

Guilty of Frame-Ups, Murder and Pogroms

We address the following lines to the masses of Jewish and class conscious workers who are devoted partisans of the Soviet Union and thought that Stalinism was the true expression of Communism:

We know you are stunned and sickened by the news contained in the Polish Jewish paper, Folksstimme, entitled "Our Anguish and Our Consolation."

Many of you must be asking: "Can it be that everything we have lived by for over three decades is nothing but a pack of perfidious lies? Can it be that Stalin, who was represented to us as the personification of the revolution and socialism itself, was not merely guilty of "incorrect methods of work" and building the "cult of the individual" as Foster said recently in the Daily Worker, but was rather the organizer of monstrous frame-ups, the extractor of "confessions" through torture, the murderer of countless devoted revolutionists and a blood-stained anti-semitic butcher?"

Surely none of you believe the astonishing "explanation" repeated in the Folksstimme, Freiheit and Daily Worker that all this was the work of Beria! It is enough to point out that. Beria had not yet been brought in by Stalin during the decimation of the leaders of Soviet Jewry in the Thirties for this "explanation" to fall apart. Who was responsible for the anti-semitic purges of the Thirties? The secret police chiefs who preceded Beria? Yezhov? Yagoda?

But Stalin with his dictatorial power handpicked all three of these police chiefs. There is no escaping the fact that Stalin was chief organizer of the historic crimes against the working class,



Daily Worker Hastens To Whitewash Stalin's **Partners-In-Crime**

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Stalinist sources in Poland and New York have now confirmed Leon Trotsky's charge that Stalin's murdermachine in the Soviet Union systematically committed the most monstrous anti-Semitic out-D-

rages. The Jewish, paper, Folksstimme, published in Warsaw, Poland, on April 4 revealed the tragic facts of the mass slaughter of the leaders of Jewish cultural and political activity in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist purge of Jews occurred in two waves: in the Thirties during the infamous Moscow Trials and in the period following World War II up to 1953.

In another development, the Moscow trials of 1934-38, in which all the old leaders of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin were liquidated with Leon Trotsky as the principal accused, were admitted to have been frame-ups with Stalin as the master architect. This admission comes from Khrushchev in his speech at the closed session of the 20th Congress of the Com-



Who Was Stalin?

For revolutionary workers, however, this does not close the question; it only opens the way to consideration of the real problem: Who was Stalin?

Isn't it clear that in disclaiming full responsibility for partnership with Stalin in all his crimes the present Kremlin leadership is following the very method of individual cultism it is supposed to be discarding? They are depicting Stalin as a super-human power who was capable of single-handedly terrorizing a nation born in a great socialist revolution.

No, comrades, it doesn't make sense. Not from the point of view of Marxism. Obviously Stalin was the hideous product of an entire social strata, the bureaucratic caste which lifted him to power and entrusted its drive for privilege, power, prestige and revenue to one superbureaucrat.

Stalin was the Russian equivilant of a Dave Beck or a George Meany — with state power in his hands. He arose out of the bureaucracy of a workers' state, isolated for long decades by the delay of the world socialist revolution. This Soviet bureaucracy, like all labor bureaucracies. is the expression of world capitalist pressure on the first workers' state in history. It usurped power by destroying winning wage increases by a Lenin's Bolshevik party and slaughtering the vanguard of the Russian revolutionary working class.

The Folksstimme editors explain why they "kept silent despite the fact that we saw and painfully felt the tragic results of Beriadom." They say, "We were convinced that the Leninist party would sooner or later a general strike, workers' insuruncover the whole truth and would determinedly and energetically reveal it to all the people." This is not the province, affecting among many answer of revolutionists, but of frightened bureaucrats. others the Babcock & Wilcox

What was this party that would "sooner or later" Company steel plant in Bilbao, and then leaped over to Barceuncover the truth, while in the meantime the best replona. resentatives of the working class and the flower of Soviet These strikes are by their very Jewish culture was drowned in blood? Were they not a nature directed against the Franpart of this party? Wasn't it their duty to fight within co regime. All economic decisions are made by the Cabinet in lation of the full available text of ades. the party against the bureaucratic marauders?

Trotsky Was Not Silent

manent concessions except Remember, comrades, that's what Leon Trotsky did! through a struggle vigorous Together with Lenin, as proven in Lenin's last testament, he fought Stalinism from its inception as a mortal danger mands. to the defense of the Soviet Union and the world socialist The workers of Pamplona who revolution. For this he was expelled, exiled and then murdered by a Stalinist pick-axe assassin. And for this of the river Arga during workstruggle against Stalinism tens of thousands of Bolshevik- ing hours were moved to act by economic motives. Raging infla-Leninist workers and youth perished in Stalin's dungeons.

You have been taught to revile Trotsky and Trot- ate action. Living costs in Spain sonages." - Ed.] skyism. But who taught you this? Isn't the author of the have risen three-and-one-half struggle against Trotskyism the master executioner of times over the 1940 index. When TUMOR ON HEALTHY BODY even the government-sponsored revolutionists — Joseph Stalin? National Syndicate Organization 20th Congress of the Commun-Semitism.

As revelation after revelation brings to light the - Franco's fake trade unions criminal course of the entire bureaucratic gang that was demanded wage increases, the consists among other things in headed by Stalin, we are confident that you will ask Madrid Cabinet decreed a 16% this, that it condemned in a deyourselves the most important question of all: Wasn't Trotsky right in fighting the bureaucratic caste throughout the dark years of Stalinist reaction? were the sudden price increases party and social life of the So- sacrificing party - the Commun- rooting to the end every sign of sons from Kiev Podol, with

Strike Wave in Spain **Tells Franco's Doom**

By John Black Spanish workers, showing utter justment.

disregard for the oppressive laws and the dire threats of Franco's boasted of being the most stable fascist regime, have succeeded in has now suffered its second sowave of massive strikes in the north of Spain. span of three months.

aware that they can win no per-

Starting in the backward and The re-emergence of the Spangenerally conservative province of Navarra, where they tied up the capital city of Pamplona in gency spread throughout the traditionally anti-fascist Basque

very important matter: Jewish

the Soviet Union and the fate of

ist Party of the Soviet Union

in basic commodities immediately | dents and the Falangist shock- | awareness by promptly issuing a following the April 1 wage ad- troops of Franco. The student neatly printed leaflet which deunrest revealed that a wide gap manded among other reforms, The fascist regime, which has had developed between the nar- "freedom for national bodies such as trade unions and unirow circle of immediate bene-

capitalist government in Europe, factors of continued fascist rule versities." and almost all other strata of cial eruption within the short society.

Student unrest receded with prise when the strikes broke out. the wave of arrests and repres- This is indicated by the differish working class on the Euro- sions that followed the outbreaks. ence in the reaction of provincial governors. In some cities, authpean scene as a powerful, militant | But although the Madrid newsfactor was ushered in by student papers carried no reports on the orities declared a lockout in all demonstrations on the campus of strike wave which enveloped struck plants. In others, subthe large University of Madrid northern Spain, Madrid students stantial wage increases were and street fighting between stu- showed their growing political

munist Party of the Soviet Union last February. Borba, a government paper in Yugoslavia, published extensive excerpts from the Khrushchev report in which it

was admitted that Stalin personally directed the purge of old Bolsheviks in the Thirties, fabricated the confessions, obtained pressure . . . by physical means,"

LIST OF CRIMES GROWS

These two new revelations con- crippling and horrible fleeds of firm to the hilt the criminal the conspirators - all of which character of the police dictator- was made possible . . . under ship in the Soviet Union that the 'harmful influence' of the Trotsky combatted since its in- personality cult." (English transception after the death of Lenin. lation of the Folksstimme article They follow admissions made al- appears on this page.)

most a year ago that the post-The list of artists, scientists war "Titoist-Trotskyist" trials and anti-fascist fighters who were frame-ups in which Com- were annihilated in these purges munist leaders of East Europe exceeds even the worst fears of were liquidated; the revelations class-conscious workers throughthis year of the frame-up of Red out the world. The extermination

It is clear that the Fascist Army leaders in the purges that of Jews included the Jewish Antiauthorities were taken by surprepared the Hitler-Stalin Pact Fascist Committee in Moscow of 1939; and the admission that which provided leadership to the the alleged plot of Soviet Jew- Jewish people in their heroic ish doctors in 1953 was a frame- contribution to the defense of up and part of the anti-Semitic the Soviet Union against the campaign. Nazi invasion. Folksstimme re-An editorial in the Freiheit, ported that this Committee had Yiddish-language newspaper of "suddenly without why or where-

the Stalinists in New York, com-(Continued on page 2) (Continued on page 3) **English Text of Folksstimme Article**

[We publish herewith a trans- | viet Union for almost two dec- | ist Party of Poland. In the at- | national discrimination. For the | Misha Rotmansky at their head! mosphere in which the Leninist Jewish people of the Soviet The limitless suffering at the Madrid, and workers are fully an article, "Our Anguish and Our The tumor which had grown principles of Socialist democ- Union doors and gates were time the bands of Petlurya Consolation," printed in the April up during those years on the racy were not safeguarded, it widely opened to places in gov- Boulak - Balakaovtich terrorized 4 Warsaw (Poland) Folksstimme healthy body of the first land of was possible for a period to ernmental and public life. In the Ukraine and White Russia, - a Stalinist Jewish - language socialism, interfered in manifold arise, particularly painful for us these openings, their representa- the help and the defense they enough to force the men around newspaper. The text first ap- ways with a natural develop- Jews, in which the results of the tives brought with them all the brought to the Soviet power, Franco to accede to their de- peared in the U.S. in the April 10 ment of its generally healthy or- Leninist national policy towards passion of a people who have fused even closer the fate of been fenced off from the world the Jewish masses with the fate

The Leninist national policy tion has driven them to desper- a number of writers and per- of the Soviet Union occurred. in its concrete application to the armed ranks of the Red Guard This enabled the Beria clique to Jewish people oppressed and and the Red Army in order to purest patriotism, of love and provoke friction between nation- persecuted by Czarism, was al- defend the socialist revolution. ways an inexhaustible source of alities and cause a certain The historic meaning of the growth of nationalism and antish people throughout the entire In the atmosphere of the cult world.

