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THE MULTANT. PUBLISHED INTERESTS WORKING WEEKLY IN THE OF THE PEOPLE

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Legless Veteran Wins

After Eight-Year Fight

Government Job Back

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Cease All A-Bomb Tests Says SWP at Hearing

here today, Mrs. Dorothy Schultz, the peoples money takes place at representing the Minnesota sec- the expense of adequate schools tion of the Socialist Workers for the children, housing for the Party, demanded an immediate poor and urgently needed medical end of all nuclear weapons tests facilities for the sick.

hands of Congress and the Presi-dent. All questions of war and be done for human welfare with peace, declared Mrs. Schultz, the forty billion dollars spert should be submitted to a re- yearly for militarism staggers ferendum vote of the people.

stuating the atomic

MINNEAPOLIS, June 16 - Ap- | lions militarism devours comes | on the island of Formosa by the pearing before the U.S. Senate out of the meager pay envelopes equally tyranmical Chiang Kai- Telephone and who long held the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the workers. This misuse of shek.

ing power be taken out of the BILLIONS FOR WAR the imagination. But this is not

On behalf of the SWP, Mrs. all. To this forty billions must be Schultz submitted a statement added the appropriations for conutz sucompted a statement blistering the Big Business gov-ernment in Washington for spark-in character. Furthermainly military in character. Furthermainly military in character. Furthermore, over

Another 800 million dollars will be spent, Dulles reports, to defend the labor-hating corporation on and protect "our" interests in the grounds that he had not received Middle East. What is being protected are the enormous hold- Defense Department. ings of the powerful American

oil barons. Even if your committee should recommend certain cuts they would amount to nothing more than a token reduction of the biggest military program in world history. This fact was stated by Secretary of State

CORPORATION FRAME-UP Discussing what he, perhaps ironically, terms "peace insur-

spelled out a policy of the per-

manent militarization of America.

"It will be asked," said Mr. Dulles

main issue of the CWA conven-tion was that of Stephen L. Four To Give Kreznar, former president of CWA local 5501 in Milwaukee. Election View seniority with Wisconsin Bell In Brooklyn post of president of the union local was fired last January by

Wisconsin Senator McCarthy.

Protests of unionists, backed up

by the Milwaukee chapter of the

(Continued on page 3)

Phone Union to Fight

'Security' Firing Case

By John Thayer

the 350,000 member Communication Workers of America,

AFL-CIO, which met here from June 11-15, witnessed an

battle over the issue of trade by raising their voices against

inprecedentedly long and heated

union rights versus the witch

hunt. After more than six hours

of debate the 1,500 delegates

resoundingly voted five-to-one to

The test case which became the

uphold union rights.

CLEVELAND - The Tenth Annual Convention of

A Brooklyn symposium "Working Class Policy in the 1956, "security" clearance from the Elections" will be highlighted by the appearance on the same plat-

Charges against Kreznar alleged form of prominent spokesmen for that there was "reason to believe" the Trotskvist and Stalinist viewthat he was a member of the Sopoints. The symposium will be cialist Workers Party. The SWP held Sunday, June 24, 8 p. m., at is one of the organizations which, Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Ave., without notification or charges. Brooklyn under the auspices of was arbitrarily placed on the the Brooklyn Compass Club. Altorney General's political black-

Among the participants are Farrell Dobbs and David Goldway. Dobbs is National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party



Kutcher Case Is Victory for **Civil Liberties**

NEW YORK, June 20 - Harvey V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, today ordered the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration to restore James Kutcher, legless World War II veteran, to the job from which he was fired in 1948 for nembership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Joseph F. O'Hern, head of the VA in New Jersey, told reporters that his orders were to reinstate Kutcher immediately and with full seniority to his \$42-a week job as clerk. He said he would notify Kutcher within a week to report for work. Alhough the Newark branch of the VA now employs fewer clerks than it did at the time Kutcher was fired, O'Hern said he would be given the same or a comparable job and that this would be accomplished without iring any present employe of he Newark VA.

XEY TEST CASE James Kutcher's fight against he witch-hunt persecutions visted on him for almost eight years made his case a key test f the whole "loyalty-security" setup and one of the most dranatic civil liberties cases in merica. His victory in regain-

ing and per arms race that threatens all humanity with nuclear annihilation. The following is the complete statement of the Socialist Workers Party which will be huge military expenditures will printed in the Congressional be cut? Not so long as the U.S. Record:

SWP STATEMENT

I am appearing before this Sen- for a better social order. Not so ate Foreign Relations Subcommit- long as the U.S. continues its eftee on Disarmament on behalf of forts to prop up the dying reacthe Socialist Workers Party. The tionary regimes in various counparty I represent is dedicated to tries against the will of the maan implacable struggle for peace. jority of the people. socialist order in which war would DOLLARS FOR FASCISTS have no place, in which mankind could devote itself to peaceful arms and dollars into the war pursuit and utilize the great chest of the fascist dictator technological advances for gratify. Franco in the name of "democing the human urge for an ever racy." According to Mr. Dulles, better life.

My party is therefore against lars will be spent in the next the ever-growing militarization of year to provide arms for the the U.S. and the ever-growing ex- dictatorial regime of Syngman penditure of the country's re- Rhee in Korea and the fictitious sources for annuaments. The bil- "Republic of China" represented

six billion dollars are spent anance," the Secretary of Shate nually to pay interest on the cost of past wars. Is there any hope that these government continues its bi-

"will the cost go on forever? Can we see no end to this gigantic expenditure, totalling partisan policy of trying to smash about 40 billion dollars a year. the world revolutionary movement as the cost of our peace insurance policy ?" "The answer is," he added. "as

long as the danger persists. for so long must we pay to combat bhat danger.'

Attempting to shift the burden of responsibility onto the Soviet Union, Mr. Dulles contended that The U.S. government pours so long as the Russians maintain beir present annament level. "so long . . . we may have to expend about ten percent of our gross national product as we are now almost one and a half billion dolloing. for peace insurance pur ploses.

Negotiations between the U.S. and the USSR for joint arms (Continued on page 2)

The frame-up and its presidential candidate company's action became obvious Goldway is Executive Secretary a few weeks later when John A. of the Jefferson School and Dressler, secretary of local 5501, contributor to Political Affairs was' fired on almost identical which expresses the views of the charges. There are some 600 Communist Party. workers represented by this in-

Also participating are Clifford stallers' local and about 1 500 non-T. McAvoy and W. E. B. Du clerical workers, but "security" Bois. McAvoy, past candidate for learances were required of only mayor and governor on the Amerabout 15 workers in that departican Labor Party ticket, was the

nent. By "coincidence" both the victim this week of a red-baiting president and the secretary of the attack by Bella Dodd, an exocal were among those 15. Stalinist turned professional in-A help to understanding the former.

"coincidence" is the fact that At a June 14 hearing of the both Kreznar and Dressler have Senate Internal Security Subcomlong records of union militancy in mittee Miss Dodd named McAvoy Wisconsin telephone workers' as one of those she knew to be a "Communist." McAvoy has been struggles. They spearheaded the drive for amalgamation of the target of Communist Party separate telephone unions and attack for his outspoken opposilater for affiliation with the CIO. | tion to their policy of supporting the capitalist uwo-party system. They were outstanding in aggressive union bargaining and in Dr. Du Bois, a noted historian

fighting grievances. They had led was the Progressive Party canditheir union into an active role in date for the U.S. Senate in 1950. Wisconsin labor politics and had He advocates boycotting the 1956 fought the witch hunt, particularly election.

ng his job without budging one nch on his socialist convictions sets important legal precedents for the battle to restore full vivil liberties in this country. it will also be a powerful moale-builder for all those fightng McCarthyism and thought control.

Kutcher's fight was unique among all the tests of the "loyalty" program in that he never denied membership in the Socialist 'Workers Party, which had arbitrarily - without trial or notification - been placed on the Attorney General's so-called subversive list. Most victims of the "loyalty" purge resigned or kept silent after dismissal by kangaroo-court hearing boards. They did so to avoid public smearing as "disloyal" as well as the heavy legal expenses involved in fighting the "loyalty" purge system. Those few who did challenge their firings did

continued on mage 21

Wage Crisis Produces **Dobbs Protests Smear In Youngstown Vindicator** Soviet Personnel Shift

list.

YOUNGSTOWN, June 16 - In With a combination of crude the midst of national contract sensationalism and virulent Trot- Steel Works of the U.S. Steel charge made by a local steel cratic process demands full and thations constitutes a direct disnegotiations a fierce internal sky-baiting, Thomas has attemptstruggle has been touched off in ed to establish the premise that with the international union threats to his life and burglary It means the right to a hearing time when it is most urgently Mahoning Valley District 26 of opposition of any type to the top the United Steel Workers of officialdom of the international America. A violent red-baiting union constitutes "subversive" campaign is being waged with anti-union activity.

