SWP Vice-Pres. **Candidate Opens** Nationwide Tour

MAY 19 - Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, is in Los Angeles this week on the opening lap of a coast-to-coast speaking tour that will cover 9-

the principal cities from there to New York.

Kicking off the 1956 SWP election campaign Mrs. Weiss will present the socialist answer to the reactionary bi-partisan foreign and domestic policies of the Republicans and Democrats. The theme of her speak-ing tour will be, "The United States and the Soviet Union in 1956.

The tour schedule for Mrs. Weiss has been arranged to provide time for speaking engagements in addition to major public meetings.

A veteran socialist lecturer, Mrs. Weiss will be accepting invitations to speak before labor, Negro, student and community organizations. Among the subjects she is prepared to speak on are the following: "Why the Kremlin Repudiated Stalin," "Socialism and the Negro Struggle,'

Organizations interested in necessary information from the and participated in the leaderversity Place, New York 3, N.Y. ers Union for her courageous de- would deny federal funds to

with Presidential candidate Far- workers. rell Dobbs, has been placed in nomination by the SWP's National Committee. The nomina- forced official action in the tions will go to a Party convention planned for this sum- that was burned to death after mer. She was also Dobbs' run- their home had been threatened tial race.

An active socialist since 1936, case, Vigilante Terror in Fon- Congress. Mrs. Weiss is a regular contributor to The Militant, Previously she was the SWP's organizer in Los Angeles and its standard bearer in elections there for Mayor and for Congress. In 1950 she polled 18,000 votes in the contest for Board of Educa-

MYRA TANNER WEISS

Myra Tanner Weiss, together fense of Mexican immigrant In 1946 she initiated a West Coast protest movement that

> tana. An

Her record of accomplishment ploitation and injustice.

Algeria, Cyprus Fight

Terror of Imperialists

THE MULTANT. PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE Vol. XX - No. 21 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY, 21, 1956 0.067 Union Tops Form Committee

ADA Weasels On Key Civil **Rights Issue**

By George Lavan The convention of Americans

or Democratic Action, the liberal-"Foundations of the Marxist in the struggles of labor and labor wing of the Democratic Theory of the Class Struggle." minority peoples is equally sol- Party, after piously speechifying id. She was active in the union that the civil rights issue couldn't having Myra Weiss appear on struggles of the agricultural be straddled, promptly proceeded their platform can obtain the workers in Southern California to straddle on this very issue. This piece of hypocrisy took Socialist Workers Party in their ship of strikes of the badly un-place when it became necessary locality or by communicating derpaid farm workers. She was to leave the field of talk against with the Party's national cam- made an honorary member of Jim Crow and take a position on paign headquarters, 116 Uni- the Mexican Agricultural Work the Powell Amendment which

school districts and states which refuse to desegregate their Jim Crow schools. The Powell Amendment has caused much embarrass ment to Northern Democratic shocking case of a Negro family politicians who are strong against Jim Crow in campaign speeches before Negro and labor audiences ning mate in the 1952 Presiden- by racists. She wrote a nation- but weak in bringing civil rights ally circulated pamphlet on the legislation to a showdown vote in The ADA delegates who me

eloquent and militant in Washington, May 11-13, didn't spokesman for socialism, Mrs. however, even get a chance to Weiss will utilize every possible vote on the Powell Amendment. opportunity during her tour to Their leaders, who have been reach the maximum audience snipping at that unequivocal antiwith the SWP platform. She segregation amendment to the should have the active support of school aid bill for many months. every opponent of capitalist ex- proposed instead a much watered

lown amendment to be introduced by Senator Lehman (D-N.Y.).

So corrupted with opportunism is the ADA, however, that even the emiascullated Lehman amendment was long and bitterly opposed and almost defeated. It finally squeaked through to endorsment by the narrow vote of 128 to 123.

H-Bomb Target

To Support Negro Struggle

Painted on the sands of Namu Island, in the Eniwetok Atoll, is this huge bull's eye, the target set up for the first hydrogen bomb to be dropped by an American plane. U.S. government is preparing to explode this largest nuclear weapon produced by man despite world wide protest. Top scientists have warned of "grave danger of such tests." Dr. A. H, Sturtevant of California Institute of Technology has said, "The bombs already exploded will ultimately result in the production of numerous defective individuals if the human race itself survives many generations."

MIA Digs in for Long Battle to End Jim Crow

By Harry Ring MAY 17 - As the Negro people of Montgomery entered the ourselves." 25th week of their battle to drive Jim Crow off the buses there was three judges indicated where they paigned for support to Montno sign that either they or their stand by voicing the opinion that gomery by the U.S. labor moveracist opponents are ready to the Supreme Court has not out- menit, whose own interests are give ground in the fight. Moving lawed intra-state bus segregration: decryly involved in the fight. on the legal front, four women, In ending the hearing the judges Since his return from Montrepresenting the entire Negro refused to set a date for handing gomery, where he covered the

added, "I don't know who selected | supporters of the MIA have camwhom to lead us. We all spoke for paigned to win them the help they need, Throughout, the So-During the hearing two of the civalist Workers Party, has cam-

community of Montgomery, went down a decision and piously ex- boycott trial for the Militant, into Federal District Court. May plained, "This is an important Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Work-

ers candidate for President, has

spoken in key Northern cities on

PRICE: 10 Cents

\$2 Million Fund Will Back Fights Like Bus Protest in Montgomery

By C. Thomas

At long last a number of top leaders of the American union movement have taken cognizance of their responsibility to intervene on behalf of the Negro struggle for equality with something more substantial than pious words and good resolutions. In a speech before the 29th con-

vention of the International S Ladies 'Garment Workers Union | years ago, the Southern racists unleashed a ferocious counterat Atlantic City, A. Philip Ranattack on all fronts. Their aim dolph, president of the Brotheris to use their monopoly control hood of Sleeping Car Porters over local and state government, announced the formation of a Natheir representatives in Congress, tional Union Civil Rights Comprotracted judicial proceedings, mitee to raise funds to aid the fight against segregation and intimidation and terror, to nullify for full civil rights status for the Supreme Court ruling. With the Negro people. Mr. Randolph disclosed that the

the launching of Jim Crow White Citizens Council formations in the South the racist offensive took mmediate objective of the coman ominous turn. nittee would be to raise a fund

The WCC combined political, of \$2 million from labor unions economic and social pressure to and members. The committee will have George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO as chairman and David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU as treasurer. There seemed to be some ques ion as to how the funds col-

ected by the committee would be allocated. Mr. Randolph proposed that the money go to support such activities as National Association for the Aslvancement of Colored People count cases: to aid the Montgomery bus protest action, and to help Negro farmers and storekeepers in the South faced with economic pressure and boycott by White Citizens Councils because they supported desegregation. In addition, Mr. Randolph

said.

members.

terrorize all opposition to color segregation and discrimination. They reached into the unions to disrupt the elementary unionconscious economic solidarity of the workers by injecting the poison of race hate and color division into the union ranks. Under pressure of the WICC there even developed talk of a "separate" Southern federation based on segregated union organizations. Encouraged by their success in the South the Jim Crow practitioners talked of moving North and West. The lack of

douthright leadership from the heads of AFL-CIO emboldened the labor-hating racists who saw . he possibility of disrup

By John Black

The hanging of two young Cypriote patniots, the sentencing of a 15-year-old boy to ten years in jail for carrying concealed weapons, the imposition of collective fines, curfews and the jailings of thou-

sands - all these and other acts ship of labor in England and France gives aid to imperialism. of imperialist ternor emphasize The British Labor Party chiefs, British determination to hold on while asking for renewed negotiato its strategic military base of tions, do not support the enosis demand of the Cypriotes. Further-Cyprus.

more, the Tory Colonial Secretary At the same time "Socialist" Alan Lennox-Boyd threatened to Premier Mollet of France has reveal secret documents showing junked his "reform" program for that the Labor Government in Algeria and has sent almost 1951 pursued the same policy. 400,000 troops to suppress the towards Cyprus as the Tories do swelling Arab insurrection. France | today.

has more troops committed in STALINIST TREACHERY Algeria now than ever saw action "Socialist" Premier Mollet in in Indo-China.

France now speaks only of the Cypriotes determined to have enosis (unity with the Greek restoration of "law and order" in motherland) reacted to the British Algenia. His policy is less and less distinguishable from the extreme terror by shutting down industries and services with a gen- rightwing imperialists. He has been able to get away with it eral strike on May 10. Newspapers ceased publication as print- above all because the chiefs of the powerful French Communist ers walked out. Construction Party are determined to buy his workers at the British Middle East Command at Akrotiri and good will by giving parliamentary support to his government. Thus Episcopi joined the strike. Mainland Greek cities of Athens and they voted for the extraordinary powers which have enabled Mollet Salonika were shaken by antito carry on his regime of terror British and anti-U.S. demonstrain Algeria. tions that cost the lives of three Marshall Tito for his part, on

and left 124 wounded in Athens alone. Students attempted to play the role of "honest broker" storm the U.S. Information Service office in Athens, showing that between French imperialism and they understood the behind-the- the Arab nationalists. He backed up Mollet's repressive program in scene role of the State Department.

Anti-U.S. feeling ran so high war is so great that the CP leadthat the Greek government, a NATO ally, was forced to ask ers have had to make an adjustthe U.S. Sixth Fleet to cancel ment in their Algerian policy. As recently as the May Day rallies. its proposed visit to Crete. the CP in France failed to call

NATO TROOPS IN ALGERIA

for Algerian independence. In The French. with the openly working in Paris industrial estabdeclared support for their policy lishments held a separate May in Algeria by U.S. Amblassador Dixon, have withdrawn almost all Day rally. But under the pressure their NATO forces from Europe of its own membership the CP for action against the Algerians. | now has shifted to a campaign Nevertheless, a full scale, late of "petitions, demonstrations and spring offensive launched by the strikes" to end the war in North native Fellagha armies has put Africa.

the French on the defensive The government suppressed the throughout the country. The May | May 13 edition of the party organ. 12 N. Y. Times states that "the L'Humanite, because it carried military situation is one of swiftly continuing deterioration." reprisals against the Algerians

Victory for the Cypriote and by the French army. However, to specially good conditions," says Algerian national independence this day the Stalinists in the Socialism. But the official leader- government.

Further demonstration of the into Federal District Court, May ADA's weaseling on the civil 11, in an effort to have local and rights issue was given by its state Alabama bus segregation presidential endorsments. In laws struck down as unconstitutheory, the ADA is independent tional.

and non-partisan. In fact, it is The four women complainants the liberal-labor wing of the informed the three-judge court Democratic Party and numbers that they would not ride the among its leaders liberal poli- buses until they could sit where ticians, union chiefs and Negro they pleased.