Not only documents of the of the individual, alien to Marxighest principled importance, in the history of the revolution formerly oppressed nationalities, ism-Leninism, it was possible wage increase designed to offset cisive and irreversible manner among other things for the fatal but daily practice of the Lenin- came to be known as the "Tripol against every expression of antithe spiraling cost of living. What the cult of the individual which decision to be made to dissolve ist party of the Soviet govern- Tragedy" studded with the im- Semitism, strengthened among

by the ghetto wall. of the great October revolution. With all the passion of people who guarded their acquisitions

JEWISH PROBLEM WAS SOLVED as the apple of their eye, Jewish

In the hearts of the Soviet workers and toilers entered the Jews was born feelings of the friendship for the Soviet land. The word of the immortal Lenin Legendary heroes appeared in inspiration for millions of Jew- their ranks; military leaders, who came out in the most dewho reached the highest ranks in cisive manner against every exthe Red Army. Never to be for- pression of Great Russian chaugotten is the epic heroism which vinism towards the small and really infuriated the workers caused much crippling of the our heroic combative and self- ment was directed towards up- mortal names of many Jewish the Jewish masses the assurance ' (Continued on page 2)

JEWISH CULTURE FLOURISHED UNDER LENIN'S REGIME

menting on the Folksstimme revdeal with the accused.

LEON TROTSKY

elation of anti-Semitic purges, through the crudest kind of described how Jewish culture had flourished in the early years and instructed the police how to after the Russian Revolution and then "was crushed in a veritable vandalistic manner, almost wined out as a result of the monstrous

Morning Freiheit, a New York ganism, resulting in much suf- the Jewish masses was upset. Stalinist newspaper as an "au- fering and sacrificing of the inorganized picnics on the banks thoritative declaration on the nocent. In the situation created by the

culture and Jewish social life in cult of the individual, a certain crippling of the national policy

Page Two ---

THE MILITANT

Monday, April 23, 1956

The Debate In Daily Worker

Mankind stands aghast at the enormity of the crimes attributed to the "Stalin cult" by his side-by-side collaborators, co-workers and partners. As yet only a small corner of the veil has been lifted. 9

Enough, however, has already Despite Gates' brave words in defense of the Rajk editorial and been disclosed to send wave after of wave of revulsion throughout its demand that the guilty be the world. Stunned by the revela-. plumished he was already prepartion coming out of Moscow and ing to beat a hasty retreat.

the East European countries, The very next day, following the Allen-Gates exchange, the members and supporters of the American Communist Party are Daily Worker published an edidemanding an explanation. But torial confirming a report, "by a no satisfactory explanation is Jewish Communist paper in Poland of the charge that a large forthcoming from that source. Instead of an explanation the number of Jewish writers and confusion emanating from top other Jewish leaders were framed circles of the American CP grows up and executed and that Jewish worse confounded. The conflictculture was virtually wiped out," between the leaders came out in the Soviet Union under the into the open in the April 12 Stalinist regime. This unspeakissue of the Daily Worker with able atrocity, comparable only to an exchange between former For- the frightful slaughter of the Jewish people in Hitler's Gereign editor James S. Allen and editor John Gates. Each charges many, was infinitely more monstrous than the frame-up murder the other with sowing confusion of the Hungarian Stalinist leader, and Gates accuses Allen of being Liazlo Rajk. "sectarian" to boot.

The Daily Worker beat its The sharp exchange came as an aftermath, of the publication in editorial breast in anguished in-the April 2 Daily Worker of an dignation. The editorial "deeditorial stigmatizing the 1949 nounced and protested." It regisframe-up execution of Hungarian tered "strong dissatisfaction that Foreign Minister, Lazlo Rajk, as the Soviet leaders have not of. fered any explanation." It dea "betraval of the socialist revohution." The editorial objected to plored and decried. BUT IT DID blaming the frame-up atrocity NOT DEMAND THAT THE GUILTY BE PUNISHED! It did "on just one or two individuals," and concluded by asserting: "No not cry out for a "full and comexplanation has been given; but plete" investigation to "bring to the public is entitled to know book those responsible for inhow so-called 'confessions' in open justice, no matter how high their court were rigged. Not one, not position was or is." Only the day before, in his refu-

some, but all those responsible should be brought before the bar of justice." The editorial demand. ed a full and complete investiga- "Allen thinks it was night for us tion in Hungary and the Soviet Union that, "shall bring to book all those guilty be punished bethose responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is."

Allen took vigorous exception to the Daily Worker Rajk editorial. He resented the "interventionist" position of the Daily Worker. He was satisfied that the present Soviet leaders and their puppets in East Europe were doing all night. He had confidence they were making all the necessary corrections. He wasn't embarrassed or dismayed. He thought it right to "protest" but considered it unseemly to demand that the guilty be punished. Furthermore, his modesty was offended!

SWP PROPOSAL

"Is it not utterly immodest," asks Allen of Gates, "to point the finger at other parties when the American Marxists still have to "Soviet leaders who are taking face up to a self-critical, basic re-examination of their program

... Strikes Shake Franco Regime

(Continued from page 1) made to induce a return to work. The Government edict that all world working class. strikers be deprived of their social security benefits was applied

with considerable flexibility by local authorities, varying with the mood of the strikers and heir degree of organization.

The official position of the Spanish government is that underground political organizations are responsible for the strikes. There is no doubt that a power-

ful revival of the traditionally well-organized working class of Spain is bringing about a regrouping of political tendencies among the workers. It is of supreme importance that the revival

of the Spanish working class -When General Franco launched unleashing a reign of terror beaten down and crushed with his Moorish troops from North against working class revoluthe help of German and Italian Africa against the newly-instal-Fascism in the bloody civil war led Ropular Front government opportunity to forge ahead again. of 1986-39 — is taking place at in 1936, elected with the votes of the same time as the rising pres- the working class, the workers

war.

French "Democracy" in Action

In its bloody drive to hold on to Algeria despite the will of the Algerian people to be independent, French imperialism has resorted to the most barbarous methods. Mustapha Ben Mohammed, City Councillor of Algiers and prominent Algerian revolutionary leader, gives details in a letter he recently addressed to French judicial authorities. It was published by the Committee for the Liberation of Messali Hadj. The present French government, headed by "Socialist" Mollet continues the savage repressions in Algeria, backed by the vote of the Stalinist Deputies. The following are excerpts from the letter.

"I was arrested on Nov. 5, 1955, at El Biar . . . by the judicial police of Algiers. After having been transported to central headquarters and questioned as to my identity, I was insulted, beaten and wounded, and subjected to electric shocks with alternating currents on various parts of the body (especially the genitals), which inflicted burns upon me.

"The same day, around 10 P.M., I was transferred to the headquarters of the judicial police in Blidah, where I was tortured in the following way: I was tied in a horizontal position to a double ladder. Water was then poured into my mouth through a rubber tube until I became unconscious. This operation was repeated as soon as I vomited the water I had swallowed and regained consciousness.

"I was submitted to the following outrages until Friday, Nov. 11: twice with electricity in Algiers, five times railroaded to Blidah (each time undergoing several water tube treatments.) "Only on Tuesday, Nov. 25, at 3:30 P.M., was I brought before the examining magistrate of Eighth Chamber of the Court

pirations.

the very prime of life perished.

such as Izy Kharik, Moishe Kul-

shtein, H. Duniets and more,

many more honest, talented peo-

JEWISH CULTURE

REVIVES FOR A DECADE

The basic law of Soviet society

ask for punishment of the guilty is wrong and interventionist. It of Appeals."

(Continued from page 1)

sure of the Soviet working class took the initiative in their owne is breaking the Stalinist strangle- hands. They secured arms by hold on decisive sections of the disarming the fascists and drove back Franco's forces in all the

Both Spanish and Soviet workimportant industrial areas of the ing classes have had their revocountry within a few days. But lutions cruelly betrayed by the the Stalinist leaders kept the Stalinist bureaucracy. In the case, working people from unfolding of the Soviet workers it resulted their offensive toward the seizin a monstrous bureaucratic dis- ure of power.

tortion of the workers' state. In The Spanish Communist Party the case of the Spanish workers, heads-re-enforced by the GPU, Stalinism paved the way for the Stalin's international murder maagony of Franco's bestial rule. chine — imposed on the Spanish They have a tale to tell about workers a policy of confining the the disastrous experience they struggle against the fascists to had with the Popular Front polthe defense of capitalist democicy imposed upon them by their racy, The Stalinists succeeded in Stalinist leaders during the civil propping up the crumbling bourgeois democratic government by

tionaries. This gave Franco the But a struggle against fascism. limited in the interests of Stalin's collective security plans to the narrow goal of preserving

> democratic capitalism, could not mobilize the majority of the Spanish people for the continued sacrifices required for victory

None of the fundamental problems of the Spanish working people could be resolved within that framework. The "progres sive sections of Spanish capitalism," whom the Stallinists toulted, were the workers' mortal enworkers' and peasants' govern- lords if given any encourage-

ment could the workers' vanment in their struggles and asguard rally all sections of the pirations. Spanish masses for total struggle against Hitler and Mussoli- eral in the Spanish colony of

ni's troops and planes. Instead, industries seized and operated by the workers in the first weeks of the civil war, were Front government. The peasants Franco with a colonial uprising remaining strata of Franco sup-Franco landlords in some areas independence for Morocco. The of land in others, were forbidden committed to the retention of proceed further. No title to the the offer.

confiscated lands, were granted It was the Stalinists, masquer- torical handwriting on the wall der the guns of the Fascist to the peasants. The peasants ading as the party of the Rus- for him.

