

October revolution of 1917. Stalin's heirs, the present Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, have recently chev "explanation" constitutes an obscene perversion of Soviet history, Marxist theory and sociology. The so-called "friends" of the Soviet Union defended Stalin's most heinous crimes in the name the degeneration of the Soviet State in his book: The Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and Where is it Going? We of "building socialism." Leon Trotsky made a brilliant analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet State in his book: The Revolution publish below the chapter from that book, entitled: Socialism and the State. "The Revolution Betrayed" was first published in 1937. It is now available at Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

I. THE TRANSITIONAL REGIME. Is it true, as East Europe the official authorities assert, that socialism is already realized in the Soviet Union? And if not, have the achieved successes at least made D-

sure of its realization within the tive forces, it is necessary to national boundaries, regardless resort to the customary norms of the course of events in the of wage payment - that is, to rest of the world? The preced- the distribution of life's goods ing critical appraisal of the in proportion to the quantity and Europe into a panic. They well chief indices of the Soviet eco- quality of individual labor.

nomy ought to give us the point of departure for a correct an- of the new society "the lowest ers' anger to explode in the swer to this question, but we stage of communism," in disshall require also certain pre- tinction from the highest, where tries. liminary theoretical points of together with the last phantoms of want material inequality will reference.

Marxism sets out from the disappear. In this sense socialdevelopment of technique as the ism and communism are frefundamental spring of progress, quently contrasted as the lower and constructs the communist and higher stages of the new ticularly in Hungary and Cze-program upon the dynamic of society. "We have not yet, of choslovakia. Thus the spiral has the productive forces. If you course, complete communism," taken another ascending curve: conceive that some cosmic cata- reads the present official Soviet the never-increasing pressure of strophe is going to destroy our doctrine, "but we have already the masses forced the successplanet in the fairly near future, achieved socialism — that is, ors of Stalin to embark upon then you must, of course, reject the lowest stage of communism." their de-Stalinization campaign, the communist perspective along In proof of this, they adduce but now the masses throughout with much else. Except for this the dominance of the state trusts the Soviet orbit are taking adas yet problematic danger, how- in industry, the collective farms vantage of this concession to ever, there is not the slightest in agriculture, the state and co-speak out openly and to make scientific ground for setting any operative enterprises in com- greater and greater demands. limit in advance to our technical merce.

productive and cultural possibilities. Marxism is saturated with complete correspondence with the of the ruling bureaucracies in the optimism of progress, and a priori - and therefore hypo- the states of Eastern Europe. that alone, by the way, makes thetical - scheme of Marx. But A VIVID EXAMPLE it irreconcilably opposed to reit is exactly for the Marxist

munism should be so high a de- forms of property regardless of York Times (July 1) account of velopment of the economic pow- the achieved productivity of la- a meeting in Budapest organized ers of man that productive la- bor. By the lowest stage of com- by old-time party members, forbor, having ceased to be a bur- munism Marx meant, at any rate, mer partisans and veterans of den, will not require any goad, and the distribution of life's beginning stands higher in its an audience of 2,000, over a

By Leon Trotsky— I With the disclosure of the monstrous crimes of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union it becomes of vital importance for all class conscious workers to understand the root causes of the degeneration of the first Workers State established by the great Control 1017 Stalin's teins the monstrout Control Come mittee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, have recently published their "explanation" of how such crimes could be com-mitted in the land which they say had established "socialism" finally and irrevocably, in 1935. That is, just at the beginning of the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials and the bloody extermination of the whole generation of Bolsheviks who, along with Lenin, constituted the general staff of the October revolution. The Khrush-chev "explanation" constitutes an obscene perversion of Soviet

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THE MODELTANT

INTERESTS

WEEKLY IN THE

# Wave Rises In

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267

By, George Lavan The three-day strike and up-

rising of the workers of Poznan, Poland, has thrown the Stalinist ruling circles of the other "Peoples' Democracies" of Eastern know that all the conditions, Marx named this first stage which caused the Polish work-

> That their fears are wellgrounded is borne out by the increasingly bolder attitude of the workers, students and intellectuals in these countries, par-This is in turn producing visible **Corporations Provoke Steel Strike Showdown**

At first glance this gives a cracks and fissures in the ranks

A vivid example of this proligion. The material premise of com- that this question is not ex-hausted by a consideration of this pro-cess is contained in the New

# YOU ASKED FOR IT!

A Test of Strength

The steel companies move into Journal quotes one steel worker Three years ago Steelworkers the fight with record financial as follows: "Five years is out. Union president David McDonald reserves. Profits for the first Take that Chevy over there. It paraded through the nation's steel quanter of 1956 were \$312 mil- costs \$2,500 today. Five years

**Uprising Shows Surge Of Movement Against Bureaucratic Regime** 

PEOPLE

**PRICE: 10 Cents** 

WORKING

THE

OF

By Murry Weiss

July 4 — The general strike uprising in the industrial city of Poznan, Poland, which started on June 28, has been brutally suppressed by the Stalinist regime's tanks and troops after three days of bitter fighting. The Kremlin-appointed government officials ignored repeated pro-

posals of the insurgent work- D ers' leaders for a cease fire same two explanations of the on condition of release of arrest- East German general strike uped strikers and withdrawal of rising.

troops from the city. In the At that time every class-conhope of stemming the rising scious worker instintively retide of workers' discontent jected the imperialist propathroughout Poland, the high ganda that two million induscommand of the bureaucracy trial workers of East Germany preferred a bloody settlement. engaged in a general strike in The toll of casualties range the interests of world capitalfrom the official government fig- ism. The Stalinist cry that the ure of 48 dead and 270 wounded East German workers were the to reports of as high as 600 pawns of spies and provocateurs dead. Reports of arrested work- was greeted with uneasiness and ers vary from government fig- distrust in the ranks of the ures of 300 to as high as 2,000. Communist parties. However, in The age level of the arrested, 1953, the Communist Party leadall reports seem to agree, is ers in the Soviet Union and in all countries were in a much well below 25 years of age. Socialist-minded w o r k e r s stronger position with respect to throughout the world, particular- the mass of Communist workers. ly those in the Communist par- Today the situation is different. ties, are seeking with the deepest NOT SO EASY NOW

concern the truth about the Poz- The Poznan uprising comes at nan events. Imperialist propa- a time when the revolutionary ganda, with sickening hypocrisy, consciousness of the workers attempts to represent this mass everywhere has been shocked to action of Polish industrial work- its very depths by the ghastly ers as an "anti-communist" revelations of the crimes of the