City and state officials argued eaders. It endorses those candidates who meet its "high" liberal the federal court had no jurisdicstandards. These have always tion on the flimsy ground that a been the Democratic presidential city ordinance was at issue. This quickly exploded when candidates. was Allthough the majority of the NAACP attorney Robert Clarter produced evidence that Negroes telegates obviously were for

had been arrested and charged Adlai Stevenson, for reasons of practical politics no one endorse- with violating state laws. Efforts of the city's lawyer to ment was given, Rather a blank

prove that the Negro community check of support to the Demohad been induced to stay off the cratic Party was given in the form of a declaration that the buses by its leaders was flung three leading Democratic hopeback in his teeth by the plainfuls - Stevenson, Kefauver and tiffs. Replied Mrs. Aurelia Harriman - were all "eminently Broder: "We employed Rev. King build and keep rolling the kind of of the formation of an AFL-CIO qualified."

It was ironic and revealing that our own leaders, too." A second ficient transportation for all. plaintiff, Mrs. Susan McDonald Since the beginning of the fight. (Continued on page 4)

case and will be studied and deliberated."

the need for labor to extend full STATION WAGONS NEEDED material and moral support to the

While their opponents "study | MIA. For a while such support and deliberate" ways to thwart from the unions was slow in their just demands the Negro coming. But rank and file unionists and many students did people, through their organizademonstrate their desire to help. tion, the Montgomery Improvement Association, are digging in At meetings addressed by Dobbs for what they recognize will be a in Detroit and Chicago, members long fight. The MIA is reportedly of the audience organized "Station Wagons for Montgomery stepping up the drive to secure station wagons for the vital car committees and acted to reinforce pool. They find that the private the MIA car pool.

At a meeting in Buffalo May cars used on a volunteer basis are beginning to wear out and are 12, Dobbs repeated the urgent need for labor to support the costly to keep repaired. The membership of the MIA Montgomery movement in its own

has demonstrated its ability to self interest. Audience agreement make the financial sacrifices with this view was expressed in a needed to keep the movement collection of \$100 which was for going but it must necessarily look | warded to the MIA.

Now comes the heartening new for substantial additional aid to to be our mouthpiece, but we are a car pool that can provide ef- National Union Civil Rights Committee pledged to raise \$2 million (Continued on page 4)

"the committee will also unions as a preliminary to strive to encourage active interest and sympathy among destroying them. unionized Southern workers."

The action of the AFL-CIO leaders in setting up the National On the other hand, Dubinsky. according to the May 15 N. Y. Union Civil Rights Committee can Herald-Tribune, "explained that be the first step in reversing the trend. Whether it is or not will the committee is in an organizational stage and that its specific be determined on how boldy and objectives and procedures have vigorously the Meany - Dubinsky not been fully decided." Dubinsky committee follows through.

In the meantime, the front line added however. "that the committee's over-all aim will be to battle in the fight for civil rights further civil rights everywhere in is still the Montgomery bus prothe country, with the Negro | test movement. Hitherto the supstruggle receiving primary atten- port from the unions has been scattered and snotty. Many locals

bor in Siberia. This was the

borers in August 1953. In the

What will happen to these po-

chy? Will they simply be trans-

ferred to prisons or newly pro-

jected "corrective labor colon-

ies"? The announcement does

not breathe a word about their

Stalin's falsifications of Soviet

history are being corrected

piecemeal. Ralph Parker reports

from Moscow in the May 14

The ILGWU convention, said have waited for the top leaders-Dubinsky, would be asked to ap- to speak. The action infiated at prove a \$10,000 contribution "to the ILGWU convention can be get the money ball rolling." The considered semi-official sanction Sleeping Car Porters, added Mr. for all union locals and members Randolph, would be asked to con- to step up the collection of funds tribute an hour's wages which to help the Montgomery freedom would total \$18,000 for the 12,000 fighters. Victory in that fight will go a long way toward

When the United States Su- toppling Jim Crow and paving the preme Court handed down its way for the union organization school desegregation decision two of the open-shop South.

The "clash between the cul- group that led the great Vor-

turally developed forces of the kuta strike of 25,000 slave-la-

garchy," confidently predicted prison camps are also the "Mon-

by Trotsky, is now visible. It is ashkis" - religious pacifists on

bureaucratic rule — that is now litical opponents of the oligar-

explained. An estimated 15 mil- Daily Worker that the "Short

concentration camps - a large writings are being denounced be-

cal opposition. Among these are ground the figure of Stalin.

fate.

people and the bureaucratic oli-

only means of wiping out the

at hand in the Soviet Union.

The growing demands of the

Soviet masses against political

oppression has forced the Krem-

year or 18 months. Why it must

ination in Soviet society was not

lin to announce that it will end

END OF LABOR CAMPS

"Work-or-Jail" End oviei But it will certainly be accelerat- notion that a workers' state | abolition of such obligatory em- | has only weakened itself," wrote | its heroic members were sen-

By Daniel Roberts A Soviet decree of April 28-

made public on May 8 - grants important concessions to the Soviet working class. The decree a state visit to France, offered to revokes stringent labor regimen- to begin functioning as organs of tation laws which made it a criminal offense for factory and office workers to quit jobs with-Algeria, praising it as "liberal." out eleave or for prolonged absenteeism without excuse. The Popular hostility to this colonial government has also decided to release from jail persons con-

victed of quitting their jobs SOVIET WORKING CLASS without permission and to quash pending indictments.

Actually, the new laws ratify fact, the thousands of Algerians an overwhelming fact of Soviet by a working class that has life. So pronounced is the turnover of the Soviet labor force skill and self-confidence since as workers seek better wages, working conditions and housing portedly the most popular reconditions that for several years now prosecution for unauthorized change of job has been a dead letter.

provides for considerable in-"In view of the new decree it creases in benefits particularly was considered possible now that favoring lower income brackets. various enterprises might com- It will free material and maneyewitness accounts to mass pete with each other for the power for production of civilian services of workers by stressing items.

It would be a serious mistake, Jack Raymond reporting the new however, to believe that the

The Soviet bureaucracy is be-

ing forced to give such demands

recognition, backed as they are

enormously grown in numbers,

the end of World War II. Re-

form measure to date is the new

old-age pension draft law which

is to go into effect Oct. 1. It

ed with the repeal of the most must democratically plan for the ployment records has been an Leon Trotsky in The Revolution tenced to 25 years of hard ladrastic of the labor laws. A well-being (insofar as resources elementary demand of the work- Betrayed, in 1936. process of competing for work- permit) of the working people. ers wherever they have built ers will sharpen the demand of The bulk of the political career unions and asserted their rights. the working class for the unions of Khrushchev, Bulganin and Co. In the U.S. in particular, the has been spent in promotion of struggle in 1937 against the defense of their living condi- the material interests of the "continuous discharge book" -tions. Beyond that the process bureaucratic caste at the ex- the "fink book" as the seamen this clash - which must lead the order of the Fellowship of will sharpen demands giving pense of the workers and peas- correctly called it - provided to a political revolution as the Reconciliation in this country. high priority to workers' well- ants. That is what being Stal- one of the most militant chapbeing in drawing up the nadictatorship was conducted for tional production plans. the sake of the privileges, power

eaucracy. Stalin's heirs have not chang-

ed their loyalty. They still serve the bureaucracy. This is indicated by the limited character in certain of the highest brackof the reforms. For instance, although prosecution for unauthor- plans as well as the direction ized change of job and absenteeism is abolished, the "labor pletely out of control of the lion people are held in various Course" and other Stalinist Soviet working people. record" book is not. Each worker

he must show every new em- the bureaucracy. It indicates the ion. They include Trotskyists, workers and heroes of October,

strength in relationship to the fearful Stalin terror since 1927. Iutionary Committee as the di-They also number the anti- rect organizer of the uprising." Union militants in every coun- bureaucratic caste. "It has hapstruggles would immeasurably aid French parliament continue to decree in the May 12 New York Kremlin bureaucrats are making try know how the device of a pened more than once that a Stalinist youth opposition - The chairman of this committee the working class in its fight for give their support to the Mollet Times. Actually, this too has these moves because they have permanent "labor record" can bureaucratic dictatorship, seek- Lenin's True Works - that or- was Leon Trotsky. Stalin was been going on for some time. been converted to the Leninist be used to hound them. The ing salvation in 'liberal' reforms, ganized in 1948. The bulk of not a member of it.

in's lieutenants meant. Stalin's ters in the history of West Coast seamen's unions. Regimentation of labor conand revenue of the Soviet bur- tinues in the Soviet Union de-

spite reforms. Furthermore, planning continues to favor the swol-

len privileges of the bureaucracy, despite salary cuts decreed all internment camps within a ets. And the preparation of the take that long to end this abomof the economy remains com-

not a readiness of the bureauare entered in the book, which heavy pressure of the masses upon ary socialists in the Soviet Un- the activities of many party

fact that the Soviet working who have held to their revo- and reveal but weakly the work class has gained enormously in lutionary convictions against the of the Petrograd Military Revo-

ployer.

must still carry a permanent record of his employment. Dis-

Thus the concessions reveal proportion sent there for politi- cause they "push into the fore-

ciplinary measures against him cracy for self-reform but the the most devoted of revolution- minimize and keep silent about

"FINK BOOK"

Page Two ---

THE MILITANT

Monday, May 14, 1956

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS IV-**Trotsky Explains Marxist View of Terrorism**

We publish herewith the fourth installment of Leon Trotsky 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 Commisison after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." Leon Trotsky's speech has been reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in a pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. - Ed.]

by no means permit itself such By Leon Trotsky If terror is feasible for one an insane squandering of its side, why should it be considered forces. It is precisely for this, as excluded for the other? With and for no other reason, that the Comintern does not resort to all its seductive symmetry, this terroristic attempts in the counreasoning is corrupt to the core. tries of fascist dictatorships. The It is altogether inadmissible to Opposition is as little inclined place the terror of a dictatorship to the policy of suicide as the against an opposition on the Comintern. same plane with the terror of

According to the indictment, an opposition against a dictatorship. To the ruling clique, the which banks on ignorance and preparation of murders through mental laziness, the "Trotskythe medium of a court or from ites" resolved to destroy the behind an ambush is purely and raling group in order in this simply a question of police tech- way to clear for themselves the nique. In the event of a failure, path to power. The average some second-rank agents can al- Philistine, especially if he wears the badge of a "Friend of the ways be sacrificed.

USSR," reasons as follows: "The On the part of an opposition, Oppositionists could not but terror presupposes the concenstrive for power, and could not tries of the Orient terrorism is tration of all forces upon preparing acts of terror, with the but hate the ruling group. Why, still destined to pass through an erals but also among the Euroforeknowledge that every one of then, shouldn't they really resuch acts, whether successful or sort to terror?" In other words, unsuccessful, will evoke in reply for the Philistine the matter the destruction of scores of its ends where in reality it only best men. An opposition could begins.