Barcelona Strike in 1951



On March 12, 1951, the workers of Barcelona defied Franco's fascist police and organized a general strike. Scene above was taken just after two strikers had been killed by police. This bitter struggle was the first since Franco began his bloody rule and involved 300,000 workers.

would have fought to the death | sian Revolution, who with their | Franco still has a mighty ally emies. Only by fighting for a against the return of the land- Popular Front line, suffocated on the world political arena, and and then strangled the social he is right now desperately tryrevolution in Spain and thereby ing to assure financial and if opened the door to 17 years of possible military aid against the Franco who had been a gen- fascist terror. revolutionary workers of his own The workers and students of country. The very week that the Morocco based himself on his Spain are now in open struggle strikes broke out in Spain, the colonial troops. Abdel Krim, ven- face to face with a dictatorship Fascist Foreign Minister Alberto. erated and influential leader of which has lost support in all Martin Artajo arrived as an honthe Moroccan people in their sections of the population. Work- ored guest in the United States. returned to their former owners struggle for independence, offer- ers, intellectuals and students The U.S. State Department is by the Stalinist-backed People's ed to aid the struggle against are in opposition to the small Franco's major world ally today. This fact imposes on the Amerwho had seized and divided the if the Spanish Popular Front porters. Morocco is fighting for ican labor movement a great large estates owned by pro- government would only decree its independence and is not likely task. Franco is the butcher of to give one Moorish recruit to- the Spanish working class. The ward the suppression of the labor movement must give vigor-Spanish workers. The fate of ous support to the Spanish workby the Popular Front regime to imperialist holdings - declined Mussolini and Hitler who pre- ers who are reorganizing their ceded Franco indicates the his- independent labor movement unpolice.

panied with demand for justice." Folksstimme Article on Fate of Soviet Why, then didn't Gates demand that all those guilty of perpetrating the anti-semittic atrocity in the Soviet Union be punished?

Why? Instead, he did exactly the opposite. In the Rajk editorial he objected to blaming "one or two individuals" for the frame-up purge. In the editorial deploring the anti-semitic outrage he

tation of Allen's criticism of the

Rajk editorial, Gates retorted:

to protest buit not to demand that

cause this could be misinterpreted

as interventionist. The logic of

this escapes me. To protest is

okay and non-interventionist, to

seems to me that any protest

against injustice must be accom-

pointed the finger - at Stalin and Beria. Then he proceeded to compound his fellony, by tendering a vote of confidence to the steps to prevent a recurrence." The Janus-headed Gates also

| known even before the October | Russia and West Ukraine. The that this shameful plague was revolution, — David Bergelson, people who had come from the The Nestor-were added wonder. Polish prisons and from the forever ended on Soviet soil. And truly, the years of the ful singers of the Jewish rebirth Berez torture camp threw themfurther development of the rev-olution brought with them more Hofshtein, Perets Markish, Leib selves into this work with all their energy on the basis of the pronounced and more complete expressions of absolute equality broad possibilities flowing from the Leninist national policies. for the Jewish masses, of their enberg, Itsik Feffer, Hersh Or-Jewish elementary and secondcreative activity in all spheres of land, Noah Lurie, Izy Kharik, ary schools, Jewish theaters and political, economic and cultural life of the Soviet Union. The Lurie and scores of new and and towns of West White Russia wish problem was at that time young creators of the most pro- and West Ukraine under the



ism which try to present our of Beriadom. We remained silent because we believed profoundly tragedy as a result of an ostensibly anti-Jewish policy exclusthat only the Leninist party is capable of untangling the tragic ively.

By underscoring the general skein and that sooner or later it would do so; we were convinced harm of the cult of the indithat the Leninist party would vidual we are not seeking to find sooner or later uncover the semi-consolation because misery whole truth and would determinlikes company. No, we are conedly and energetically reveal it cerned with establishing the truth, that all the peoples of to all the people. Our faith, our the Soviet Union without excep- conviction, was fully justified! tion are interested in the com-The Jewish masses believed

policies and organizational principles, in a thorough-going democratic manner?" And most unpardonable of all, Allen heatedly reproaches the Daily Worker editor for publishing an editorial TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS "which encouraged a Trotskyite group in this country to invite up trijals as a milestone on the the Communist Party of the bloody trail which led the Stalin United States to join it in setting bureaucracy to power, Leon Trotup a commission to investigate sky wrote some 20 years ago, on the Socialist countries."

Allen remains true to his Stal- Stalin, of course, who determines inist heritage. The "invitation" the road taken by history. We Allen refers to was incorporated possess the knowledge of the obin a letter to the Communist Party by Farrell Dobbs, National path for reaction in the USSR. Secretary of the Socialist Work- But it is no accident that Stalin ers Party. The letter said noth- rode on the crest of the Thering about investigating "Socialist midorian wave. He was able to countries." It did take cognizance invest the greedy appetites of the of the DW editorial demand for a new caste with their most vicious "full and complete" investigation expression. Stalin does not bear of the frame-up purge trials and any responsibility for history. But invited the CP to join "in initiat- he does bear responsibility for ing a demand for the constitu- himself and for his role in histion of an impartial International tory. It is a criminal role. It is Commission of Inquiry into so criminal that revulsion is mul-Stalin's purge trials within the tiplied by horror." Soviet Union and elsewhere."

posal so shocking? Allen reiter- the bureaucratic caste which ates the view of William Z. usurped the power in the Soviet Foster, head of the American CP. Union. "In the harshest codices gion. From the beginning of the attack of mankind," wrote Trotsky, "no on the "Stalin cult" Foster has suitable punishment can be found counseled against treating Stalin for the ruling Moscow clique and, too harshly. He drew a balance above all, the man who heads sheet of Stalin-the-good and it. . . The task is to strip the Stalin-the-bad and achieved a criminals naked before the consomewhat precarious balance. It sciousness of mankind and to cast is not our task, he said, to praise them into the garbage heap of or bury Stalin. We must leave it history. It is impossible to reconup to those who worked side-by- cile one-self to less." side with him; those who knew long pals and collaborators. "They" would do the investigat- all of them, no matter "how high ing. "They" would provide the their position was or is," is the explanations. "They" would furnish all the answers.

The Foster-Allen line of inquiry would be like asking Al letter to the CP, "composed of larger cities with a compact great cause of communism and Capone's chief lieutenants to conduct an investigation of their dead chiefftain's murder syndicate. And as one grisly disclosure fol- workers' movement." lowed another even Foster was compelled to take note that workers everywhere were insistently demanding to know where "they' were when Stalin was perpetrating his most fiendish crimes.

one notable exception - he made form the first merger between "encouraging" the SWP invitation AFL - OIO founding convention. to establish a Commission of In- The combined organization will quiry into Stalin's purge trials. total 450,000 members.

completely resolved. proclaims his faith that "they" will "take the necessary meas- AUTONOMOUS REGION ures," and winds up cheek and jowl with Foster-Allen.

Analyzing the Moscow frame-

September 16, 1937: "It is not jective causes which prepared the Stallin was no demi-god. He was

raised. And to unearth the guilty, Jewish people. necessary task of an Interna- Minsk and in Odessa, in Khartional Commission of Inquiry, as kov and Vitebsk. Jewish stateproposed in the April 2 SWP theaters were created in all the ple, devoted heart and soul to the

First to Merge

What a source of hope for the Jewish masses of the entire world was the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union and the Soviet government, which ended in the most fundamental manner Jewish landlessness, the heritage of and social behaviour of the Jew-Czarism with its absence of pur- ish masses of the entire world, pose in the lives of the young who rightly saw in these achieve-Jewish generation! Instead of ments the precursor of the allthe dark workshop, large modern factories arose in all the Jewish towns. The doors to the big factories, to heavy industries, to the acquisition of new, never-beforeknown trades were thrown wide open to the Jews. Within a few years a Jewish working force grew up in heavy industry which faithfully adhered to the process of socialist construction. The barriers to the soil were ended and a laver of Jewish peasants formed. Jewish villages grew and grew in the West Ukraine

and in the Crimea, which became Why does Allen find the pro- the product and personification of Jewish national regions. Agricultural settlements began to arise in the Jewish autonomous re-

> The process of social restratification of the Soviet Jews reached completion when the Leninist national policy was. carried through consistently.

JEWISH CULTURE FLOWERS On the basis of equal rights, politically and economically, Soviet Jewish culture flourished an, Yankel Levin, the youth Punish the guilty! That is the and reached heights hitherto unhim best; those who were his life- minimum demand that must be known in the history of the many others. Talented men at

Great Jewish cultural centers arose in Moscow and in Kiev. in bak, Max Erik, Yasha Bronmen and women of unquestioned Jewish population. They were integrity who command the con- the pride and joy of the Soviet masses. fidence and respect of the world Jewish people, above all the Moscow Jewish state-theater.