movement inspired by the ideals Stalin regime in the USSR. Now of the "free West." the Communist workers know, At the same time the world out of Khrushchev's own mouth, Stalinist leaders, in one chorus, that Stalinism practiced mass declare that the Poznan workers frame-ups and murder against acted as dupes of "imperialist the best revolutionary elements spies and provocateurs." of the working class and against Rank-and-file C o m m u n i s t Lenin's closest comrades and coworkers, determined to oppose workers. The frame-up charge the class enemy in every situa- of "spies and provocateurs at tion, are understandably confus- work" will not so easily be ed and distressed under this pinned on the Poznan strikers. What is the truth about Poz-(Continued on page 3) Three years ago they heard the

abundance, will not demand - most advanced capitalism. Theo- and denounced the party's deas it does not now in any well- retically such a conception is generation and called for cleanoff family or "decent" boarding flawless, for taken on a world ing out the leadership. house — any control except that scale communism, even in its The widow of former Hunof education, habit and social first incipient stage, means a garian foreign ministor. Laslo opinion. Speaking frankly, I higher level of development Rajk, executed as a Titoist in think it would be pretty dull- than that of bourgeois society. 1949 and then cleared posthumwitted to consider such a really modest perspective "utopian." the Frenchman would begin the pointed the finger of accusation Capitalism prepared the con- social revolution, the German at the present rulers of Hungary

revolution: technique, science ish it; and as to the Russian, "Murderers cannot be rehabi-and the proletariat. The com- Marx left him far in the rear. litated. They not only have demunist structure cannot, how- But this conceptual order was stroyed my husband, held me in ever, immediately replace the upset by the facts. Whoever tries jail for five years without perbourgeois society. The material now mechanically to apply the mitting me to see my baby, reand cultural inheritance from universal historic conception of ceive tood, letters or clothes, the past is wholly inadequate Marx to the particular case of but they have utterly destroyed for that. In its first steps the the Soviet Union at the given our country's political, economic workers' state cannot yet per- stage of its development, will be and moral life." She charged the mit everyone to work "accord- entangled at once in hopeless CP leaders with having driven ing to his abilities" - that is, contradictions.

Russia was not the strongest, and with responsibility for the as much as he can and wishes but the weakest link in the chain party's degeneration to the low to - nor can it reward every-"according to his needs," of capitalism. The present So- point of the Rajk frame-up trial. one regardless of the work he does. viet Union does not stand above (Continued on page 2) In order to increase the produc-(Continued on page 3)

goods, existing in continual economic development than the dozen speakers bitterly described Fairless in a demonstration of the "mutual trusteeship" which. relations. As 650,000 striking steelwork-Moreover, Marx expected that ously as a frame-up victim,

ditions and forces for a social continue it, the Englishman fin- when she declared: flow of record profits at the expense of the steelworkers.

> devoted socialists from the party September. The auto industry, largest single consumer of steel, has enough material on hand to complete production of 1956 Other speakers, cheered on by schedules and to begin 1957 model runs.

mills with steel baron Benjamin the same period in 1955, itself a record profit-making year.

The companies also have the they informed the workers, was federal government solidly in to inaugurate a new basis for their corner. Always quick to use harmonious labor - management the Taft-Hartley law when the bosses need it, the government

announced in advance of the ers now dig in for a long fight. present strike that the anti-labor the McDomald-Fairless claim of law would not be invoked until "harmony of interests" is blasted present stockpiles dwindle to the to bits by the ruthless moves of point of "jeopardizing the nathe steel trust to handcuff the tional welfare." (Profits that is.) union with a long-term contract Acutely aware of the undesigned to ensure the continued certainties of economic develop- RANKS SOLID

ments, the steel magnates have made the long-term contract their It has been quite clear that the steel trust provoked the key demand. Recognition of this present strike. Even without a fact by the workers has comstrike, most mills planned a pelled McDonald to resist the reduction to 80 or 85 per cent of company demand for a five-year, capacity in July, August and no-strike agreement. McDomald. however, has hinted at his own willingness to settle for a threeyear pact.

file opposition to the five-year leadership capable of defending contract, the July 2 Wall Street their class interests.

and I'd still be working for what we negotiated today." Another steelworker declared. "I can't see selling my life for four years." Commenting on company rejection of the union demand for weekend premium pay, one picket said. "I work three weekends a month. What chance do I get to see my kids?" A striker at U.S. double propaganda barrage. Steel's Homestead Works said bitterly, "Everything we gained

over the last 30 years, the com-

The strikers recognize it will be a long pull. One predicted, "This strike'll go on for eight or nine weeks maybe until about a week after Labor Day."

But the ranks of the steel union can be relied on to remain solid throughout the strike. In the course of it they will acquire greater understanding of the Reporting a united rank and need for a militant program and



NEW YORK, June 27 - That John G. Wright, the Marxist scholar who died June 21, was a deeply loved and widely respected man was movingly testified to by the memorial meeting which was

was held for him here tonight. The meeting hall was filled to capacity as members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, supporters of other working class organizations, as well as personal friends of comrade Wright gathered together to pay tribute to his memory. Farrell Dobbs, National Secre-On another plane was the leader of the Montgomery bus tary of the Socialist Workers speech of A. Philip Randolph, boycott. He told the cheering Party, presided at the meeting

called for solidarity between injustice and oppression, and from messages which arrived Negro and white workers. "Sep- who are willing to substitute from every part of the country. The messages, from SWP branchof race and color, religion and In spite of the obvious suc- es and from friends and co-

In his opening address, Dobbs explained why comrade Wright something very special was the self in the hearts of the work man who derived the greatest ers throughout the Party. He joy from the giving of it."

his profound store of Marxist had collaborated over the years. theory at their disposal. "In every branch of the Party," A CRUEL IRONY Dobbs said, "you will find work- Describing the last project they

ers who considered him as their had worked on together, a series teacher." While paying tribute to Wright the 20th Congress of the Soviet

The veteran Trotskyist leadqualities. Dobbs said, who had er. Morris Stein, presented a deep respect for the workers vivid portrait of "Usick," nick-

JOHN G. WRIGHT

ous person," Dobbs said. "When

he gave a personal gift there was

the pleasure of the gift itself,

but what always made the gift

of articles for The Militant on

as a Marxist leader, Dobbs at Communist Party, Stein said, the same time recalled his splen- "We finished two articles and did personal qualities. "He was blocked out a third early in an unusually warm and gener-(Continued on page 4)

**NAACP** Convention Sidetracks Boycott Issue

| target date for complete inte-| South - capitulation of South-| governments will saddle the tax-| By Roy Gale SAN FRANCISCO, July 1 - gration of the Negro in Amer- ern white supremacists when payer with court costs - in-The 47th annual convention of ican life. The Southern states their pocketbooks are hit. How- cluding the Negro taxpayer who President of the Brotherhood of delegates that "The story of which also heard Morris Stein the National Association for the boast that desegregation can be ever, the parallel is a poor one is trying to win his way to free-Sleeping Car Porters and vice- Montgomery is the story of 50,- and Joseph Hansen. Advancement of Colored People stalled for a hundred years if because divorce cases concern dom and equality, and smash president of the AFL-CIO, who 000 Negroes who are all tired of Dobbs read to the meeting ended here today with no new the fight remains in the court private citizens. Southern state segregation. program or policy to fight dis- house. crimination.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, laid special stress on the non-violent nature of the NAA-CP. While sharply criticizing President Eisenhower for his "do nothing" policy and his failure to intervene in the Southern school fight, Wilkins was careful to point out that "The NAACP is flatly opposed to all forms Marshall stressed that the legal

### MAIN BUSINESS

The main business before the according to Wilkins, was the discussion "of ways and means of further implementation of the would scream they just would 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955."

that outlawed segregation in the actually going to jail. Beans public schools.

courts to outlaw segregation. paid off."