Theory and History

The leaders of the Opposition (reports against terrorist ideolare neither upstarts nor nov- ogy, which at the beginning of to reports and articles against summits. the century was once again the terror of vengeance and deices. It is not at all a question of whether they were striving spreading among the Russian spair. In 1909 it was revealed that at the head of the terrorist for power. Every serious povouth.

Beginning with the 'eighties of organization of the so-called "Solitical tendency strives to conthe past century, two genera- cial Revolutionists" stood an quer power. The question is: Could the Oppositionists, edu- tions of Russian Marxists in agent provocateur, Azef. "In the cated upon the enormous ex- their personal experience lived blind alley of terrorism," I perience of the revolutionary through the era of terror, learn- wrote, "the hand of provocation them the system itself disapmovement, have entertained even ed from its tragic lessons, and a moment's belief that terror is organically instilled in themselves [1910). Terrorism has always re- there remains only the indivicapable of bringing them closer a negative attitude toward the to power? Russian history, Marx- heroic adventurism of lone in-"blind alley." ist theory, political psychology dividuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism: Lenin, the reply: No, they could not!

leader of Bolshevism; Martov, At this point, the problem of the most eminent representative terror requires clarification. even of Menshevism; all dedicated though briefly, from the stand-thousands of pages and hundreds point of history and theory. In so far as I am deline ated as the against the tactic of terror. initiator of the 'anti-Soviet terror," I am compelled to invest

Old Bolsheviks Purged by Stalin



I. N. Smirnov (l.) and Christian Rakovsky (r,) veteran leaders of the Bolshevik Party. Both were close friends of Trotsky and joined with him in the fight in 1923 against the rising Stalinist dictatorship. Smirnov, a Civil War hero, was known as the "Lenin of Siberia." He organized the victory of the Red Armies over Kolchak in 1918. Rakovsky was Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in Ukraine in Lenin's time. Smirnov capitulated to Stalin 1929, Rakovsky in 1934. Then both were victimized in the Moscow Trials.

ticles. "... Terror has migrat- cratized terror of the revolution ed far to the East-to the prov- as a means of struggle against the terrorist bureaucracy of inces of Punjab and Bengal . . . Czarism has met with bewilder-It may be that in other counment and condemnation not only among the Russian libepoch of flowering. But in Ruspean Socialists." Both the latter sia it is already a part of the and the former accused us of heritage of history." "doctrinairism." On our part, we. the Russian Marxists, attributed In 1907 I found myself again

in exile. The whip of counter- this sympathy for Russian terrevolution was savagely at work, rorism to the opportunism of the leaders of European Social Deand the Russian colonies in European cities became very nu- mocracy who had become accusmerous. The entire period of my tomed to transferring their hopes second emigration was devoted from the masses to the ruling.

portfolio . . . as well as those who, clasping an infernal machine beneath a cloak, stalk the Minister himself, must equally overestimate the Minister - his personality and his post. For rules with assurance". (January,

mained for me nothing but a dual invested with power." We shall presently, in connection During the same period I with the Kirov assassination, wrote: "The irreconcilable atti- meet once again with this



The ideological inspiration. In 1911 terrorist moods arose, the goal, then to what end are with the tradition of three revemanating from these senior among certain groups of Aus- the endeavors of the class strugolutions behind them, have sud-

Adler, who had spurred me to complished—it fulfills a neces write this article, killed the sary function in the defense of Austrian Minister - President the workers' state. Should ter-Stuergkh in a Vienna restaurant. rorism of the Nikolayev type The heroic skeptic and opportun- spread, it could, given other unist was unable to find any other favorable circumstances render outlet for his indignation and service only to the fascist countdespair. My sympathies were, er-revolution.

naturally not on the side of the "Only political fakers' who Hapsburg dignitary. However, to bank on imbeciles would endeavthe individualist action of Fried- or to lay Nikolayev at the door rich Adler I counterposed the of the Left Opposition, even if form of activity of Karl Lieb- only in the guise of the Zinoviev knecht who, during war-time, group as it existed in 1926-1927. went out into a Berlin square to The terrorist organization of the distribute a revolutionary mani-Communist youth is fostered not festo to the workers. by the Left Opposition but by On the 28th of December, 1934, the bureaucracy, by its internal four weeks after the Kirov as- decomposition. Individual terrorsassination, at a time when the ism in its very essence is bureau. Stalinist judiciary did not know cratism turned inside out. For as yet in which direction to aim Marxists this law was not disthe barb of their "justice," I covered yesterday. Bureaucratwrote in the Bulletin of the Opism has no confidence in the nasses and endeavors to substi-. . . If Marxists have catetute itself for the masses.

gorically condemned individual "Terrorism behaves in the terrorism . . . even when the same manner; it wants to make shots were directed against the the masses happy without asking agents of the Czarist Governtheir participation. The Stalinist ment and of capitalist exploitabureaucracy has created a revolttion, then all the more relenting leader-cult, endowing leadlessly will they condemn and reers with divine attributes. The ject the criminal adventurism of 'hero' cult is also the religion of terrorist acts directed against terrorism, only with a minus the bureaucratic representatives sign. The Nikolayevs imagine of the first workers' state in histhat all that is necessary is to tory. remove a few leaders by means "The subjective motivations of

Nikolayev and his associates are of revolvers, in order for history a matter of indifference to us. to take another course. Com-The road to hell is paved with munist-terrorists, as an ideologgood intentions. So long as the ical grouping, are of the same Soviet bureaucracy has not been flesh and blood as the Stalinist removed by the proletariat — a bureaucracy." (January, 1935, task which will eventually be ac- No. 41).

A Lifetime's Belief

These lines, as you have had, sia but also in other countries. the opportunity to convince your- in various stages of political deselves, were not written ad hoc. velopment and under different They summarize the experience conditions. But we have discovof a whole lifetime, which was ered in his lifetime a few instances which constitute an ex-

"Whoever stalks a ministerial in turn fed by the experience of two generations.

position:

Already in the epoch of Czarism, a young Marxist who went over to the ranks of the terrorist party was a comparatively rare phenomenon - rare enough to cause people to point their pears or recedes far away, and fingers. But at that time there was at least taking place an unceasing theoretical struggle between two tendencies; the publications of the two parties were waging a bitter polemic; public tude of the Russian Social De- thought, which runs through the disputes did not cease for a mocracy towards the bureau- decades of my activity. single day.

Now, on the other hand, they

Trotsky's Specter **Over** Russia

An Appraisal by a Political Enemy

[We publish herewith an article by Boris Souvarine that appeared in the May 10 El Diario, New York Spanish-language newspaper. Souvarine is the author of a scholarly biography of Stalin. A sworn political enemy of Leon Trotsky, he was particularly known for his theory that Leninism spawned Stalinism and that Trotskyism and Stalinism are twins. - Ed.1

Since the last Communist Con-1 This ended only with the ress, not a day goes by without assassination of Trotsky in 1940. fficial information from Moscow Stalin persevered in his "sweet announcing the revision of revenge" — according to his notions belonging until now to choice expression. But before and the Stalinist dogma and the re- after the physical assassination, habilitation of innocent victims of the political and moral assassina-Stalin. The impulsion having been tion took place. All the books given by the leaders with the which referred to Trotsky's role automatic approval of the Con- during the Revolution, the Civil gress, a new orthodoxy is being War and the installation of the elaborated before a frightened Soviet state were destroyed; all public and is replacing the the old and authentic documents obligatory orthodoxy of yester- hidden.

For a quanter of a century, the It is now admitted that the fabrications, the lies, the maleblography of Stalin, written and dictions of Stalin had the power embellished by him, as well as of law, and the terrorized pen the summary of the "History of lackeys had to rewrite contemthe Communist Party," which porary history according to the Stalin had unjustly attributed to pleasure of the bloody megalohimself. deserve to be burned. maniac. The drastic purge of the The major part of the historical. libraries was demanded in all philosophical and juridical books domain's of literature with the elaborated under Stalin are disexception of the exact sciences. carded. Once again, everything With Trotsky already dead, Stalin must be revised in order to be continued to persecute him cruelly remade anew. Teams of writers in the memory of mankind.

rapidly edit new school manuals. TURNING POINT The history examinations will not

But the wheel of destiny has take place this year, because the professors no longer know what turned. Stalin is a compse which they should teach. It will be should be killed, and Trotsky in a necessary to rewrite anew the certain sense is a corpse which encyclopedias and the dictionaries. is being resurrected. The new Pokrovsky, head of the Marxist owners of the USSR can no longer historical school, put in dishonor re-establish even a little historical and disrepute by Stalin, is truth without erasing at least a rehabilitated along with his part of the horrible absurdities which Stallin, with their comdisciples. The authors of suc-Trotsky in Copenhagen by his cessive "party history" books, plicity, had invented to soil his which were prohibited one after victims.

the other, after having in their By a decision from above, those Berman-Yurin and David [of turn been official - Nevski, condemned in the Moscow trials, little earlier smeared with "Trotskyism," are no longer "forgenerals Blucher, Yegorov, Ka- eign agents" and "imperialist meney, begin the march of re-spies." They are now reproached. habilitation in the army. The list only for their opposition to the "Party" - a charge which is also artists, folklorists, executed due to failse, since they opposed only Stalin's anti-Semitism, is pub- Stalin and his gang. lished. From all sides surge

In other words, their political motives were different from those ascribed to them officially. But even this has nothing to do with

that the Stalinist version of the

Stalingrad. The rehabilitation of

instructions [without making any want to force us to believe that attempt either to justify them want to force us to believe that not young revolutionists, but old leaders of Russian Marxism, with the tradition of three rev-

ception to the rule: In a conspir-

atorial letter he wrote to one

Dreitzer [and which nobody ever

saw]; in a conversation with

Holtzman who was brought to

son [who was at the time in

Berlin]; in a conversation with

ed his programmatic views o

day.

whom I never heard prior to the Boubnov, Yaroslavsky and Popov - are rehabilitated in turn. The first reports of the court proceedings], in these four or five instances Trotsky issued to his followers [who were in reality of names of Jewish intellectuals, my bitterest opponents] terrorist

auto exposition with an Marxists nourished my attitude trian workers. Upon the request gle?

biographic character. toward the revolutionary al-In 1902, I had no sooner arrived in London from Siberia, circles during my adolescence. after almost five years of prison For us, the Russian revolutionand exile, than I had the oc- | ists, the problem of terror was casion, in a memorial article a life-and-death matter in the publication. devoted to the bicentennial of political as well as the personal the fortress of Schlusselburg, meaning of the term. For us, a with its hard-labor prison, to terrorist was not a character enumerate the revolutionists from a novel, but a living and there tortured to death. "The familiar being. In exile we lived shades of these martyrs clamor for years side by side with the for vengeance . . " But im- terrorists of the older generamediately thereafter I added: tion. In prisons and in police "Not for a personal, but for a custody we met with terrorists revolutionary vengeance. Not for of our own age. the execution of ministers, but We tanned out messages back for the execution of the auto- and forth, in the Peter and Paul cracy." fortress, with terrorists con-

These lines were directed demned to death. How many wholly against individual terror. hours, how many days, were Their author was twenty-three spent in passionate discussion! years of age. From the earliest How many times did we break days of his revolutionary activ- personal relationships on this

ity he was already an opponent most burning of all questions! of terror. From 1902 to 1905 I The Russian literature on terrordelivered, in various cities in ism, nourished by and reflecting Europe, before Russian students | these debates, would fill a large and emigres, scores of political library.

