Kutcher Wins Court Decision in Fight for Job

Action by Gov't To Comply Now Awaited by Vet

By George Lavar

James Kutcher, the legless veteran, who has been fighting the witchhunters for eight years, won another important legal victory on April 20. The Court of Appeals

in Washington, D.C. handed down a 2-1 decision tearing the government's case against Kutcher to tatters.

Newspapers throughout the country gave prominent coverage to the story and predicted that Kutcher would now get back his job in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration and over \$20,000 in black pay.

LEGAL MEANING

Important legal points in the decision of the second-highest court in the country, were; (1) Reaffirmed its 1952 ruling in the Kutcher case that membership in the Socialist Workers Party "could not constitute a valid reason for dismissal;" (2) That Kutcher was recording secretary of the Newark SWP branch "wa not a reason nor, standing alone. even an important detail of the reasons for dismissal;" called a charge of general radical association "wholly vague."

Specifically the court found Kutcher's firing illegal because the reasons given by the government did not prove or had no bearing on the charges. In so doing the court took a step important for the protection of all veterans and for civil liberties in general. It breathed some life back into laws passed to protect government employes. Under the assault of the "loyalty" purge the protective passages of these laws had become dead letters.

The court held that the firing of Kutcher had been in violation of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, which applies to veterans in civil service jobs. This act provides that a veteran in government employ "shall have at least thirty days' advance written notice . . . stating any and all reasons, specifically and in detail. for any such proposed [removal] action." Analyzing the findings of the VA Loyalty Board of Appeals, the court declared that the reasons adduced in it did not correspond to the charges against Kutcher. He therefore had been deprived of his rights under the above-cited law and could not have anticipated, from the charges served on him, how to prepare instating him and re-firing him Party," said Ant Sharon, National his defense.

JAMES KUTCHER

and able" to go back to work as

APRIL 23 - The National soon as the VA got in touch with him. He told reporters that he con-Committee of the Socialist Worksidered the decision not only a ers Party last week mapped out personal vindication but an im- a hard-hitting campaign for a portant victory for civil liberties. socialist and class-struggle pro-As yet the VA has made no gram in the 1956 elections. The move. Technically the Department | Committee met in full session, of Justice can appeal the decision April 13-15. At a previous meetto the Supreme Court. General ing last September, it designated consensus among lawyers was Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner that the government would lose in | Weiss as its candidates for U.S. the high court even if the latter President and Vice - Preisdent consented to hear the case. At respectively. The party has alany rate the Department of ready been certified for the ballot Justice has 90 days from the date in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, of the decision in which to appeal. and nominating petitions were Another possibility is that the filed last week in Michigan. The government will try what it did nominations will be presented to last time Kutcher won in the a party convention this summer. Court of Appeals. It will pretend "We will urge radical workers to comply with the decision by re- to vote for the Socalist Worker simultaneously. Such action would Campaign Chairman. "How else

more

ake all the

CP CASES

THE MULITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1956 Vol. XX - No. 18 267

Soviet Law Journal Assails Stalin 'Confession' System

SWP Maps Vigorous Election Campaign

"We Have Been Naught! We Shall Be All!"



Attack Helps Confirm Exposure of Moscow Trials as Frame-ups

By Joseph Hansen

The Kremlin magazine Soviet State and Law has denounced the practice, prevalent in the Soviet Union under Stalin, of basing convictions in court on mere con-

fessions. In the issue that ap-C peared April 22 it singled out Andrei Y. Vishinsky, main prosecutor in the Moscow Frame-Up Frials, for attack, accusing him of having developed the infamous system of "proving" guilt by onfession

On the same day Pravda menioned Alexei Ivanovich Rykov without the slanderous invective isually attached by the Stalinists to his name. Rykov was one of the main victims in the March 1938 Moscow Frame-Up Trial who "confessed" to all the monstrous charges cooked up by Stalin's secret political police that were levelled at the defendants by Vishinsky.

These two actions portend a major concession by the Stalinist bureaucracy — acknowledgment of the falsity of the purge trials. If that concession is actually granted, it would seem impossible for the bureaucracy to avoid rehabilitating the names of Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov to ne degree or another.



PRICE: 10 Cents

REASONS KEPT SECRET

On these grounds alone the Court of Appeals ruled in Kutcher's favor. But in addition to this the judges added another telling blow at the prosecution's case. The long report of the Loyalty Board of Appeals in 1953 which purported to give the reasons for Kutcher's firing was never given to Kutcher. He and his lawyer first saw it when the government introduced it as an exhibit in the present proceeding in the federal district court.

This is the document which confriend's of civil liberties to press tains the attacks on Kutcher and for restoration of the pensions of the SWP that the court declared Wellman, Thompson and Klonsky, irrelevant to the charges. Some disabled Communist party vetof the choice items in it are: erans whose pensions were arbitrarily taken away by the witch "Kutcher said under oath he would not report to the FBI a hunters in the VA.

member of the Communist The public outcry that would Party;" Kutcher made a speech in result if the VA tries to evade which he referred to Lenin, the giving Kutcher back his job is inprogram of the SWP; 18 SWP dicated by an editorial in the from the CP for supporting Trotleaders were convicted under the New York Post (April 24) calling sky's fight against Stalinism when Smith Act in 1941, etc. on the government to "concede

In Newark James Kutcher defeat in its long and inglorious declared he was "ready, willing war" against the legless veteran.

can they further the socialis vindictiveness with which the principles they believe in except government witch-hunters have to cast their vote for our candipersecuted the legless vet. dates? To vote for the Democratic Party - as the treacherous Communist Party leaders advise them Certainly persecution of Kutto do - means to work against cher has been long and inglorious

the cause they espouse. It means First his job was taken; next to back the Big Business policame the attempt to evict him ticians and the rule of the class and his parents from a low-cost enemy. It means to betray the federal housing project; then his Negro struggle in the South bepension was stopped. Public incause the Democratic Party chiefs dignation forced the witch hunters kowtow to the white supremato restore his pension. This cists." precedent should encourage all

CANNON'S REPORT

Key Issues:

Civil Rights

Class Politics.

By Daniel Roberts

Sharon's report on election campaign plans came after intensive discussion on a resolution entitled A New Stage in the Russian Revolution. The reporter was James P. Cannon, founder of

American Trotskyism. A leading member of the Communist Party, he was bureaucratically expelled he went to the Soviet Union as a

(Continued on page 4)

NEW YORK MAY DAY MEETING

"The Stalin Frame-Up System And the Moscow Trials"

Hear the Trotskyist Analysis Of the End of the Stalin Cult

SPEAKERS:

- Joseph Hansen Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky
- Farrell Dobbs Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President
- Myra Tanner Weiss Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President

Hear Trotsky Speak

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

May 1, Tuesday, 8:00 P.M. YUGOSLAV HALL 405 West 41st St. (Near 9th Ave.)

Auspices: New York Local, Socialist Workers Party, ALgonquin 5-7852



Power of Mass Action Shown by Montgomery

By C. Thomas

A U.S. Supreme Court deinterpreted as a sweeping edict banning segregation in intrastate transportation, was later revealed to be of much more limited original demands were met. character. The decision came on a case involving bus segregation in Columbia, South Carolina. Instead of ruling on the constitutional question of segregation the Supreme Court returned the case to the lower court on the basis of a technicality involving proper procedure.

Although making a correction of their first interpretation of the court order, the New York | into the profit-hungry bus opera-Times pointed out that: "Few doubted, however, that the longrange effect would be - as appraised when the court's terse order was announced - to demolish the last bulwark of racial segregation in the field of public transportation."

RACISTS DEFY COURT

Crow buses. This opinion was confirmed by To recompense them for their the reaction of bus line operators "in at least thirteen cities" bus fares by 50%. But this in- who declared: in the South who immediately crease did not compensate for announced they would no longer the loss of Negro riders. The enforce race segregation on their Southern bus operators fear the buses. The National City Lines, extension of the Montgomery owners and operators of the bus action which hits them where it line in Montgomery, Alabama, hurts the most — in the pocketjoined in the announcement book. Whereupon the Police Commis-

FEAR IT WILL SPREAD sioner of Montgomery declared that "bus drivers who permitted "With few exceptions," comdesegregation on their buses ments an article in the N.Y. Post would be prosecuted. And, he on the Supreme Court bus deci added, "any passenger who mixes sion, "Southern bus companies with the opposite [race] on buses appeared eager to do away with would face arrest." segregation. The issue always It was the arrest of Mrs. Rosa has been troublesome to them Parks for violation of the city's and, as in Montgomery, it has bus segregation ordinance that led to economic losses. "The bus companies have been fathers threatened reprisals set off the Montgomery bus protest movement, now in its 20th fearful for weeks," the report week. Following a meeting of continues, "that the boycott |

the Montgomery Improvement | movement might spread to other Association, which is leading the cities. Hence, they have seized cision announced April 24, first bus protest action, its president on the Supreme Court ruling, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King technical though it is, to do away Jr., stated that the protest movewith Jim Crowism.'

ment would continue until the The daily press reports that in some sections of the South where These demands are three in the city or state government has number: (1) Passengers to be refrained from intervening, the seated on a first come first serve pattern of bus segregation was basis. (2) An end to the pracabandoned. The April 25 N.Y. tice by bus drivers of insulting Times carried a front page picand abusing Negro passengers. ture of a Norfolk, Va., bus (3) The hiring of Negro drivers showing white and colored pason buses servicing predominantly sengers sitting side by side. The Negro routes. Times lists a few more Virginia

The Montgomery bus protest and North Carolina cities in which bus integration is slated action has thrown a real scare to go into effect and then adds: tors of the Jim Crow South. They "No immediate mixed riding apderive a large part of their inpeared in prospect, however, in most of the cities in the Deep come from the fares paid by Negro passengers. The owners of South." National City Lines squealed like

stuck hogs when their revenue government officials of the Deep was cut more than half by the South, snorted their defiance of refusal of the Negro community the United States Supreme Court n Montgomery to ride the Jim

Their attitude was voiced by Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, oss the city authorities raised notorious Jim Crow practitioner,

> "We shall oppose this latest decision just as we are resisting mands of the party and Governthe decision in the school desegregation case by all legal means." The phrase "legal means" is courts and prosecuting organs." thrown in to cloak the campaign of intimidation and terror, waged with the blessing of the author- is published by the A. Y. Vishinities, by the thugs of the White sky Law Institute of the Acad emy of Sciences. Citizens Councils.