**KEYNOTE SPEECH** In his keynote speech to the convention, Thurgood Marshall further underlined that there would be no change in NAACP tactics in the fight for Negro equality.

He said that they have a series of more than 30 cases ready to front was the main battlefield

hopes of victory and cited his 800 delegates at the convention, experience when a young lawyer handling divorce cases. "Case after case, the men

Supreme Court decisions of May not pay alimony," he said. "They said they'd rot first, go to jail. These are the two decisions Well I don't remember anybody

aren't a good diet and jail isn't The NAACP still trusts the a very pleasant place. They all

On this front there is small hope Marshall expects the same refacing a prison sentence beof victory by 1963, the NAACP sults from his court cases in the

### **Detroit Free Speech Forum** To Hold Stalin Cult Debate DETROIT - An important

cause of his refusal to codebate on "The Recent Events operate with a reactionary in the Soviet Union and Their congressional committee.

. The speakers, long con-Significance for the American People" will be held here Frinected with two diverse poday July 13, 8 PM, at the litical tendencies, will debate Greater King Solomon Baptist the meaning of the exposure Church. 4638 Fourth, The and disavowal of the "Stalin meeting is sponsored by the cult" by the present leaders of Student Committee for Free the Communist Party, Soviet Union, and CP supporters The speakers will be Bolza

throughout the world. Baxter, state chairman of the Harriet Talan, chairman of Labor Youth League, and Bob the recently suspended Wayne University Young Socialist Club, will serve as moderator. There will be a question and answer period and open discussion from the floor. Admission is free.

alliance," Randolph added. On the political front Randolph the secondary batteries would and who labored tirelessly to put name of the man with whom he

their failure to "support and

pendent" votes for individuals.

### fight for civil rights legislation," but failed to offer an adequate alternative to voting for one or the other party. The best he could do was to call for "inde-

Unofficial hero of the convention was the Rev. Martin King,

nationality is an abnormal con- cess in the fight for equality, workers of Wright, all expressdition, since all workers have the the NAACP convention was very ed grief at his untimely death basic interests: decent wages, chary of giving official support and hailed his contributions to improved working conditions and to the boycott. The most they the socialist movement. shorter hours of work," he said. would do was to pass a resolu- MARXIST TEACHER "Since well-nigh nine-tenths tion to "examine" the feasibility of Negroes are working people of "passive-resistance" for the

aration of workers upon a basis tired feet for tired souls."

who must sell their labor in the future. For the present all the market daily for wages with past policies will be in effect had won a special place for him- realization that it came from a which to buy food, clothing and and no new innovations in tacshelter, education and recrea- tics will be used at this time. tion, organized labor and the It was quite obvious that the was an intellectual with unique Negro have a natural basis for courts would still be the first

correctly scored both the Demo- continue to be legislative lobbycrats and the Republicans for ing and petitions.

line defense and offense, while

NEXT WEEK "When Communism Comes to America" By LEON TROTSKY

Himmel, who was a candidate for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1954. Baxter is one of the many victims of the witch hunt, now

for the next year. He had great

Speech.

- Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, July 9, 1956

## SOCIALISM AND THE STATE What is the Soviet Union -- Where it is Going?

(Continued from page 1) +tor of time is uncertain. And the world level of economy, but is it worth while making a fuss the world level of economy, but is to that? However triumph-about that? However triumph-ant such an argument seems at first glance, it is in fact excalled that society which was to be formed upon the basis of tremely superficial. Time is by a socialization of the productive no means a secondary factor a socialization of the productive forces of the most advanced question. It is far more danest stage of communism, then gerous to confuse the present this designation obviously does and the future tenses in politics

not apply to the Soviet Union, Evolution is far from consistwhich is still today considerably ing, as vulgar evolutionists of poorer in technique, culture and the Webb type imagine, in a the good things of life than the capitalist countries. It would be steady accumulation and continual "improvement" of that truer, therefore, to name the which exists. It has its transipresent Soviet regime in all its tions of quantity into quality, contradictoriness, not a socialits crises, leaps and backward ist regime, but a preparatory lapses. It is exactly because the regime transitional from capital-Soviet Union is as yet far from ism to socialism. having attained the first stage

There is not an ounce of peof socialism, as a balanced system of production and distribudantry in this concern for terminological a c c u r a c y. The tion, that its development does strength and stability of regimes not proceed harmoniously, but in are determined in the long run contradictions.

by the relative productivity of their labor. A socialist economy duce social antagonisms, which Engels and Lenin, and the actual possessing a technique superior in turn develop their own logic, to that of capitalism would real- not awaiting the further growth development for sure - so to have just seen how true this excerpts and distortions by the speak, automatically — a thing was in the case of the kulak who censor), the present leaders of which unfortunately it is still did not wish to "grow" evolu- the Soviet Union and their ideolquite impossible to say about tionarily into socialism, and ogucal representatives do not the Soviet economy.

A majority of the vulgar de- reaucracy and its ideologues, de- causes of such a crying diverfenders of the Soviet Union as manded a new and supplementit is are inclined to reason ap- ary revolution. Will the bureauproximately thus: Even though cracy itself, in whose hands the you concede that the present So- power and wealth are concenviet regime is not yet socialistic, trated, wish to grow peacefully a further development of the into socialism? As to this doubts productive forces on the present are certainly permissible. In any foundations must sooner or later case, it would be imprudent to and the socialist society. In its lead to the complete triumph of take the word of the bureausocialism. Hence only the fac- cracy for it.