To the old cadres of scientists. historians and researchers in Jewish history, language and and its driving forces were nev-

literature were added new young ertheless more powerful than the The Amalgamated Meat Cutters forces. And most important of disrupting "Beriadom." Despite the individual. and Butcher Workmen, formerly all, with the first days of the the many losses, the creative ac-In his reply to Allen, Daily AFL, will merge June 11 with October revolution came a mul- tivity of the Soviet Jewish Worker editor Gates repudiated the United Packinghouse Work- titude of Jewish poets, writers, populace-Jewish Soviet writers, his criticism point by point with ers of America, formerly CIO, to dramatists, critics who express. Jewish Soviet theaters, published the most subtle and intimate, ing houses, newspapers, periodino mention of the "charge" of two international unions since the feelings of the Jewish masses cals, etc., continued.

gressive Jewish literature, who banner of the generally liberated had at their disposal a network creative activity of the broad

of publishing houses and press. masses in the sphere of econom-Such in brief outline was the ic and spiritual life. The Jewish product of the Leninist applicawriters of Poland who escaped tion of the national policy of the Hitler's inferno were greeted Communist Party of the Soviet with wide-open arms and became Union in relation to the Jewish integrated in the family of Somasses - a product which had viet Jewish writers. What new great influence on the thoughts great perspectives opened for the development of the social and cultural life of the Jewish masses!

Then came the Hitler death sided absolute realization of march. their own age-long national as-

From Moscow there then reached out to the whole world FIRST VICTIMS OF BERIA the voice of the leaders of the

This creative process, natural Jewish community, writers and to the Soviet Union, began to military men, the voice which called on all to unite in struggle feel interference at a certain high point of its development. against the murderers of the Jews, a voice which reached the The social plague which is tofronts and which resounded day sadly known as "Beriadom" among the partisans in the forhad, together with its degenerating influence on the whole soests, breaking through even the ghetto walls to encourage all cial life of the Soviet Union and awaken them to decisive through its system of represresistance against the Hitlerite sions and extermination, tragic results for the creative activity beasts.

of the Jewish population in the ROLE OF JEWISH Soviet Union and for a number ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE of its public and cultural leaders.

This effort of the Soviet Jew-The first victims to fall before ish Community at the head of this plague were such distinwhich stood the Jewish Antiguished revolutionists as S. Di-

manshtein, Lenin's close co-Fascist Committee, was part of the general, tremendous effort of worker and the head of the Jewish commissariat. Comrade Es- all the Soviet people, who under the leadership of the Communther (Maria) Frumkin. Comrades ist Party of the Soviet Union Rachmael Weinshtein, Merezshin,

bore the heaviest burdens of the Moishe Litvakov, Mikhail Levitdated and its leaders condemned anti-Hitler war in order to bring to annihilation? about the liberation of all the leader, Hershel Brill and many, ALL SOVIET PEOPLE people of Europe by its victory,

in order to save the lives of SUFFERED

millions of Jews in the Soviet Yes we know that to pose the Union, hundreds of thousands of question this way, separate and Polish Jews, in order to save apart from the whole disruptive. the lives of the threatened Jews activity of Beriadom - means. ter in the struggle for their land not to see the whole scope of

the full awakening of the Jewish and independence. This will forever remain the the 20th Congress of the Comhistoric service of the Soviet munist Party. Beriadom, which Union which the Jews the world could maintain itself only in the over will never forget. This took atmosphere of the cult of the which drew the balance sheet on their strength to the revival of place despite the disruptive individual, caused endless pain the enemies of the Soviet peo-

work of Beriadom, and the and countless sacrifices for all ple, the bandits of the Beria harmful influence of the cult of the peoples of the Soviet Union type and which revived the basic

How then did it come about sufferer was the Communist founded on Leninism. The docuthat the representatives of the Party of the Soviet Union -Jewish community, who in the which incorporates the finest cruel fateful hour for the So- and highest aspirations of the crying, "Why do you keep viet Union succeeded in forging entire Soviet people. Of course, quiet," and it continues. - The

the unity of Jewish resistence- false and deceptive is the alarm Freiheit] Yes, truly, we kept silent desnow raised to a new free life. This found expression especi- how could it happen that these of Forward, the Day-Morning To the great masters of the ally in the years 1939-41 in the representatives, among them the Journal, Our Voice, and similar pite the fact that we saw and Jewish artistic world, well- liberated regions of West White best sons and daughters of the newspapers of Jewish national- painfully felt the tragic results the world over.

plete destruction of every trace just as we Communists did that of the cult of the individual. The the truth would conquer. The Communist Party of the Soviet 20th Congress of the Communist Union, with Leninist determina- party of the Soviet Union gave tion, probed to the very bottom the watchword to destroy root of this dangerous phenomenon and branch the cult of the inin order to completely destroy dividual, the source of the cripit. This is the victory of the pling, and thus justified the pro-Leninist Communist Party. In found hopes of the Jewish massthis victory is our consolation, es in the victory of Leninist in this victory is our hope and truth. confidence in the future.

JEWISH STATE-THEATER CUT-OFF CREATIVE LIVES | BEING CONSTRUCTED

We Communists are not in the Long before the 20th Party habit of proclaiming our feeling Congress came the energetic acof pain and suffering. In the tion of the Central Committee face of defeats (and they are of the Soviet Communist Party unavoidable in the stubborn to rehabilitate the innocent, to struggle we are conducting) it re-establish the good name of comes to pass more than once those who were slaughtered by that we grit our teeth in order the Beria murderers and to make not to give the enemy occasion their works available to the for jubilation. In the course of broad masses. Thus the Soviet long years the united chorus of government and the Communist Jewish enemies of the Soviet Party of the Soviet Union re-Union and of the Communist habilitated the group of doctors movement persisted with "ques- in the shameful frame-up and tions" and with "inquiries," at- returned them to their places of tempting in different ways to work; thus the Soviet governexploit our tragedy in the cut- ment and the Soviet Communist ting off of the stormily creative Party re-established the good lives of David Bergelson and The name of Mikhoels and of all the Nestor, of Perets Markish and liquidated innocent Jewish writ-Leib Kvitko, of David Hofshtein ers. The belief that the Leninist and Itsik Feffer, of Benyomin party would correct this tragic Zuskin and Itsruk Nussinov, of event was realized. In this way Elyohu Spivak and S. Persov. In the Jewish population of the Soa perfidious manner they try to viet Union now enjoys the pracrepresent to the Jewish masses tical benefits of the return to

that under a people's govern- the Leninist norm. denly without a why or wherement, under communism,' such a fore the Committee was liqui-We welcome as long-awaited, fate of Jewish community and happy tidings every announcecultural leaders is ostensibly le- ment of the return of Jewish gal. They are interested in writers, scientists and artists to stifling the warm feeling of their interrupted creative work. sympathy and respect which the It is our common consolation Jewish masses the world over that as of today there are over have expressed towards the So- 60 Jewish Soviet writers once viet Union.

again creating and preparing to [The document, here dwells publish their works. With the on the elements who are now greatest eagerness we receive undertaking a campaign against every announcement of close vealed with acute penetration by the Soviet Union precisely in comrades and friends from Mosconnection with the 20th Concow and Kiev, from Minsk and gress of the Soviet Union. It Odessa who remain undaunted tells about the 20th Congress and determined to devote all Jewish social and cultural life. Full of hope is the news about the reconstitution of the Jewish without exception. The greatest laws of Soviet society that are state-theater, about a series of weighty steps of political, ecoment deals with all those in

nomic and cultural significance Jewish life who were always for the Jewish population in the Soviet Union.

This is our consolation, the consolation of the Jewish masses

tering an epoch of wars and

revolutions. Not only political

but social regimes will topple

like houses-of-cards. It is quite

probable that revolutionary

convulsions in Asia and Europe

will forestall the overthrow of

the Stalin clique by the capital-

ist counter-revolution and pre-

pare its downfall under the

blows of the toiling masses. .

Revolution will unlock all the

secret compartments, review all

the trials, rehabilitate the slan-

dered, raise memorials to the

victims of wantoness and cover

with eternal infamy the names

of the executioners. Stalin will

depart from the scene laden

with all the crimes he has com-

mitted — not only as the grave-

digger of the revolution but as

the most sinister figure in the

history of mankind." - So-

Soviet Jewish people-the Jew-

ish Anti-Fascist Committee -

how could it happen that sud-

cialist appeal, Oct. 16, 1937.

JOSEPH STALIN of whom Leon Trotsky wrote:

"Mankind is once again en-



Vol. XX - No. 17

Israel and the Middle East Crisis

The conflict in the Middle East is getting hotter with each passing day. The area is the battleground of mighty historic forces. The fundamental struggle is between the rising Arab national independence revolution and U.S., British and French imperialism. The imperialist governments are preparing a Korea-type "police action" to preserve exploitation of the area by the oil trusts. The Middle East is also the hottest area of "cold war" between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

Radical workers raised in the teachings of Lenin are passionate defenders of the independence revolution of the Arab and all other colonial peoples. That is why they demand that the U.S., British and French governments keep hands off the Middle East and withdraw their troops from the area. At the same time, the ever-sharpening conflict in the Middle East raises the problem of a mortal danger confronting the Jews in Israel. They are caught between the rise of the national liberation movement in Egypt, Syria and other Arab lands and the counter-revolutionary drive of imperialism.

"The future development of . . . events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews." wrote Leon Trotsky in 1940. These words fully apply to the peril confronting the Israeli Jews today. How can they escape the death trap? What program can socialist-minded workers present that will enable the Jews in Israel to save lives, homes and national culture?

At the outset they must reject the reactionary utopia that there can be a special solution for the Jews separate and apart from the socialist revolution. This means to reject the Zionist program of building Palestine as a Jewish national homeland with the aid of British and U.S.

imperialism. This course has made of Zionism an agency of imperialism. It has aroused the deepest hatred of the Arab masses for Jewish Palestine and now threatens to engulf the land in bloody reprisal.