District Director James P. Grif-The pro-siteel trust Youngstown fin as the primary target. Last Vindicator has given generous year Griffin had supported Joseph | publicity to Thomas' claims that P. Moloney in his unsuccessful his life has been threatened by hid for the vice-presidency of the anonymous individuals, and that international union. Moloney had records have been stolen from the defied the top union officialdom union hall, as well as his seurby running against Howard nilous accusation that these Hague, hand-picked candidate of alleged acts constitute "Trot-USW president David J. Mc- skyite tactics" in District 26. Donald. (See letter to the Vindicator by

With more than 100 USW Farrell Dobbs following this locals in the Youngstown dis- article. Ed.) trict holding election of officers this month, the contests are shaping up as a test of strength Thomas asserted in the Vinbetween the pro and anti-Griffin dicator, June 8. "I know that my forces. Griffin will run for re- stand in supporting our internaelection next February. tional union and its members

In Youngstown Sheet and Tube against James P. Griffin and his Local 1462, incumbent local presi- rump group when they tried to dent Dan Thomas, who is charged create a division in our great with violating union election union last year is the cause of procedures, has been the most what is happening now. I therevociferous in the red - baiting fore call on all good union memsmear campaign against Griffin bers to denounce these subversive of the Vindicator accusations the basis of the democratically and his supporters. tactics."

union office under an "anti- ment. subversive" proviso in the international constitution. Local 1330 supported Moloney's candidacy last year.

Three of the four accused men are candidates in the present election. They are Sam Camens, local president. Nathaniel Lee, treasurer, and Marvin Weinstock, a grievance man. The fourth, Ted Dostal, is not seeking election.

In a covering letter to Mc-Donald, the makers of the charges renew the attack on Grif- REFUTES SLANDER In response to the charge of fin by declaring. "these subviolating election procedure versives . . . have grown by leaps and bounds in influence and impontance with our district office and our local CIO council."

> LETTER TO VINDICATOR FROM FARRELL DOBBS Editor, The Vindicator:

I have noted in recent issues against

Corp., charges have been filed union official in which claims of free discussion within the unions. against three officers and one of a union office are made by for all political viewpoints and former officer of the local brand- him and are described as "Trot- the right of all union members ing them as ineligible to hold skyite tactics" in the union move- to seek office. It means that all

> While I have no knowledge of the political views of the individuals involved in this controversy, the Socialist Workers Party is nationally known as "Trotskyist" and is therefore directly affected by this charge. In the interest of simple truth and to set the political record straight, I hope you will extend the courtesy of printing this letter.

To describe alleged threats and burglary as "Trotskyite tactics" is a complete slander. Such tactics are the direct opposite of the policies of the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP has consistently and stubbornly insisted everywhere that the determination of unfor policy, as well as the election of union officers, must proceed on union.

To make such baseless accusaalleged "Trotskyites." arrived at decisions of the union tions at a time when a union is

In Local 1330, at the Ohio | Your June 12 issue carries a | rank and file. Such a demo- | involved in major contract negoruption of union solidarity at

policy decisions, and all elections be determined by majority vote of the membership.

tactics as a direct violation of the

unions. We are flatly opposed to threats, burglaries or any other forms of intimidation as weapons in an intra-union dispute. And we the American people. It is time cannot remain silent in the face

of an attempt to lay such tactics at our doorstep. Such accusations onstitute a red-baiting smear attack right out of the Mk-Carthyite book. For a union of-

ficial to conduct a trial by slander in the columns of the daily press can only serve to divert attentior from the real problems in the

meeded. On June 9, Lazar Kaganovich resigned the chairman-Such unprincipled tactics on ship of the State Committee on Wages and Labor in the local union level are the fruit of bureaucratic practices by the Soviet Union. Kaganovich is First Deputy Premier union officialdom at the national of the USSR. Like Molotov, 9level. They flow from a desire Voroshilov and Mikoyan, he reaucrats? The Committee on

and has consistently fought, the the unions and to maintain the lin's gang in its drive to crush body. The substitution cannot be use of "strong-arm" tactics as a rule of entrenched officialdom. the revolutionary wing of the explained on that ground. On means of settling union problems. Such methods are intended to Bolshevik Party from 1924 to the contrary, Kaganovich was It unequivocally condemns such divert the attention of the work- 1927. He rose to power with originally placed at the head of ers away from discussion of ofdemocratic process within the ficial policies and practices detri- hatchetman for the dictator. At portance. It was created a year mental to the interests of the

membership. McCarthyism has been repu diated by the great majority of to call a halt to its practic within the labor movement. Sincerly yours,

> Farrell Dobbs National Sec'y, SWI

Stalin approvingly.

year.

Next Week IN THE MILITANT

"The Khrushchev Revelations" By JAMES P. CANNON

The SWP opposes in principle, to crush all opposition within formed part of the core of Sta- Wages and Labor is no minor Stalin and became a notorious it because of its enormous imthe 20th Congress of the Com- ago to overhaul the entire wage munist Party of the Soviet Un- structure introduced by Stal'n ion last February, Kaganovich in 1935. The need to recast the was the only speaker to quote wage-payment system stems

By Daniel Roberts

He is being replaced by Alex- productivity, a key economic ander P. Volkov, described in task set in the Sixth Five-Year

The problem comes from the Monitor as "a little-known protege of. . . Khrushchev." Volkov system introduced by Stalin became a member of the Central based on piece-work payment Committee of the CP only last and lavish bonuses. About 80% of Soviet wages are paid on the piece-work basis. Stalinist poli-WHY THE CHANGE cy in the 1930's and 1940's was

Why the substitution of a lit- to create an aristocracy of pace tle-known official for one of the setters, who, for overfulfilling most prominent of Soviet bu-(Continued on page 4)

from the drive for greater labor the June 11 Christian Science Plan.

- Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, June 25, 1956

-STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM - By Leon Trotsky-**Bolshevik Traditions and Fourth International**

We publish below the concluding installment of the brilliant. polemic written by Leon Trotsky in answer to those who sought to equate counter-revolutionary Stalinism with the revolutionary ideas and program of Russian Bolshevism. Written in 1937, during the period of the Spanish Civil War, the pamphlet entitled: Stalinism and Bolshevism — Concerning the Historical Roots of the Fourth International, was published by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.]

The arguments of the ration- the work of the whole class, but alists assume at times, at least only under the leadership of the in their outer form, a more con- vanguard. The Soviets are only crete character. They do not de- the organized form of the tie duce Stalinism from Bolshevism between the vanguard and the as a whole but from its political class. A revolutionary content sirs. The Bolshevik - ascord- can be given to this form only ing to Gorter, Fannekoek, cer- by the party. This is proved by tain German "Spartakists" and the positive experience of the others - replaced the dictator- October Revolution and by the ship of the proletariat with the negative experience of other dictatorship of the party; Stalin countries (Germany, Austria, replaced the dictatorship of the finally Spain).

party with the dictatorship of No one has either shown in the bureaucracy. The Bolsheviks practice or tried to explain artidestroyed all parties but their culately on paper how the proleown: Stalin strangled the Bol- tariat can seize power without shevik party in the interest of a the political leadership of a par-Bonapartist clique. The Bolshe- ty that knows what it wants. viks made compromises with the The fact that this party subbourgeoisie; Stalin became its ordinates the Soviets politically ally and support. The Bolsheviks to its leaders, has, in itself, preached the necessity of parti- abolished the Soviet system no Stalin made friends with the ished the British parliamentary trade union bureaucracy and system.

bourgeois democracy, One can; make such comparisons at will. The other Soviet parties is con- theory: it can give an account "intrigues" disrupt the unity of For all their apparent effective-ness they are entirely empty. the other soviet particle and of its social role neither to it-theory" of Bolshevism but was self nor to anyone else. Stalin Moreover, the sensitive and contrict has always

itself the necessity for state devastated country, surrounded the heel of the GPU. power arises from an insufficient by enemies on all sides. For the cultural level of the masses and Bolsheviks it was clear from the ity" of Bolshevism come parti- through to the end for him his a clash of personal ambitions, the social regime. their heterogeneity. In the revo, beginning that this measure, lutionary vanguard, organized later completed by the prohibi- entities whose cheap masks were self was never able to. But the two "shades" of Bolshevism. in a party, is crystallized the tion of factions inside the govaspiration of the masses to ob- erning party itself, signalized a tain their freedom. Without the tremendous danger. However, ocratic, "socialist", literary, par- attitude toward all quibbling Thomas, leader of the American struggle against the Bonapartist ism. But Marxism is the theory confidence of the class in the the root of the danger lay not liamentary, and other circles, and evasion, can educate a revo-vanguard, without support of in the doctrine or in the tactics conventional values prevail, or a lutionary party which will not believe," he writes our eyes into class struggle: Only events on a tremendous the bistorical scale could enrich the bistorical the vanguard by the class, there but in the material weakness of can be no talk of the conquest the dictatorship, in the difficul- their lack of values. This large tional circumstances." In this sense the proletarian ties of its internal and interna- and motley society for mutual If the revolution had triumph- won (!) instead of Stalin, there that the victory of the socialist

revolution and dictatorship are tional situation.