Terrorism Builds Cult of Individual

When I was ten I was told that Isolated terroristic explosions | among the governing ranks. But my beloved brother Lech was are inevitable whenever political in that case who is it that can killed in the Warsaw uprising oppression transgresses certain reap the fruits? At all events, for falsehood. In my childish boundaries. Such acts almost all not the terrorist organization itimagination he was always the ways have a symptomatic char- self. and not the masses behind embodiment of heroism, courage acter. But politics that sanctifies | whose backs the duel takes place. and uprightness. When I was ten terror, raising it into a system Thus, the liberal Russian bourthey told me in a history lesson -that is a different thing. geois, in their day, invariably

that he was killed fighting for "Terrorist work," I wrote in sympathized with terrorism. The the vile cause of the London 1909, "in its very essence de- reason is plain. (Polish) Emigre Government mands such a concentration of In 1909 I wrote: "In so far as and not for the real Poland. I energy upon 'the supreme mo- terror introduces disorganization have thought there was only one ment.' such an over-estimation and demoralization into the ranks

Poland and now it appeared that of personal heroism and, lastly, of the Government (at the price there were many. such a hermetically concealed of disorganizing and demoraliz-When I was ten I ceased to conspiracy as . . . excludes com- ing the ranks of the revolutionpletely any agitational and or- ists), to that extent it plays into believe in the hitherto sacred ganizational activity among the the hands of none other than the word Fatherland because I did not know which of these many masses... Struggling against liberals themselves." The very terrorism, the Marxian intelli- same idea, expressed virtually in Polands was my Fatherland. I gentsia defended their right or the same words, we meet a quarno longer had a Fatherland. I had God. When I was 15 I

their duty not to withdraw from ter of a century later in connecthe working-class districts for tion with the Kirov assassinathe sake of tunneling mines un- tion. derneath the Grand Ducal and

Czarist palaces." It is impossible to fool or out-

that organization which by means of the proletariat, put an end to of chemical compounds seeks to the romanticism of the single it is to feel one's faith slip the idea and its executors. compensate for its own lack of combat between a handful of away, vanish, and yet crave for political strength. There are, of intellectuals and Czarism. course, historical conditions where

had proved to be an ally of the The very fact of individual murderers of Lech. For long acts of terror is an infallible to- hours I knelt in a dark empty ken of the political backward- church. My soul cried, threatenwit history. In the long run, ness of a country and the feeble- ed, implored. I hated Him and history puts everybody in his ness of the progressive forces at the same time I loved Him place. The basic property of ter- there. The revolution of 1905. so much. My poor betraved Lech ror as a system is to destroy which disclosed the vast strength also loved Him. You must know how terrible

it to remain. You must know "Terrorism in Russia is dead," those sleepless nights, that des- . Three years have passed. Now

of Friedrich Adler, editor of Der "If a pinch of powder and a chemy of the shut-in intellectual Kampf, the theoretical monthly slug of lead are ample to shoot of the Austrian Social Democ- the enemy through the neck. racy, I wrote in November, 1911, where is the need of a class oran article on terrorism for this ganization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled

"Whether or not a terrorist personages with the noise of an attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confusion in the ruling a party? What is the need of of debasement the Stalinist bu- pass! These inarticulate "instruc- death of Lenin, he dedicated himcircles depends upon the concrete meetings, mass agitation, elecpolitical circumstances. In any tions, when it is so easy to take case this confusion can be only aim at the Ministerial bench not to mention Soviet justice. To of short duration. The capitalist from the Parliamentary gallery? state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes reason that it lowers the masses whom the state serves will al- in their own consciousness, reways find new men-the mechconciles them to impotence, and anism remains intact and condirects their glances and hopes

tinues to function. But much towards the great avenger and deeper is that confusion which emancipator who will some day the terrorist attempts to introduce come and accomplish his misinto the ranks of the working sion.'

By Michael Bruck

ceased to believe in God. God

masses. If it is enough to arm Five years later, in the heat same insistence against terroroneself with a revolver to reach of the imperialist war, Friedrich ist adventurism, not only in Rus-

The Despair of a Polish

denly, without criticism, without discussion, without a single word of explanation, turned their faces toward the terrorism which they had always rejected, as a method of political suicide.

The very possibility of such an explosion, what need is there for accusation shows to what depths theoretical and political thought. political convictions gained Individual terrorism in our eyes through experience, sealed by this: That hundreds of old Marx- Lenin had given him charge of, on this particular question. Logiis inadmissible precisely for the theory, tempered in the white ists-automatically, without any the falsifiers counterpose inchoate, contradictory, and uttersuspicious nonentities.

Trotsky did warn with the very

terror orally and in writing to hundreds of thousands and millions in the course of forty years, Since the civil war of the years it was only in order to deceive them. His real views he ex-

the Bermans and the Davids." reaucracy has dragged the official tions," which rest wholly on the self to the task of denigrating Civil War, and especially the mental level of the Messrs. Vyshinsky, proved sufficient for of the party apparatus which justifying Trotsky's testimony heat of the history of mankind, objections, without uttering a syllable-turned to the path of able to banish him to Turkestan, ly unsubstantiated testimonies of terror. Such is the political basis later exile him to Turkey from of the trial of the sixteen (Zino-"Yes," said Stalin and his viev et al.). In other words, the agents, "we cannot deny that | trial of the sixteen completely Caligula of the Kremlin pursued lacks a political basis.

(To be continued)

Above all the other specters the infamous accusations heard in one specter has arisen in all its the trials and in the Stalinist stature: that of Leon Trotsky. commentaries. At the same time, Trotsky finds himself cleansed 1918 to 1921, Stalin had an of a good part of the calumnies aversion, latter transformed into pounded in strictest secrecy to hate, towards the creator and of Stalin. Again, the review, "Questions head of the Red Army, whom he of History," recognized at last

And then a miracle came to considered as a rival. Affter the and discrediting him by allameans episode of Tsaritsyn, is completely - except legitimate ones. Master false - thus confirming and he was able to isolate Trotsky cally, the admission should be bring him into disrepute, and sufficient to change the name of make him impotent. He was then which the proscribed Trotsky had to look for refuge in France. Norway, Mexico. Everywhere the

historians, generals, and diverse Communist . personalities, also confirms and justifies what Trotsky has said about Stallin in his memoirs. In the course of the dehim with his secret agents and Stalinization, Trotsky is rising while Stalin is falling. It is true October coup d'etait and its con-

assassins — paid or fanatic — at the same time, pressuring faint that Lenin and Trotsky, who hearted governments disposed to share responsibility for the showing him hospitality, and unleashing hostile campaigns sequences, must account for their against him through the Communist parties and his devoted action. But the responsibilities of satellites

Stalin are of a very distinct type.

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Michael Bruck is an 18-year-old student at Warsaw (Poland) Polytecnic. The excerpts that we are publishing from his letter first appeared in the May 10 issue of Nowa Kultura, a weekly magazine in Poland. Bruck's letter is officially regarded by the Soviet regime as representative of the mood of the Polish youth.

The letter voices the despair and disillusionment of a youth who feels betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Bruck feels that his revolutionary beliefs have turned to ashes. But the very depths of his despair indicates the rebirth of his revolutionary spirit.

The youth of Poland and Russia will not long be held in the grip of disillusionment and apathy. The new movement of the Soviet working class will rekindle the revolutionary flame in their hearts. The youth will learn to think for themselves and discover the Marxist truth. They will turn to the living movement of socialist revolution — the Trotskyist movement which told the truth unflinchingly throughout the dark era of Stalin, and pour all their energy and courage into the fight to rebuild democratic workers' republics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. - Ed.

a child. The day finally came what my family said was truewhen the cross became to me about the cruelty of secret police investigations and about the diconly a piece of wood.

A friend five years older than out that history was really gave me help. He was a Communist. It was he who then forged. Those who looked at my personal questionnaire with susbrought me closer to the ideology picion when I begged them for that have ordered us to reject [that] restored my faith in the world, in the goal of life, in an explanation now speak of the the political leaders.

mankind. These were my happiest years. I rushed from one Beria." meeting to another. I believed in

HISTORY WAS FORGED

"Stalin era" and the "time of

They are recommending jazz, new conditions, are not happy which they opposed two years because we have perceived that ago as a symptom of the decay- this newness is very old and it ed culture of the West. They are deceived our dreams. It is dis-

discussing youth organizations tressing to lose everything in terror can introduce confusion I reiterated in a number of ar- perate struggling in the soul of I am 18. It has turned out that in Yugoslavia, about which they which one believed.

ago. And I? I do not know how t change my soul for the fourth

sang satirical songs a few year

time without fear that it will become a rag. Now I cannot stand in the ranks with my face up high although I would like to. I am ashamed of my older colleagues, ashamed for the whole party, for all those who waited, sniffed and looked around and for those who deceived. I am ashamed of all of you and, above all, of myself, for my stupidity and credulity.

I no longer know how to raise my head. If I ever raise it again -but this is impossible for I have no basis for believing any. thing.

Our era was not easy and although we had no rifles in our hands we did not have a rosy tatorship of Stalin. It has turned path. It is not through effeminacy and prosperity that our cy nicism was born and it is not egoism and desire for comfort

We, 18-year-olds and 20-yearolds, although growing up in



A Belated Stalinist Correction

After 15 years the American Communist Party has finally taken official cognizance of their betrayal in 1941 of the fundamental principle of working class defense of democratic rights and civil liberties for all victims of capitalist persecution. The case in point was the first Smith Act trial in Minneapolis in which 18 members and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union were railroaded to prison under that anti-labor, witch-hunt statute.

In a report to an enlarged plenum of the CP national committee, Simon Gerson, chariman of a special committee on civil liberties, noted that, "the Party" had "made 'some serious errors,' including specifically the failure to defend the Minneapolis Trotskyites in the Teamsters Union in 1941." (Daily Worker, May 6).