Economic contradictions pro-

### The Parasitic Bureaucracy

It is impossible at present to uations where sharp antagonisms cidental" task is, to some extent, servance of its norms. It follows munism," to employ the term of of impending difficulties is exanswer finally and irrevocably require to be "softened," "adthe economic contradictions and social antagonisms of Soviet so-ciety will develop in the course of the nort three course if the nort three course if the nort three course international perspective. In the course international perspective is to international, in a reso-international, in a reso-international perspective. International, in a reso-international perspective. International pers the question in what direction justed," "regulated" (always in fulfillment of its fundamental under Communism not only will which the most advanced capi- gram was based wholly upon an crap." Such was, in essence, our minimum starting point the of the next three, five or ten itself). Throughout all bourge- reaucracy and social harmony are geoisie!" vears. The outcome depends ois revolutions, therefore, no inversely proportional to each upon a struggle of living social matter how democratic, there other. forces - not on a national scale, has occurred a reinforcement In his famous polemic against present official theoreticians, has phalt highways in the measure- troductory lines of the program. tionalized industries, the achieveeither, but on an international and perfecting of the bureaucra- Duhring, Engels wrote: "When, a decisive significance for the less spaces of the Soviet Union Their authors not only did not ment of collectivization, the scale. At every new stage, there- tic apparatus. "Officialdom and together with class domination understanding of the nature of will require much more time and set themselves the aim of con- crowding out of capitalist ele- in the meantime to a political fore, a concrete analysis is neces-sary of actual relations and ten-the standing army — " writes and the struggle for individual the Soviet state — or more ac-material than to transplant au-structing "socialism in a single the standing army — " writes and the struggle for individual the not structing "socialism in a single the mathematical than to transplant au-structing "socialism in a single the mathematical than to transplant au-structing "socialism in a single the mathematical the mathematical that is independent of the mathematical that is independent of the mathematical the mathematical the mathematical the mathematical the structing "socialism in a single the mathematical the mathe dencies in their connection and the body of bourgeois society, anarchy in production, those con-continual interaction. We shall a parasite created by the inner flicts and excesses which result the state which assumes the task continual interaction. We shall not solve the inner of solution interaction. We shall not solve the inner of solution interaction, we shall not solve the inner of solution interaction. We shall not solve the inner of solution interaction. We shall a parasite created by the inner of society, yet nothing but a para- from this struggle disappear, and the all-sided rein- for the state which assumes the task of all Stalin's - but for the state of the society, yet nothing but a para- from that time on there will be for every Soviet citizen to the material nevel be the society of the material nevel be the society of the material nevel be the society of the society state.

2. PROGRAM AND REALITY. Lenin, following Marx and En- is, from the moment when the strument of suppression, the compulsion, insofar does it also tank without difficulty en route? decades to solve in isolation this testimony of the Communist cialism it is not quite enough? gels, saw the first distinguish- conquest of power confronted state." feature of the proletarian the party as a practical problem The philistine considers



LEON TROTSKY

tor in these circumstances nat ers' state according to Marx, urally falls to the state, which in its turn cannot but resort, state now headed by Stalin. with various changes and miti-While continuing to publish the gations, to the method of labor ly be guaranteed in its socialist of the productive forces. We works of Lenin (to be sure, with payment worked out by capitalism. who, to the surprise of the hu- even raise the question of the

gence between program and reality. We will try to do this for them 3. THE DUAL CHARACTER OF THE WORKERS' STATE. The proletarian dictatorship is

that structure." bridge between the bourgeois In explaining these remarkof the state which realizes the sumption assumes, of course, ining for its own dissolution. The law is nothing without an ap- these goods.

degree of realization of this "in- paratus capable of compelling ob-

the question!

remain a "bourgeois" state, even

- Lenin was continually occu- gendarme an eternal institution. These words contain neither two classes. The automobile dif- had solved so long ago.

decades amount to nothing. But dental reason: he never foresaw the point of cannibalism? the thing kooks different to those a proletarian revolution in a The distance separating tzarist Juridical forms themselves of a revolution. It is true that never dwelt upon it, and this be appreciated only now. In the cial content in dependence upon struggle of each against all, but not foresee so prolonged an iso- is in the absence of inner dis- "Law can never be higher than the trouble is that a socializa- lation of the Soviet state. tion of the means of production Nevertheless, t h e citation, phes — it would require several cultural level conditioned by it."

would therefore be compelled to wars, the "struggle for individ- is the very essence of the pres- destiny history has not yet fispur everyone to produce as much ual existence" not only did not ent economic and cultural work nally weighed. as possible. The duty of stimula- disappear the day after the over- in the Soviet Union.

### **Some Historical Contradictions**

even now excels in productive from the economic backwardness forces the most advanced coun- and isolatedness of the country.

It was in this sense that Marx tries of the epoch of Marx. But Explaining the revival of buwrote in 1875: "Bourgeois law. in the first place, in the historic reaucratism by the unfamiliarity planned production to the end that means that the triumph of is inevitable in the first phase rivalry of two regimes, it is not of the masses with administra- of the best satisfaction of human socialism is still remote. Not of the communist society, in so much a question of absolute tion and by the special difficul- needs; otherwise it does not de- only a Marxist, but any realistic that form in which it issues as of relative levels; the Soviet ties resulting from the war, the serve the name of socialism. If political thinker, ought to underafter long labor pains from capi- economy opposes the capitalism program prescribes merely poli- cows are socialized, but there stand that the very necessity of talist society. Law can never be of Hitler, Baldwin and Roosevelt, tical measures for the overcom- are too few of them, or they "reinforcing" the dictatorship higher than the economic struc- not Bismarck, Palmerston or ing of "bureaucratic distor- have too meager udders, then that is, governmental repression ture and the cultural develop. Abraham Lincoln. And in the tions": election and recall at any conflicts arise out of the inade- - testifies not to the triumph ment of society conditioned by second place, the very scope of time of all plenipotentiaries, quate supply of milk - conflicts of a classless harmony, but to human demands changes funda- abolition of material privileges, between city and country, be- the growth of new social antamentally with the growth of active control by the masses, very essence, therefore, it bears able lines, Lenin adds: "Bourge-a temporary character. An inci-ois law in relation to the dis-automobiles redies moving aid built to bureaucrat, from automobiles, radios moving pic- being a boss, would turn into a whole toiling mass and the bu- from the low productivity of lav a temporary character. An inci-dental but very essential task tribution of the objects of con-tures, aeroplanes. A socialist so- simple and moreover temporary reaucracy. of the state which realizes the evitably a bourgeois state, for without the free enjoyment of would gradually and impercepti-

bly disappear from the scene. "The lowest stage of Com-

five-year plan, however, is to realized the dictatorship of the munist International, in a reso-This highly significant conclu-ion, completely isonered by the sion, completely ignored by the a network of autoroads and as- has begun." These were the in- total of the successes of the nasite stopping up the living pores." nothing to suppress, and there that is, the material privileges use an automobile in any direc- Soviet state would assume, if achieved in the Soviet Union." Such a definition would be photo-Beginning with 1917 — that will be no need for a special in- of a minority — by methods of tion he chooses, refilling his gas compelled for as long as two With all its categorical tone, graphically accurate, but for so-

the though without a bourgeoisie, and the pedestrian constituted lems which advanced canitalism tradictory.