Vital Distinctions

The Kronstadt insurrection ? panies the transformation of So-But the revolutionary govern- viet society in the interest of ment naturally could not "pre- a privileged minority. It is clear sent" to the insurrectionary sail- that in the identification of Stalors the fortress which protected inism with Bolshevism there is the capital only because the re- not a trace of socialist criteria. actionary peasant-soldier rebel- One of the most outstanding lion was joined by a few doubt- features of Bolshevism has been ful anarchists. A concrete histor- its severe, exacting, even quarical analysis of the events leaves relsome attitude toward quesnot the slightest room for the tions of doctrine. The twenty- and the ever-present danger of result in economic crisis. legends, built up on ignorance seven volumes of Lenin's works the cold war erupting into an and sentimentality, concerning will remain forever an example atomic one will not be eliminated, ed that arms production is a devastation which capitalism could Kronstadt, Makhno and other of the highest theoretical conepisodes of the revolution. scientiousness. Without this the U.S. and the USSR is not the

Led Workers to Victory



the program, theory and organization methods of Bolshevism against the bureaucratic degeneration of Stalinism.

they become a source of demoral- cialism." or system whatsoever. Its "ideol-The theoreticians, writers and cipation in the old trade unions more than the domination of the with police subjectivism, its different camps, thought and gentlemen who identify the revo-match between Stalin and Trot- form of Marxism for this epoch. teachings of mankind. This can is thoroughly permeated moralists, hesitating between can feel only contempt for these that it is not a question of a shevism is the only possible all time as one of the greatest practice is the empiricism of continue to think that the Bol- lutionary heroism of the Bol- sky, but of an antagonism becrude violence. In keeping with sheviks maliciously exaggerate sheviks with the bureaucratic tween the bureaucracy and the shown in action a combination of offended sectarians who have its essential interests the caste differences, are incapable of As far as the prohibition of of usurpers is hostile to any "loyal" collaboration and by their forced even now to adapt itself

Even now, in spite of the dra- to the still not wholly liquidated The proletariat can take power a measure of defense of the dic- revises Marx and Lenin not with squeamish centrist has always ried, the average philistine preonly through its vanguard. In tatorship in a backward and the theoretician's pen but with thought that the Bolsheviks fers to believe that the strug- through direct civil war (bloody were "calumniating" him — gle between Bolshevism. ("Trot- "purge" — mass annihilation of shevik party was able to carry nothing.

Complaints of the "immoral- simply because they carried skyism") and Stalinism concerns the discontented) a change of cularly from those boastful non- half-developed thoughts: he him- or, at best, a conflict between But in Spain the Stalinist work only because it illuminated torn away by Bolshevism. In fact remains that only that pre- The crudest expression of this as a bulwark of the bourgeois shevism did not create this theopetty bourgeois, intellectual, dem- cious quality, an uncompromising opinion is given by Norman order against socialism. The ry: it was furnished by Marxconventional language to cover be taken unawares by "excep- (Socialist Review, Sept. 1937, two worlds, two programs, two historical scale could enrich the gandist preparation. The big

protection - "live and let live" ed, even if only in Germany, would have been an end of in- proletariat over the infamous uable contribution to Marxism penetrating than the petty-bour-- cannot bear the touch of the the need of prohibiting the other trigue, plots, and the reign of caste of oppressors would not in its analysis of the imperial- geois who imagine themselves Marxist lancet on its sensitive Soviet parties would immediately fear in Russia." And this man politically and morally regener- ist epoch as an epoch of wars

skin.

have fallen away. It is absolute- considers himself. . . a Marxist. ate the Soviet regime, he proves and revolutions; of bourgeois End A-Bomb Tests Says SWP indispensable prop for the econor so-called "containment" policy - Soviet Union. Such an action iny. Even if one accepted Mr. which is the keystone of U.S. would topple the Kremlin bureau-(Continued from page 1) reduction will no doubt take place

Dulles contention that armaments periodically in the future as in the represent ten percent of the gross past. But this much is certain. national product it is clear that The United States will not abandon its basic military plans,

The existing conflict between palliative that can only postpone, not survive.

foreign policy, is doomed to failure. for a world socialist order where barbaric militarism would be A war unleashed against the any substantial reduction would Soviet Union and China under ended forever.

The

present world conditions world For the present, the Socialist It is already being demonstrat- only mean a war of nuclear Workers Party demands:

page 6) "that if Trotsky had moralities.

A Clash of Personal Ambitions?

ism. But when "intransigeance" XI, the Holy See were occupied

SWP DEMANDS An immediate

y indisputable that the domin-once the possibility of allotting only that for all his reservations, established for the first time ation of a single party served to the anarchists certain terri- shufflings and pious sighs he is the only relation between vanas the juridical point of depar- tories where, with the consent far nearer to the Stalinist bu- guard and class that can assure ture for the Stalinist totalitar- of the local population, they reaucracy than to the workers. victory. It has proved by experiian system. But the reason for would carry out their stateless Like other exposers of Bol- ence that the alliance between this development lies neither in experiment. But civil war, block- shevik "immorality," Thomas the proletariat and the oppress-Bolshevism nor in the prohibi- ade, and hunger left no room has simply not grown up to revo- ed masses of the rural and urtion of other parties as a tem- for such plans. lutionary morals. ban petty-bourgeoisie is possi-The "lefts" who tried to skip ble only through the political borary war measure, but in the The moral qualities of every

number of defeats of the prole-party flow, in the last analysis, Bolshevism in their "return" to overthrow of the traditional from the historical interests Marxism generally confined petty-bourgeois parties. ariat in Europe and Asia.

The same applies to the strug- that it represents. The moral themselves to isolated panaceas: The Bolshevik party h a s gle with anarchism. In the heroic qualities of Bolshevism, self-boycott of the old trade unions, shown the entire world how to epoch of the revolution the Bol renunciation, disinteresledness, au boycott of parliament, creation carry out armed insurrection and sheviks went hand in hand with dacity and contempt for every of "genuine" soviets. All this the seizure of power. Those who the genuinely revolutionary an-kind of tinsel and falsehood — could still seem extremely pro-propose the abstraction of soviets archists. Many of them were the highest qualities of human found in the first heat of the to the party dictatorship should drawn into the ranks of the nature! - flow from revolutionpost-war days. But now, in the understand that only thanks to party. The author of these lines ary intransigeance in the ser- light of most recent experience, the Bolshevik leadership were liscussed with Lenin more than vice of the oppressed. such "infantile diseases" have the soviets able to lift them-

no longer even the interest of a selves out of the mud of reformism and attain the state form of curiosity. The Dutchmen Gorter and Pan- the proletariat. The Bolshevik nekoek, the German "Spartak- party achieved in the civil war

The Stalinist bureaucracy imi- One would have the same right ists," the Italian Bordigists, the correct combination of militates also in this domain the to say: "There is little reason showed their independence from tary art and Marxist politics. words and gestures of Bolshev- to believe that if instead of Pius Bolshevism only by artificially Even if the Stalinist bureauinflating one of its features and cracy should succeed in destroyand "inflexibility" are applied by Norman I, the Catholic opposing it to the rest. But ing the economic foundations of by a police apparatus in the ser- Church would have been trans- nothing has remained either in the new society, the experience vice of a privileged minority formed into a bulwark of so- practice or in theory of these of planned economy under the "left" tendencies: an indirect leadership of the Bolshevik parization and gangsterism. One Thomas fails to understand but important proof that Bol- ty will have entered history for The Bolshevik party has be ignored only by bruised and cynicism of the Thermidorians. proletariat. To be sure, the gov- the highest revolutionary auda- turned their backs on the process erning stratum of the USSR is city and political realism. It has of history.

mutic events of the recent pe-heritage of revolution, while How Bolshevism Enriched Marxism

But this is not all. The Bol-| They can teach the workers

Only the tounders of the on its magnificent "practical" Fourth International, who have made their own the whole tradiclique is already acting openly all its steps with theory. Bol- tion of Marx and Lenin, take a serious attitude toward theory. Philistines may jeer that twenty capitalists are, in this question Bolshevism brought an inval- as in many others, far more "socialists" or "communists". It is no accident that the sub-

democracy in the era of decay- ject of the Fourth International ing capitalism; of the correla-tion between the general strike the world press. The burning and the insurrection; of the role historical need for revolutionof party, soviets and trade un- ary leadership promises to the ions in the period of proletarian Fourth International an exceprevolution; in its theory of the tionally rapid tempo of growth. cracy. This would create the basis soviet state, of the economy of The greatest guarantee of its transition, of fascism and Bona- further success lies in the fact partism in the epoch of capital- that it has not arisen away from

st decline; finally in its analysis the large historic road, but is of the degeneration of the Bol- an organic outgrowth of Bolshevik party itself and of the shevism. Soviet state.

Let any other tendency be

August 29, 1937.

There remains only the fact fundamental quality Bolshevism result of an arms race. On the There is today a crisis in agrithat the Bolsheviks from the be- would never have fulfilled its ginning applied not only convic- historic role. In this regard Staltion but also compulsion, often inism, coarse, ignorant and thorto a most brutal degree. It is oughly empiric, lies at the opalso indisputable that later the posite pole.

bureaucracy which grew out of The Opposition declared more the revolution monopolized the than ten years ago in its pro- interests of the American peo- capitalism and approve of U.S. system of compulsion for its own gram: "Since Lenin's death a ple, but on that of a tiny clique foreign policy, can only serve to use. Every stage of develop- whole set of new theories has of powerful industrialists and deceive the great mass of the ment, even such catastrophic been created, whose only purstages as revolution and counter- bose is to justify the backslidrevolution, flows from the pre- ing of the Stalinists from the ceding stage, is rooted in it and path of the international proletakes on some of its features. | tarian revolution." Only a few Liberals, including the Webbs, lays ago an American writer, have always maintained that the Liston M. Oak, who has parti- primary reason for its vast, per- on disarmament, Mr. Stassen. Bolshevik dictatorship was only sipated in the Spanish Revolua new version of Czarism. They tion, wrote: "The Stalinists in close their eyes to such "de- fact are today the foremost retails" as the abolition of the visionists of Marx and Lenin -monarchy and the nobility, the Bernstein did not dare to go half handing over of the land to the is far as Stalin in revising demonstrated by the simple fact peasants, the expropriation of Marx."

capital, the introduction of This is absolutely true. One planned economy, atheist educa- must add only that Bernstein actually felt certain theoretical tion. etc.