While this specific "error" had been noted before by various individual Stalinist spokesmen it is the first time that it has been made more or less "official." This is all to the good, so far as it goes. But the "correction" does not go far enough. It is only a half truth which glosses over and attempts to minimize the magnitude of the enror. Nor does it disclose its source. Unless the extent and source of the "error" is acknowledged no real and lasting correction can ensue.

First, to put the record straight. The CP did not play a passive role in the Minneapolis Smith Act case. It was not merely their "failure to defend" but their active opposition to the defense of the Minneapolis victims that aroused the burning indignation of wide circles in the liberal and labor movement. They actively supported the prosecution and did everything in their power to sabotage the defense movement.

Fifteen years ago the Stalinists were a power in the labor movement. They controlled the Minnesota State CIO. They were in control of the CIO on the West Coast. They controlled numerous CIO State and City CIO Councils, International and Local unions and their influence extended into many AFL units. In each case they threw the weight of their power and influence on the side of the witch hunters. Despite their rabid opposition, unions representing over five million workers supported the Minneapolis defendants.

If the Stalinists had added their weight to the Minneapolis defense movement against the first Smith Act frame-up the subsequent result could have been different. It is undeniable that Stalinist sabotage of the Minneapolis case led inexorably to the victimization of leaders and members of the American Communist Party under the same statute. No small "error" this!

What about the source of the "error?" Was it a transient aberration that led to an "unfortunate" violation of workingclass principle? If that was all that is involved the confession of error, the correction of a previously unprincipled policy, the promise not to repeat the "error" in the future, could be taken at its face value. But more, much more is involved.

It is no accident that the "error" was committed precisely in a case involving Trotskyists. The American CP leaders are now in the process of repudiating the "Stalin cult." They admit that in the past they had accepted "uncritically" all of the pronouncements coming out of Moscow, including support of Stalin's purge trials. Their "error" in the Minneapolis case can be directly traced to the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. In fact, they repeated the same abusive slanders, stigmatizing the Minneapollis defendants as "seditious spies, wreckens, diversionists and saboteurs."

So long as the American CP does not openly repudiate the Moscow frame-up trials the source of the "error" remains untouched and can give rise to similar "errors" in the future. And its no good waiting for Moscow to do it first.

CP National Committee Spurs Right Swing

By Tom Kerry

Sunday Worker reports of the CP In its first full meeting since confab do not cite the precise 1951, the national committee of "left-sectarian" errors to which the Communist Party met in New the Dennis report alludes. York recently, to codify the ex-This gap is filled in by Staltreme right turn' which has led George inist "labor experit" the American Stalinists deep into Morris writing in the April 22 the leprous swamp of capitalist Daily Worker. The "leftism in party politics. With the CP nathe ranks of the Marxists," says tional committee meeting, the Morris, contributed to the split Stalinists come out more openly in the CIO in which the Stalas supporters of the "liberal" inist-controlled unions were exwing of the Democratic party. pelled and subsequently cut to With the policy decided, the pieces. The error of the "left." membership will now be "clariaccording to Morris, was its fied." As usual, the process of "refusal to retreat and comclarification involves "self-critical" promise some when that was repudiation of the previous line. Each Stalinist zig-zag carries its own "theoretical" justification. Marshall plan." The current "line" was embodied

ERRED ON COLD WAR? in a report by CP general secretary Eugene Dennis, reviewing The expulsion of the Stalinistthe past, repudiating previous controlled unions came as an policy and laying down the line aftermath of the 1948 CIO confor the future. "Dennis' searching vention following the election of American working class, the trade examination of the last decade | Harry Truman. The Stadinists had unions. sponsored the Progressive Party

of the Party's work," says the May 6 Sunday Worker, "placed and its candidate for president his principal emphasis on what Henry Wallace. The Marshall ne viewed as shortcomings and plan was the cornerstone of the nistaken estimates which he Truman Doctrine with its policy characterized as 'mainly left-sec- of "containment" and cold war. tarian in character." The re- The Stalinist attempt to comport was adopted unanimously. promise on the Marshall plan by Unfortunately, the full text of proposing its funds be allocated he Dennis report has not yet through the United Nations was

Labor Statesman at Work



Joao Coulart, (left) Vice-President of Brazil, chats with AFL-CIO president George Meany at Washington luncheon in Goulart's honor. The South American capitalist government official lectured the union group on the most efficient ways to combat "communist" infiltration in the labor movement.

that the "left" should have "re- of war," which led to a "wrong Scarcely a single day has passed treated and compromised" on tactical conclusion." That is, the these issues can only mean that organization of the Wallace the Stalinists should have supported Truman and the cold war Wallace party the illusion was nial uprising. "Peaceful coexiagainst the Soviet Union. Is this assiduously sown among the workwhat they have in mind now with ers, that war could be avented their policy of supporting the through the medium of a "third" "Fair Deal" wing of the Dem- capitalist party with a pacifist program. What is involved is no ocratic party?

When the Stalinists begin remere "tactical" error but a violation of Marxist principle. writing history they always have Inasmuch as the Stalinists have a political motive. The current raised the slogan: Back to Lenin, emphasis on "left-sectarian" errors is designed to screen another opportunist zig-zag. What A STORMY EPOCH

was "left" about their previous Lenin characterized our age as imperative, especially on the policy? In 1948 they supported a the epoch of wars, revolutions presidential race and on the capitalist "third" party, with a and colonial uprisings. He reitercapitalist program and a capitalated over and over again that ist candidate. It was the politics capitalism and socialism could of class collaboration. They not exist indefinitely side by side. spurned the class concept of an One or the other must prevail. independent labor party based on That so long as capitalism exists the mass organizations of the war is inevitable. That the only effective means of conducting the

> Instead, they spawned a pettywas through the uncompromising bourgeois hodge-podge. The cormedium of the class struggle. characterization of that rect That the aim of the class strugpolicy is not "left-sectarian" but gle is the abolition of capitalism opportunist adventunism; i.e., and the goal the victory of so-Stalinism. Thousands of workers cialism. Only then would war were victimized in the process. vanish from the face of the earth. But that is always the by-product of Stalinist politics whether of the "left" or "right" variety.

LENINIST PRINCIPLE

The terms "left" and "night" are meaningless unless some point of departure is fixed. The Stalinists contend they are Marxsts. Not only Marxists, best inist claptrap. Dennis has a theory Leninists to boot. In socialist but it is not that of the Leninist thought and action, Leninism is class struggle.

distinguished as revolutionary As against Lenin, Dennis Marxism in contradistinction to defends the Khrwshchev - Stalin social-reformism. It is a funda- policy of "peaceful coexistence." mental Leninist principle that the This "theory," if it can be crossing of class lines in politics dignified by the name, holds that is a betrayal of socialism. Lenin the capitalist and non-capitalist was absolutely inflexible in his world can exist side by side for a adherence to principle. He com- prolonged and indefinite period of bined principled intansigeance time. That war under capitalism with the utmost tactical flex- is not inevitable. From this conibiltiy. According to Lenin, tactics | cept flows the class collaboration are always subordinated to prin- policy of world Stalinism as adapted to the national peculiariciple and cannot be in violation ties of each country. In this thereof.

When viewed from the stand country it is translated into suppoint of Marxist-Leninist prin- port for the Democratic party ciple, the so-called "left-sectarian" whose main criticism of Eisenpolicy of the American Stalinists hower's foreign policy is that the s seen as nothing but the rankest Republican administration is not opportunism. And the "theoretispending enough money for milical" justifications that accompany tary armaments. Lenin and Dennis can't both be each change in line are comright. All theories are subjected plounded of the flimsiest counter-

to the acid test of experience. feit. According to Dennis, one of the The events of the past ten years basic causes for past "left-sectarian" errors was their "mis-be necessary, that Lenin's analysis 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

been made public. The Daily and | summarily rejected. To say now, | taken estimates on the imminence | of our epoch has been confirmed. since the end of World War II in which the world has not wit-"peace" party in 1948. In the nessed war, revolution and colostence" is conspicuous by its absence.

Dennis' second "theoretical" explanation is no better than his first. Another cause for "leftsectarian" errors in the past, he says, was due to "an overestimation of the imminence of a deep cyclical economic crisis.' let's check Dennis against Lenin. As with the question of war, Dennis muddles everything up.

- Page Three

What "tactical conclusion" does Dennis derive from the fact that prosperity in the U.S. has led to an amelioration of the class struggle? He proposes to call it off for the duration of prosperity in order to avoid the "left-sectarian" errors of the past. What is involved in the Dennis "theory" is not a matter of tempo but of fundamental prognosis. There are struggle against capitalist war pundits who contend that American capitalism has solved the problem of recurring economic crisis. If that is true then socialism becomes a utopia and class struggle a figment of the imagination. Where do Dennis and Company stand?

The question of the imminence At the very moment that signs or non-imminence of war is not of growing crisis appear in the American economy the Stalinists a matter of drawing up a timepropose to declare a moratorium table and then turning the class struggle on or off in accordance on the class struggle and invite the workers to support the with the "estimates." mistaken or otherwise, contained therein. That | Democratic party, one of the twin bulwarks of capitalist rule. Stalis not Marxist theory but Stalinist politics have nothing whatever to do with Marxism.

One noteworthy characteristic of these Stalinlist "left" and "right" oscillations is that the pendulum never swings as far left as before and always further to the right. The theoretical revisionism of the 20th Congress in Moscow accelerated the rightward swing of world Stalinism. The opportunist leaders of the American CP, always uncomfortable in their periods of "left" pretensions have embraced the right turn with genuine enthusiasm. It suits their character and mood.

Their spurious "re-evaluation" and repudiation of their past "left-sectarian" line is, in essence, an adaptation to the opportunist politics of the American labor bureaucracy.

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WAYNE UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS TRY TO SILENCE ONLY DISSIDENT GROUP

DETROIT-The Young Social- | under the skin of the university | its members consider themselves ist Club of Wayne University administration, which was then socialists in general, rather than has been suppressed. Against busy trying to get the State Leg- adherents of the Socialist Workthe wishes of representative stu- islature to accept Wayne as a ers Party). dent and faculty opinion, reac-tionary forces in the university Socialist Club off the campus by STORM OF PROTEST

Steadman then submitted his

SWP and Monthly Review Discussion [In its May issue, Monthly measure deters many "left ele- by Soviet developments; neither Leminist party itself and the editors. But the CP preaches the

Review published a letter from ments" from supporting the SWP has ever succeeded in working Leninist, conception of the so- crassest form of class-collaborathe election campaign manager electorally. We are interested in out American solutions for Amer- ciallist international - The tion by giving support to the

THE MILITANT

administration have succeeded- hook or by crook" became the temporarily-in ridding Wayne of objective of administration forces the only non-conformist student anxious to appear "respectable" political organization recognized in the eyes of the Republican on this campus for several years. State Legislature.