In order that the state shall dis-inism), because without it want throw of the bourgeoisie, and position answered: You must supplies at every step. Children appear, "class domination and is generalized, and with want not only did not abate in the not limit yourself to the socio- lack milk. But the official orathe struggle for individual ex- the struggle for necessities be- succeeding years, but, on the juridical form of relations which cles announce: 'The country has istence" must disappear. Engels gins again, and that means that contrary, assumed at times an are unripe, contradictory, in entered into the period of sojoins these two conditions to- all the old crap must revive." unheard-of ferocity. Need we agriculture still very unstable, cialism!' Would it be possible gether, for in the perspective of This thought Marx never direct- recall that certain regions of abstracting from the fundamen- more viciously to compromise the changing social regimes a few ly developed, and for no acci- the country have twice gone to tal criterion: level of the pro- name of socialism?"

ductive forces. Karl Radek, now a prominent publicist\* of the ruling Soviet generations who bear the weight backward country. Lenin also Russia from the West can really have an essentially different sothe German liberal paper, Bercapitalist anarchy creates the too was not accidental. He did most favorable conditions - that the height of the technical level. liner Tageblatt, in a special issue devoted to the Soviet Union turbances and external catastro- the economic structure and the (May 1932), in the following words which deserve to be imdoes not yet automatically re- merely an abstract construction more five-year periods before (Marx) Soviet forms of property mortal: "Milk is a product of move the "struggle for individual with Marx, an inference from the Soviet Union could fully as- on a basis of the most modern cows and not of socialism, and existence." That is the nub of the opposite, provides an indis- similate those economic and edu- achievements of American tech- you would have actually to conpensable theoretical key to the cative achievements upon which nique transplanted into all fuse socialism with the image A socialist state even in Amer- wholly concrete difficulties and the first-born nations of capi- branches of economic life - that of a country where rivers flow ca, on the basis of the most sicknesses of the Soviet regime. talist civilization have expended would indeed be the first stage milk, in order not to understand advanced capitalism, could not On the historic basis of destitu- centuries. The application of so- of socialism. Soviet forms with that a country can rise for a immediately provide everyone tion, aggravated by the destruc- cialist methods for the solution a low productivity of labor mean time to a higher level of dewith as much as he needs, and tions of the imperialist and civil of pre-socialist problems - that only a transitional regime whose velopment without any considerable rise in the material situation of the popular masses."

wrote in March 1932. "The cour- These lines were written when try can not get out of a famine a horrible famine was raging in of goods. There is a stoppage of the country.

### The Soviet Union, to be sure, to the character of the state ven now excels in productive from the economic backwardness "Socialism" in One Country

Socialism is a structure of a the real demands of the regime, tween collectives and individual gonisms. What lies at the botpeasants, between different strata tom of all this? Lack of the of the proletariat, between the means of subsistence resulting bor.

ciety, however, is unthinkable technical agent, and the state in fact the socialization of the cows which led to cialism as "the Soviet power plus Lenin once characterized sotheir mass extermination by the electrification.". That epigram, This obvious underestimation peasants. Social conflicts created whose one-sidedness was due to a measure of its success in the (we are still quoting Lenin) that Marx, begins at that level to plained by the fact that the pro- to a resurrection of "all the old ment, assumed at least as a capitalist level of electrification.

> there is one third as much eleccountries.

If you take into consideration that the soviets have given place In barbarian society the rider those economic and cultural prob- International is wholly self-con- In a speech to the Stakhanovists

in November 1935, Stalin, obe-

revolution in the fact that, having expropriated the exploiters, pied with the thought of liquid- In reality the gendarme will praise nor blame; they merely ferentiates society no less than a bureaucratic apparatus raised overthrow of the exploiting class- shall thoroughly bridle nature. names. above society - and above all, es - he repeats and explains in a police and standing army. "The every chapter of State and Revoproletariat needs a state — this lution — the proletariat will Material Want and the Gendarme all the opportunists can tell you," shatter the old bureaucratic all the opportunists can tell you," wrote Lenin in 1917, two months machine and create its own apbefore the seizure of power, "but paratus out of employees and tribution, by hastening the growth "bourgeois" type of instrument inequality, the state. they, the opportunists, forget to workers. And it will take measadd that the proletariat needs ures against their turning into socialist aims — but only in the darme, although in a new uni- the Marxian theory of the dic- viet Union, and the ultra-bureauonly a dying state — that is, bureaucrats — "measures analyz- last analysis. The state assumes form. a state constructed in such a ed in detail by Marx and Engels: directly and from the very begintion.)

This criticism was directed at tion to a regime in which all tribution of life's goods is car- not die away, but grows more all the necessary conclusions as cist reaction. the time against reformist so- will fulfill the functions of con- ried out with a capitalistic meas- and more despotic, if the plenicialists of the type of the Rus-"trol and supervision so that all ure of value and all the con-potentiaries of the working class sian Mensheviks, British Fabians, may for a time become 'bureau-sequences ensuing therefrom, bureau-ta It new official sequences and the sequences ensuing therefrom, bureaucratized, and the Stalinist Theory and Practice etc. It now attacks with re-|crats,' and therefore nobody can |Such a contradictory characteriz-| bureaucracy rises above the new doubled force the Soviet idol- become a bureaucrat." You must ation may horrify the dogmatists society, this is not for some ators with their cult of a bu- not think that Lenin was talking and scholastics; we can only of- secondary reasons like the psyreaucratic state which has not about the problems of a decade. fer them our condolences. the slightest intention of "dy- No, this was the first step with ing away."

The social demand for a bu- begin upon achieving a prole- termined by the changing rela- a privileged minority so long as the lack of qualified workers de- have been several announcements reaucracy arises in all those sit- tarian revolution."