In the same way liberal-anar- needs: he tried conscientiously chist thought closes its eyes to to establish the relationship bethe fact that the Bolshevist revo- tween the reformist practices of lution, with all its repressions, social democracy and its promeant an upheaval of social re- gram. The Stalinist bureaucracy, lations in the interest of the however, not only has nothing in masses, whereas the Stalinist common with Marxism but is in thermidorian upheaval accom-general foreign to any doctrine

Brooklyn Myra Tanner Weiss **Public Meeting** SWP CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT 'Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections' Speaks on: Hear The New Events in the FARRELL DOBBS - So-Soviet Union: Their cialist Workers Party Presi-Meaning for American dential Candidate Workers" W. E. B. DU BOIS - Distinguished Scholar and Edu-BUFFALO cator DAVID GOLDWAY - Exec. Sat., June 30 - 8 P. M. Sec. of the Jefferson School CLIFFORD T. McAVOY -831 Main Street Former ALP Candidate for BOSTON Governor and Mayor Friday, July 6 - 8:30 P. M Sunday, June 24 - 8 P. M.

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Brooklyn Compass Club

Community Church Center 565 Boylston Street Auspices: Socialist Workers Party contrary, the arms race is only culture and farm equipment one expression of the conflict beproduction, in the automobile intween two antagonistic social dustry, etc., even while arms systems. The United States gov- production is booming.

ernment, which shapes its policies The propaganda for disarmanot on the basis of the needs or ment by those who support financiers, is determined to estab- people who genuinely yearn for lish the economic and political an end to the insecurity and domination of the American tension which militarism engencapitalist class over the entire ders. This is the essential function globe. It cannot accomplish this of your committee as well as that by peaceful means. That is the of the President's special assistant

manent arms buildup. There is no one in the Pentagon in any way in danger of losing A VITAL DIFFERENCE

enormous sapping of its national

Next Week in The Militant:

conomy:

his job as a consequence of the That the U.S. is the pacesetter "disarmament" proposals of either in the world armament race is your committee or of Mr. Stassen

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM that it is the only country in the world that can afford such an

A great movement is on foo' throughout the world to end the resources. For the U.S., the rule of imperialism. The colonia' production of the weapons for war people are fighting for and wins absolutely indispensable for the ning their independence. They are maintenance of its capitalist demanding an end to economithem. economy. For the Soviet Union, exploitation and political tyranny

PROUD OF IDEAS with nationalized production the They want no more militarism

effort to match the level of U.S. and no more war. military power creates an enorm-The Soviet workers have once s, unneeded drain on its again entered this world-wide freedom fight. By their pressure

During the terrible depression they have won important concesof the Thirties, all of Roosevelt's sions from the Kremlin dictators nump-priming could not get the The Soviet workers are determined wheels of industry turning. It was to eliminate the bureaucracy that only from 1938 on, when the "New has deprived them of their Deal" became the "War Deal," political rights. The Russian workthat relative prosperity was again ers are pushing for an end to the reestablished on the basis of massive arms production. In 1947, when a new "recession"

began to engulf the country, the The Soviet masses have endure economic crisis was averted when the Truman administration plunged the American people into the bloody Korean "police action." It 1917 revolution. This encirclement was the production of munitions which once again set the wheels of the victories of the Soviet arm of industry turning. PROP TO ECONOMY

'The Khrushchev Revelations'

By JAMES P. CANNON

bureaucratic privileges taken at the expense of their living standards.

Stalinist tyranny because of the imperialist encirclement which threatened the conquests of the was smashed as the consequence in World War II and as a resul of the Chinese and Yugosla revolutions. The attempt to im Today armaments constitute an pose a new encirclement - the

aspirations of the American people for peace and security will not be realized in conflict with the oppressed of the world but in cooperation with them. The interests of the American people

can be served only by replacing the present government of the monopolists with a Workers and Farmers government.

A Workers and Farmers govevoment in America would extend hand of genuine solidarity to that the question of waf or peace the Soviet workers in their great be submitted to a peoples struggle to redemocratize the referendum.

Legless Vet Wins Job

(Continued from page 1) Kutcher denied these categoricalo, in almost every case, on the ly and demanded in vain that basis of denial of membership he be allowed to confront his or associations alleged against accusers. Early this year the VA board on pension forfeitures, with ill-grace, ruled in his fa-

On April 20 the U.S. Circuit Kutcher, however, presented the witch hunters with a brand Court of Appeals in Washington, new phenomenon. He proudly af- D.C., ruled that Kutcher should firmed membership in the SWP be restored to his job. This legal vindication came after his atand his socialist ideas. His early torney, Joseph L. Rauh, had hearings, therefore, were farces in which the government's twice fought the case up and consisted of proving down the long ladder of "loyal-"case" ty" boards and up to the Court what Kutcher never denied -that he belonged to the SWP. of Appeals.

This made his case a fundamen- IMPORTANT PRECEDENT tal challenge of the Attorney The decision declared Kutcher's General's list itself and the rights under the Veterans Prefright of the VA to fire him on erence Act had been violated. the basis of it.

That it was a precedent for the In addition to taking away decision of the U.S. Supreme nis job, the witch hunters have Court two months later in the tried to evict him and his aged case of Kendrick Cole. This, parents from their home in a too; was based on the Veterans federal low-cost housing project, Preference Act. In it, the high again solely on grounds of his court ruled that the "loyalty-SWP membership. security" purge was being ille-Not content with taking his gally used against government ob and threatening his home, employees in "non-sensitive the witch hunters, just before jobs.

ast Christmas, cut off the dou-Some details of the governble amputee's pension. Public ment's action in restoring Kutoutcry rapidly forced its tem- cher's job are as yet not clariporary restoration as well as an fied. After the court decision unprecedented open hearing on last April the press declared the charges of the pension board that should the government give against him. At this hearing the him back his job it would also chairman announced he would have to pay him back wages. 'make up the rules" as he "went The June 21 N.Y. Times, howalong." The charges against ever, reports: "There has been Kutcher were fantastic and non- no determination as yet whether sensical statements attributed to he can recover more than \$20, by faceless informers. 000 in back pay."

named that has added anything American people will nuclear weapons tests. Scientists essential to the conclusions and inevitably come to realize that throughout the world have ur- generalizations of Bolshevism. they have no actual conflict with gently warned of the grave Theoretically and politically Vanthe people of the Soviet Union, danger to the health of humanity dervelde, DeBrouckere, Hilferd-China or the colonial world. The resulting from the radioactive ing, Otto Bauer, Leon Blum, Zyfall-out of these explosions. The romski, not to mention Major people throughout the world are Attlee and Norman Thomas, live insistently demanding a halt to on the dilapidated leftovers of these tests. Let your committee the past. oin in this demand.

'If Thomas thinks theory itself.

The degeneration of the Com-2. The very destructiveness of intern is most crudely expressed coming war demands that a by the fact that it has dropped decision on war or peace be to the theoretical level of the removed from the hands of Con-Second International. All the gress and the President and be

varieties of intermediary groups placed in the hands of the peo-(Independent Labour Party of ple. Let your committee demand Great Britain, POUM and their like) adapt every week new haphazard fragments of Marx and Lenin to their current needs.

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1. The World Crisis of Stalinism

There is now unmistakable evidence of seething discontent in the ranks of the Communist parties throughout the world with Khrushchev's explanations of Stalin's regime of mass murder and frame-ups.

Palmiro Togliatti, Stalinist chief of the Italian CP, largest in the capitalist world, declared in an interview June 17 that the present Soviet leaders have not offered a satisfactory explanation "based on Marxist criteria" of how Stalin's police dictatorship "got mixed up with the development of a socialist society." He also raised the question of "the responsibility of the entire directing group," including Khrushchev, Bulganin, etc., for the crimes of the Stalin regime.

On June 19 the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party said: "The explanations given up to now on the faults of Stalin, their origin, the conditions in which they were produced, are not satisfactory. A careful Marxist analysis is indispensable to determine the combination of circumstances in which Stallin came to exercise personal power." The statement of the Political Bureau, which paralleled the declaration of Togliatti, also pointed out that the present Kremlin leaders participated in building up the Stalin cult.

What accounts for these unprecedented criticisms of the Kremlin by the leaders of two mass Communist parties? It is clear that neither Togliatti nor Thorez are eager to destroy the Stalin cult. As a matter of fact they couple their criticism of Khrushchev's explanations with complaints that Stalin's "positive" role is being underestimated. The French Communist Party publication of the Khrushchev speech by the capitalist press forced them to speal up. Why then are they now raising the sharpest questions about Khrushchev's failure to explain the crimes of Stalin and his complicity in them?

The June 20 Daily Worker gives the answer: "For some time the French Communist leaders have taken a much less critical attitude toward the Soviet Communist errors than other Communist Parties. However, in the course of precongress discussion, now going on ir preparation for the 14th congress of the French CP there has been considerable criticism of the leaders by the rank and file."

The Daily Worker does not explain why the French CP leaders had to be forced to break silence on Stalin's crimes by rank and file pressure. But it is nevertheless clear that in addition to the powerful pres sure of the Soviet working class, which forced the Stalinist bureaucracy to make a number of important economic and po litical concessions since the death of Stalin we are now witnessing the intervention of the rank and file of the mass communis" parties in the discussion that has opened with the 20th Congress.