No group on the campus cared political clubs at Wayne and the The YSC, organized in the fall of 1954, was from the beginning to try to end the YSC's influence chairmen of the political parties on the ballot in Wayne County. a thorn in the side of the con- by engaging in debate over its Even before this advisory servative university administra- ideas and policies. Instead, it council met. Steadman's propostion. Far more active than the was decided to suppress the club Young Republicans and Young by changing the rules under als evoked a storm of protest Dear Mr. Huberman: Democrats, it aggressively de- which student political clubs opfrom the campus. The Student erate so as to make the YSC- Legislature and many other stufended the theories and policies of socialism as well as civil lib- and the YSC alone-ineligible for dent groups strongly denounced continued recognition. One Dr. them as attacks on free discuserties-on and off the campus. R. F. Steadman, chairman of the sion and academic freedom. Sev-Last fall it extended its socialist propaganda with the publication Political Science Department eral student leaders and faculty which supervises the student members signed a statement of a magazine, the Wayne Sopolitical activities program at asking that they not be put into cialist.

Steadman's game was a simple

Wayne, was entrusted with the effect. Redbaiting and general politicjob. al apathy combined to keep the club's membership small, but it won a reputation as a serious composition of the YSC and political group and got a hearing from many students who were in regulations that would result unwilling to join themselves. The first issues of the Wayne Social- in depriving the YISC of its campus recognition. Then he bullist got a favorable reception on dozed his Political Science Dethe campus, and indicated a growing influence for the club. But the Wayne Socialist got proposed changes by a narrow

······································	margin.	But ma
	One change was to bar from	stops burea
Dhiladainhia	membership in political clubs a	the State
Philadelphia	large portion of part-time stu-	the bill to
Hear	dents (mainly from working class	university,
Hear	and poor families unable to go	the advisor protests on
Farrell Dobbs	to school full time). Another was	the new r
Presidential Candidate of the	to change requirements for of- ficers of the clubs so that the	by decree.
Socialist Workers Party	present YSC officers would be	coincided v
······································	unable to continue serving as	Academic
on	officers. A third was to subject	campus.)
"Soviet Masses Rising -	all political publications to cen-	The YS
First Victory: Stalin's	sorship (only the YSC had such	suspended
Fall"	a publication). A fourth was to	meeting o
	compel the YSC to change its	could comp Unable to
• The Stake of American	name to the Young Socialist Workers Club (although many of	pealed Ste
Labor in a new Soviet	workers Club (although many of	tion to the
 Democracy The Verification of Leon 		far the D
Trotsky's Predictions	Oh!aara	tion but t
• Latest Developments inside	Chicago	But all
the American Communist		Steadman
Party	Evening of	actions w
The second all	Entertainment	gence, and
Hear Trotsky's recorded		ing the c recognized
speech on Stalinism	Original Play:	Wayne ha
To be played 8:30 P.M. sharp	"Behind, the Illusion"	Pending
	Folksinging	their app
Doors open 8:00 P.M.		YSC have
Saturday, May 26	Sat., May 26, 8:30 P.M.	next step however.
at	777 W. Adams	pression
	Contrib. 35c.	weakened
MILITANT WORKERS HALL		rectness
1303 W. Girard Ave.	Auspices:	ism, nor
Social evening - Refreshments	Socialist Workers Party	defend a wherever
······································		discuss tl
And the second	E , Large Landston and the March March 201	

proposed changes to the advisory council of the Political Science Department, which is composed of representatives of all three

would be coincided with the celebration of

Workers ticket. We publish herewith the text of Sharon's letter, the reply of MR's editors and our own comment. - Ed.]

SWP LETTER

We note with interest your statement in the March issue of Monthly Review stating your intention of supporting a socialist ticket in the coming national elections.

magazine to support the Socialist

You say your choice of socialist tickets will be made from among the four sociallist parties: the Communist Party, the Social-Then to top it off, the advis-

ist Planty, the Socialist Labor ory council, in which the socialone. He carefully studied the ists were a minority, decisively Party, or the Socialist Workers rejected every one of Steadman's Party.

On the basis of your criteria, worked out a number of changes proposals after he had personally the Communist Party obviously appeared before it, pleading for cannot be supported. Its policy is their acceptance, admitting they one of supporting Democrats and were aimed at the YSC alone, in line with that it will not enter and severely criticizing the stupartment into approving the dent groups that had dared to a mational ticket in this coming electoral contest.

object to them. The Socialist Party has a But majority opinion rarely stops bureaucrats. On the eve of similar electoral position; conal clubs a the State Legislature's vote on sequently no slate of the Socialist time stu- the bill to make Wayne a state Party will appear on the ballot. This is further attested to by the king class university, Steadman bypassed the advisory council, ignored the failure of the Socialist Party to nother was protests on the campus-and put enter presidential candidates in Revolution." ts for of- the new regulations into effect the recent important Pennsyl-

that the by decree. (Ironically, this action vania nominations. This leaves only the Socialist erving as Academic Freedom Week on the Labor Party and ourselves. We submit that your possition on the

The YSC was simultaneously Russian Revolution and the Soviet suspended and prohibited from Union rules out the SLP on prin-

meeting on the campus until it ciple. change its could comply with the new rules. You criticize the Socialist Unable to comply, the club ap-Workers Party as advocating soh many of pealed Steadman's arbitrary ac- cialism "in an unrealistic section to the Council of Deans. So tarian way." We don't think we far the Deans have taken no ac- do, but we would be happy to extion but to "receive" the appeal. plore better methods of "ad-But all signs indicate that vocating socialism." We would be Steadman's superiors view his happy to discuss with you any specific expression of our alleged actions with approval or indulsectarianism. Further you critigence, and that for the time being the only voice of officially cize the SWP for "focusing its recognized political dissent at energies on attacking Stalinism." Perhaps since the 20th Congress Wavne has been stifled. Pending final disposition of of the CPSU you are now reevaluating that particular crittictheir appeal, the members of the

YSC have not decided on their ism. At any rate you must recognize that along with our renext steps. One thing is sure, jection of "Stalinism" goes its however. The bureaucratic suppression of their club hasn't corollary defense of Leninism and weakened their belief in the cor- the conquests of the Russian rectness of the ideas of social- Revolution.

There is a wast accumulation of SWP has had precisely the same ism, nor their determination to defend and spread those ideas misunderstanding, distortion, and roots as the weakness and secslander that make up the body of tarianism of the Communist wherever students are willing to attacks on the SWP. This in large Party: both have been dominated avoided are the nature of the both Leninists, say the MR discuss them.

of the Socialist Workers Party, separating honest differences ican problems. Art Sharon, calling on the from fanciful nonsense, and to that end welcome every opportunity to do so. In short we are asking for your

support in the 1956 elections. We would like further, to present our Revolution. Is this the correct and case for electoral support to the SWP in your publication. A good beginning would be the publication of this letter.

MR EDITOR'S REPLY For the present, we want only to make a few brief comments on the letter from Art Sharon of

the Socialist Workers Party which is the final communication printed below. The purpose is to to be of the Left and still refuses emove possible misunderstanding to defend their historic achieve about MR's basic position.

In his letter to Joan R-Leo Huberman wrote: "The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party advocates socialism, but in an un-

realistic sectarian way with all its energies focused on attacking Stallinism." To this Mr. Sharon replies: Perhaps since the 20th Congress of the CPSU you are now re-evaluating that particular

unique historical and geographical criticism. At any rate you must conditions, and some of his most recognize that along with our refruitful ideas and discoveries jection of 'Stalinism' goes its were designed to cope with the corollary defense of Leninism and problems of the czarist empire the conquests of the Russian in the world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The implication of this obriously is that we would normally determine our attitude and position in the light of what happens in the Soviet Union. In respect

resemble those of pre-1917 to some things - particularly Ruissia. internal developments in the so-This is not the place to attempt cialist countries — this is of

to settle the question of how course perfectly true. But we much of Leninism has relevance want to make it as clear as we and vallidity for the United States possibly can that what we think about the United States - including each and every political planty or grouping in this country - is completely independent of what happens in the Soviet Union. The notion that because of the attack on Stallinism by the 20th

Congress of the CPISU (which in and of itself certainly has positive aspects), therefore we will continue to be a flatal politica would re-evaluate our criticism of error. the SWP for focusing its energies

on attacking Stalinism proves not only that the SWP doesn't understand us but also that the SWP itself still thinks in essentially "Russilan" terms. At bottom, the weaknes and sectarianism of the

Editors. This brings us to the second OUR COMMENT sentence quoted from Mr. Sharon's letter. The SWP, he appears to be

The letter of the SWP to the saying, bases itself on Leninism and the conquests of the Russian the MR editors obviously open a discussion on some of the most appropriate position for the fundamental problems of Amer-American Left to take? With ican Marxism. We will report regard to the conquests of the regularly on the progress of the Russian Revolution, the answer is discussion and reprint the most an unqualified affirmative. The important documents. At the out-Russian and Chinese Revolutions set we wish to make the following are to the twentieth century what

comments: the American and French Revolu-(1) The editors of Monthly tions were to the eighteenth. They Review have not yet replied to belong to all of progressive the specific question posed in Art humanity, and anyone who claims Sharon's letter — namely, will Leo Huberman support the SWP ticket in 1956? In the March issue ments is either a fraud or a fool of MR Huberman stated that he Is the same true of Leninism? would have to choose between the In our view, the answer depends Communist, Socialist, Socialiston what you understand by the Labor and Socialist Workers term. Lenin was one of the Parties. But. as Sharon pointed greatest men who ever lived, and out, the only radical parties with much of what he accomplished candidates are the Sociallist-Labor in the fields of thought and action and SWP. Which will Huberman has universal validity. But Lenin

endorse and why? was also the master strategist of (2) We take note of a rather a revolution that took place under startling change of front in the criticism addressed by MR editors against the SWP. They used to smear the Trotskyists with the Stalinist fabrications of the Moscow Frame-Up Trials. These How far they are applicable to on our part to the Soviet Union and Leninism. Now Monthly other countries and times there-Review concedes that we do fore depends to a very large extent on how closely conditions uphold Leninism and do defend the Soviet Union - but finds this

to be precisely our crime. Furthermore, according to Huberman and Sweezey we err in these respects

Party! at mid-century. But it is a good The MR editors have not yet informed the radical workers pliace to state thiat for our part we are certain that not all of it what they now think of the Moshas, and that the kind of undiscow Trials - which they once criminating acceptance of Leninism as a whole and without quallification that has always characterized both the SWP and the CP can be, has been, and

One final point: one of the perversions. But in their hurry to malin purposes of the discussion which is now going on in leftwing circles, and of which this discussion in MR is only a small part, must be precisely to reassess past relations and attitude not only to Stallinism but also to and the victim) are - twins. This Leninism. And among the points is not a worthy procedure. that cannot and should not be (3) The CP and the SWP are

Democrattic Party. The upholds the revolutionary program of independent class political action as a principle. Lenin Monthly Review and the reply of for his part taught that it was betrayal to cross class lines in politics and guided the Communist International on that basis during its first five years. Isn't it clear that the SWP upholds the principled position of Leninism, while the CP has nothing in ommon with it?

