civil rights laws, weak as from voting by undergoing civil broadening the present law for- they are, to intervene in the oidding interference with the South the civil rights section has right to vote and making such been used to figure out legal ar-

interference subject to civil suits guments for federal non-interby the injured party or the At- vention. torney General in federal courts. ASK CIVIL SUITS How good are these propo-

sals? Since there have been no civil rights laws passed by Dembroaden existing legislation ocrats or Republicans in the last which is supposed to guarantee 80 years, any proposal may the right to vote. The existing look good to some people. Ac- law provides for criminal penaltually they represent a retreat ties. Eisenhower proposes that from the civil rights program civil suits also be allowed. This the Negro and labor movements could mean asking for injunchave been advocating for the tions, damages, etc. Moreover, last two decades. Let's examine the present law applies only to them one by one. First is the proposal for a unlike previous committees and by anybody. Finally, suits could commissions it would have sub- be instituted in federal court by poena power for its investiga- the injured parties or the Atand making a report within two courts.

from the principle that those "Today every interference with the right [to vote] should not Second, the present civil rights necessarily be treated as a section of the Department of crime . . . Criminal cases in a

> Should this proposal be made plete dropping of the criminal penalties and a system by which Southern counties "purchased" the right to prevent Negroes suits and paying a few fines and damages.

But the third proposal is not even intended to get to the floor of Congress. Senate Republican leader Knowland gave reporters the tip-off when he predicted Proposal number three would that the first two proposals

would get as far as a vote. The implication is clear - proposal number three will die in committee.

Under terrific pressure from the aroused Negro masses to do something about the blind alley into which 20 years of supporting the Democrats has got the interference by state officials civil rights fight, many Negro and their agents. The new proleaders will undoubtedly use new study commission. Though posal would cover interference Eisenhower's feeble and phony "program" as the excuse to declare for the Republicans. If so, they aid the game of making tion, it would nonetheless be torney General before the case civil rights a political football. limited to studying "allegations" had gone through the state The only road is a break with both Jim Crow, Big Business

years. Everybody in the country While some minor improve- parties.