This spells nothing less than a world wide crisis of Stalinism. It is a crisis which will inevitably force a discussion not only of the crimes of Stalin in the Soviet Unior but also the international crimes of Stal inism and above all its political crimes.

leaders have maintained an almost complete silence on the revelations about Stalin since the 20th Congress. Only the

from Alabama, the Negro people of that state have already set up another organization with a militant anti-Jim Crow program. The new organization was formed in Birmingham, the largest city in Alabama and one of the worst Jim Crow hells in the South. Its name is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and its goal is complete integration.

vancement of Colored People

The ACMHR was first projected on June 4, three days after he anti-NAACP injunction, by a meeting of eleven religious. and civic leaders of Birmingham's Negro community. This committee determined to call a mass meeting to form a new organization.

LARGE MEETING

The meeting was called for June 6 at the Sardis Baptist Church. According to the Afro-American (June 16), "about 1,-500 jammed the church that had a seating capacity of about 850.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, 34year old pastor of another Bap, tist Church and a member of the initiating committee, presided. He explained the need for the proposed organization and its state-wide implications. A very promising feature of this founding meeting was its completely democratic nature. There was no cut and dried, take-it-orleave-it plan and program beng handed down from above but isters' committee by remarking, and in justice administered by

a free and open discussion of "If it takes one organization five our courts; but we now point Alabama and the best ways to what are we going to do?" proceed.

PRINCIPLES STATED Before the adoption of a statement of principles, by-laws and election of officers, a conservative Negro leader, Rev. G. W. ples, which stated in part: Murray, took the floor to obham is too over-organized now." In reply, Rev. Shuttlesworth of Second Class Citizenship.

indicated that the ACMHR and that slowly. He pointed out free, so help us God.



WAITED TOO LONG

"As to 'Gradualism' we hold that it means to move forward, slowly maybe, but surely; not vacillation, procrastination or evasion. And the hastily enacted laws and enflamed statements of state." He also declared: "They public officials do not lead us to embrace 'Gradualism.' We want a beginning now! We have NAACP was forced to suspend already waited 100 years!!" T h e meeting unanimously

vouth. Several days after the meeting Rev. D. Shuttlesworth told reporters that the ACMHR "is growing like wildfire. I think it will lead to all parts of the can't accuse us of being outsiders; we are insiders." The activities in Alabama on the le-

Scores of union officials and

delegates spoke in the six hour

debate. President Beirne, while

stressing his own personal op-

position to communism and so-

cialism and all unorthodox po-

litical views, pointed out that the

crux of the matter was whether

a letter from a government

agency, unsupported by any

evidence, was sufficient to wipe

under the union contract. He

declared that a number of the

letters sent by Jones to CWA

ments on communism" but that

When finally the vote was taken

the McCarthyite attempt to cancel

Thereupon Vice President Jones

made an emotional hour - long

speech offering to resign not only

rom his office but from the union

itself. In a gesture of generosity,

and undoubtedly to preserve the

CWA's unity, President Beirne

replied urging the convention to

refuse Jones' resignation. A mo-

tion was made to that effect

The CWA Convention's support

by a margin of five-to-one.

elected Rev. Shuttlesworth pres- gal fiction that it was a "forident. Also chosen were com- eign" organization.

CWA to Fight 'Security' Case

(Continued from page 1) American Civil Liberties Union, that there was no need to fire Kpeznar and Dressler for lack of "security" cleanance since the company had plenty of their type of work in places requiring no clearance, were ignored by the Bell Corporation.

BACKED BY BOARD

The CWA Executive Board, out a member's job security rights recognizing the importance of the case for safeguarding the union's contract rights, decided to fight to regain Kreznar's job through staff people were "good docuarbitration.

A reactionary minority on the this was not the issue involved in the CWA's blacking of Krez-Executive Board , headed by Vice last month. He was one of 14 U.S. scientists attending the conmar's fight for reinstatement. President A. T. Jones, a Micference. The Soviet Union leads the U.S. in peaceful uses of Carthylite type, bitterly oppose carrying the Kreznar case through members' rights under the conthe grievance procedures. Jones tract because of their alleged tried to make the issue the rallypolitical views was overwhelmed ing ground for a flaction to oust the ineffectiveness of the min-1 "...We believe in our courts President Beirne from office. A barrage of letters was sent out

the needs of the Negro people of months to get a constitution, out to the nation's conscience in the pre-convention perio hysterically labelling the Exa strange paradox: One state district court judge can rule and ecutive Board's support of Krez immediately it is obeyed over near's rights as a union man ar The meeting enthusiastically the entire state - even if ques- endorsement of communism and adopted a Declaration of Princi- tioned or disagreed with; but smearing Beime and the majority

even a unanimous decision by of the Executive Board. "As free and independent ci-On June 13 the fight came to a nine judges of the U.S. Supreme ject. "We should think sanely tizens of the United States of Court (set up by the constitu- head on the floor of the convenof what we are doing. Birming- America, and of the State of tion to be the highest and final tion. Vice President Jones led Alabama, we express publicly court), and rulings by federal the attack for a repudiation of He referred to an organization our determination to press for- district judges, representing the the Executive Board stand in a Negro ministers formed in ward persistently for Freedom whole U.S.A., are not only ques- ranking, filag-waving speech that the city a number of months and Democracy, and the removal tioned and disagreed with, but lasted over an hour. The core of from our society of any forms openly flaunted, disregarded and his argument was the unitenable assertion that use of the union's totally ignored.

"We are not echoing the will "...But most especially do grievance machinery to prevent would not be merely another or sentiments of outsiders but we applaud Negroes in Mont- Kreznar's firing meant CWA top level committee doing little, our conviction and will to be gomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, endorsement of Kreznar's alleged Fla., for conducting themselves political beliefs.



Dr. Robert E. Marshak of the University of Rochester,

N. Y. addressing the High Energy Physics Conference in Moscow

atomic energy. The USSR also leads this country in declassifying

atomic information.

forced a stronger tie between shocked by the behaviour of license; the keeping of which man and woman. Just as the university students in Alabama was necessary to control a gold Tonight I took my children to women played a role in "Salt of toward Miss Laucy, when they nush in the state.

segregation?

emerged from the war with the decisive see a movie. The name of it is the Earth", you can believe they threw bricks and eggs at her and "When Justice John Marshall sections of the working class in their "Salt of the Earth". It was are doing the same here. Many refused to allow her to study and other members of the court

f Kreznar's job rights is a neartening sign that the labor movement is awakening to the danger posed to unionists by the loyalty-security" program in the hands of anti-labor employers. These latter have been using it to weed out union militants in industry after industry. Awareness

and was carried.

HEARTENING SIGN

of the importance of the CWA action is reflected in the June 15 issue of the AFL-CIO News which carreid the Kreznar story on its front page. It is also significant that the

witch hunt which began in government agencies and then spread like a malignant cancer to private industry is now under attack in its riginal source. Recentl Supreme Court ruled that the loyalty" purge was illegal when used against government workers in "non-sensitive" jobs. This is not only a limited and belated reassertion of traditional American civil liberties but a measure of the discredit with which the witch hunt has come to be regarded by the American people. PROGRAM ADOPTED At the CWA Convention the forces of reaction raised their heads once more in an attempt to strike out of a resolution a demand for state FEPC liaws. This, too, was beaten down. The convention adopted a 1956 pargaining program which included a 35-hour week, a substantial general wage increase, elimination of area differentials in pay, company-paid health insurance and improved vacations.

2. Crimes of Togliatti and Thorez

The reason why Togliatti and Thorez are so reluctant to destroy the Stalin cult root and branch, is that they were an integral part of its development. Moreover, the domination of the bureaucratic machines in the French and Italian CP's are threatened by the destruction of the cult. The building of these machines was promoted by none other than Stalin.

The triumph of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which found its expression in Stalin's autocratic rule, resulted in the liquidation of the Communist International and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist parties throughout the world. They ceased to function as instruments of the revolu-

Stalin consummated a military pact with French imperialism in 1934 (Stalin-Lava Pact) the French Communist Party over night switched to support of the capitalist government.

velt and Churchill at Yalta, in return for certain territorial, diplomatic and military concessions, he gave his assurance that the Communist parties of Europe would protect capitalism from revolutionary overthrow following World War II.

Stalin kept his word at the expense of the Italian and French working class and 'Salt of Earth' the international socialist revolution. Both the French and Italian Communist parties

previously.

When Stalin made his deal with Roose

Dear Editor:

a day.

Mexico.

pay for Mexican miners with the

against a 20 percent wage cut

Theirs was the fight to raise

living standards to a higher

level, ours is the fight to defend

tionary workers' struggle against capital-

Alongside of the destruction of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Soviet Union came the international campaign against Trotskyism. In the process every Communist party was transformed. In place of independent revolutionary leaders, who had won their place in the test of class struggle within their own country, servile careerists were selected, whose main talent lay in expressing blind obedience to Stalin's international machine.

In the Soviet Union, the bureaucratic caste destroyed not only Lenin's party and the institutions of workers' democracy, but also abandoned Leninist internationalism and replaced it with Stalinist national socialism. Marching in step, the respective Communist parties abandoned the politics of class struggle in favor of the most treacherous brand of reformist class collaboration.