(4) We disagree fundamentally with the declaration of the MR editors contained in the phrase that what they "think about the United States - including each and every political party or grouping in this country - is completely independent of what happens in the Soviet Union." The Russian Revolution has dominated the radical movement in this country and every other country of the world since 1917.

This was no accident. Nor was it due to immaturity on the part of revolutionary workers. The exlamation for the touchstone chiaracter of the Russian question in shaping every political tendency is this: The Russian Revolution was the first in a process of world revolution. The development of socialist theory and practice could only proceed from slanders included alleged enmity the lessons of that great event. The world revolutionary process could only unfold under the inspiration of its first great conquest.

The degeneration of the Soviet Union threw a terrible blight over the course of the Socialist movement. But the cure for the blight together with - the Communist is not to escape to an exclusive, national view - as the MR pro-

poses at the same time it continues to apologize for the Kremlin bureaucracy - but defense of Leninism against Stalinism. This has been and continues to be the. course of the SWP.

> Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum "The French War Against the Algerian People" Friday, May 25, 8 P.M. 3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor Donation 25c. Free for Uunemployed

endonsed; of anti-Semitism under Stallin - which they once covered up; or of Stalin himself --- whom they once exalted in the best manner of the Stallin cult. They only intimate that they are no longer defending these hideous get out from under now that Stalinism stands exposed by the Kremlin chiefs, themselves, the MR editors have resorted to the dodge of claiming that Stalinism and Trotskyism (the persecutor

The Negro Struggle *

White Citizens Councils Move North

The White Citizens Councils are moving North to become a rallying point for many hily-white real estate associations and hitherto isolated racist groups throughout the country. The Chairman of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, Dr. John H. Whitley, has announced plans to send speakens through the North to "explain Southern views on racial segregation."

Orville Hubbard, Mayor of Dearborn, the Detroit suburb where the giant Ford Rouge plant is located, last month made a statement which was featured on the front page of the Montgomery Advertiser in Montgomery, Ala. Hubbard encouraged the Montgomery racists saying that he is for segregation "one million per cent on all levels," and boasted that Dearborn allows no Negroes to live within its city limits.

Hubbard was also invited to a WCC meeting held April 24 in another Detroit suburb, Highland Park. He said he was "sorry" that he was unable to attend.

The Alabama WCC attempted to place ads containing membership blanks in Dearborn and Detroit papers, but the ads have been refused. The Dearborn Independent, however, printed a full page ad containing a reprint of an article from the April 13 U.S. News and World Report entitled "When Negroes Move North Many Problems of the South and Others Too, Come With Them." The ad was clearly designed to bolster the Mayor's racist stand.

The WCC offensive comes at a time

when Detroit is faced with mounting unemployment. There are over 150,000 unemployed in the city now. The May 11 U.S. News and World Report quotes a Detroit "race relations authority" as saying "in the event of economic recession, the bitterness and sharpness of the struggle for employment will become a paramount political issue." This is fertile soil for the bitter seed of racism.

VOLUME XX

election

Southern white supremacists.

1.64.0111111

The UAW in Detroit has asked its members to report WCC organizing activity to union leaders. Local 600, whose thousands of Negro members work, but cannot live in Dearborn, answered Hubbard with a shockingly mild resolution which simply "reaffirms the position of the UAW and Local 600 on Civil Rights." The resolution then lists other resolutions which have been passed previously.

But speeches and resolutions are not enough! The Northern union movement is now faced with a serious threat from the growth and consollidation of anti-union racist groups right in its own back yard. The labor leaders are reaping the fruit of their failure to nip the WCC in the bud right down South where it originated. By their inaction, the "labor statesmen" have left the "neutral" and "liberal" whites in the South, and particularly in Southern unions to the tender mercies of WCC terrorists. They have failed to cement a strong alliance in action with the inspired Negro protest movement in Montgomery. Until they do, the WCC will continue to grow and threaten the union movement throughout the country.

Convention ADA

(Continued from page 1) on the very same day former Georgia Governor Herman E. Talmiadige, who is slated now to enter the Senate where he will rival Eastland as America's leading since the questions were drawn racist, also came out for Stevenson. To round out the picture of opportunists in the labor and Negro movements joining hands ample, in reply to what he would with white-supremacist Talmadge in support of Stevenson, it should be noted the Daily Worker (May 14) carries an editorial enthuactions of the ADA Convention.



ostensibly based on the answers | two years. The New York delegagiven by Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman to ten stooge questions submitted to them. Their answers were almost identical up in a fashion to allow the the civil rights issue, which is so candidates to skirt the real issues with liberal generalities. For exdo about school desegregiation if elected president, Stevenson said he would use his "moral influence" to encourage compliance.

own choosing and beliefs ---tion were marked not only by the tion of it in his message. industry. "The auto workers now their Congressional power as a can be raillied to the program of The Militant same vagueness but by the failure Other notable features of the legal club, in their infamous non-Jim Crow unionism was even to promise any action to convention were the speeches of struggle against civil rights. UAW President Walter Reuther White supremacist Talmadge demonstrated in the epic battles to come to terms? enflorce the Supreme . Court's has endorsed the "moderate" that gave rise to the CIO. Thousegregation decision. NIAACIP head Roy Wilkins. sands of prejudiced Southern entire South. Add the North and at least of the insane competepresents Similar doubletalk typified the Both reflected the pressure from Democratic presidential aspirant, Adlai Stevenson, All of Steven-**Eyewitness Reporters** answers of Stevenson, Kefauver the ranks of their organizations. learned the need for interracial son's competitors for the nominaand Harriman to all the ADA's Reuther dwelt on the layofffs in from Montgomery tion share his fundamental view, questions. As the New York the auto plants and denounced regardless of the vote-catching in the organization drives. Hear their answers to the recognition by the ranks of labor Times (May 14) humorously put General Motors for its "scandal-Instead of using the resources and the Negro people that this place knowledge among the auto gotiate a new contract. burning segregation issue it, the ADA had the "task of ous" \$2,543,000,000 profit last lip service they may pay to equal rights during election time. It is of the union movement to bolster is the only road forward and then workers. The production scheddistinguishing between a tittle, year. Wilkins was stronger than Bayard Rustin — Exec.-Sec. other speakers in criticisms and a jot and a scintilla." of the War Resisters League warnings to the Democrats on the With an eye to the coming elechave declared their refusal to use with the Negro leaders, should that road. speedup in the plants and to pay. Tom Kerry — Staff Writer, ions, the tenor of the ADA civil rights issue. He did not go speeches and resolutions was to as far, however, as to suggest The Militant last away at Eisenhower and to supporting the Republicans. When The Asphalt Jungle Moves in on the Trees Conrad Lynn - Noted Civil soft-pedal the failure of the he was quoted to this effect a Liberties Attorney Democratic - controlled Congress | month ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, on civil rights, pro-labor and National Honorary Chairman of Questions and Discussion social legislation. Thus the po- the ADA, handed in her resignalitical resolution presented to the tion from the NAACP Board of Monday, May 21 - 8 P.M. By Joyce Cowley convention dealt only a mild slap Directors. Wilkins then back-Sonia Ballroom The New York City Park Deon the wrist to the Democrat's tracked and Mrs. Roosevelt record of our Park Commissioner. exclusive right to this particular 1174 Bedford Avenue partment sent out a cheerful press Congressional record for the past reconsidered her resignation. When the mothers arrived spot. release the other day announcing Tuesday morning at 8 A.M., they The judge granted a temporary York for a "breath of fresh air." that trees and shrubs are blossomsaw the fence and the bulldozer injunction that stopped the work He sailed for a four-weeks vacaing at last and "no section of **INTER - RACIAL** until a hearing the following America's at work behind it. They surged tion in Spain. Just Published to a higher court. Central Park will be without some forward but were blocked by the week. Additional support came Most of us, who are not in in English colorful sign of spring." position to travel 3,000 miles and from two city councilmen who line of police. Our Police Dept. is RESORT I just inspected an area that's sometimes accused of negligence brought the matter before the who might not consider the air Road to a notable exception, where the but it was certainly on the job at Council's City Affairs Committee. in Franco's Spain particularly **NEGROES** branches of fallen trees lie on Central Park. It took a total of Moses did not attend the meeting wholesome, are still interested in **Opens June 15th** churned up mud. This is the scene 31 of New York's finest including because, he said, he had "conthe grass and shade trees of Socialism of the controversial fence that an inspector and a couple of structive" work to do. Central Park. **ON THE** went up recently between the captains, to stop the mothers. Councilman Isaacs charged that Childrens Camp As Moses was sailing, Judge hours of midnight and dawn. Moses made a deal with the con-**Opens July 1st** One of them fought her way Hofstadter, who likes trees him-Park employes hurriedly drove through and tried to push down said: cessionaries that "bypassed all MARCH self, issued an injunction that JAMES P. CANNON steel pipes into the ground, the fence, but they pulled her authorities and is a burden on the hallts work until the mothers' 70 Miles from New York enclosing half an acre of grass capital expense budget of the back. petition for a permanent injunc-A Frenchman's Report 80 pages city." The Tavern will pay about and trees. Again, when the workmen tion is brought to trial. He said Accommodations in private Order from started chopping down trees, the \$600,000 for the present improveon the American Negro One of the men told a reporter dog-catcher." it was questionable whether "a mothers made a rush for them. ments but will recover most of it **Pioneer Publishers** they had "orders from the boss" cabins or modern lodge. Swim-Struggle half-acre of park land, shrubbery but policemen linked their arms in reduced rent. not to give their names or any ming in our private pond. All 116 University Place and trees - used by older (It was rather difficult to get to form a barricade and the trees By Daniel Guerin information about their actions. children and immediately adjacent New York 3, N. Y. summer activities. Delicious this information because Situart to a more formal playground for By 7 A.M., a sizeable police force went down — at least a dozen food. Constable, Moses' chief assistant. turned up to stand guard by the were destroyed that day, includyoungsters - may be sacrificed to "The most painstaking attempt ing several of a rare type that refused to give any figures. When fence "in case of any disturbance a contemplated use of compounded to analyze race relations in the Special Rates for Groups which might interfere with the he was asked why, he said: "Just cannot be replaced. dubiety, i.e., more parking space U.S." - Phylon Magazine Book - A - Month because I'm stubborn and won't for an enlarged cocktail lounge work. WHOSE PARK? give it out.") For two weeks, a group of for a plush restaurant." Send for Free Circular 192 pages \$1.50 The mothers, determined to mothers had been "interfering" The mothers held a victory Plan "LOOSELY DRAWN" defend every square foot of play with Park Commissioner Moses' Order from Over a period of seven years, Mountain Spring Camp space in New York's jungle of plan to turn this play area into seems to have been premiature. the Tavern grossed \$5,866,861, of PIONEER PUBLISHERS steel and asphalt, hired a lawyer an 80-car parking lot for patrons Moses took off with a final state- playgrounds for children. RD No. 1 and went into court where they which the city received \$94,486, of Tavern - on - the - Green. They **Fettered Freedom** Washington, N. J. which is 1.6% although the con-116 University Place argued that park facilities should first appealed to him to reconsider, A Discussion of tract calls for 5%. This was ex-Telephone: Murray 9-1352 pointing out that this half - acre be designed for all of the people. New York 3, N. Y. San Francisco Seattle plained by Deputy Controller **Civil Liberties** A restaurant, they maintained, was close to a playground for where hamburger and beer comes | Cohen (our elected officials are **Public Meeting** small children and provided safe and to \$4.50 does not meet this always somewhere else). He Hear recreation for the older ones. Slavery in the U.S. called it a "loosely drawn agree-Myra Tanner Weiss Subscribe! requirement. Myra Tanner Weiss His answer was a bulldozer (1830 to 1860) "It matters not," the opposing ment." Mayor Wagner, back on which appeared the next morning Socialist Workers Party Socialist Worker Party the job, said he saw no irregu-By Russel B. Nye lawyer said, "that Tavern-on-theand started leveling the ground. Vice-Presidential Candidate Green caters to those of sublarities in the arrangement. Published at \$4.00 Mothers and children quickly stantial means willing to spend Moses finally answered his Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it placed themselves in its path, will speak on speak on Special price ; more than the price of a hot critics in a furious eight-page with dogs and baby carriages in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full \$1.00 dog or sandwich in an environdocument in which he complained "The United States and filling in gaps in the line. For a year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. ment and setting that affords that: "We have been subjected to the Soviet Union in 1956" (plus 15c. mailing charge) week they arrived at 8 A.M. and them a source of pleasure and a flood of unprintable billings-Name maintained their blockade. Payments must accompany Fri., June 1, 8 P.M. recreation to the same extent that grate, threats of violence from Saturday, May 26 — 8 P.M. order Street HAVE "PATIENCE" recreation and pleasure would be crackpots stirred up by false 665 Main Street 307 So. Van Ness Ave. afforded to those of lower means insinualtions . . . even that the Monday, the mothers sent a PIONEER PUBLISHERS City ... Donation 35c. Donation 35c. delegation to City Hall for a by the purchase of a hot dog or Commissioner is related to a con-116 University Place Unemployed Free Unemployed Free □ \$1.50 Six months □ \$3.00 Full year □ New □ Renewal cessionaire" (Maybe they're not conference with Deputy Mayor ice cream cone in park areas."