In Montgomery the city offiials refuse to yield in their determination to hold the segregation line. When the National City Lines announced it was prepared to comply with the law of the land as interpreted by the highest judicial authority, the city

(Continued on page 4)

ADMIT STALIN'S CRIMES

This course seems indicated y the number of Old Bolshevik victims of Stalin already rehabilitated, by the admission that Tukhachevsky and some 5,000 top Red Army officers were shot on frame-up charges, and the public recognition by Kremlin officials that Stalin undermined the defense of the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II and actually paved the way for the onslaught of the German imperalist armies.

The whole pattern of concessions, in fact, as it has developed up to now, points more and more to admitting that no matter what the political differences might have been, Stalin's slaugher of the Old Bolsheviks took place under cover of the most monstrous frame-up in all his-

tory. The Associated Press reported that the unsigned article in the

magazine declared that Vishinsky's practice had been made an 'unimpeachable dogma." It called for a thorough study to throw light on the "questions of guar antees and the means of insuring legality in the matter of guarding the rights and interests

of citizens of the USSR." According to the article, Vishinsky's theory "denies the need for a court to establish the absolute truth in each case and On the contrary, city and state permits the possibility of con-

victing a person on the basis only of the probability of some LENIN FOUGHT STALIN fact or other that is undergoing and its desegregation rulings. legal examination."

Such procedure, said the magazine, is a "glaring violation of the principle of Socialist legal-

ity." It added that the theory was "at variance with the dement for the strictest observance of legality by investigation Ironically, the magazine, which is the leading Soviet law review

The name of Rykov appeared on the front page of Pravda in a letter signed by Lenin which the newspaper printed for the first time. Dated April 12, 1922.

and published in connection with observances of the eighty-sixth anniversary of Lenin's birth, the letter was addressed to Rykov, to the editors of Pravda, to N

LEON TROTSKY



LEON SEDOV

missar of Agriculture, Yuri M. Steklov, who disappeared in the purges of the Thirties, and Alexander D. Tsvurupa. Commissar of Food during the Civil War.

Lenin's letter denounced in strong terms the "stinking red tape" and the atmosphere among Moscow's intelligentsia. It demanded more attention to local conditions and actual practice and less "political chatter."

From the description given of the letter, it is clearly directed against the symptoms of rising bureaucracy which so alarmed Lenin toward the end of his life and which led him in the following year to ask Trotsky to join in a bloc against Stalin, leading representative of the usurping bureaucrats.

Trotsky's Speech **On Moscow Trials**

(See Page 2)

Pravda's use at this time of Lenin's letter fits in with the ending of the Stalin cult by the heirs of the late dictator. In the same issue, Pravda repeated the denunciation of the cult of "personality," the euphemism for

(Continued on page 3)

Osinsky, former People's Com-

Page Two ---

THE MILITANT

Monday, April 30, 1956

-MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS-**Trotsky's Speech to the Dewey Commission**

[We publish herewith the first installment of Leon Trotsky's closing speech at the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyoacan. Mexico. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher and a veteran of American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist movement and one of the men most hated by the fascist dictator, Mussolini. Otto Ruehle who stood side by side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." The Committee is to be credited with the definitive exposure of the Moscow frame-ups. Trotsky's speech is reprinted from The Case of Leon Trotsky published by Harper & Brothers in 1938. It is one of two volumes the Commission issued on the Moscow Trials. The other contains its own findings under the title, Not Guilty. Leon Trotsky's speech has also been reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in a pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. - Ed.]

in the justice of Vyshinsky is

But perhaps sentimental pub-

By Leon Trotsky

It is entirely beyond dispute in the present case, directly to that the trials of Zinoviev-Kam-enev and Pyatakov-Radek have aroused the utmost distrust of Soviet justice, among workers interpretation. and democratic circles throughout the entire world. However, lic opinion has been misled by it was precisely in this affair preconceived sympathies for the that full clarity and unimpeach- accused? This argument was able judicial power of persuasion used more than once in the cases were absolutely necessary.

The accusers, like the accused Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney in - at least the most important the United States, etc. But so of them - are of world-wide far as the Moscow defendants renown. The aims and motives are concerned, there can be no of the participants had to flow question of partisan sympathies. directly from their political posi- The most informed section of tion, from the characters of the world public opinion, it must be persons involved, from their plainly said, no longer had either whole past. The majority of the confidence in or respect for the defendants have been shot; their principal defendants, in view of guilt - we assume - must have their numerous previous recantabeen absolutely proved! How- tions and, above all, their conever, if one leaves aside those duct in court. who can be convinced of any-The prosecution represented thing, no matter what, by simple the accused, with their assisttelegraphic orders from Moscow, ance, not as capitulators to Sta-Western public opinion has flatly |lin, but as "Trotskyites" who had

refused to support the accusers assumed the cloak of capitulaand the hangmen. On the con- tion. Such a characterization, to trary, alarm and distrust have the extent that it was accepted grown into horror and revulsion. as true, could in no way in-Moreover, no one supposes that crease sympathy for the accused. a judicial "mistake" has been Finally, "Trotskyism" itself to-

made. The Moscow authorities day is represented by a tiny could not have shot Zinoviev, minority in the workers' move-Kamenev, Smirnov, Pyatakov, ment, which is in sharp struggle Serebryakov, and all the others with all other parties and fac-"by mistake." To lack confidence | tions.

World Public Opinion

The accusers are in an incom- cidentally, on the eve of the parably more favorable position. | trials, has aroused still more Behind them is the Soviet Union, sympathy for Moscow. An overwith all the hopes of progress whelming preponderance of a which it represents. The rise of priori confidence was thus asworld reaction, especially in its sured to the Soviet Government most barbarous form - fascism at the outset.

The Judgment of History



feels. But in all the rest of the | inary investigation, to fill in the | conclusions" to which he has | untary" character are insufficiworld the toiling masses have gaps in the records of the court been led by his study of the ent basis for accusing me, they been seized by a tragic confusion proceedings, explain the contrawhich poisons their thought and dictions, and dispel doubts. In paralyzes their will. Either the such case an examination could entire old generation of Bol- only increase the authority of

shevik leaders, with a single and the Soviet Government. sole exception, has really be-But what if the Commission trayed Socialism for fascism, or laid bare the premeditated fraud sions, even when voluntarily the present leadership of the of the Moscow charges? Would USSR has organized a judicial not political caution then dictate frame-up against the founders avoiding the risk of an investiof the Bolshevik Party and the gation? Such a consideration, seldom expressed candidly and Soviet state.

Yes, that is precisely how the fully, is based on the craven ar, at the very least, open. question stands: Either Lenin's notion that one can fight the Political Bureau was composed forces of reaction with fictions, of traitors, or Stalin's Political humbug and lies, as if the best the classic cases of the trials of Bureau is composed of falsifiers. remedy for curing a sickness the Inquisition, along with in-

question. "From a long study of historical problems, I know that confes-

made, are not positive proof." The word "even" indicates clearly enough that the question of the voluntary character of the Moscow confessions is for this schol-As an example of false self-

accusations, Professor Beard cites stances of the darkest supersti-

are also insufficient for accusing

First of all, he says, the ac- all the others. This means, in cusation against Trotsky rests Professor Beard's opinion, that exclusively on the confessions. dozens of people who were innocent or whose guilt had not been demonstrated were shot in Moscow. Messrs. Executioners must reckon with this estimate, made by an exceptionally conscientious investigator on the basis of a careful study of the question.