Monday, April 23, 1956

Nor is the Stalinist program propounded by the Kremlin chiefs and supported in the US by the Daily Worker any better the bis post as General Secretary of U.S. by the Daily Worker any better. It the party. The following concludcalls for resolving the Arab-Israel and all ing installment of Trotsky's other Middle Eastern conflicts at a four passages on the period of Lenpower conference of the Soviet Union, the in's illness is of exceptional cur-U.S., Britain and France. The Kremlin offers to help preserve imperialist rule in the Middle East in exchange for a scrapping of the Baghdad anti-Soviet military pact.

cessions to Arab nationalism would be a in relation to national minorities dence with you," Glyasser told be essentially a status quo deal at the shughter of the structed me to hand over to you of persecutions of the Georgian expense of the right of the Arab people to cultural leaders of the Jewish all the manuscripts that were to opponents of Stalin, a discondetermine their own fate. By preserving people in the Soviet Union under make part of his bomb for the tinuance of the administrative imperialist rule, it would do nothing basic the regime of Stalin, provides twelfth congress." Lenin's in- oppression of the party, a firmer to resolve the Arab-Israel conflict and the threat it poses to the Jews.

We Trotskyists reject the class-collaborationist scheme of the Kremlin and the its embryonic phase.-Ed.] pro-imperialist orientation of the Zionists. The sole hope for Jews anywhere in the world is to enter the international struggle for socialism, linking themselves with tieva and Glyasser, did service ference," I said to Fotieva. "I the proletariat of whatever country they happen to live in. Only after socialism is established on a world-wide basis, will there be the possibility for creating a viable Jewish state for all Jews who desire | ly in connection with his fac- | turned out of breath: to develop a common national culture. "National topography will become a part of the planned economy. This is the grand historical perspective that I envisage,' said Trotsky in 1937. "To work for international socialism means also to work for the solution of the Jewish question."

The Colonial Revolution in Egypt 2.

A main front of the world-wide struggle for socialism is the national independence revolution in Asia. Africa and Latin America. The rise of nationalism in Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries is an integral part of the colonial revolution. This movement, even when initiated under the leadership of the colonial capitalist class, inevitably sets the working class and peasantry into action to realize their independent class aims. As Trotsky explained and history verified, the national that is, it can be successfully completed only under the leadership of the working class. This means that a victorious national revolution in the colonies must lead to the creation of workers and peasants governments. Furthermore, the impact of the colonial independence movement throws the imperialist countries in crisis and hastens the advent of the revolutionary showdown there, too. It is to the further course of the colonial revolution in the Middle East — to the independent intervention of the Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian and other Arab masses - that the Israeli population must look for aid in safeguarding their lives and homes. However, the Jews will win the Arabs as allies only if they support their national liberation drive now. It is true that Nasser, who heads the Arab struggle at present as an agent of the Egyption capitalist class, only takes half-measures against imperialism. He. diverts his blows in the direction of Israel rather than mobilize the Egyptian masses — whom he mortally fears — for a social revolution that would end British economic domination. For the Arab revolution to succeed it will have to clear the Nasser dictatorship out of the road.

Just the same, present Egyptian support of the North African liberation struggle against the French; opposition to the U.S.-sponsored Baghdad anti-Soviet mili- impartiality. Quite the opposite. tary pact; ouster of the British from Suez; purchase of arms from the Soviet bloc in defiance of Washington's edicts; anti- you cannot agree to do so, please of Stalin's policy in Georgia. imperialist propaganda beamed to Negro return the entire dossier to me; Lenin wrote to them: "I am Africa over Radio Cairo — all these I shall consider that a sign of watching your case with all my measures taken by the Nasser regime give refusal from you. With best com-heart and soul. Ordzhonikidze's radely greetings. Lenin." clear-cut expression to the national liberation sentiments of the Arab masses. Revolutionary socialists are duty bound to. support these actions and so should the Jewish people.

tant we published the first half of an excerpt from Leon Trotsky's autobiography, My Life, describing the events and conditions surrounding Lenin's decision to write a letter to the Soviet Communist Party which became known as his last "Will" or "Testament." The full text of lenin's testament was also published in our last issue. The testament, written at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, contains a postscript which calls

rent interest since it gives an account of how, in his last days, Glyasser answered. "Yes, this Lenin was preparing an all-out is correct," I replied. In the gether anew. attack on Stalin at the Twelfth Congress of the Soviet Com- correspondence with alarm, but in, and expelling Ordzhonikidze, Guarantees for Israel and meager con- chauvinist position and conduct

foresight shown by Lenin in his me; by taking the example of zation, and an honest co-operaplan to work closely with Trot- Stalin's policy he wanted to exsky to destroy the Stalin cult in pose to the party, and ruthlessly,

By Leon Trotsky

Lenin's two secretaries, Foas liaison officers. This is what can acquaint him with Lenin's they came to tell me: Vladimir manuscripts so as to induce him Ilyich was very much disturbed to act properly in Georgia. Ask by Stalin's preparations for the coming party congress, especialtional machinations in Georgia. Vladimir Ilvich is preparing a homb for Stalin at the congress -that was Fotieva's phrase, verbatim. The word "bomb" was Lenin's, not hers. "Vladimir will make a rotten compromise Ilyich asks you to take the Georgian case in your hands; he will then feel confident." On far that Vladianir Ilyich no long-March 5, Lenin dictated this note er thinks that we can compro to me:

mise with Stalin even on the "Dear Comrade Trotsky: I right line?" "Yes, he does not trust Stalin, wish very much to ask you to take upon yourself the defense and wants to come out against of the Georgian case in the Cen- him openly, before the entire

ship.

"Why ?"

and then deceive us."

tral Committee of the party. At | party. He is preparing a bomb. present, the case is under the persecution' of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot trust their If you were to agree to undertake the defense, my mind would addressed to old revolutionary, rude and capricious." be at rest. If for some reason Mdivani, and to other opponents

agitated. The ground was slip- did, and guarded his associates whole ping away under his feet. He from criticism and interference did not know what to do next, with a passionate fanaticism that it was still the faction of the or which way to turn. It is had no element of the personal trio - closed its ranks more quite likely that he was simply in it, for he was completely dis- tightly after the first warning. afraid of my acting in an un- solved in his work. friendly way toward him. I gave him my opinion of the

Stalin's other ally, Ordzhon-

of the apparatus. Artificial selecsituation. "Sometimes," I said, ikidze, Lenin thought it necestion was carried on there at a out of fear of an imaginary mad pace. The weaker the trio sary to expel from the party befelt in matters of principle, the danger, people are capable of cause of his bureaucratic highmore they feared me-because oringing real danger down upon handedness in the Caucasus. I they wanted to get rid of methemselves. Remember, and tell argued against it. Lenin answerand the tighter they had to holt others that the last thing I want ed me through his secretary: all the screws and nuts in the is to start a fight at the con-"At least for two years." How state and party system. Much gress for any changes in organ- little could he imagine at that ization. I am for preserving the time that Ordzhonikidze would become head of the Control Com- me, in answer to my criticism status quo.

"If Lenin gets on his feet be- mission that Lenin was planning fore the congress, of which there to create to fight Stalin's buis unfortunately little chance, he reaucracy, and which was to emand I will discuss the matter to- body the conscience of the party!

SOCIAL ROOTS

"I am against removing Stal- LENIN'S PLAN

munist Party. The central point at that moment I was still un- and displacing Dzerzshinsky cal aims, the campaign that Lenof his attack was to be Stalin's aware of what it was all about. from the commissariat of trans- in opened had as its immediate "After he read my correspon- port. additional tragic proof of the tentions now were quite clear to policy in matters of industriali-

> tion in the higher centers. "On the national question the

Stalin resolution is good for the danger of the bureaucratic. transformation of the dictatornothing. It places the high-

"Tomorrow Kamenev is going to Georgia for the party, conresistance of small, weak and backward nationalities. I gave my resolution / the form of amendments' to Stalin's to make it easier for him to alter his line Vladimir Ilich about it." A quarter of an hour later, Fotieva reof policy. But there must be an immediate and radical change. "In addition, it is necessary that Stalin should write to Krupskaya at once to apologize "Vladimir Ilyich says: 'Kamenev will immediately show for his rudeness, and that he revise his behavior. Let him not everything to Stalin, and Stalin overreach himself. There should be no more intrigues, but honest "Then the thing has gone so co-operation.

"And you," and here I turned to Kamenev, "when you are at the conference at Tiflis, must arrange a complete reversal of the policy toward Lenin's Georgian supporters on the national question.

RUDE AND CAPRICIOUS" Kamenev gave a sigh of re lief. He accepted all my proposals. His only fear was that Stalversation. Fotieva came to me again with a note from Lenin in would be obstinate: "He's

"that Stalin has any alternative

later, in 1925, Bukharin said to of the party oppression: "We have no democracy because we

Stalin's faction - at that time

The indefinite situation contin-

ued. Stalin stood at the helm

are afraid of you. "Just you try to stop being afraid," I proffered by way of advice, "and let us work proper-

ly." But my advice was vain. Aside from its general politi-The year 1923 was the first year of the intense but still siobject the creation of the best lent stifling and routing of the "But I do agree with Lenin conditions for my work of di- Bolshevist party. Lenin was by-product of a four-power agreement in the Soviet Union. The recent me afterward, "Vladimir Ilyich in substance. I want a radical rection, either side by side with struggling with his terrible illsuch as proposed by the Kremlin. It would admissions of the Stalinist Jew- fairly shone . . . 'Now, it is a change in the policy on the na- him if he regained his health, or ness. The trio were struggling in his place if he succumbed to with the party. The atmosphere his illness. But the struggle, was charged, and toward autumn which was never carried out to the tension resolved itself into its end, or even part way, had a "discussion" of the opposition. exactly an opposite result. Len-The second chapter of the revin managed only to declare war olution had begun — the fight against Stalin and his ailies, and against Trotskyism. In reality, even this was known only to it was a fight against the ideothose who were directly involved logical legacy of Lenin.