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MAY 21, 1956

NUMBER 21

Auto Recession Raises Issue of "30-for-4o"

By Ben Haines

NEW YORK, May 14 - The growing crissis in the auto and farm equipment industry was dramatized last week by a one day shutdown of all General Motors assembly plants in the country.

This is the first time since the cut-throat competition which saturated the market with cars on economic recession preceding the long-term credit schemes. Korean war that the biggest Profit-hungry greed has alproducer in the auto industry ways motivated the production

closed all its assembly plants for plans of the auto barons with a one day production "holiday"cynical disregard for the day to without pay. day needs of the workers. Auto According to the May 14 Wall workers have never been able to

Street Journal, production of new cars fell last week 40% below the total produced in the same week in 1955. With cars in the dealers, hands now exceeding 900,000, orders are being slashed with additional production cutbacks in prospect at the factories.

As a result of 12,000 additioncloser to the total of 200,000 re- April totalled over 5,000 for the ported by the United Automobile

Workers Union last week. None of the figures on unemployment in the auto and farm implement field take into consideration the temporary shutdowns which are mounting in number and are becoming a regular practice. Nor do the figures take into account the tens of have been on a reduced work register and vote. But none of time. These workers have, in

siastically approving the line and mined Southern unionization drive up today as the great champion supremacy and, to the degree they "good offices" to get the people George of Georgia, Herman Tal-WORKERS ARE VICTIMS conducted on a completely inexist there, so too are the Reof Negro rights (because his weak madge is slated to become the to "talk the matter over calmly, The ADA's endorsements were On May 12 the N Y. Times tegrated basis. Such a drive would publicans. If Montgomery were record looks almost strong comranking racist in the U.S. Senate. justly and rightly." And Harrispell the doom of the White reported that UAW president completely unionized on an inman said he would try to rally pared to the current retreat of On the basis of Democratic Party Citizens Councils, which represents tegrated basis and if that united Walter P. Reuther had express-Stevenson et al.), not only did 'men and women of good will tocontrol of the Senate, Talmadge the open shop as fully as it does movement had a political party gether" to talk out the problem. ed anew his concern over un not list civil rights as a major along with Eastland and the of its own - candidates of its employment in the automobile oppression of the Negro people. All three answers to this quesissue, but gave mere passing menother unspeakable racists will use That Southern white workers

tion attempted to strengthen this criticism of the Democrats. But its resolutions were voted down. The attempted strategy of Democratic Party leaders to avoid bedevilling them, was evident in Truman's message to the convention. He listed three major issues for the coming election: foreign policy, the agricultural depression and the growing concentration of economic power. It is noteworthy that Truman, who is being painted

New York 3, New York

(Continued from page 1) to be used to aid the Southern enforce the U.S. Constitution in building of a great new political equal rights fighters, including the South. All of them preach, in power in this country - a labor the Montgomery community. (See one form or another the kind of party based on the unions and pro-racist "moderation" that led lead story in this issue.) to Talmadge's support of Steven-While rank and file pressure has finally moved the top union son. leadership to take this progres-

LABOR-NEGRO UNITY

sive step, the action was blunted On May 24 a giant rally will be the next day, May 15, when David held in New York's Madison Dubinsky, President of the Square Garden in support of the ILGWU announced union plans. front-line civil rights fighters. It to raise a \$3 million fund to supis sponsored by powerful labor port the Democrats in the coming and Negro organizations. The meeting will symbolize the great Regardless of the top labor wer inherent in such an alliance eaders' claims their support to of the two most progressive the Democratic Party serves only forces in America. Such an to strengthen the very people that alliance between labor and the the newly formed Civil Rights

Negro people must be cemented Committee is supposed to be helpon a permanent basis in the ing to fight - mamely, the South. This can be done by a deter-

the power of the Presidency to turn labor's energies to the the organizations of the Negro people.

Consider the problem confrontng Montgomery's equal rights fighters: With inspiring unity and solidarity they have built an organized movement capable of crippling a powerful bus company. They have remained solid in the face of persecution. Yet the fact is they are limited in their struggle as long as it is confined to the boycott weapon.

At recent meetings of the MIA, the membership has been urged to use its political strength; to the leaders can tell them whom effect, the shorter work week. and-file auto workers along with they should vote for. The Demo-

crats are dedicated to white full week's pay. With the withdrawal of Senator Keflauver said he would use his

Theobald. He told them to have He concluded that executives, blood relatives, but in spirit

precisely because the money-grubbing corporations are unable and unwilling to plan production to meet the workers needs. Their production methods have precipitated one crisis after another. HARDEST HIT The Detroit area has been al layoffs last week the official hardest hit by the auto layoffs. unemployment figure has risen Another 5,000 were added to to 148,000. The unemployment the unemployment role in that figures, however, are based on area last week to boost the a survey of only three-quarters total to 125,000. The persistent of the total number of auto character of the unemployment workers employed in seven problem in Michigan is apparent states. If the figures for the re- by the large total of unemploymaining one-quarter were avail- ment compensation exhaustions. able the number of unemployed The May 10 Michigan CIO News workers would most likely be reports "that exhaustions during

achieve any degree of security

second month in a row. Since the beginning of the year some 17,-000 workers have finished collecting their unemployment compensation benefits and are still jobless." Mounting layoffs and reduced

ncome due to short work weeks has given a new vigor to the demand for a reduction in hours thousands of auto workers who with no reduction in pay, popularly known as "30-for-40" schedule for extended periods of among the auto workers across the country. Thousands of rank-What they do not have is the many local union officials sensitive to their needs, are raising the demand for a 30-hour week with 40-hours pay as the answer to the growing crisis in auto.

The UAW finds itself tied up with a long term three-year agreement that does not expire until 1958. A number of auto locals throughout the country wouldn't that supply the extra on layoff," declared Reuther, are demanding that the agreepower to force the racists speedily "are victims of irresponsible ment be reopened. From the far scheduling of production by the west in California to the east-Extend that picture over the automobile industry, and in part ern seabord in New Jersey, Southgate Local 216 and Linden whites in Detroit and other cities | West. Would not this be an in- | tive struggle in 1955 when high | Local 595, have called upon the vincible force? Is it realizable? pressure selling chopped a huge UAW International Executive solidarity on the picket lines and Yes. All that is required is the chunk out of the 1956 market." Board to invoke the principle of What Reuther says is common- the "living agreement," and ne-In each case, placed at the enough to point out that every the party that houses its sworn some firm pressure on their lead- ules and high-pressure sales head of the list, is the demand one of the Democratic contenders enemies, the union leaders, along ers to force them to head up methods led to a back-breaking for a 30-hour week at 40-hours "confidence and patience, espe- 1 too, had a right to the park. The Moses and the concessionaires are | ment that he would fight this to cially in the light of the past prices quoted would make it an certainly members of one family). the last court, and the City Ad-He concluded by saying that he ministration announced that it was happy to be leaving New does not think Judge Hofstadter had authority to issue the injunction and it will be appealed Mothers who started soliciting funds for the court fight were stopped by police because they didn't have a license or the night size American flag three by four feet.) They are now shopping for flags and making plans for a fund campaign. One of them "We'll ring doorbells and see to it that no member of the city administration could be elected As the Administration plans to take the fight to the courts and the mothers prepare to take it to the people of New York, the disputed half-acre remains a noman's-land. The work is halted but the fence remains. This devastated stretch of earth is bleak testimony to the values of a society where parking lots for celebration in the park, but it patrons of a swank cocktail lounge are more important than Vice - Presidential Candidate "The United States and the Soviet Union in 1956"



"I don't know why they complain about layoffs. It's too hot to work anyway."

...MIA DIGS IN FOR LONG BATTLE