Nevertheless, I must say that in my opinion Professor Beard's formal decision-namely, his re-**CP-Backed French Gov't**

fusal to participate in the investigation-does not at all fol-

spirator, I, basing myself on authorities. But that is not in that credit, can fully discredit question. The most important "confessions," in which I witnesses for the prosecution, the am presented as a comic-opera the defendants themselves, are conspirator, primarily concerned forced to indicate when and with furnishing the greatest pos- where they had meetings with sible number of witnesses against

In all of these cases, thanks myself for the future prosecutor. The same holds true as far as to the circumstances of my mode the other defendants, especially of living (police surveillance, Zinoviev and Kamenev, are con- constant presence of a guard cerned. Without rhyme or reason composed of my friends, daily they enlarge the circle of initi- letters, etc.), I can with irreates. Their lack of prudence, futable certainty demonstrate which cries to high heaven, has that I was not and could not a deliberately calculated charac- have been at the places named ter. All this notwithstanding at the times indicated. In jurithere is not a shred of evidence dical language, such positive in the hands of the prosecution. proof of a negative fact is call-The whole affair is built on ed an alibi. Furthermore, it is absolutely

conversations-more exactly, on recollections of alleged conver- indisputable that I would not sations. The absence of evidence preserve in my archives records -I shall never cease repeating of my crimes had I committed this — not only annihilates the any. But my archives are imcharges, but also is a terrible portant for the investigation, piece of evidence against the ac- not for what they lack, but for what they contain. Positive acusers themselves.

However, I also have more di- quaintance, with the daily derect and, moreover, quite posi- velopment of my thought and tive proofs of the "negative acts over a period of nine years fact." That is not so very un- (one year of banishment and usual in jurisprudence. Naturally, eight of exile) is entirely sufit is difficult to demonstrate ficient to demonstrate a "negathat in eight years of exile I | tive fact"-namely, that I could had no secret meetings - with not have committed acts conanyone, anywhere—devoted to a trary to my convictions, to my conspiracy against the Soviet interests, to my whole character.

"Mockery of Justice"

The agents of the Moscow moment in the United States. The People's Commissariat of Government are themselves well ware that the Moscow verdicts Justice in Moscow has published cannot stand without the sup- in foreign languages the "verport of authoritative, expert | batim" report of the trial of the opinion. For this purpose the seventeen (Pyatakov, Radek, English attorney Pritt was se- etc.), the better to obtain from cretly invited to the first trial, authoritative jurists certification and another English attorney, that the victims of the inquisition have been shot entirely in ac-Dudley Collard, to the second. In Paris, three attorneys - obcordance with the rules estabscure but quite devoted to the lished by the inquisitors. In fact, a certification of a GPU-tried to use for the same purely formal observance of expurpose the shingle of the In-

Iternal rules and the ritual of ternational Juridical Association. By arrangement with the Sojurisprudence has an importance viet Embassy, the obscure French which is close to zero. The essence of the affair is in the maattorney Rosenmark, acting under the cover of the League for terial conditions of the preparathe Rights of Man, issued an tion and conduct of the trial. Of expert opinion no less benevolent course, even if one disregards than ignorant.

for the moment the decisive fac-In Mexico, the "Friends of the tors which are to be found out-Soviet Union" have proposed to side the courtroom, one cannot the "Socialist Lawyers', Front" help recognizing that the Mos--by no means accidentally that they undertake a juridical cow trials are a pure and simple investigation into the Moscow mockery of justice.

trials. Similar steps are appar-[To be continued.] ently being prepared at the

- has turned the sympathies Despite all this, the omnipotenit accusers have not convinced

and hopes of democratic circles, even the very moderate ones, and have not conquered world toward the Soviet Union.

These sympathies, to be sure, unawares. On the contrary, the are very hazy in character. But authority of the Soviet Governthat is precisely why the official ment dropped sharply after the and unofficial friends of the trials. Implacable adversaries of USSR are not inclined, as a gen-Trotskyism, allies of Moscow, eral rule, to unravel the internal and even many traditional friends of the Soviet bureaucracy, have contradictions of the Soviet regime; on the contrary, they are demanded verification of the ready in advance to consider all Moscow charges. It is enough to opposition against the ruling recall the steps taken by the stratum as voluntary or invol-Second International and the Inuntary cooperation with world ternational Federation of Trade Unions in August, 1936. reaction.

To this it is necessary to add In its incredibly rude response, the diplomatic and military ties the Kremlin, which had counted of the USSR, taken in the genon a complete and absolute viceral context of present-day intory in advance, exposed the full ternational relations. In a numdepth of its disappointment. ber of countries-France, Czech-Friedrich Adler, secretary of oslovakia, to some extent Great the Second International and, Britain and the United States ---consequently, an implacable foe purely nationalist and patriotic of Trotskyism, compared the sentiments predispose the demo-Moscow trials to the witchcraft cratic masses in favor of the trials of the Inquisition. The Soviet Government, as the adwell-known reformist theoretiversary of Germany and Japan.

cian, Otto Bauer, who considers It is not necessary to mention it possible to declare in the press that, to cap this, Moscow has at that Trotsky is speculating on a its disposal powerful levers, tan- future war (a statement which gible and intangible, with which is not only false but also abto exert pressure on public opin- surd!), is compelled. desuite all ion in the most widely separated his political sympathy for the layers of society. The agitation Stalinist bureaucracy, to recogabout the new Constitution, "the most democratic in the world," nize that the Moscow trials are which was made public, not ac- judicial frame-ups.

Only Truth Can Help USSR

The New York Times, an ex-| French Premier Caillaux - so tremely prudent newspaper and much as mentioned the fact that far from having any sympathy the author of the book has been for Trotskyism, sums up the end | "convicted" of an alliance with of the last trial in the following fascism and Japanese militarism words: "The burden of proof lies | against France and the United not on Trotsky but on Stalin." States. No one, absolutely no This single, crushing phrase reone - not even Louis Fischerduces the juridical persuasiveconsidered it necessary to comness of Moscow's court procedure pare my political conclusions with the charges of the Kremlin. to zero. If it were not for diplomatic, It was as if there had never

patriotic and "anti-fascist" conbeen either trials or executions siderations, the lack of confiin Moscow! dence in the Moscow accusers This single fact, if one thinks would assume incomparably more about it, is irrefutable proof that open and vigorous forms. This the thinking sections of society, can be easily demonstrated by a beginning with the interested secondary but extremely instruc- and most sensitive country, tive example. France, not only have not ac-

In October of last year my cepted the monstrous accusation book "The Revolution Betrayed" but have, quite simply, cast it was published in France. Several out with scarcely concealed disweeks ago it appeared in New gust. York. Not one of the many crit-

We cannot, unfortunately, say ics, most of them my adversar- what the stifled population of ies - among them the former the Soviet Union thinks and from this elementary rule. Who- manner, communicates "certain fact; namely, that Stalin did or me a certain credit as a con- liberation movement, to Belle-laction.

There is no third possibility! But consisted in refraining from call it is precisely because there is ing it by name. no third possibility that progres-

If the present Soviet Governsive public opinion cannot, at ment is capable of resorting to opinion, which they tried to take the risk of its very existence, bloody judicial frame-ups to deevade making this difficult and ceive its own people, it cannot tragic choice and explaining it be the ally of the world proleto the popular masses. tariat in the struggle against The oft-encountered, semi-of-

reaction. Its internal inadequacy ficial objection that the work of must in this event reveal itself the Commission can "politically at the first major historic shock. harm" the USSR and help fas-The sooner the infection is excism constitutes — to put it posed, the sooner the inevitable mildly - a compound of stupidcrisis comes, the greater the ity and hypocrisy. Let us for a hope that it can still be overmoment grant that the charges come in time by the living forces of the Court against the Opposiof the organism. On the other

tion have some basis — that is. hand, closing one's eyes to disthat dozens of men were not ease means only to drive it shot for nothing. In that case, deeper internally. This would it can be little trouble for a lead to a great historic cataspowerful government to produce the materials from the prelim- trophe.

Stalin's Service to Hitler

Stalin rendered his first great | ever tries to raise himself above service to Hitler through the workers' democracy, by that very theory and practice of "socialact betrays it.

fascism." He rendered his sec-To the above it must be added that the question is not an "in- ered by the charges. In my opinond service through the Moscow trials. These trials, in which the ternal" affair of the USSR, even greatest moral values are crush- when viewed purely formally. It Trotsky to do the impossible -ed and violated, cannot be blotis already five years since the ted out from the consciousness Moscow bureaucracy deprived me, my wife and our elder son upon his accusers to produce of mankind. It is possible to help the masses recover from the of Soviet citizenship. Thereby they also robbed themselves of wound inflicted upon them by the trials only through complete every special right with respect clarity and the full truth.

to us. We have been bereft of a The opposition of a certain "flatherland" which could defend us. It is but natural that we highest importance of and by type of "friend" to the investishould place ourselves under the themselves, since they contain gation, which in itself is a cryprotection of international public an annihilating appraisal of ing scandal, arises from the fact that even the most zealous deopinion.

fenders of Moscow justice lack In his reply of March 19, 1937, inner conviction of the soundness | to George Novack, the secretary of their case. They cover their of the American Committee for secret fears with completely con- the Defense of Leon Trotsky, Protradictory and unworthy argu- fessor Charles A. Beard motiments. An investigation, they vates his refusal to take part in say, is "intervention in the inthe Commission of Investigation ternal affairs of the USSR"! with principled arguments which lated in this manner: Who or-But has not the world proletariat have great value in themselves, ganized these inquisitorial trials, the right to intervene in the apart from the celebrated historian's participation or nonpar- and for what purpose? internal affairs of the USSR? In the ranks of the Comintern ticipation in the investigating they still repeat: "The USSR is commission.