### **Dual Character of Soviet State**

ity of the people. The material

This same bold view of the the soviets. The state as a bu- solving of the state in a self- tries, would everywhere show counting and control," with a the kulaks as a class." On Jan- have created may be called a state in a proletarian dictator- reaucratic apparatus begins to governing society. From this themselves even after a prole- continual narrowing of the func- uary 30, 1931, Pravda, interpret. Soviet socialist organization, ship found finished expression a die away the first day of the alone it is sufficiently clear how tarian revolution. But it is per- tion of compulsion, demanded ing a speech of Stalin, said: still not wholly completed, but year and a half after the con-proletarian dictatorship. Such is immeasurably significant is the feetly obvious that the poorer by the party program, assumed "During the second five-year at root a socialist organization quest of power in the program the voice of the party program problem of Soviet bureaucratism, the society which issues from a at least a relative condition of period, the last relics of capital- of society." In this purposely of the Bolshevik party, includ- - not voided to this day. Strange: both in itself and as a symptom! revolution, the sterner and more general contentment. Just this ist elements in our economy will vague definition there are al ing its section on the army. A it sounds like a spectral voice strong state, but without man- from the mausoleum. darins; armed power, but with- However you may interpret per, gave an extremely sharp- would be the forms assumed by No help came from the West. perspective, the state ought conout the Samurai! It is not the the nature of the present Soviet ened expression to the conception bureaucratism, and the more The power of the democratic clusively to die away during the ed "Soviet socialist," but the tasks of defense which create a state, one thing is indubitable: of Marx, that he revealed the dangerous would it become for Soviets proved cramping, even same period, for where the 'last Soviets are a form of state, and military and state bureaucracy, at the end of its second decade source of the future difficulties, socialist development. but the class structure of so- of existence, it has not only not his own among them, although The Soviet state is prevented the day was to accommodate ated the state has nothing to do. These designations are not only ciety carried over into the or- died away, but not begun to he did not himself succeed in not only from dying away, but those privileged groups whose "The Soviet power." says the not identical but, from the point ganization of defense. The army "die away." Worse than that, carrying his analysis through to even from freeing itself of the existence was necessary for de- program of the Bolshevik party of view of our interest, antagois only a copy of the social rela- it has grown into a hitherto un- the end. "A bourgeois state with- bureaucratic parasite, not by fense, for industry, for tech- on this subject, "openly recog- nistic. Insofar as the social ortions. The struggle against for heard of apparatus of compul- out a bourgeoisie" proved in- the "relics" of former ruling nique and science. In this de- nized the inevitability of the ganization has become socialistic, eign danger necessitates, of sion. The bureaucracy not only consistent with a genuine So- classes, as declares the naked cidely not "socialistic" opera- class character of every state, the soviets ought to drop away course, in the workers' state as in has not disappeared, yielding its viet democracy. The dual func- police doctrine of Stalin, for tion, taking from ten and giving so long as the division of society like the scaffolding after a buildothers, a specialized military place to the masses, but has tion of the state could not but these relics are powerless in to one, there crystallized out and into classes, and therewith all ing is finished.

case a privileged officer caste. dominating the masses. The ar- revealed what theory was unable immeasureably mightier factors, specialists in distribution. The party program demands a my not only has not been re- clearly to foresee. replacement of the standing ar- placed by an armed people, but has given birth to a privileged property against bourgeois coun- dominance of "bourgeois law" cesses of the recent period have liquidation of the "last relics" of my by an armed people.

The regime of proletarian dic- officers' caste, crowned with ter-revolution a "state of armed in what most immediately and led not to a mitigation, but on capitalism taken on faith. to intatorship from its very beginning marshals, while the people, "the workers" was fully adequate, it sharply touches every human be- the contrary to a sharpening, of fer the dying away of the state, thus ceases to be a "state" in armed bearers of the dictator- was a very different matter to ing, the business of insuring his inequalities, and at the same the bureaucracy immediately dethus ceases to be a "state" in armed bearers of the distance was a very qualities in the personal existence. the old sense of the word — a ship," are now forbidden in the regulate inequalities in the personal existence. the old sense of the word — a ship," are now forbidden in the regulate inequalities in the distance of consumption. Those 4. "GENERALIZED WANT" reaucratism, such that from be- revolutionary." holding in subjection the major- explosive weapons.

The bourgeois norms of dis-istate was compelled to create a there remains the guardian of has stretched out to a whole - that is, the same old genof material power, ought to serve

chological relics of the past, etc., reaucratism fell foul, in the first UMPH OF SOCIALISM" AND The final physiognomy of the but is a result of the iron neceswhich "we should and must workers' state ought to be de- sity to give birth to and support the masses with self-government, THE DICTATORSHIP." There tions between its bourgeois and it is impossible to guarantee voted to socialism, etc., it very during recent years of the "comsocialist tendencies. The triumph genuine equality.

The tendencies of bureaucrat- ficulties encountered ot hers the Soviet Union - taking es- ard, Stalin offered a new definof the latter ought ipso facto to signify the final liquidation of ism, which strangles the work- more profound. That reduction of pecially categorical forms in con- ition of the Soviet regime. "That the gendarme - that is, the dis- ers' movement in capitalist coun- the state to functions of "ac- nection with the "liquidation of social organization which we

It is because Lenin, in accord naked would be the expression necessary condition was lack- be liquidated." (our emphasis.) with his whole intellectual tem- of this "law", the more crude ing.

technical organization. but in no turned into an uncontrolled force affect its structure. Experience themselves. It is prevented by developed a powerful caste of state power, has not completely

such as material want, cultural How and why is it, however, certain incautious Moscow theo- completed." What does "not If for the defense of socialized backwardness and the resulting that the enormous economic suc-reticians attempted, from this

deprived of property are not in- AND THE GENDARME. Two ing a "distortion," it has now

time to a further growth of bu- clared such theories "counter-Where lies the theoretical mis-

With the utmost stretch of clined to create and defend it. years before the Communist become a system of administra- take of the bureaucracy - in power, together with the wea- fancy it would be difficult to The majority cannot concern it- Manifesto, young Marx wrote: tion? Before attempting to an- the basic premise or the conpons, goes over directly and im- imagine a contrast more strik- self with the privileges of the "A development of the productive swer this question, let us hear clusion? In the one and the other. mediately into the hands of ing than that which exists be- minority. For the defense of forces is the absolutely necessary how the authoritative leaders of To the first announcements of workers' organizations such as tween the schema of the work- "bourgeois law" the workers' practical premise (of Commu- the Soviet bureaucracy look "complete triumph". the Left On-

If socialism has "finally and dient to the empirical aims of The post-war revolutionary irrevocably" triumphed, not as the conference, unexpectedly anit would abolish the necessity of lating this "parasite." After the bridle mankind only until man name things with their real the saddle horse. So long as even crisis did not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should not lead to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed: "Why can and should nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a living social nonneed to the vic- a principle but as a livi a modest "Ford" remains the tory of socialism in Europe. The regime, then a renewed "rein- and necessarily will socialism privilege of a minority, there social democrats rescued the forcement" of the dictatorship conquer the capitalist system of survive all the relations and cus- bourgeoisie. That period, which is obvious nonsense. And on the economy? Because it can give contrary, if the reinforcement . . . a higher productivity of toms proper to a bourgeois so- to Lenin and his colleagues lookciety. And together with them ed like a short "breathing spell", of the dictatorship is evoked by labor."