Stalin insisted that the Communist parties should shape their basic attitude toward their respective capitalist rulers to the needs of Soviet diplomacy. Thus when

ranks. Capitalism in both countries was ruined, its leading political parties and spokesmen compromised, discredited and despised as fascist collaborators. The middle class showed every inclination to mobilize behind the working class. In a word, the objective situation created firstrate revolutionary opportunities for the victory of workers' power.

The extreme debility of the French and Italian capitalist class assured a relatively peaceful transformation provided the parties of the working class acted decisively. American imperialism was impotent to halt such a transformation by military force. Its hands were tied by the tremendous "Go Home" demonstrations of the GI's.

Togliatti and Thorez, following the politics of Stalinism, acted as saviors of capitalism and not revolutionary leaders. They bear the responsibility for dissipating these magnificent revolutionary opportunities. When the discussion in the ranks of the Italian and French CP's really betrayal will be high on their list of topics.

shown in a small hall in Lester, are working and keeping fam- library science with them because Pennsylvania, scene of Local ilies together. They are not of the color of her skin. 107 United Electrical, Westing- griping; they understand what house strike. In fact Local 107, their men are doing for the fam- problem is not limited to the my husband's local, showed it. ily. Women are working tireless- incident of Miss Lucy but has The event was family night and by in the union hall, on the been repeated in several other a finer bunch of kids ever to picket line. The "woman ques- cases. Raciallism in one area leads sit with their mothers and fa- tion" as raised in "Salt of the to racialism in another, just as thers I haven't seen in many Earth" is no longer a hypotheti- fire flares up from one place to cal proposition, it is a question another. The strike steering commit- of declaring sides - "Which

tee chairman, Bob Kyler, with side are you on?" his little girl in his arms (she This is my first attempt at dignities. After the Supreme wouldn't stay put) introduced reviewing a movie and is not Court decision, how does it happen the film with the remark that intended as a literary treatise. that the government in Washthis film could have been pro- It is a description of seeing a ingtion allows four Southern Govduced in Lester instead of New show with a bunch that were looking at themselves. I just ed to retain the pattern of race "Salt of the Earth", a story thought Militant readers would

of a 13-month strike in a mine, like to share this experience and ours is a story of a 34-week with me. strike against Westinghouse. Theirs was a fight for equal

Sincerely, Mrs. G.

other mines and our's is the fight Letter from England who was jailed by Georgia for Sherwood, Nottingham

England May 25, 1956

our standard of living. Theirs Editor, The Militant: Copies of The Militant now go was the fight of man, woman gets under way, a full accounting of this and child solidarizing themselves almost as soon as they arrive as one unit to fight the copper and recently have been snapped

bosses, ours is the same type up by members of the Communis of battle against Westinghouse. Party around here. The local Com-It is no wonder that the film munist Party has been in turmoid has been banned, for any worker since the revelations about Stalin or his three year old babe could and there is difficulty keeping up recognize himself on the screen. with the demand for Trottsky's

It is a very personal, intimate writings. movie; you are not even aware The Millitant has done a fine job of the acting - you are a paron the 20th Congress and its articles have really contributed to In spite of the fact that the the clarification of the events in film got off to a bad start (the the Soviet Union. At the local

sound projection didn't work at library there is a waiting list for first. and the film had to be the writings of Trotsky, (there stopped several times) sitting are very few), and for such books with these Local 107 strikers I as that of Orlov and the memoirs could feel every struggle the of Litvinov. Our own library of miners went through. Trotsky's works now rest on about

It wasn't so important that 20 different bookshelves, mostly the miners' wives played a real CP'ers. Let's hope they keep role as mates and displayed such circulating.

ings,

son of Kirov." Every one in the East is pained to read about the segregation being practiced in the United States. The flactual incidents This eight-month struggle in reflecting the courage of the Ne-

Lester can be victorious if in groes in facing insults, acts of no other sense than that out of violence and murder, are highly mentally established,"

ruled against the State Georgia, the State ignored the The news reports show that the decision and kept Worchester in jail for over a year before releasing him. Justice Storey wrote: 'The court has done its duty. Let the nation do theirs. If we have a government let its command be obeyed; if we have it not it is as well to know it at once and to look at the con-The Negro for a century or over has suffered racial in-

sequence. 'John Marshall has made his decision now let him enforce it, president Jackson replied. It is these words of Jackson which are echoing in the South today." ernors to frame new laws design-It would be illogical and fal-

lacious on the part of right think-A reporter (William Drylie) ing U. S. citizens to keep mum over such an important national wrote: "Southern defiance of the issue which needs foremost atten-Supreme Court is nothing new tion, so that all may live in In 1832 during the presidentship of Jackson, the court upheld an tranquility and friendship. appeal of Samuel Worchester, Yours truly,

Miss Vijaya Lakshmi Aga

REPRINT

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum CURRENT EVENTS IN THE WORLD OF POLITICS Two discussions on the candi-The murder in 1934 of Kirov, one of Stalin's lieutendates, the issues and the trends in politics today ants, by a local Soviet functionary, Leonid Nikolayev, sparked the infamous juridical frame-ups known to history Friday, June 29 — 8 P. M. which the exiled Leon Trotsky | Trotsky's exposure of the Ki Friday, July 6 — 8 P. M. was the principal target. Ana- rov frame-up was made possible 3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor lyzing the Kirov murder at that by his rejection of Khrushchev's time in this pamphlet, now re- "theoretical" contention. "If we

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engineered by the GPU itself, cial theory, according to which a classless society is already es TROTSKY CONFIRMED tablished in the USSR."

THE KIROV ASSASSINATION. By Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Pub

issued, Trotsky deduced from want to understand what is oc-

the Soviet press dispatches that curring," explained Trotsky, "we

the shooting of Kirov had been must above all reject the offi-

lishers, 116 University Place, New York. 32 pp., 25 cents.

NEW TROTSKY

as the "Moscow Trials" of P

Proceeding from the Marxist conception that the Soviet bureaucracy is a reflection of the gress speech in which he said, 'transitional stage between two "The circumstances surrounding systems," Trotsky was able to Kirov's murder hide many things unerringly predict, "The econowhich are inexplicable and demic successes and the cultural mand a careful examination. progress ... turns more and more There are reasons for the susagainst bureaucratic conservapicion that the killer of Kirov tism, bureaucratic license and . . was assisted by someone bureaucratic rapacity. . . The from among the people whose progress in technology and culduty it was to protect the perture. . . automatically turns

against the bureaucracy. . . The Khrushchev then wrestles with conditions are created which seemingly thorny dilemma. clearly menace the rule of the The Stalinist terror, according to bureaucracy which has outlived Khrushchev, began after "socialitself." ism in our country was funda-- HARRY RING

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3. Where is the Discussion Leading?

With the active intervention of the revolutionary working class of the mass Communist parties the discussion in the world working class movement will deepen. The questions posed by Togliatti and Thorez in response to the turbulent pressure from the ranks will lead to other and deeper questions.

The Marxist analysis of the roots of Stalin's crimes in the Soviet Union will disclose the social formation that produced the Stalin cult - the parasitic caste of the Soviet bureaucracy. It will also show how the Trotskyist program best expresses proletarian opposition to Stalinism. The character of Stalinism as a manifestation of the pressure of world capitalism on the summits of the first workers' state in history will be fully revealed.

All attempts to separate the monstrous crimes of Stalinism from its politics will fall to the ground. It will become clear that the program of the Communist parties today are an expression, not of the application of Leninism to new conditions, but the very opposite. Stalinism will stand exposed

as the very evil that Lenin fought all his life - namely, class collaboration and betrayal of the revolution.

We Trotskyists have complete confidence in the outcome of the discussion now forced upon the CP leaders by their ranks. It was initiated by the irresistible determination of the Russian working class to put an end to Stalinism. Now it is clear that in addition to the Soviet working people the ranks of the world Communist movement are intervening to demand. revolutionary truth and clarity.

In England and in the United States the. discussion is making rapid progress. Every day there is new evidence that the old taboos of Stalinism against discussing with Trotskyists are being removed by honest militants in the CP, determined to think esting enough the same thinkthrough the burning problems under discussion.

These developments open up a great new working class vanguard under the banner of revolutionary Marxism. Such a regroupment is the indispensable prerequisite for the world socialist victory.

ticipant.

men strikers got an injunction slapped on them, but the thinking occurred here in Lester amiong the men. The appliause for the women in the movie can

only be compared to the cheering prospect: the regroupment of the world and applause one gets at a fight ring when every punch your boy gives comes from inside you.

tremendous courage in taking over on the picket line when the

ing this struggle released. Inter- Letter from India

Kanpur, India May 21, 1956 Editor. The Militant:

With warmest fraternal greet-Signed: S. B.

Twenty-two years later, Trotsky's charge has been confirmed by Khrushchev in his 20th Con-

The Negro Struggle

What Kind of Political Action for NAACP?

If the 1956 convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People truly reflected the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Negro people this year, it would change its policy on political action from nonpartisanship to independence.

What would such a change signify? It would express in the field of politics what the Negro masses are saying through boycotts, legal battles, student strikes, etc., that they will no longer accept the lesser evil in the fight for equality. They want an end to Jim Crow now.

The non-partisanship of the NAACP has been a policy of mobilizing the Negro vote directly or indirectly for the Democrats and Republicans. The political action of the Association has consisted of campaigns to get Negroes to register and vote - to vote no matter how bad the choice before them.

. This has meant supporting Democrats and Republicans who advocate segregation - openly in the South, more "diplomatically" in the North. It has also meant making a fetish of voting, as though the holding of elections were an end in itself, instead of simply a means to an end.