First of all, we learn that firmly convinced, and millions the fatherland of all the toilers." Professor Beard has made "a suspect, that the trials rest on compromise me. That is abso-A strange fatherland in whose careful study of many documents systematic falsifications, dictated lutely correct. But neither would affairs nobody dares intervene! in the case, including the official by definite political aims. It is I write letters to the conspira-If the working masses are suspicious of the acts of their leadreport of the last Moscow trial." ers, the latter are under obligation to give them full explana- essary comment the weight of I hope to establish before the not heedlessly reveal the most tions and every facility for an such a statement from a scholar Commission. Consequently, it is secret plans to young people uninvestigation. Neither the state who knows very well what a a question not only of a "nega- known to me, nor entrust them, prosecutor, nor the judges, nor

the members of the Political in a very restrained but at the Trotsky has not participated in terrorist missions. Bureau of the USSR are exempt same time absolutely unequivocal a plot-but also of a positive Since Professor Beard grants leader of the Algerian mational

low from his material conclution. That single comparison, which coincides with the development of the thought of Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Second International, speaks for itself. Furthermore, Professor Beard deems it proper to apply a rule which governs American jurisprudence, namely: The accused must be considered innocent if

there have not been brought against him objective proofs which leave no room for reasonable doubt. Finally, the historian writes

that "it is almost, if not entirely, impossible to prove a negative in such a case: namely. that Mr. Trotsky did not enter into the relations of conspiracy charged against him. Naturally, as an old revolutionist, experienced in the art, he would not keep incriminating records of the opera-

tions, if he did engage in them. Furthermore, no person in the world could prove that he has not engaged in a conspiracy, unless he had a guard set over him every moment of the time covion it is not incumbent upon Mr. that is, prove a negative by positive evidence. It is incumbent more than confessions, to produce corroborating evidence to specific and overt acts."

As has already been said, the conclusions reached are of the Moscow justice. If unconfirmed sions of the victims of the Inconfessions of a doubtfully "vol- quisition.

The Fundamental Question

consequently, should be formuthese crusades of calumny, why,

Hundreds of thousands of men throughout the entire world are perienced revolutionist, I would precisely this accusation against tors in the least prudent and

careful study is. Professor Beard, | tive" fact-that is to say, that | at our first meeting, with serious

sions. Indeed, public opinion seeks above all to resolve the enigma: Is the charge proved or not? It is precisely this question which the Commission primarily wishes to resolve.

Professor Beard declares that he personally has already arrivcharge has not been established,

and that that is why he does not join the Commission. It seems Bourdet, co-editor of the liberal island. to me that a correct decision magazine, France Observateur,

would be the following: "I enter was arrested for his defense of the Commission in order to test the night of the Algerian people the accuracy of my conclusions." to self-determination. Bourdet has It is absolutely clear that the written articles and pamphlets collective decision of the Comexposing French imperialist rule mission, in which representatives in North Africa and the role of the various branches of intelof the notorious North Africa lectual endeavor are found, will Lobby in shaping French politics. carry much more weight with

public opinion than the conclusions of a single person, even a great authority.

Professor Beard's conclusions. with all their importance, are incomplete, however, even in their material essence. The question does not consist simply in knowing whether or not the charge against me has been established. In Moscow dozens of people have been shot. Dozens of others await execution. Hundreds and thousands are under suspicion, accused indirectly or calumniated, not only in the USSR but also in all other parts seized in France. However, Daniel of the world. All this on the Renard, editor of La Verite, and basis of the "confessions," which Professor Beard finds himself tionalist Communist Party, have able to compare to the confes-

The fundamental question, ganize the greatest frame-up in

human history. However, even so far as the "negative facts" are involved, I sole "crime" of receiving copies of cannot accept Professor Beard's Resistance Algerienne through over-categorical judgment. He

lished in Belgium by the National supposes that, being such an ex-Liberation Front. Pierre Frank, a member of the Secretariat of the not keep documents which would Pabloite group in the Fourth Intermational, was also arrested. They have been brought before the Military Tribunal and indicted One understands without unnec- the ruling clique in Moscow that most compromising way. I would on the frame-up charge of "attempting to demoralize" armed forces. The French government of "So-

Jails Algeria War Foes

By Carl Goodman

As part of its savage campaign of repressions against the Algerian people who are seeking their national indeed at the conclusion that the pendence, the Mollet government in France is trying to silence opponents of its Algerian 9

policy. On March 31, Claude Isle, used in the past as a penal

In Algeria itself, the Mollet regime continues its fascist-like use of tonture and concentraitoncamp imprisonment against Algerian patriots. The March issue of Allgerian Resistance reports the death under French police toothure of Dr. Benzerdieb and Kassem Zeddour, militants of the National Liberation Front. It

ATTACK TROTSKYISTS

also carries a harrowing account On April 4, six police inspectors by Akli Said of barbaric treatseized issue No. 401 of La Verite, ment by police authorities. He French Trotskyist weekly newswas beaten nearly to death, paper, as it left the printshop. reports Said, then driven in a jeep to an isolated beach. "I The next morning the cops rewas seized by four cops who subturned to smash the type. La Verite has carried on a vigorous merged me in the sea water for campaign against the war in a period of time. I was pulled out for several seconds. I could North Africa and for French working class support to the not manage to breathe, I was North Affrican national indesubmerged again. I was suffocatpendence aspirations. Previous ing. I felt myself dying. My belly issues of the paper have been vas swelling. I was pulled out suppressed in Algeria, but this again. I had lost consciousness." was the first time the paper was These tontures in Algeria and suppressions of free speech in France are part of the "special powers" granted March 11 to other members of the Interna-Mollet by the French National been arrested on several occasions Assembly. The Communist Party deputies cast their vote for the since the Algerian liberation war began in November 1954.

powers. In explanation for its support to French imperialism, On April 8, agents of the D.S.T. (French secret police) the Central Committee of the arrested Simone Minguet and French Comunmist Party stated Raymond Bouvet, members of a in a recent resolution that "In Fourth International organization voting for the government of Guy

Mollet on the issue of the Alin France and Janine Weill, memgenian debate . . . the Communist ber of the "New Left" for the group [of deputies] has created faviorable conditions for a resurgence of the united front and for the mails. This newspaper is pubprogress in achieving a new nopular front. .

This cynical declaration underscores the truth of what Trotskyists have said about the Stalinist class-collaborationist policy of "Popular Frontism" - namely, that it represents the worst sort of betrayal of the interests the of the working class both in colonial countries as well as the

cialist" Mollet has also decreed main centers of capitalism. The repressions in Algeria and France the exile of Messali Hadj, veteran - that is the popular front in



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Monday, April 30, 1956

May Day 1956

Despite temporary setbacks and detours, the progressive development of mankind has proceeded along the path charted by Marx and Engels. History has brilliantly confirmed the Marxist prognosis. The noncapitalist world now embraces one-third of the human race. The remainder is shaken by an insurgent mass movement comprising the most exploited and oppressed sections of humanity.

The Marxist prognosis has been conspicuously amplified and enriched by Leon Trotsky's illuminating theory of the permanent revolution. Trotsky etched the continuing and permanent character of revolutionary change within each country and on a world scale. He traced the interaction between the two and pinpointed the role of the various class forces involved in the struggle. The end product of the course of historical development outlined by Trotsky is world socialism.

Capitalism Off Balance

On May Day 1956 the events of the past year are a source of great encouragement to the advanced workers of the world. They highlight the dynamic quality of Trotsky's revolutionary concept. History does not proceed in a straight line. Capitalism breaks at its weakest link. The initiative has temporarily passed into the hands of the more economically backward areas of the earth. The forward thrust of the colonial revolution has thrown the main capitalist powers off balance, upset their timetable for war, prevented the establishment of any degree of stability, altered the world relationship of forces and given an impulse to the revolutionary movement in the industrial centers.

The insurgent masses of the colonial countries are now making payment on their debt to the Russian revolution of October 1917. The October revolution set in motion the current wave of colonial revolt which has now swelled to formidable proportions. The Bolshevik party, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, was the first to recognize the tremendous evolutionary potential lodged in the colonial struggle for national independence. They championed the doctrine of selfdetermination for all subject peoples. They formulated the theory, elaborated the program, provided the leadership and set in motion the forces of revolt against capitalist-imperialist domination of the colonial world. They saw in the horribly impoverished, downtrodden and cruelly exploited colonial masses the most reliable allies of the Soviet Union and the world working class. History has eloquently verified their conviction. The leaders of the Russian revolution viewed the Soviets as the first conquest in the world-wide struggle for socialism. They considered the extension of the October revolution as the only effective defense of the first workers' state. They saw the Soviet Union as a beleaguered fortress surrounded by capitalist reaction. They sought to rally the workers of the industrial West and the colonial slaves in struggle against the common enemy. Despite their most heroic efforts, the revolutionary wave receded. Capitalism proved too strong and the revolutionary leadership in the West too inadequate. The revolution was confined within the borders of the Soviet Union, besieged by capitalist expeditionary forces and racked by civil war.

cialism in a single country has mean building socialism in no country. It meant subordinating the interests of the workers and colonial people to the needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy. It led inexorably to scapegoat. the betrayal of the socialist revolution. Probably the greatest crime of the "Stalin cult" arose from the theory and practice of national socialism which has served to prolong the existence of outlived capitalism. Humanity has payed heavily for this they wanted to save their own crime and the end is not yet!