dissatisfaction that the Soviet (Continued from page 1) leaders have not offered any exfore been liquidated and its leadplanation of what took place." ers sentenced to destruction." However, the editors failed to In 1937 Leon Trotsky, writing note that the new Kremlin mason anti-Semitism in the Soviet ters have not as yet even admit-Union, warned Communist workers against blinding themselves ted publicly that the anti-Jewish to the crimes of Stalinism. "Woe purges took place. Only the Jewish press of Poland has exposed to those workers, revolutionists. the murder of Jews in the Soviet socialists, democrats who, in the Union. words of Pushkin, prefer 'a de-

lusion which exalts us' to the JUST HAVE FAITH

bitter truth," said Trotsky. "A But the Daily Worker editors healthy revolutionary optimism - without waiting for their rehas no need for illusions. One quested explanation or even the must face life as it is. It is nec details of these bloody events essary to find in reality itself rush to assure their readers that the force to overcome its reactionary and barbaric features. the present Soviet leaders "are taking steps to prevent a recur-That is what Marxism teaches rence of other types of violation of · socialist principle. We have

confidence that they will take the necessary measures in this

Under the Czar anti-Semitism was widespread in Russia. The grave matter too," they say. How can the editors of the workers revolution of 1917 swept Daily Worker know that steps this foul oppression away and established the economic foundaare being taken to prevent new "I don't think," I answered, tions which will eventually liberpogroms if they don't even know what caused them in the ate mankind from all oppression. now." Late that night Kamenev When the revolution ebbed the first place? What is the justifiinformed me that he had been bureaucracy helped to consolication for this servile expression to see Stalin in the country, and date its police machine by ap- of confidence in the "new" lead-Stalin had accented all the rs of the Soviet Union all of cealing, at first covertly, to the whom are guilty of participating terms. Krupskaya had already worst prejudices of the most received his letter of apology, backward sections of the popuin the slaughter of Jews? paring notes and a speech for but she could not show it to lation. The indignation of class con-Lenin, for his condition had The anti-Jewish purge of the scious workers throughout the grown worse. I gained the im- Thirties was the culmination of world will not be "consoled" by pression, however, that Kame- this process. It was part of the proclaiming Stalin's guilt, folnev's tone was different from purge of the most advanced lowed by a quick whitewash of that at our parting a few hours workers in the Soviet Union, in-Stalin's partners-in-crime. The earlier. It was not until later cluding almost all of the leaders murder of revolutionary workers that I realized that the change of the Russian Revolution. and minority peoples in the Sovwas the result of Lenin's more The Second World War impeliet Union must be avenged. The serious condition. led the Soviet workers into revfirst stirrings of the political On his way to Tiflis, or im- olutionary struggle once more revolution of the workers in the mediately after his arrival, and especially the Jewish people Soviet Union has already toppled Kamenev received from Stalin a The anti-Jewish purges in the the edifice of lies and frame-ups telegram in code telling him that post-war period were part of a on which the rule of the bureau-Lenin was paralyzed again, and new attempt to destroy the revcratic caste is founded. This revounable to speak or write. At the clutionary mood of those who lution will grow until the bu-Georgian conference, Kamenev had sacrificed so much in the reaucracy has lost its power and carried out Stalin's policy workers' democracy is fully rewar years. The editors of the Daily Workagainst Lenin's. Cemented by stored. personal treachery, the trio had er, April 13, expressed their become a fact. shock at the extermination of Lenin's offensive was directed Jews in the Soviet Union. They Detroit Fri. Night not only against Stalin personsay, "We register our strong ally, but against his entire staff, Socialist Forum and, first of all, his assistants, Dzerzhinsky and Ordzhonikidze. NO FORUM ON FRIDAY, Philadelphia APRIL 27 **Celebrate May Day** . Hear MAY DAY Joseph Hansen **CELEBRATION** Editor of the Marxist Quar-Saturday, April 28, at 8 P. M terly, Fourth International; every discussion, even of things The meeting will be followed Secretary to Leon former of minor importance, he would by a SOCIAL AFFAIR. **Frotsky** fire up, his nostrils would quiver, "Why Stalin's Heirs his eyes would sparkle, and his voice would be so strained that Purged Stalin" At 3000 Grand River often it would break. Yet. in Sat., April 28, 8:30 P.M. Rm. 207 spite of this high nervous ten-1303 West Girard Ave. sion, Dzerzhinsky had no apa-Donation 25c. (2nd floor) thetic intervals. He was allways in Free for Unemployed that same state of tense mobili-Questions - Discussion -



V. I. LENIN

asked. "For Vladimir Ilyich,"

meantime, Stalin watched our

"Under no circumstances."

'BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE'

Dzerzhinsky's encouragement fill

"About an hour after this con-

"What do you want it for?" I

- Page Three

Instead, the Israeli government has lined up solidly with imperialism against the Arab nationalist movement. Repeatedly during the last several months, the Israeli government has denounced Egypt to Britain, alleging that Nasser has secret intentions to keep British forces out of Suez in case of war, despite the provisions of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

This is an act of strikebreaking on the authority of the Central Com-Israelis' part. It is an invitation to hated British imperialism to violate its end of the treaty by bringing the troops back now. Israel's action is from the same mint as the shameful vote her delegate cast last fall in the United Nations supporting French imperialism against the Algerian people.

The Israel government is closely aligned in the Middle East with the Turkish. Both these regimes as well as the Iranian, Iraqui, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian monarchs are the firmest props imperialism has in the Middle East.

The Road to Socialism for Israel 3.

The reactionary policy of the Israeli government towards the Arab independence movement is the other side of the coin of its policy at home. Israel is the arena of a full-blown class struggle. The capitalist "Five Hundred" are the ruling class. They control the government. Their exploitation of the Israeli working class is supplemented by discrimination favoring European Jews against Jews from the Middle East and North Africa, discrimination against the Arab minority, ascendancy of the Hebrew priestcraft and development of a strong semi-fascist movement.

The program of the labor Zionists to support the "Jewish homeland" venture in Palestine but build it as a socialist country is exploded by the sordid reality. It is shown to be a completely utopian scheme. For the Jewish workers to make common cause with the Israeli capitalists and with imperialism for the sake of this utopia goes directly counter to their own class interests. It strengthens the hand of reaction in Israel and worsens their own ex-

ploitation. It also invites the Arabs to close in on Israel - and spring the bloody trap.

The Middle East is still overwhelmingly Arab land. Its central problem is how to bring victory to the Arab national independence movement. This is the only road to socialism in the Middle East. What the Jewish workers and socialist-minded youth pen to know Trotsky's attitude in Israel confront is a special variant of on the Georgian question?" Lenthe path for the Jews in the rest of the world. To enter the world-wide struggle for socialism as part of the proletariat of whatever country they live in, means in at the meeting. the Middle East to link up with the Arab masses in their anti-imperialist struggle.

If the Israeli toilers are successful in this, they will certainly retain their homes national question." in Israel. They will also win the possibility to develop their national culture unmolested within the frame-work of a so-

solution to the Jewish problem everywhere.

STALIN'S DISLOYAL GAME me with indignation. I am pre-What had brought the quesion to such an acute stage?ou." The copy of the note was inquired. It turned out that addressed not only to me, but Stalin had betrayed Lenin's conto Kamenev as well. This surfidence; in order to insure him- prised me. "Then Vladimir Ilyich self support in Georgia, acting behind Lenin's back and without changed his mind?" I asked.

"Yes, his condition is getting the knowledge of the entire Central Committee, he had carried worse every hour. You must not out. with the help of Ordzhoni- believe the reassuring statements kidze and not without support of the doctors. He can speak from Dzerzhinsky, an organized now only with difficulty . . coup d'etat there against the The Georgian question worries best section of the party, shield- him terribly. He is afraid he ing himself falsely behind the will collapse before he can un-

dertake anything. When handing me this note he said: 'Before it mittee. As Lenin's illness made it imis too late . . . I am obliged to possible for him to meet other come out openly before the comrades, Stalin had taken adproper time!"" vantage of this and had sur-"But this means that now 1 ounded him with misinformaan talk to Kamenev?' tion. Lenin instructed his secre-"Obviously." taries to gather all the material "Ask him to come to see me."

they could on the Georgian mat-Kameney came an hour later. ter and decided to come out He was completely at sea. The openly with a statement. It is idea of a trio-Stalin, Zinoviev, hard to say what shocked Lenin Kamenev-had long been estabmost — Stalin's personal dislished. Their spear-point was directed at me. The whole plan of loyalty or his rough and bureaucratic policy on the national the conspirators was that after question. Probably it was a comthey had mustered enough supbination of both.

port in the organizations, they Lenin was getting ready for would be crowned legitimate the struggle, but he was afraid successors to Lenin. that he would not be able to The little note cut into their speak at the congress, and this plan like a sharp wedge. Kame-

worried him. Why not talk the nev did not know what to do, matter over with Zinoviev or and admitted it to me quite Kamenev? — his secretaries frankly. I gave him Lenin's kept prompting him. But Lenin manuscript to read over. Kamewaved them aside impatiently. nev was an experienced enough He foresaw that if he withdrew nolitician to understand at once from activity, Zinoviev and Kathat for Lenin the question was zation. Lenin once compared him menev would join Stalin to make not only one of Georgia but of to a spirited thoroughbred. Dzerup a trio against me, and thus Stalin's entire role in the party. zhinsky fell in love, in a miad in-

BREAKS WITH STALIN Kamenev gave me some additional facts. He had just been to see Nadyezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, at her request. She told him in great alarm: "Vladimir has just dictated to his

stenographer a letter to Stalin saying that he breaks off all relations with him." The immediate cause of this was of a semi-personal character. Stalin

had been trying to isolate Lenin from all sources of information, The next day, at the meeting and in this connection had been very rude to Nadyezhda Konstantinovna. "But you know will immeasurably hasten the world-wide note with a brief summary of Vladimir," Krupskaya added. victory of socialism and thereby bring a my speech of the day before, "He would never have decided concluding with the question: to break off personal relations "Did I understand you correct- if he had not thought it neces-

sary to crush Statin politically."