This is not to say that fighting for the right to vote is not important. But that fight would be more meaningful, and it would not be necessary to harangue, insult, threaten and cajole the Negro masses to register and vote if they could be shown

At the same time, independent political Labor Youth League, attended action would mean calling for the forma- meetings of the Socialist Worktion of a new party by the two powerful movements with the most in common and the most to gain by putting their own candidates in office - the labor movement and the Negro movement.

And while the new party is being organized on a national scale, independent candidates can be nominated in local campaigns. Everywhere, write-in candidates can be substituted for Democrats and Republicans.

Political hacks will oppose independent the IWW and the Socialist Parpolitical action by screaming "Commu- ty, he was a founder of the nist," or by the old saw that it is not "realistic." They are wrong on both counts. The Communist Party's line is to oppose independent politics. They, like the other hacks, call it unrealistic and propose, instead, support of Democratic liberals.

By substituting independent for "nonpartisan" politics, the NAACP, (to paraphrase an old socialist slogan) has nothing to lose but its chains to the two Jim Crow parties, and a world to win.

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how they could vote against Jim Crow, in-stead of "for a better man." Independent political action as an NAACP policy, would mean a boycott of both the Democratic and Republican par-ties on the basis of their record, their platform, and their bi-partisan devotion to "gradualism" as the formula for selling-out the democratic rights of the Negro

Socialists Want This, Not H-Bombs a fighting socialist campaign today when the state committee of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Rita Shaw as candidate for Governor .

in the 1956 election campaign. Accepting the nomination, Rita Shaw, who is an active trade unionist, said she will work actively with Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidates for President and Vice-President, to "oppose both capitalist parties as agents of Big Business, unable to solve the problems of unemployment, the cold war, Jim Crow and the witch huinit.'

CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVE Two objectives of her campaign

she said, will be: (1) "To convince the union men and women, poor farmers and victims of Jim Crow that what we need in this country is a new party, a labor party, able and willing to reorganize our economy in the interests of the majority who work for a living." (2) "To act as a rallying center for all radical and so cialist-minded workers who want an end to class - collaboration politics in all its forms and a chance to express their desire for

CERTIFICATION DELAYED

ocialism at the polls."

this year. The Socialist Workers state ommittee also protested Secretary of State Hare's continuing delay in certifying the SWP for a place on the Michigan ballot. The customany way of checking nominating petitions was changed this way without advance notice to the minor parties, resulting in the possibility that they may be barred from the Michigan

Despite this threat from the Democratic state administration, the SWP state committee says it will take every available step including court action and,

non told his audience of 150 at the First Unitarian Church in A new device to combat cancer is shown being "charged" Los Angeles. Taking as a point of depar-ture a recent editorial of the Stalinist Daily Worker promis-Next Week IN THE MILITANT

plaints from even Secretary of Labor ing honesty and open-minded-James P. Mitchell, who is a Republican. However, any claim that the Republicans

are more pro-labor than the Democrats is strictly phoney. The truth is that the Taft-Hartley Act has been amended, although not by Congress. It's been amended

"There must be a new disthat there are two Americas. One is the cussion, a free exchange of America of the bosses "that doesn't get ideas, a new regroupment of hurt." The other America is that of the workers. Southern congressmen are dead- of socialism in America," Canset against extending minimum wage coverage for instance into retail and whole-

er and writer.

The "Krushchev Revelations" By

ness, Cannon called for a full and free discussion of the re- (Continued from page 1)

with radioactive cobalt. A tiny particle of radioactive cobalt equals in radiation a 3-million volt X-ray machine. Cobalt can be used to cure. In the form of a cobalt bomb it can kill all life on ballot for the first time in many this planet. While capitalism spends billions for atomic instruears. ments of death, socialism would use atomic energy only to improve and lengthen life. Under the so-called "free enterprise" system, the development of atomic energy for promoting the public welfare is stymied.



|The majority of the Soviet work- | rates stood to lowest wage rates | mer goods and capital goods. gime and policies of Stalin in quotas received bonuses away ers are now in the skilled or in a ratio of 3¹/₂ to 1. Today between leisure and the duration semi-skilled brackets. Stakha- they stand in a ratio of 2¹/₂ to and intensity of labor would be in which all radical and socialist tendencies could take part. He extended a special challenge to any communic Parts load and socialist increases they brought in pro-duction. For instance, to this any sections of the any sections of the

though not by Congress. It's been amended in practice by strangulating piece-meal anti-labor restrictive interpretations of supporting the Demo-ceives the base salary. If 100%,

ecessary, a write-in campaign o insure that the voters will have an anti-capitalist alternative to the candidates of the old parties

SWP headquarters will be at 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1. Mich.

French Ban Paper A Reuters dispatch reports that on May 31 the French government suppressed the current issue of La Verite, weekly newspaper of the French Trotskyists. Reason for the confiscation of the paper was its articles denouncing French imperialism's war against the independence seeking people of Algeria.

less paring of the swollen pri-

Before such a development,

Thus the issue of quotas and

bonuses and all the related is-

Flay 'Little Stalins'



ers Party June 15 to hear an explanation of Khrushchev's epoch-making speech exposing Stalin. Speakers at both meetings were leaders of the SWP and experts on Stalinism. In Los An-

geles the meeting was addressed by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP and one of the founders of Trotskyism in America. Cannon has a record of nearly fifty years in the labor movement. Beginning with

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Communist Party. One of the first to oppose the Stalinist degeneration of that party, he was expelled in 1928 and led in the founding of the Trotskyist group that later became the Socialist Workers Party.

In New York the audience heard Murry Weiss, editor of the Militant, who was expelled from the Communist Party in 1933 for questioning the Stalinist policy which had permitted Hitler to rise to power without opposition from the German CP. Since then Weiss has been a leading SWP organizer, speak-

FOR FULL DISCUSSION

Democrats and Labor Laws

sistence wages.

By Della Rossa

Congress is a graveyard for pro-labor legislation and the executioner is a representative of "labor's own" Democratic Party. It is clear now that nothing will be done on the most important labor issues in Congress - Taft-Hantley revision and extension of minimum wage law coverage.

Chief Executioner of this session's buried pro-labor legislation has been Democratic Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina who, as chairman of the House Labor Committee, has unique power over all labor legislation. Barden uses his vantage point to give full vent to Dixiecrat anti-labor fears and hates, preventing even the mildest kind of pro-labor legislation from even getting a hearing.

Even if hearings are finally held, it is certain, with Congress driving for adjournment by July 15, that labor legislation. couldn't possibly be cleared through House Rules Committee, passed on the floor and then passed by the Senate in this session.

Proposed labor legislation would affect more than 40,000,000 people yet sub-comsale fields and into chain hotels and chain theaters. They know that if these wages break into the South it will give an impetus to the demands of the farm workers for something beyond their present sub-The anti-labor record of the Democrats

in Congress is not confined to the Dixiecrats. Lack of action by Democratic leaders of committees and by a Democraticcontrolled Congress has brought com-

honest workers for the victory

JAMES P. CANNON

mittees have not even been named to make their recommendations. This legislation was simply forgotten.

Barden is of the "right to suffer" school and callously says, "I've heard it said that the United States doesn't get injured just because of a bill that doesn't get passed." It is obvious from a statement like this

Taft-Hartley made by the Republicandominated National Labor Relations Board.

The lesson labor must learn is that it won't get even the drop in the bucket it has been asking for so long as it supports the two-party system. The only answer is for labor to build its own independent labor party, based on the trade unions.

PERUVIAN ELECTIONS

was more or less free, with even

the officially still outlawed

APRA running a candidate.

Notes on World Events

BOLIVIAN, ELECTIONS took (June 18) of N.Y. Times corre-|naike's attempt to pass a law place without the coup d'etat ex- spondent Edward A. Morrow de- making Sinhalese the only offi- lasting over an hour. Spokesmen bed "socialist competition" by ment. pected of the reactionary Social-scribing the Bolivian voting: cial language called forth passist Falange Party with Argen- "In this city [La Paz, the capi- live resistance demonstrations by munist Party and of other ten- In addition to bonuses, Stak- cratically decreed relation be- lipet to the working masses only by a tine backing. Incomplete election tal] most booths had ballot slips Tamils which were soon met dencies in the labor movement hanovites were showered with tween productivity and wages, lieutenant authored all the Dra- political overturn of the bureauresults indicate a large margin of all parties entered in the race, with mob action by chauvinist took the floor to express agree- all kinds of extra privileges by the existing bonus system has contain measures against them cratic autocracy. of victory for the ruling MNR However, voters in the interior Sinhalese. The LSSP is calling Party. This is the petty-bourge- apparently had a more limited for solidarity of workers and speaker. When the hall had to Trotsky's estimate in The Revo-curtailment of production in a source would immediately be ois led movement that was lift-choice. In 12 of 13 booths visited peasants of all races, religions be closed a large part of the lution Betrayed (1937), "The number of instances. With bo-support of the instances. With boed to power by the workers in by this correspondent in the and languages to stop the rioting.