Stalinism served to delay the final reckoning but it could not stay the onward most monstrous atrocities. But march of history. The permanent revolu- now that their erstwhile chieftain tion prevailed over Stalinist reaction. Is safely ensconced in his tomb Following World War II, putrefying they appear eager to confess and capitalism crumbled in its weakest centers. Despite all Stalinist attempts to contain it, the revolution was extended beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. In China, the Stalinists tried to make a deal sponsored by the American State Department, to basic policies - policies which share the power with Chiang Kai-shek through the medium of a coalition government organized on a capitalist basis. That they failed is no credit to them. The recalcitrance of Chiang, and more important, a surging mass movement of the multi-millioned Chinese workers and peasants, impelled them to take the power. In its impact on history the Chinese revolution is second only to the October over- of the American CP cannot use turn in Russia.

In the Soviet Union the nationalized property forms established by the October revolution demonstrated undreamed - of vitality in repairing the war damage and catapulting the Soviet Union into a position of world industrial power second only to the American colossus. The Soviet industrial working class has grown from three million at the time of October 1917 to 48 million today. No longer isolated and encircled by hostile capitalist powers, with its specific social weight enhanced by its strategic position in production, the Soviet working class has acquired enormous confidence and assurance. Confidence and assurance due in no small part to the revotionary impulse imparted by the colonial struggle against world imperialism.

New Stage in Russian Revolution

pressure of a revitalized Soviet working to bring out Lenin's real attitude they were not guilty.

Daily Worker's New Version of CIO Split

Marshall at '47 CIO Convention

The late Philip Murray (right) shown with former Secretary

State George C. Marshall, at the 1947 CIO convention in

Boston. The former Army Chief-of-Staff was permitted to use

the CIO's platform to propagandize for Wall Street's war

preparations against the Soviet Union. This "partnership" of

the labor officials with the cold-war chiefs led to the all-out

witch hunt within the CIO and the expulsion of unions led by

only about Stalin's crimes but | expert" George Morris in the

cal agency of the Kremlin. Their every key by all CP leaders.

April 22 Sunday Worker, "has

Independence, critical self

CP UNION POLICY

Morris:

the Stalinists.

some of their own.

All of this mumbo jumbo is

ntended to conceal the true role

frantic twists and turns of the

past had no relation to the needs

and interests of the American

international scale, still deter-

THE MILITANT

By Tom Kerry

Since the campaign against Stalin was unleashed by his losest collaborators in the Soviet Union, it has become standard practice for the leaders of the American Communist Party, to shift responsibility for all the Stalinist crimes and betrayals of the working class onto the malodorous "Stalin cult." In following this course they ape the bureaucrats in the Kremlin who see in Stalin's corpse a convenient

Stalin's closest co-workens in the Kremlin say they did not act when the bloody tyrant was alive because they were paralyzed by fear. They knew what was going on but did not protest because skins. They were afraid - so they went along. . They participated with Stalin in committing the

expose "his" crimes. In doing so they seek immunity from the wrath of the Soviet masses among whom the name of Stallin became anathema. But - while decrying Stalin's name they continue to carry on, deepen and extend, his must inevitably lead to further betrayals of the world working class movement. How is this reflected in the policy advocated by leadens of the American Communist Party?

"TAKEN IN" BY STALIN

Because they operated thousands of miles beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, the leaders the excuse of personal cowardice.

They pretend they were "taken in" by the Stalin cult. They did not criticize, they say, because they were afraid of giving aid and comfort to the "enemies" of "socialism." They slavishly followed every twist and turn of Stalinist policy because they had faith! They contributed in their own way to the building of the Stalin cult because they believed in the infallibility of Stalin. They supported every crime and pardirectly in every betrayal. But since the Kremlin called it to ferent? "One basic positive by them can be traced to a lack of their attention they are prepared product of the post-Stalin devel- independence and clinging to dog-

to admit they were mistaken. Not opments," writes Stalinist "labor mattic formulas and doctrinaire ... Vishinsky Accused

(Continued from page 1) | this. The death sentence was | vinced that the plotting was on Stalin. Having coupled its con- carried out and Stalin's followers the side of Stalin and that it cession on the cult with the im- the world over tried to justify was directed against Trotsky and The concessions already wrested from mensely popular slogan "Back the judicial murders by asking Trotsky's program of revolutionthe Kremlin bureaucracy by the mounting to Lenin!" the Kremlin is forced they were not cuilty

just a month before the trial

Flushed with their "election grappled with the problems of victory" the CIO leaders led by REALISTICALLY applying Philip Murray opened a slashing Marxism to American life and attack on the Stalinists. Murray

It is first necessary to decipher this Stalinist jargon. The term 'Marxist" in the above quoted bassage applies to members of as defined by Murray were: (1) he CP. "Lack of independence," refers to selling out the workers | Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. whenever Kremlin policy required and (2) Support of the Demot. "Clinging to dogmatic forelections. michas and doctrinaire scripture,"

The Truman Doctrine unleashed s a new note coming as an aftermath of the open revision of Marxist theory by the recent 20th Congress. The language is identical with that used by vulgar critics and bitter enemies of

Social Democracy, which saught bolster Wall Street's tottering imto emasculate the revolutionary perialist allies in Europe and to essence of Marx's teachings, is aid them in retaining their grip studded with such epithets. Lenin on their insurgent colonial posspent the better part of his life sessions. More billions were n irreconcilable struggle against poured into Asia to prop up the reactionary dictator puppets of all attempts to present Marx as bourgeois democratic reformer. American Big Business. The Mar-He was constantly reviled as shall Plan was devised to save "dogmatic" and "doctrinaire." His world capitalism, to stabilize collected works are a veritable capitalist rule, and to lay the ursenal in defense of orthodox ground work for World War III Marxist doctrine. And the October | against the Soviet Union and its

revolution was historical con- allies. firmation of revolutionary Marxist heory. You will find nothing in Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky to support the "coexistence" theory of

problems.

Marxist doctrine.

been a quickening of the process of Marxist independence in every of the American CP as a politi- land." This tune is played in class struggle as the greatest motive force in history. He working class. On the contrary, analysis and agonizing reapthey were always ready to praisal! That is the theme song nothing in common with its exsacrifice the interests of the of Morris and his cohorts. As the workers to the requirements of labor movement is his special Soviet foreign policy. The formula field, Morris confines his "selfcapitalist class. That the working class can emancipate itself from of "coexistence," which translates criticism" to CP trade union wage slavery only through indeinto class collaboration on an policy. To begin with says pendent class action on the economic and political field. That class collaboration was a betraval of the struggle for sooctrine!

How does Morris propose to se his newly acquired "indeendence" in "REALISTICALLY applying Marxism to American life and problems?" After a soulferent in the future. How dif- in the trade union field. Most of earching reappraisal of past vents he informis us that:

"A serious examination of the that the split in the CIO, that

was voted dictatorial powers to "discipline" any union affiliate which failed to follow CIO policy. The central tenets of CIO policy

Ungralified support of the Truman cratic Party and its candidates in

- Page Three

the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and led directly to the "police action" in Korea and war against China. Marshall Plan funds were used as a weapon in the "cold war." Billions of Amer-

The literature of the reformist ican dollars were expended to

Now the "independent" Morris, in a quick glance backward, takes a pot-shot at "the left" for its "refusal to retreat and compromise" "especially on the presi-Khrushchev-Stalin and their dential race and the Marshall American exponents. Marx's out- Plan." To set the record straight standing contribution to social it must be said that the Stalinists science was the disclosure of the did their best to "retreat and compromise" at the 1948 CIO convention. They gave "left" supaffirmed that in capitalist society port to the Marshall Plan by the exploited working class has proposing that the fund be administered by the United Nations. ploiters - the profit - gouging They protested that the Progressive Party campaign for Wallace aided in the election of Truman. They cringed, they crawled, they retreated, they offered to compromise. But that was not enough for Philip Murray and his lieutenants. Nothing but complete and nalism. That is basic Marxist abject capitulation would have sufficed. Now, in retrospect, Morris comes to the conclusion that Philip Murray was not entirely to blame but that the "left" must share responsibility for their failure to "REALISTIC-ALLY" apply "Marxism to Amer-

ican life and problems.' It would be stupid to think that rend in the left, especially since Morris' indulgence in the new-World War II, I am sure, is found luxury of "self-criticism" is bound to lead to the conclusion a mere exercise in critical reexamination of the past. There came to a climax in 1949 might is method to his madness. Next have been avoided. The blame for to the Stalin cult disclosures the the split cannot be placed entirely thing that is most disturbing to on Philip Murray and the CIO's CP members and supporters is right wing. For some time before the policy of supporting the the split it was apparent that the Demo-Dixiecrat party and its facts. First, Leon Sedov died by the narrowness and leftism in Morris is engaged in drawing he ranks of the Marxistis lessons irom un forgot that the key to the to sell the Kremlin's present cosuccess that marked the CIO's existence line to CP members and first ten years was left-center supporters. All of the twaddle about amply "That unity was breached ing Marxism "realistically" is and the left itself contributed to mere window-dressing for a policy that breach by its narrowness, of class collaboration which over-estimation of its strength, violates basic Marxist doctrine. refusal to retreat and compromise Morris and Co. are trying with some when that was imperative might and main to cuddle up to (especially on the presidential the American trade union bureaurace and on the Marshall Plan)." crats, and are prepared to selfout the interests of the American workers one-thousand-times over to accomplish their aim. While this betrayal is cloaked in all of mions in 1949 was laid at the the paraphernalia of the new dispensation it adds up to the same old poison in new bottles.