Both of them are mentioned constantly in Lenin's correspondence on the Georgian question. Dzerzhinsky was a man of great and explosive passion. His energy was held at a high pitch by constant electric discharges. In

25c.

Refreshments

Auspices: **Militant Labor Forum**



would betray him. "Do you hapins asks. "At the plenary meeting, Trotsky spoke in agreement with your views," answers Glyas-

ser, who acted as the secretary "Are you sure?" "Quite. Trotsky accused Ord-

honikidze, Voroshilov and Kalinin of failing to understand the "Verify it again." Lenin de-

mánds: of the Central Committee at my cialist federation of the Middle East. This house, Glyasser handed me a

Our Readers Take the Floor

The Polite South

Editor:

I wish to express my appreciation, as a Southerner, for the way the Militant has handled the Southern events that have shaken the world in the past months. The Stalin. editors' swift action and inspired covering of the Montgomery protest movement have won for the Millitant recognition that it is a true champion of the Negro

struggle for equality. Especially good was William Bundy's story in the March 19 issue on the meeting of the American worker? Monitgiomery Improvement Association. I wilsh every person who has never been South might read ight of the ultimate goal. this story. Nothing short of a visit down there could so graphically illustrate what it means to be a Negro in the South, as do the closing paragraphs of Bundy's story, telling of the pollite streets of that polite Southern town.

be done by organized mass action, and against seemingly impossible odds. Are the odds too great in Mississippi for the same thing to happen? The climate in Mississippi must really be a milasma when it breeds such thoughts as Nobel Prize winner Faulkner has expressed. This schizophrenic personality who can say to the world that he knows murder is wrong, but he would murder innocent Negroes to "protect" the South, is supposedly one of Mississippi's most intelligent white men. What can you expect of the rest of them? It is fortunate that Mississippi has such non-whites as Dr. Howard and his associates; if Mississippi is ever to make it, it

will have to do so through the efforts of such as they.

L. S. Los Angeles

Starting to Think Editor:

At a public meeting here in

Philadelphia, April 6, sponsored by the Daily Worker, I had the opportunity to witness the impact of the 20th Congress upon leaders of the CP and upon its members. There were over 150 present. The larger part of the audience was composed of old timers, but was a good number of youth. Most important, it was a Delaware Valley, has enveloped sertious audience that assembled to hear Alan Max, managing blanket of class solidarity. editor of the Daily Worker

the support of the entire AFLbasis for a back-to-work move-Those who advocate that the Allan Max revealed that he is Montgomery to report the trial incapable of dealing with the CIO of the area and state was ment is visible. Jobs are to be worker's and the Negro people for this paper. While in Monthad in the area, and relief supsolemnly pledged, is a manifestamajor issue, that is of "demostick with the old parties can By Ben Haines port is available on a minimum gomery he utilized every opporcratization" in the Soviet Union. | tion more important than anyneither give aid to the struggles tunity to lend his support to the NEW YORK, Aprl 17 - One of the gimmicks used He represents the Stalinist lead- thing else that has occurred durbasis. Many workers said, "I'll of today nor help to develop the ers of the American CP who ing the long months since October. take anything I can get rather embattled Negro community. In local press and radio interviews correct political understanding by the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Repubfollowed every twist and turn of ! It indicates that the ran ise get away the lican parties to hoodwink the American workers is that he unequivocally took his stand with what they are trying to do. omorrow. each claims to be the "genuine". with the Negro people against A union hureaucrat an official party of peace and prosperity. members of local 3 UAW were the racist White Citizens Council What they both ignore is that forced to call a strike vote. The that controls Montgomery's city of the NAACP, a Stalinist, who Get the Facts Subscribe! says "vote Democrait" cannot go there are presently nearly 3,000, vote followed a recommendation administration. all-out in effective support of Victor Serge's graphic story 000 unemployed in the country of the local executive board which HELP FROM THE NORTH of Stalin's usurpation of power who are far from prosperous. And read as follows: the Montgomery movement. To "From Lenin to Stalin" With the decision of the Negro do so would damage the Demoneither of them challenges the "Lay off half of the men and Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it people of Monitgomery to con- cratic candidates they are sup-"right" of the bosses to mer- then make the rest do the same 112 pages 50 cents in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full porting. Nor can such people tinue their fight despite the cilessly exploit the workers in amount of work is the way THEIR MORALS year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. truthfully explain to politically the plants where conditions are Chrysler wants to modernize and outrageous verdict against Rev. awakening unionists and civil far from those reported in automate its plants. Dodge work- King, Dobbs returned North to AND OURS ers are sick and tired of being rally material and moral suprights fighters the cause and cure paradise. By Leon Trotsky port for the MIA. One of the industries hit continually hounded by bosses. for the Jim Crow system. To do 64 pages so would expose the capitalist 25 cents hardest by unemployment is auto. At the public meetings or-They are sick and tired of being political game in which they are **Pioneer Publishers** sent home on the slightest ganized to hear Dobb's first-hand State According to the April 16 Wall City 116 University Place themselves so deeply involved. Street Journal, 140,000 auto work- pretext. They are sick and tired report of the Allabama struggle, 🗂 \$1.50 Six months 📋 \$3.00 Full year 📋 New 📋 Renewal New York 3, N. Y. But a socialist candidate like ers had been laid off across the he hammered away at the fact of short work weeks and miserthat organized labor, in its own Dobbs, campaigning on a central country as of April 7. This is far able welfare pay checks." below the figures of the Michigan best interest must support the plank of labor - Negro unity The vote was 9.376 to 408 in Employment Security Commission against the capitalists and their Monitgomery movement. favor of strike. as reported in the April 7 issue political representatives can In interviews with the daily **BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY** The same conditions prevail in plunge into the civil rights fight of Labor's Daily. press Dobbs sharply criticised the auto plants across the country. Another labor paper, the union officialdom for failing to without any pressure to pull his Last week workers at the Buick-MESA, stated that there were give generous support to the punches. He can help strengthen Oldsmobile-Pontiac plant of Gen-185,000 unemployed in Michigan. eral Motors at Linden, N. J., who protest movement. He pointed to the movement and at the same the fact that the law being used

Q: What responsibility did the Stalin's treacherous course and present leadership have in past defended every one of his crimes. Max came closest to the truth errors?

when he repeated during the A: "History will tell." course of his talk that he was Q: If Stalin were alive today 'shocked, jolted, taken aback" by wouldn't it be possible for him to the 20th Congress repudiation of selficriticize himself and change the course of leadership?

There is every indication that A: Laughter from the floor and from the rostrum and Alan Max CP members want answers to their questions. Here are some with a shrug of his shoulders typical questions asked and anwent on to another question. swered. (Incidently, only written The discussion went on until 11:10 P.M. There were still many juestions were honored.) Q: Why doesn't the Daily unanswered questions. A motion was made to send the remaining Worker write about Socialism and

what it would mean for the question to the Daily Worker o be answered. Passed. To the CPers who want answer A: (Max) We were too busy

with immediate goals and we lost they will have to look elsewhere than their leaders. They will have to read Trotsky's ideas and Q: Why were the leaders

backing Stalin after his death? discuss them with us. A: A lengthy evasion along the ine of what-else-could-they-do.

Philadelphi: Those Montgomery heroes and heroines are showing what can be done by organized wist can **To Back UE Strikers** organized labor in this area are **By Joseph Grandy**

PHILADELPHIA, April 16

The lockout at the South Philadelphia (Lester) turbine works of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, now entering its seventh month, finds both sides bracing itself for what apparently is a final effort. The company is lines. maneuvering for its objectives of a measured day-work system, and POLITICAL THINKING as much of a wage cut as it can impose. Local 107, United Electrical Workers (independent), is as determined as ever not to return to work with less in wages and conditions than it had when its defensive action began on Oct.

14, 1955. These wages and conditions are among the highest in the Westinghouse chain. Last week's section member-

ship meetings clearly established the continuing firmness of the will of the ranks and showed that their fighting spirit has not been impaired during the six months of attritional warfare. The awareness of organized labor in the Philladelphia metro-

presenting in negotilations politan area that any cut suffered by the workers at Lester will definitely mean the spread of the same throughout the the Lester workers in a warm

package. This spirit, whose high point

men are not doing so hot. No trial for violation of Alabama's ing at Chester, March 8, where lenge the two capitalist parties. EQUAL RECORD PROFITS cisions. anti-boycott law. Dobbs went to

Capetown Hit by Bus Boycott

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 1956

12,000 Sign to Put SWP on Mich. Ballot

DETROIT, April 5 — The Socialist Workers Party today completed its petition campaign to secure a place on the Michigan ballot when it filed over 12,000 signatures with the Secretary of State.

Filing of the petitions completed was silent under the attack of a four-month campaign of work the witch hunters.

throughout. the state. The SWP If readiness to sign a petition was the first of the minority for a minority party is a sign, parties to file this year. The SWP it would appear many workers has already been certified for the are fed up with the do-nothing ballot in Pennsylvania and New and "moderate" policies of both the Democrats and Republicans. Jersev.

The success of the petition Thousands showed by signing campaign was made possible that they are concerned over only by hard work, enthusiasm, civil rights, unemployment, the danger of war, and are disconand receptivity among the work-

ers. The election laws in Michi- tented or uncertain about the gan are designed to make it major political parties. They, in no mood to allow the capitalist very difficult for minority par- and others like them, will be class here to trifle with them as looking and hoping for answers ties to appear on the ballot. to their economic conditions. The This year a minimum of 10,874 to these problems in this year's support pledged meant more than signatures had to be obtained campaign. the considerable contributions of

throughout the state, the bulk money - and Westinghouse will of them during the difficult winquickly find this out if it attempts to run scalos through the picket ter months.