The Marxist Criteria

Stalin introduces a correction

Socialism is "still not wholly

wholly" mean? By 5 per cent, or

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historical epoch. The contradic-Basing himself wholly upon tory social structure of the So-

While the first attempt to upon their own regime.

create a state cleansed of bu- 5. THE "COMPLETE TRI-

place, of the unfamiliarity of THE "REINFORCEMENT OF

soon after these immediate dif- plete triumph" of socialism in

Incidentally rejecting the reso- by 75 per cent? This they do tatorship of the proletariat, cratic character of its state, are We have thus taken the first Lenin did not succeed, as we have the direct consequences of this lution of the Communist Inter- not tell us, just as they do not way that it immediately begins (1) not only election but re- ning a dual character: socialistic, step toward understanding the said, either in his chief work unique and "unforseen" histori- national adopted three months tell us what they mean by an to die away and cannot help call at any time; (2) payment insofar as it defends social prop- fundamental contradiction be- dedicated to this question (State cal pause, which has at the same before upon the same question, organization of society that is dying away." (State and Revolu- no higher than the wages of a erty in the means of production; tween Bolshevik program and and Revolution), or in the pro- time led in the capitalist coun- and also his own oft-repeated an- "socialistic at root." Do they nouncements, Stalin here speaks mean forms of property or techworker; (3) immediate transi- bourgeois, insofar as the dis- Soviet reality. If the state does gram of the party, in drawing tries to fascism or the pre-fas-

From the point of view of this there are words.

disappeared." However, when

of the "triumph" of socialism in nique? The very mistiness of the the future tense. Socialism will definition, however, implies a conquer the capitalist system, retreat from the immeasurably he says, when it surpasses it in more categorical formula of 1931the productivity of labor. Not 35.

only the tenses of the verbs but A further step along the same the social criteria change, as we road would be to acknowledge see, from moment to moment. It that the "root" of every social is certainly not easy for the So- organization is the productive viet citizen to keep up with the forces, and that the Soviet root is just what is not mighty "general line."

enough for the socialist trunk Finally, on March 1, 1936. in and for its leafage: human welconversation with Roy Howfare.

> \* Written before the arrest of Karl Radek in August 1936 on charges of a terroristic conspiracy against the Soviet leaders. - Trans.

Detroit most as many contradictions as

The social organization is call DISCUSSION - DEBATE

> "The Recent Events in the Significance for the American People."

Speakers: League

BOB HIMMEL - Founding chairman, Wayne University Young Sociallist Club; 1954 Congressional Candidate, Socialist Workers Party. Friday, July 13 —`8 P. M Greater King Solomon Baptist Church 4638 Fourth (at Forest) Admission Free Auspices: Student Committee for Free Speech

unendurable, when the task of relics" of capitalism are liquid- socialism is a social regime.

Soviet Union and their

BOLZA BAXTER - Chairman Michigan Labor Youth



### **NAACP** and **Political** Action

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has just coneluded its convention in San Francisco. The overriding issue before it and the Negro people — all the more urgent because election day is only four months off was how to utilize the powerful and strategic Negro vote to break the stalemates on school desegregation and civil rights legislation.

The NAACP leaders gave ample time to exposing the current maneuvers of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress to woo Negro voters with phony civil rights maneuvers. They gave the most damning indictment of both parties — their records on school desegregation and civil rights -to the convention. At the closing session Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, put it in a nutshell by saying "they have been scratching each other's back, and we have been left out in the cold."

### **DID ONE-HALF JOB**

Thus the NAACP leaders adequately did one-half of their job - analyzed what was wrong in the present political situation as it affects the Negro struggle. But what did they do about the second-half --explaining what has to be done? After all, leaders are supposed to lead.

Here their words added up to zero as far as practical steps are concerned. In the keynote address, Thurgood Marshall declared that the convention should present to both parties "minimum demands for strong uncompromising planks on civil rights." Such a minimum program is embodied in the resolutions passed by the convention. Neither party will accept this minimum program. What then does Marshall propose? When one presents minimum demands and they aren't met, what is the next step? The delegates weren't told.

At the closing session, Roy Wilkins unged delegates to get out the vote: "If politics can be used for increasing corporation profits, there is nothing wrong in using politics to secure human rights. Everyone else tries to use politics for his benefit; you use it for yours. Don't printers, boilermakers, agriculstammer and don't apologize. Use your vote in behalf of civil rights."

Wilkins left out only one point — what party to vote for in order to get civil rights. Earlier in his speech he had well demonstrated that both Republicans and Democrats had sold the Negro people out jeopardize jobs. time and again on civil rights.

Moreover, Wilkins neglected to point out that the corporations and special interests get what they want out of politics because they have their own party — two of them, Republican and Democratic. The political blind alley that the Negro people - and the labor movement — find themselves in today cries out for the creation of a new party.

### MAKE VOTE COUNT

But the NAACP leaders, like their pals, the labor bureaucrats, shy away from even preparing for this next great step forward for the American people. Symbolic of the NAACP leaders' enmeshment with the two capitalist parties is the fact that they invited speakers from the Democratic and Republican parties, which treat their civil rights demands so contemptuously. Yet they did not even acknowledge a request of the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee, asking that it, too, be heard.

To the delegates to the NAACP convention and all others desirous of voting for civil rights, may we submit a definite proposal where the NAACP leaders became so vague? On election day don't vote either for the Republican or Democratic parties, which are rotten to the core with Jim Crow. Vote for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, whose long record in the civil rights and labor movements and whose unequivocal platform prove them to be mortal enemies of all forms of racial discrimination. And at the same time begin the education, missionary work and planning that will lead to the formation of a new party based on labor, the Negro people and the working farmers.

the demands for wage increases. The engineers, miners, builders, woodworkers, foundry workers,

demands. And this comes after Anthony Eden had issued his appeal to claims of the Confederation of the union leaders for restraint, Shipbuilding and Engineering and follows Macmillan's scare speech of a fortnight ago when denounced as irresponsible! he said that wage increases would

need to pay the last round of effects. There is short time workwage demands as a tactical ing in some industries and a inevitability. They were not prepared to engage in a full scale showdown with the industrial cushioned from the rising cost of working class at that stage. In- living to some extent by ability stead, they sought to prepare to work extra hours are now the way for the future clash. First, they appealed to the greater extent.

the cost of living rises in Britain, tended to procure a pool of unem- dustry. The heavy competition cotton industry, since before the so, from most of the unions come ployment to use as a whip abroad from the French, Geuman war, the workers struck with the up production. against the workers.

But in the face of these fresh demands by the unions, the government, as the spokesman for tural workers, all have their Big Business, is digging its heels affect upon purchase, the position allowing negotilations to continue. in. Already, there has been an out-of-hand rejection of the concerns.