'Socialism in One Country'

Although unable to make their own revolution the workers in the West were powerful enough to prevent the destruction of the Soviet state. The Soviet economy, devastated by war and civil conflict, was bleeding at every pore. The ranks of the Bolshevik party were decimated in the civil war. The industrial workers, the backbone of the revolution, numbered only three million out of a total population of approximately 140 million. Hope in the extension of the revolution faded. The reaction set in.

It was on the basis of the reaction that the Stalinist bureaucracy arose and consolidated its power. As against the Bolshevik program of international socialism embodied in the doctrine of permanent revolution, Stalin counterposed the reactionary and utopian theory of "building socialism in a single country." This "theory" fitted the needs of the rising bureaucratic caste like a glove. Eager to exploit the conquests of the revolution and greedy for the privileges that come with bureaucratic power, they saw in Stalin and his "theory" the man and the formula to screen the satisfaction of their voracious appetites. This was the genesis of the Stalin cult.

In practice, the theory of building so-

class is only the beginning. The events takthe first stage of the political revolution legal concessions and reforms, which has as its aim the restoration of Khrushchev & Co. hope to appear workers' democracy in the Soviets, the ridding themselves of the taint establishment of democratic trade unions with workers' control of production and Stalin's hatchet men. the reconstitution of Lenin's Bolshevik party. The victory of the political revolution in the Soviet Union will again elevate to a position of pre-eminence the theory and practice of international socialism in cult. as codified in the theory of the permanent revolution. Decrepit capitalism could not long survive the event.

Even today, the centers of capitalist imperialist power are severely shaken. The death as the "dean" of Soviet revolution in Indo-China, the insurrec- law. tionary movements for independence in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, have created a condition of perpetual crisis in France. through his role in the slaughter The power of British imperialism has been of Lenin's general staff. In the undermined by the loss of its most coveted Russian Revolution of 1917, Vishcolonial possessions and the continuing revolt of its subject peoples. The recent general strike of the Spanish workers and the movement for independence in Spanish Morocco, herald the beginning of the end for the bestial Franco dictatorship. Each recurring shock to the imperialist system sends a tremor through the citadel of Stalin's secret political police. world capitalist power in the United States.

Negro Struggle in U.S.

As the dominating capitalist power the American ruling class has grown sensitive to shoulder with Lenin and Trotto the pressure of world opinion. They have been compelled to take cognizance Vishinsky as in league with Hitof the swelling protest against color dis- ler and as morally responsible crimination voiced by the newly-awakened for the assassination of Kirov. masses in the erstwhile colonies. The desegregation decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court were, in large measure, a con- carried out. cession to this pressure. Taking the concessions as a new point of departure and using them as a springboard for a further defendants. Aside from this the advance, the Negro people are pressing forward on all fronts in their fight for with Trotsky in the "Hotel Bris-

civil rights. Montgomery is a harbinger of things to come. The forces of freedom, progress and socialism are on the march. When the powerful American labor movement joins last stronghold of the racist open-show Dixiecrat South, the knell of world fore. capitalist power will have sounded.

cratic danger. Through this, ed to make up for the bad iming place in the Soviet Union today mark along with genuine economic and pression created by the Zinoviev-Kamenev farce.

> as continuators of Leninism, thus of their decades of acting as Again they "confessed" to being n league with Hitler and of The attack on Vishinsky is of organizing the assassination of utmost importance as a signal Kirov, plotting the death of Stalof how far the Kremlin is prein and attempting to bring back pared to go under pressure of capitalism to the Soviet Union the masses in smashing the Stalthrough the aid of a foreign oower.

When Vishinsky died in November 1954, he was known in alleged airplane trip by Pyatathis country as the Soviet delekov to Oslo to visit Trotsky, was gate to the United Nations. The proved to be a fabrication. And Stalinist press mourned his again despite the exposure of

the frame-up, Vishinsky demanded the death sentence and it was But Vishinsky was a sinister carried out. figure, who advanced to promin-**1938 TRIAL** ence in the Stalinist machine

insky was on the side of the counter-revolution. He came over to the Bolsheviks only after the definitive victory of the beleaguered young workers state. An obscure careerist, he made his way through his ability to play the role of "prosecutor" in the to pay the price for his errors frame-up scripts prepared by In the 1936 Zinoviev-Kamenev

trial, Vishinsky raged at the defendants, calling them "fascist mad dogs" and worse. These Bolsheviks, who had fought shoulder sky as leaders of the Russian Revolution were denounced by Vishinsky demanded that these heroes of the Revolution be summarily shot, a demand that was

The main pillar of this trial "evidence" consisted of such items as an alleged "meeting"

tol" in Copenhagen. Trotsky denied any such meet-

ing and pointed out that the defendants were not his followers, their best to make peace with forces with the movement for Negro Stalin. Trotsky's denial was conequality in militant action to storm the firmed by proof that no "Hotel

In 1937 another trial was stag under mysterious circumstances in a Paris hospital. Second. while Again Old Bolsheviks were put

Stalin's agents were trailing Sedov and attempting to assassinate him, the Stalinists organin the dock. Again Vishinsky ized a big campaign to deprive called them "fascist mad dogs." Trotsky of his asylum in Mex-

ico, thus preventing him from speaking out and exposing the impending trial. The charges in the 1938 trial were so fantastic that Trotsky said of them: "Having cut them (Morris' emphasis)

selves loose from every respon This is truly amazing - ever sibility, the totalitarian leaders for a Stalinist. The basis for the Again the sole "evidence," an have cut themselves loose from expulsion of the Stalinist-led CIO the elementary laws of common sense. The Moscow trials strike Portland convention which met one as grandiose nonsense, as the in November after Truman was delirium of a lunatic armed with elected president with all-out CIO enormous power. It would be no support. The Stalinist-led unions exaggeration to say that this had supported the candidacy of Henry Wallace, running for presipart of the accusation is saturated with TOTALITARIAN IDIdent on the Progressive Party

unity.

Party.

Period

Banquet

OCY." ticket. The last big trial in which When Bukharin, Rykov and the Vishinsky figured was in 1938. others were shot as "fascist

His victims this time included spies," Benito Mussolini was so Bukharin, Rakovsky, Rykov and pleased that he wrote in his own other stellar names in the Bolnewspaper, Popolo d'Italia, that shevik Party in the early days. Stalin "had become a Fascist." Also included was Yagoda, the And the Italian dictator added: head of the secret political police "Stalin does not resort to castor who had organized the first two oil to punish Communist leaders trials. He was now being made who are so stupid or criminal as still to believe in Communism. in the previous frame-ups which Stalin is unable to understand had led to their easy exposure. the subtle irony involved in the Besides repeating the charges laxative system of castor oil. He n the previous trials, Vishinsky makes a clean sweep by means

added some new twists. The of systems which were born in 'plotters" were accused of poithe steppes of Genghis Khan . . oning the famous novelist Maxim | Stalin renders a commendable

Gorky, and of plotting to overservice to fascism." throw the Sovet regime as early as 1918 by murdering THE REAL CRIMINAL Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. Trot-The only "evidence" in the sky was accused of having been Moscow trials was interlocking

a German spy since 1921! "confessions," all of which were proved to be false at the time The frame-up in this trial was they were made. Today's attack exposed while the trial was in on the practice of trial by consession but that didn't save the hapless victims. On the basis of fession is thus an attack on the their "confessions," Vishinsky validity of the Moscow Trials.

was "confessions" of guilt by the demanded the death penalty and no matter what other aims it may have such as assuring the 18 were shot. bureaucrats there will be no repetition of such monstrosities. To

DEWEY COMMISSION

The famous Inquiry Commisname Vishinsky helps make this sion headed by John Dewey, the clear. But Khrushchev & Co. American philosopher and edu-

have yet to name the real crimcator, had already proved that inal in the Moscow Trials, the one really guilty of introducing the first two trials were frametrial by confession: namely, but on the contrary had done ups and that the victims, including the two main defendants, Vishinsky's master. Stalin. Leon Trotsky and his son Leon The way the pattern of conces-

sions is developing, however, Sedov, were innocent. Thus there Bristol" existed in Copenhagen. were few outside the most gulthat concession too will be wrung It had been torn down years be- kible Stalinists who accepted the from the bureaucrats who helped 1938 trial as genuine. Stalin stage the Moscow Frame Vishinsky paid no attention to 1 The world was even more con- Up Trials.

Twin Cities Labor Forum **Montgomery Bus Protest** Meeting Speakers: Chicago Frank Boyd, Member of the CELEBRATE National Executive Commit tee of the International MAY DAY Brotherhood of Sleeping Car "The Crisis of Stalinism" Employees. Dorothy Schultz, Representa-Hear a Trotskyist Analysis tive of the Socialist Workers Howard Mayhew: Chicago Or-Party. ganizer, Socialist Workers William Patterson, President of the Minneapolis Youth Question and Discussion Council, Minneapolis Branch NAACP. **International Smorgasbord** Harry Brazelton, Sec. of the UPWA Area Anti-Discrimi-Food and Refreshments nation Committee. from 6:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M. Fri., May 4, 8:00 P.M. Sat., May 5 10 So. 4th Street Speaking Starts 8:00 P.M. Minneapolis, Minn. 777 W. Adams St. Auspices: Twin Cities Labor Forum Auspices: Militant Labor Forum Committee Admission Free Admission Free Subscribe!