P. Spangler

The campaign was conducted entirely by workers who also put in a full 40 hours on their regular jobs each week. This

ently get over 40 signatures an

hour. Such results were impos-

sible in many previous cam-

VOLUME XX

Further, the impact of the required the petitioners to desituation has developed a deeper vote their weekends as well as level of political thinking. All the their evening hours to the job. workers are critically watching Petitions were collected throughthe Democratic state administraout the state, in all the major tion regarding its actions on the unemployment insurance question. Local 107 members are especially aware that every step won in shopping areas during the day, their fight to have the state

from people returning home recognize and pay their claims from work in the evening, and to compensation because of a house - to - house when stormy lockout by Westinghouse, has weather made petitioning outbeen won through threats by "107" to make it a public issue doors impossible Michigan workers gave the

against Governor Leader's adcampaign an excellent response. ministration. In the industrial centers good The company at present signature getters could consist-

package which stripped down is practically the same wage and condition-cuting proposal which it had made last October. Foremen are visiting workers in their

homes trying to sell them the

Farrell Dobbs, shown above addressing a Pontiac. Mich. The Socialist Workers Party has the answers and it intends through its 1956 election cam-

the attention of great numbers of people.

Dobbs Meetings Spark industrial centers and many smaller cities as well. Signatures were gathered everywhere, in New Aid to Montgomery

Detroit and Cleveland are now actively engaged in a drive to Montgomery Jim Crow bus protest movement. The campaign to secure the wagons was initiated at public meetings addressed by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers paigns when the working class Party.





\$1,000 Donated **To Montgomery By Longshoremen**

NUMBER 17

By Daniel Roberts The Negro population of Capetown, seat of the Union of South Africa's Legislature, is conducting a mass boycott of the city buses. According to an April 13 Reuters dispatch from South Africa, many Africans are walking to work in protest against racial segregation, which went. into effect on the city-owned bus lines that morning. Others are sharing taxis or taking trains. Capetown has a population of 570,000 of which only 245,000 are Europeans.

Pickets, among them white persons, distributed leaflets at blus stops and carried banners saying "Keep Your City Clean -Away With Bus Apartheid" (segregation) and "Don't Give In To Strijdom." Prime Minister Strijdom has been pushing for increasingly stringent Jim Crow measures throughout South Africa.

Reports on the second day of the boycott say that many motorists - including Europeans have volunteered to give rides to those taking part in the protest movement. Picketing is going on at 15 bus stops.

The bus company's segregation order covers seven routes on which double-deckers operate. It states that Negroes must occupy the upper deck only, and Euroneans the lower deck. A company official said the order would not apply to single-decker buses be-"administrative difcause of ficulties."

of the administration in Congress.

The Democrats and Repub-

licans use their political power

to maintain Jim Crow because

they represent the interests of

the capitalist class which profits

from the Jim Crow system. That

is why final victory for the Ne-

gro people can come only when

the political power of white

supremacy is defeated. And that

can be accomplished only when

the Negro people in alliance with

the white workers build a Labor

lead to its victory..

PROFITS AT STAKE

The Reuters dispatch states "a imilar boycott" to the one just beginning in Capetown "is going on in Montgomery, Ala." This is direct evidence of the inspiration given to the South African fighters for racial equality by the splendidly conducted bus protest

movement in Montgomery. The Capetown bus boycott also draws inspiration from a similar action conducted by Africans in Johannesburg, largest city in the Union of South Africa, in the last year of the war. Daily for five weeks Negroes walked 15 miles to work and 15 miles back between Johannesburg and Nandi, then the largest Jim. Crow location outside the city. (See John

audience over Station WCAR during his first presidential campaign in 1948, has been touring through several Northern cities calling for aid to the Montgomery fight against Jim Crow buses paign in Michigan to bring it to through radio broadcasts, newspaper interviews and mass meetings.

By Harry Ring

With about 100 station wagons | the pitiful civil rights proposals it would be possible for the Ne-Groups of workers in Chicago, gro people of Montgomery to maintain their own transportation system, according to Rev. M. L. secure station wagons for the King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

With his energetic efforts to rally support for the Montgomery freedom fighters, Dobbs stands in sharp contrast to the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, all of whom have refused to lift a finger to aid the Negro

community of Montgomery in its just cause.

against the MIA was originally

adopted to break a miners' strike

and if it were used successfully

against the present protest move-

ment it would become an even

more lethal weapon against

This effective activity in sup-

port of the MIA kicks off the

1956 election fight of the Socialist

Workers Party. It provides a

splendid example of the meaning

of a genuine independent working

Contrast this record of modest

but solid accomplishment with

the dismal record of those who

want to keep the labor and Ne-

gro movement chained to the twin

capitalist parties. The top union

class political campaign.

labor.

When Rev. King was put on Reports indicate that the forediscuss the 20th Congress dewas the historic solidarity meet-Party that can effectively chal-

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- ternational before its Stalinist degeneration. 2 vols. Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50 Vol. II (paper only) \$3.00 Both for 6.00 THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED — An analysis of the social relations within the Soviet Union, the rise of the Stalinist bu- reaucracy, the Stalin cult, the position of the working class, the peasantry, etc. cloth \$2.50 paper 1.50 STALIN An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence (Originally published at \$5.00) Special price \$3.50 THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COM- MUNIST INTERNATIONAL — a criticism of fundamentals (with explanatory notes) Trotsky's basic work on the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country (paper) \$.25 	STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS\$1.00EUROPE AND AMERICA — (includes "Per- spectives of World Development" and "Whither Europe")* .50IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM — An exposition of the Soviet Union in World War II, its class nature and the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy
PIONEER P 116 University Place	UBLISHERS New York 3, N. Y.

Of these, 120,000 were in Detroit, are members of local 595 UAW the majority of them auto workvoted 92% in favor of strike. The attitude of the rank-and-file was that they should have had the

However we regard these conflicting figures, the over-all picture is clearly one of serious unemployment and continuing layoffs. The flacts are that auto produc-

posal of 30-for-40, as the most effective answer to layoffs, is tion is down at least 20% from once more being raised in the last year and inventories on unions. At its March membership unsold cars have swollen to a meeting the Star Building unit of record high of 900,000. This sur-Ford local 600 reported, "There plus amounts to nearly half of was unanimous agreement . . the 2 000,000 cars produced by all that we must start a big move complanies so far this year. for the thirty hour week so that In addition the Wall Street by June 1, 1958 we will all unite Journal reported on April 16 that behind this demand." The UAW company spokesmen in Detroit International agreement expires

are beginning to "shade down" their previously high estimates on 1956 auto production.

leaders, the official national leadlocal the Eisenhower administra-Despite these cutbacks the auto ers of the Negro people and the tion was attacked for continuing barons continue to reap fat profits. Communist Party all insist that "to maintain its claim of proswhile tens of thousands of workthe workers and Negro people perity while the short work weeks ers are forced to exist on meager must not act on their own and layoffs decrease the income unemployment checks. The Suppolitically but must pin their of the workers in many plants." hopes on "liberal" capitalist plemental Unemployment Benefits This correct attack on the Plan (GAW) won by the UAW politicians. What has this policy Eisenhower administration should last year does not go into effect produced for the civil rights be expanded to include the Demoat General Motors and Ford until battle in Montgomery or any. cratic party whose prosperity June 1. The same plan goes into where else? claims are just as false. effect at Chrysler and the inde-

in 1958.

vote a long time ago.

In addition to this growing

In the Glass unit of the same

resistance to speedup, the pro-

The Democratic and Republican A lot of workers are thinking pendents at a later date. hard these days. They have no parties will not take any funda-For workers remaining on the mental step against the Jim Crow job the layoffs have meant in- confidence in the future of this system. Their refusal to act on prosperity. And if life in the tensification of the speedup, shorter hours and less pay. As a plants is so unbearable with the the terror in Mississippi, the result the attitude of rank-and- very first layoffs, what will it be Autherine Lucy case or the perfile auto workers toward the like when mass unemployment secution of the Montgomery hits? Such thinking collides with movement proves this to be the bosses is full of bitterness. the political policy of the union Conditions at the Chrysler Corporations Dodge Main plant officials who answer all quesfact. And now we have the disgusting spectacle of their cheap in Hamtramck, Michigan, became tions with their line of supportrotten last month that the ing "good" capitalist politicians. election - time maneuvers around

Thayer's stirring account of this mass struggle in the April 9 Militamit.) Meanwhile, the bus protest movement of 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., continues with out letup. Neither terrorist bomb attacks, nor the arrest of their leaders and the conviction of Rev. King has been able to stop this powerful movement against segregation. The Negroes of Montgomery have been walking or riding in car pools since last Dec. 5 when all their accumulated grievances took shape in a common determination to refluse to ride the buses until their demands for decent treatment have been met. We have received news that local unions all over the country are beginning to send substantial assistance to Montgomery to help

them maintain and build their car

pool. The Longshoremen's Union

(independent) in San Francisco

voted \$1,000 for the fight and so

Hear The Trotskyist Analysis of the End of the Stalin Cult Joseph Hansen Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky **Farrell Dobbs** Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President Myra Tanner Weiss

time point out the road that will did the Laborer's Union (AFL-

CIO).

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President

May 1, Tuesday, 8 P.M. Yugoslav Hall

405 West 41st Street (Near 9th Avenue)

Hear Leon Trotsky Speak

A recording of his English speech to the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the American Trotskyist movement