the April 1952 revolution. After provincial city of Viacha, 20 nationalizing the tin mines and miles west of here, the voters making some land reforms, it could choose only between the has steadily moved to the right government party and the Comunder the pressure of U.S. im- munists [Stalinists]." perialism from which it has obtained financial aid. It still has

considerable support among Bo-74 YEARS OF IMPERIALlivian workers and peasants. IST OCCUPATION of Egyptian The Trouskyist party, the POR, soil ended on June 18 when the which has a long history of in- last British troops left the Suez Odria became so hated that a fluence in the country, particu- canal area. The Egyptian mass- year ago he began granting polarly among the miners, was ac- es celebrated wildly and a three- litical concessions to the people. tive in mobilizing workers and day national holiday was pro- Consequently the recent election peasants militias to stand guard claimed. on election day against the ex-

pected violence. No doubt these preparations counted heavily in

the Falange's decision not to the language question has re- and neck with a political unrise. The POR vote is as yet sulted in deaths, arson and loot- known. The N.Y. Times edinot known. A clue to what it ing. This is the fruit of the torial of June 19 notes that there may be is given in the dispatch communalist (i.e. playing off is little danger from the once-



racial and religious communities revolutionary APRA, which now in the country against one an- "craves respectability." other) policy followed by the United Peoples Front, headed by

BRITISH REPRESSION IN of the Buffalo branch of the Sorecent elections. His campaign CYPRUS is justified (June 19) cialist Workers Party, at 831 HARSH LEGAL CODE

RIOTING IN CEYLON over This candidate is running neck

NEW YORK, June 21 - John mixed in with anti-imperialism by Hanson Baldwin, N.Y. Times G. Wright, internationally known Marxist theoretician, educator and liberalism for the Sinhalese perialist argument in the course journalist, died here today at speaking majority of Ceylon. In of which he states that the 3:00 p. m. just before the Mili- this he had support of a party Communists "control the labor tant went to press, of a heart led by Buddhist monks and a unions there." Labor's Daily of attack after an illness lasting "leftist" group headed by Philip June 13 and 14 carry articles great interest among audiences approximately six months. There Gunawardene. The Trotskyist, from an imprisoned, anti-Comwill be a memorial meeting for LSSP, which won second place munist Party trade union leader Comrade Wright at headquarters in the elections, cpposed com- in Cyprus and from a recently of the Socialist Workers Party, munalism, urged solidarity of the returned UAW official who was 116 University Place, on Wed-Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking in Cyprus for the anti-Communnesday, June 27, at 8:00 p. m. minority. Its program called for ist ICFTU. Both emphasize that The Militant next week will carry making both Sinhalese and Ta- the British militarists are smash-Comrade Wright's obituary. mil the official languages of Cey- ing the ICFTU supported unions

lon. Prime Minister Bandara- there.

cratic Party. NEW YORK MEETING

In New York, Murry Weiss SPEED-UP SYSTEM

At the meeting of the Central force. Their pressure against within the limits of strict necesanalyzed, for an audience of Originally, work quotas were Committee of the CPSU last the bureaucratic dictatorship has sity. more than 100, the contents of set well above the average Khrushchev's secret - session worker's capacities, so that only July, Bulganin stated that dur- forced significant economic conspeech to the 20th Congress of by straining every nerve could ing the course of the four pre- cessions and the dismantling of the bureaucratic caste, which the Communist Party of the he even realize base pay. At the cedling years the rate of pro- the Stalin cult - that is, the rules uncontrolled in the Soviet USSR. He showed that it was same time a minority of pace ductivity was supposed to have arbitrary one-man dictatorship. Union today, stands in mortal an official repudiation of the setters - the Stakhanovites - risen faster than that of real These are the conditions un-fear. All the moves of the Kremmonstrous Moscow "confession" were induced by the high pre- wages. Instead, he complained, der which the Committee on lin - concessions as well as trials on which the whole cam- miums to overshoot the quotas. real wages rose 37 per cent, Wages and Labor must set new repressions - are designed to paign of slander and vilification Their marks in turn tended to whereas productivity increased wage rates. It is noteworthy preserve the prestige, power, of Trotskyists had been based. become new norms. This appeal only by 33 per cent. He blamed that the Committee has already and revenue of the parasitic bu-

by a question-discussion period murderous speed-up were dub- premiums for the actual develop- At the end of the year, Kagaof the viewpoint of the Com- Stalin.

headquarters in New York.

proved a smashing repudiation SWP Meet 10

twice the base pay. If over occasions. Bonuses and premiums days of Stakhanovism. 100%, three times the base pay. originally designed for a minor- Furthermore the Soviet work- vileges of the bureaucracy. With

ity now form a substantial part ing class is again asserting it- the workers in control, social of the wages paid to a majority. self politically as an independent inequality would be confined

Weiss's speech was followed to crass self-interest plus the too low quotas and too high labored a year without results. reaucracy:

novich is removed as chairman. Besides upsetting the bureau- Clearly, the workers have his sues can be resolved in favor of

ment or differences with the the state. According to Leon led to inflation and to an actual in the past. Any new wage proaudience continued the discus- real earnings of the Stakhanov- nuses rising steeply beyond the suspect - even if it included sion at an open house at SWP ists often exceed by twenty or 80 per cent or 100 per cent of a few temporary concessions.

thirty times the earnings of low- quota mark, every overfulfill- The temper of the workers is er categories. And as for espe- ment of the norm of a factory such that the bureaucracy cannot cially fortunate specialists, their or mine brings with it a jump openly proclaim wage-freezes salaries would in many cases in labor costs and hence prices. and speed-ups. Hence hesitation pay for the work of eighty to But the factory managers de- and delay in formulating a plan a hundred unskilled laborers." pend for their premium not only of wage-rate changes. Hence Production in factories and on fulfillment of quotas but also also the need to place at the

mines was organized so as to on reducing prices and on a show head of the committee a man enable Stakhanovites to set ever of profits. Thus the old bonus without a glaring Stalinist past After completing a successful higher records. This put an in-our of major cities on the West tolerable strain on the rest of personal records as managers "little known."

Coast and Middle West, Myra the workers. (For instance, it and their privilege seeking. Tanner Weiss, vice - presidential led to stretching the working The project of overhauling the class is completely deprived of candidate of the Socialist Work- day well beyond the official wages-payment system has their any voice in the setting of poliers Party, returns East to wind limits). It also tended to dis- full support.

The solution advanced by Bulorganize production completely. paign trip. Her first speaking As a matter of fact, the bu- ganin last July was to raise workers can therefore expect reaucracy used Stakhanovism, work quotas and lower bonus from this bureaucratic agency not only as a means of raising rates. This is viewed by the if they exert sufficient pressure productivity, but far more workers with deep suspicions. on it is a few concessions. These effectively to divide the ranks On the one hand, the proposal of the proletariat by creating a does tend to level out glaring needs. And it would leave the labor aristocracy tied to the inequalities among workers, and privileged bureaucratic strata. this side corresponds with their leged bureaucracy intact.

reaucratized under Stalin, were tas how high? Reduce bonus officially transformed into ad- rates how low? How much work control of their unions. ministrative instruments of pro- will be demanded on an average duction a few years earlier. The for how much pay? The work- of freely elected Soviets. There, workers were bound to the job ers don't trust the grasping bu- represented by their own party by the harshest of legal provi- reaucracy in the least to give or parties, the workers can resions. These were the features them a fair deal.

Five-Year Plans.

to THE MILITANT Only \$3

A One-Year Subscription

For One Man Rule "Little Stalins" in regional and district positions of power are now being denounced by top Soviet bureaucrats in terms that Khrushchev used against Stalin himself. The June 13 Pravda condemned local officials for their rudeness, conceit and refusal to consider

would still not meet their basic

essential positions of the privi-

To achieve a basic solution to

bureaucratic oppression what the

workers need is, first, to estab-

lish democratic rank and file

Then, they need the democracy

vamp in their own interests the

opinions other than their own. "Some of them act like political bosses who have the idea Just the same, the working they can make all decisions themselves." Worse. "They feel incapable of making mistakes, cy. It has no representatives on and they regard every critical the Committee. The most the remark as being aimed at undermining them."

Pravda cites as a particularly horrible example one Bondarenko, a party boss in the Ukraine. "This man . . took on himself full credit for the good crops in his district last year when in reality they were due to favorable weather." He also ordered the arrest of a farmer for criticizing the method of payment on a collective farm.

A higher party body first dismissed Bondarenko, then reinstated him two weeks later. 'Leaving this man in his party post has aroused resentment among rank and file party members." savs Pravda. Khrushchev's remedy in a case like this is to fire the "little Stalin" and replace him with a more artful "little Khrushchev.'

up her nation-wide election camengagement on the East Coast will be in Buffalo on June 30.

Mrs. Weiss has been scheduled to speak on: The U.S. Election Campaign and the New Events in the Soviet Union. The meeting will be held under the auspices

The unions, thoroughly bu- following questions: Raise quo-Main St., on Saturday, June 30 at Mrs. Weiss' presentation of the Trotskyist analysis of the Khrushchev revelations and the death of the Stalin cult has aroused

> of wage-payments and condi- The hated distinctions between plans for industrial developtions of labor during the first the labor aristocracy and the ment. Only through this means

mass of factory workers has can they establish a favorable However, over the years, with certainly not been eliminated. ratio between their current conthe growth of industry and de-But with the growth in skills sumption needs and the longspite bureaucratic mismanage- it has diminished. It is esti- range needs of industrial growth ment, the Soviet working class mated that in the engineering of the country. The ratios be-116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y. developed its productive abilities. industry in 1946 highest wage tween the production of consu-

own demands. On the other hand,

Bulganin's proposal poses the



8:00 p. m.

throughout the country.