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Marxism vs. Stalinism are able to do better. But people

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818. On that day began the life that was to be devoted to laying the scientific foundation for man's understanding of his social existence, the discovery of the laws of motion of capitalist society. Above all else -- with Marx began man's conscious intervention into the process of historical change.

During Marx's life and ever since, the capitalist rulers have been hard at work tryng to refute him. In vain! Marx's views found more and more adherents in the working class. Today his name shines brighter than ever

the phenomenon of the apand hs ideas light the way for pearance of a police dictatorship the anti-capitalist movement of in a workers' state, differentiated hundreds of millions of working it from the Russian Revolution people. and the planned economy and

FIRST WORKERS' STATE

thereby showed the way to defend the Soviet Union against its In less than a century after Marx's birth, the working class enemies, internal as well as exof Russia won a great revolution ternal.

Foster and his cohorts in the which established the first work-CP saw no evil, spoke no evil ers' state in history. Thus the and heard no evil. Now their validity of Marx's central thesis

that capitalism would be replaced masters have rudely opened their by a planned economy instituted eves and ears - and what comes out of their mouths? "Explain it through a proletarian revolution to us," they beg of their former was proved. With this historic deceivers. Even now they cannot event the main body of the "refutations" of Marx's views attempt an analysis on their own but can only bleat like sleep collapsed like a house of cards. the few facts that are given to

As the authority of Marxism grew in the eyes of oppressed them and hail it all as progress, people everywhere, so did the just as yesterday they hailed the number of pretenders to the crimes and lies of Stalin as "progress." They know no other Marxist school. Chief among these nethod. claimants within the working class are the Stalinists, who in

REWRITING HISTORY the United States call themselves the Communist Party. It isn't possible, however, to decide who is a Marxist and who is not by what people claim to be. There is an objective test: before all else Marxism is a correct analysis | congress condemned practices of rewriting history in order to exof the real world. Only with such an analysis can a program of plain away events in history. It struggle be provided that will bring the workers to power.

A problem of major importance for Marxists of our generation is to understand what is going on in that part of the world where capitalism has already been overthrown - the Soviet sector. How did the "Marxists" of the American Communist Party meet this problem?

The entire non-Stalinist world knew of the police dictatorship in the Soviet Union with its concentration camps, frame-ups, extorted confessions, anti-Semitism and officially promulgated pogroms. The capitalists used and world Socialism." (My paranthese crimes of the Stalinist thetical questions. MTW.) Is this bureaucracy in their effort to servile apology for Stalinist discredit the ideas of socialism. The Social Democrats used the Marxism? crimes of Stalin to justify their cowardly support of the capital-



said that under present conditions they recognize the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in various countries. They also said that working people would be able to establish

KARL MARX

firmed the Marxist premise that Communists never seek violence, in transition or in anything else." But Marx's theory of revolution has nothing to do with the workers "seeking" violence. It was based on the violence of the capitalist class - a violence that is perpetrated daily and ultimately

'Thus, they (20th Congress) reaf-

ssumes the form of fascist rule if the workers fail to take power

LAST PRETENSE GONE The heads of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, and Clark indecently quick behind them, are throwing out the last pretense to Leninist theory. Lenin levoted himself tirelessly to compatting the Social Democratts whom he contemptuously called 'parliamentary socialists.'

But perhaps the ideas of Marx and Lenin are now invalid. Perhaps we no longer live in an "epoch of wars and revolutions" as Lenin termed it. If so, what

change has taken place in the nature of capitalism? Has it In an article headed, "What ceased to be explicitative? Is it Was New at Soviet Party Conno longer monopolistic? Is the gress," March 18, the foreign economic crisis resolved? Has imeditor of the Daily Worker briefly perialism ceased to be expansionlisted among other items: "The ist? Has capitalist rule lost its violence?

Far from it. There are difexpressed great dissatisfaction ferences of course in capitalism with the insufficient works of his- | as Lenin knew it and capitalism tory, economics and philosophy." as it is today. But these dif-That is all. Not a word as to who ferences are quantitative, not qualitative. Capitalism is more did the "rewriting." Why they did it. Or what they rewrote. ist world is today dominated by Almost a month later, April 10, world conquest is greater than Worker with complete aplomb, "When all of Stalin's shortand leadership excesses (frame-

camps?) have been exposed and about a nuclear arms race. There is now only one body of explained, he will still stand as a fighter who performed great services in the building of Soviet | test of time. With Stalin acknowlpublished by the Communist Party in the last three decades has to be revised from begincrimes to be palmed off as ning to end. Anyone who is

serious about finding the road The capitalist world is closer at hand for the American Stal- back to Marxism must begin with ists. Only the Trotskyists analysed inist leaders. Perhaps here they the work of Leon Trotsky.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1956

NUMBER 18

Buffalo Smith Act Victim Thus Joseph Clark in the article ports another item from the 20th Sentenced to 5 Years Congress: "The Soviet leaders

By Theodore Kovalesky

as the tawdry trickery of a stool BUFFALO — John Francis Noto, former local Compigeon, Chatley hastened back to munist Party organizer, was found guilty April 12 of his union. Expecting to be greetviolation of the "membership" clause of the Smith Act ed with cheers and perhaps a rousing chorus of "Hail the Con-

and sentenced to serve five years. quering Hero," he was instead n a federal prison. Thus Noto, later, as paid informers, betrayed greeted with silence. When fisuffering the penalty for having their former comrades.

In the latter group was John 'dangerous thoughts," becomes the first witch-hunt victim in Lautner, former high-ranking New York State under this vi- functionary of the Communist cious provision of the Smith Act. | Party, who was mentor and guide The prosecution took very few to the bumbling prosecutor, U.S. chances in the selection of a Attorney John O. Henderson. jury which would be virtually One stool pigeon whose testicertain to convict Noto. One of mony positively enchanted the pigeons.

VOLUME XX

the questions asked prospective jury was Joseph Chatley, a bus jurors — and this was entirely driver who joined the Communist inprecedented in this area - Party in 1949 as an FBI infor-

was, "Have you ever been a mer. Chatley unfolded what the member of either Bell Local 501 Buffalo Evening News described UAW or Westinghouse Local as a "cloak and dagger" account 1581 IUE?" These two powerful of supposedly being assigned to locals, among the largest in the conceal a top ranking member Buffalo area, have long been of an "atom spy ring" in his noted far and wide for their mil- home. He claimed Noto had told him that a certain man would itancy.

Also among the questions was appear at his house with a cera list of publications including tain password. Since the actual both the Daily Worker and the time of the gentleman's appearthe exception where victims of Militant. Obviously anyone anance was vague, Chatley would swering that he had read these have to remain at home during the witch hunt are concerned. naners would have been disgual- certain specified hours each night awaiting the mysterious stranger. ified immediately. After such careful screening,

the jury eventually selected was for months, Mr. X never did a middle-class grouping composshow up.

ed mainly of managerial types as Chatley should be trusted voted enormous space to the covand well-to-do women, who liserage of the trial. Not since the tened with stony faces to the with such an assignment (if we Korean War has the witch hunt grant for a moment any part of proceedings and took a scanty locally been raised to such a three-and-a-half hours to reach

its own reaction, there are very of it. The jury, however, digested

monopolistic - the whole capital- ernment stool pigeons. These fell In 1952 Chatley managed to the Socialist Workers Party gave into two categories: first the get himself removed from his him what financial aid it could. At that time the SWP stated Russian Revolution has dominated Foster could write in the Daily U.S. Big Business. Its need for spies who had operated within post on the transit local's execthe CP as members while actu- utive board to prove to the FBI that it would then and in the ever before - that is why the ally turning in reports to the what a roaring red role he was future be glad to assist him in comings (re-writing of history?) capitalists have embarked on a FBI; and second former mem- playing as a militant Commu- this case in any way possible, in history, because it marked the permanent war economy. And bers who had believed in the nist. This past week, after his despite fundamental political ups, pogroms, concentration there is certanly nothing pacific principles of Stalinism and then former "radicalism" was exposed disagreements.



(Continued from page 1) to cross the color line.

THE FIGHT CONTINUES The fight in Montgomery goes on! The ranks of the freedom

That is not much to ask. The | panding working class concentraagainst any and all who dared United Automobile Workers, tions in the cities. Their tradialone, numbering over one mil- tional weapon to keep the worklion members, could very easily ers divided is color discrimination and segregation. Their rabid racfinance the entire project.

While material aid to Mont- ist propaganda is designed to gomery is the immediate need, cloak their naked material intermuch more is required to batter ests.

fighters are standing firm. Their ic struggle has already made lown the walls of color discrim-The **Macy Picket Injured**



Injured striker, Ceil Curry, is helped by fellow-pickets while waiting for arrival of ambulance. The 12-day strike of 8,000 Macy workers, the largest department store in the world, was settled April 23. Some concessions were made on all of the union's demands except working hours.



the present CP leaders continue to (Continued from page 1) preach. epresentative of the American Farrell Dobbs, National Sec-

CP in 1928. retary of the SWP, gave the Na-"The crisis of world Stalinism, tional Committee an inspiring made evident by the 20th Conreport of his trip to Montgomery, gress of the Communist Party of Ala., where he covered the recent the Soviet Union is an expression of a new stage of the Russian Revolution," Cannon said. "The

the course of the world in the last 39 years. It is the greatest force beginning of the world revolution. Our struggle against Stalinist reaction has been a strugauthors of the Russian Revolupolitical action and the principle needs to organize its own party. The long Trotskyist struggle is being vindicated by the events." the Stalin cult as a genuine con-

trial of the bus-segregation protest leaders for the Militant. He also reported on his trip to Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland to

organize aid for the embattled Alabama Negroes. "The Negro struggle has reached a new stage of development," said the SWP presidential gle to uphold the program of the candidate. "Last fall, mass protest meetings and demonstrations took tion: independent working class place in the Negro communities in the North and West over the that the revolutionary vanguard murder of Emmett Till. Then, an independent Negro mass movement began to assert its power in the South. This was dramatic-Designating the liquidation of ally illustrated by the protest movement in Montgomery.

cession to the Soviet working UNIONIZE THE SOUTH class, the resolution on the New

The action, added to the upsurge of labor militancy among white workers as shown in the strik

wave last year, creates favorable

conditions for an AFL-CIO cam-

paign to unionize the South,

Success would demolish the last

stronghold of the open shop in

the U.S. and undermine the

political power of the Southern

Bourbons, one of the firmest

pillars of Big Business rule in the

without even a burp. COOL RECEPTION

a verdict of guilty. STOOL PIGEONS this rich comic-book material definite signs of resistance to it. As is usual in these witch-When John Noto was attempthunt trials, much of the time ing to raise his original bail of was spent on testimony of gov-\$10,000, the Buffalo Branch of

But although he waited patiently That a new party member such

this cock-and-bull story) would seem inconceivable on the face pitch. But as every action has

The defense is appealing the excessive bail as well as the conviction. While Noto was virtually unknown in the Buffalo area, the capitalist press nevertheless de-

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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.

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America's

Crow a major issue in the presi- Reuther - or any other top and program and with a deterspurred labor leader Walter Reu- set the entire labor movement in ment can rally the workers, addressed to the chieftains of the Democratic party: "You've the union organization of the got to make a choice - you open-shop South. cannot have Mr. (Senator) East-

land and have us at the same time.'

The mass action in Montgomery was directly responsible for the capitulation of the bus companies on the segregation issue and was largely instrumental in upsetting the segregation pattern in a number of important cities of the border states. We can be assured that it plays no small part in the deliberations of the unions in the South for their august Justices of the Supreme Court.

And the fight goes on! The recent events are calculated to impart an added impetus to the struggle for civil rights. The movement of support for the embattled Montgomery freedom fighters must be expanded and intensified. Especially by the organized labor movement. Many unions throughout the country have contributed material aid to the bus protest movement. But by and large the initiative has come from the ranks with only an exceptional union leader here and there coming out in active support.

THE ACID TEST

It is not enough for Walter Reuther to berate the leaders of the Democratic party for their failure to take a stand for civil gomery Committee which is engaged in a campaign to augment rights. The acid test today for those who champion the cause of the Montgomery car pool by civil rights is Montgomery. That raising funds from sympathizers and supporters of the fight is the front line. That is where the issue has been joined. That against Jim Crow.

The charge against Sanders is where the victory can be won - if labor throws its power into was based on the flimsy technithe breach on the side of the incality of collecting funds without being "affiliated with any chardomitable freedom crusaders. Reuther is president of the itable organization authorized by most powerful labor union in the the city council to solicit funds country. In addition, he is head on designated days." Cops are of the industrial union section of the same the world over. In the AFL-CIO. The minimum, the Montgomery the cops harass absolute minimum he should do, drivers of the car pool by aris to call upon the unions which rests on legal technicalities. A look to him for guidance and practice duplicated by the cops leadership, to respond to the ap- in Chicago who harass supportpeal of the Rev. Dr. Martin ers of the bus protest movement. Luther King Jr., head of the The Chicago Station Wagons Montgomery Improvement Asso- for Montgomery Committee was ciation, for 100 station wagons set up after a mass meeting in to provide transportation for the that city heard a report by So-Montgomery Negro community. I cialist Workers Party presiden-

dential election campaign. It has leader of the AFL-CIO - would mined leadership, the labor movether to issue a public ultimatum motion. The Montgomery mass white and black, in defense of independent force. It will not rest movement has set the stage for their mutual interests. The AFL-CIO has announced it has accumulated a huge fund

> amounting to many millions of dollars to organize the South. The organization of the South was given top position in the convention deliberations which unified the two organizations. The militant mood of the Ne groes in their fight for civil rights has been matched in recent times by militant strike action by key economic demands. If both are joined in unified struggle against

the common foe the victory is assured. The rapid industrialization of the South has created a large urban working class. The fear of unionization on the part of the gomery has provided them with

Chicago Unionist Arrested While Collecting Funds for Montgomery

Chicago cops last week arrested Kenneth Sanders, active Chicago trade unionist, for collecting funds to finance the purchase of a station wagon to be contributed RETURN TO LENINISM

to the Montgomery car pool. Sanders was acting as an auth- tial candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

orized representative of the Chi- calling for material aid to the cago Station Wagons for Mont- freedom fighters of Montgomery.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum Announces its move to a

new hall: 3737 Woodward First Forum at New Hall:

Are We Heading Toward Another Civil War?" Hear an answer to the 96 Southern congressmen who

signed the pro-segregation manifesto, to William Faulkner, to racist Dearborn Mayor Hubbard, and to those who think Jim Crow can be fought by voting Democratic.

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Stage in the Russian Revolution states the Kremlin was impressive gains. Their sustained ination and segregation in the as the labor leadership fails to florced to grant it under protest action has made Jim South. A call for material aid by intervene. With a correct policy heavy pressure from the masses. The Soviet working class nearly 50 million strong - is beginning to assert itself as an at the present concessions but will The White Citizens Councils keep demanding more. Eventually have been able to prevail only it will move to overthrow the because the labor leaders have bureaucratic dictatorship in a

been derelict in their duty. Too political revolution. long a delay can only accelerate Whereas the Trotskyist moveand strengthen the divisive tenment is being confirmed in the dencies already dangerously manprincipled struggle it has waged ifested in a number of Southern ince 1923, the entire Stalinist union affiliates under the influmovement - large and powerful ence of elements associated with as it is - has been thrown in the anti-Negro, anti-union White confusion and consternation by Citizens Councils. the junking of the Stalin cult. In

Conditions are favorable now light of this the SWP National for a major thrust into the open-Committee adopted plans for a vigorous educational campaign shop South. By launching a sucaround revolutionary principles cessful organizing drive now the betrayed by counter-revolutionary relationship of forces in the entire country can be altered in Stalinism. The campaign will

favor of the working people. The feature publication and wideunion leaders have the money, they have the mass power, Mont-Southern plutocracy has grown a favorable conjuncture — all forth the authentic revolutionary

in direct proportion to the ex- they need is the will.

Dobbs scored the AFL-CIO top eaders for failure to send representatives to the Montgomery trial and launch an all-out campaign to aid the Negro movement. Their failure to act is playing into the hands of the White Citizens Council, who by default are organizing white workers into their ranks. The primary reason,

U.S.

he said, for the do-mothing policy of the top labor officialdom on this score is their tie to the Democratic Party.

The National Committee sent a message to the Lanka Sama spread distribution to radical Stamaja Party, Ceylonese Trotworkers of material exposing the skyist organization hailing its crimes of Stalinism and setting recent election gains. "By its

irreconcilable struggle on behalf outlook. "Young workers and stuof the working masses the LSSP dents aroused to socialist ideas want to read and study the prob- paved the way for the ignominious lems of the working class move- defeat of the reactionary Kotelawala government," said the ment - including the most complicated,". said Cannon in his message. "This defeat constitutes a telling blow at Anglo-Amerireport. "We Trotskyists are the can imperialism in Asia and only ones with a body of literathroughout the world... The electure they can sink their teeth tion results, which registered your

growing strength, should prove of inestimable aid in advancing

Trotskyist ideas and methods of The aim of the campaign is to regroup the workers' vanguard struggle throughout the colonial around the program of the Rusworld, ideas and methods which sian Revolution, which placed are embodied in the theory of the defense of the Soviet Union in permanent revolution. For the

colonial masses there is no way the context of the extension of the revolutionary conquests to the to emancipation except through entire world. Within the Comsocialism." The last item of business of

munist Parties Stalin overthrew Lenin's program of international he National Committee meeting socialism and foisted on them his own reactionary nationalist course designed to promote the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalinist domination of the radical movement brought disorientation to its millitants who reluctantly carried out class-collaborationist policies - including support to the Democratic Party in this country - because Stallin had decreed them to be necessary for the defense of the Soviet Union. The denunciation of the Stalin cult by his heirs opens the tion by radical workers of all Fund, 116 University Place, New way for complete re-examina-Stalinist tenets - including those 'York 3, N. Y.

was to launch a Socialist Campaign Fund to finance the ambitious educational and propaganda activities planned. The fund would include financing of the SWP's civil rights and civil liberties campaign and a publications program of books and pamphlets dealing with the Russian Revolution, Stalinism and other major theoretical problems of the socialist movement. Radical workers, battlers for civl rights and champions of civil liberties are urged to send their contributions to the Socialist Campaign