Workers. Indeed, the claim was The increased bank rate and the credit "squeeze" are, of talk about automation and the The government accepted the course, beginning to show their reduction of overtilme in others so that workers who were

beginning to feel the pinch to a



and American cars, is causing a demand that short-time working deep crisis in the British sector. was the answer and not sackings. And when coupled with the However, they were persuaded to credit restrictions, and their dire return under the usual plea of is indeed desperate for the British

The reaction of the employers can best be judged by Standard time, despite threats of further Motor Company, who manufacture Standard and Triumph cars calls upon the government to do and Ferguson tractors. Here, they something about the whole redundancy question. need to re-tool in order to compete more favorably in the

world's markets. But for the Standard chiefs, as for the rest of big business, by the story of two pits in South "automation" is synonymous for speed up, with the reduction of cae-Gurwen. the labor force and the greater exploitation of the remainder. And so, the 12,000 workers at

punitive migration forced upon the miners unless they would step

But Gwaun-cae-Gurwen is only the first step. Already the National Coal Board has stated that they will take similar stens with regard to other pits. So there is So far, the Amalgamated to be a spread of intimidation in Engineering Union has agreed not mining in an endeavour to into call out the workers a second crease production and reduce the costly importation of coal into redundancy lists, and instead Britain.

Nor can there be any doubts that the railways too will come under pressure for rationaliza-The tougher attitude, too, is tion, with attempts to reduce the

shown by the government tolabor force in some sectors. wards the nationalized coal mines All this as a first step to the and is possibly best illustrated

softening - up of the industrial working class in preparation for Wales in a place called Gwaunfurther assaults. But everywhere there is a hardening of the

There, the miners were told resolve among the workers not to that unless production increased return to the days of mass unemthe pits would be closed. And this ployment. And here in Britain. despite the fact that these two the working class has not sufpits constitute the only real infered a decisive defeat for many dustry in Gwaun-cae-Gurwen and years. The problem now is to indeed for some little distance around. develop the right leadership.

Pictured above is a Kremlin tank used by the Stalinist commander of the Soviet garrison in East Berlin against the East<sup>9</sup> German general strike in June 1953 against Stalinist misrule. Last week the Stalinist regime in Poznan used such tanks against striking workers.

### **Anti-Stalinist Wave**

| by the party, excited derision (Continued from page 1) the audience, dwelt in detail on and he was unable to finish his the degeneration of the party speech, according to the report. and regime of the Hungarian "Peoples' Democracy." A parti-of the Central Committee, took cularly damning indictment of a different line. . . He said that the economic privileges of the the new policy adopted by the bureaucracy, the material base 20th Congress of the Soviet of Stalinism both in the USSR Communist Party in Moscow had and in the East European coun- made it possible for Communists tries, was delivered by Professor to breathe more easily. 'Before, Gyula Hadju of the University the situation was such that if of Budapest, who has spent 50 someone knocked on your door of his 74 years in the socialist at six you prayed it would turn out to be the milkman and not and communist movements.

"How can the Communist a representative of another inleaders know what is going on?" stitution,' he was reported to he asked. "They never mix with have said. He asserted that the workers or ordinary people, they Hungarian party was beginning don't meet them in streetcars to adapt itself to the resolutions because they all ride automobiles, of the Soviet party congress, they don't meet them at stores but there were loud cries of 'Too slow!' or in the market place because

"At 2:30 A.M. Geza Lovoncy, they have special stores, they who recently was rehabilitated don't meet them in hospitals because they have special sana- after long imprisonment, rose to demand that the voice of Imre toriums."

Raising the slogan, "the party Nagy be permitted to be heard eaders must go," Prof. Adju publicly. He declared that Mr. charged that every socialist old- Nagy had been expelled from timer, who had ideals or wanted the party in disregard of his a moral life, had been murdered support by many of its members. or expelled from the Stalinized The audience answered with shouts of 'Put him back in the party. An even stormier and larger party.'

# Stalinist Troops Shoot Poznan

(Continued from page 1) nan? The simple fact is that like mands for a 15% wage increase city square local authorities bread, "and "Strike — discovered for bread," and "Strike — discovered for bread," and "Strike "During the rest did on how they then then the next did on how the next did on the East German uprising of to retrieve some of the wage either disappeared or expressed General Strike." During the rest did, or how they turned the le-June 17, 1953 it was an anti-Stalinist, independent class ac-bearably difficult. It was a dele-One government functionary was and workers' remarks include a ers into channels of "diversion-cessions and reforms to the poli-the day, or how only thanked the day of how only the day of how tion of industrial workers who gation representing h u n g r y h e ard to remark: "Warsaw statement to foreign reporters: ary" and "provocative" activity. cy of brutal suppression. The were fighting against unbearable workers asking for enough should know that we will not "This is our revolution," the On what then do they base their workers of Poland, as of all the Moscow. economic conditions and were fed bread to feed their families. The stand for this any longer." Such workers said, "We are striking charge? other countries of Eastern Eu-The answer is self evident. rope and the Soviet Union itself, into a hall in which the Petofi Communist Party said Poznan up with bureaucratic brutality, delegation was arrested when it a mood among the lower party to let the outside world know The answer is self evident. are more and more boldly ad-For the Stalinist bureaucrats a are more and more boldly ad-Youth League had called a meet-proved the 'danger that enemies deceit, false promises and indif- returned to Poznan on Wednes- hierarchy is confirmed by the how things are with us. Tell For the Stalinist bureaucrats a vancing their demands. They are strike of the workers under their vancing their demands. They are ing. Another 5,000 heard the of Hungary will provoke unrest day, June 27. This apparently denunciation Trybuna Ludu later the world what we are doing." ference to their plight. "We are living in a prison. rule is considered an act of high putting irresistible pressure on Actually, the basic facts of touched off the action that start- made against the "lax and cow- One worker told an observer, rule is considered an act of high the bureaucracy. Palmiro To- speeches by loudspeakers set up has become increasingly greatwhat happened in Poznan are ed Thursday morning, June 28. ardly" party officers who scam-Things cannot go on like this." instead of scattering at the first gliatti, the old Stalinist func-A number of reports tell of instead of scattering at the first gliatti, the head of the Italnot in dispute. The Polish Sta- Trybuna Ludu denies the dele- pered for safety and "did not Things cannot go on like this." linist regime, in line with the gation was arrested. It says return from hiding until order shots from the machine guns of tionary at the head of the Italthe Stalinist armed forces, the interview of the manning on until 3 A.M. More than 80 a Budapest organization of stupolicy of trying to combine con- that a false rumor was spread was restored." slogans demanding that "Rusworkers conduct a battle, win ly put his finger on the meaning ciliation and concessions with to that effect, and that was what Soldiers marching in formasians leave Poland." fierce reprisals, has admitted instigated the strike movement. tion to the fair grounds broke over a part of the soldiery and of this development. "If Stalin One immediate conclusion flows that a mass workers' strike Granting the accuracy of this ranks and fraternized with the irrefutably from the events — attack the most hated institu- had lasted longer," he said, "the prompted by justifiable griev-version, the question arises: strikers. Local police offered no even from the official Stalinist tions of the bureaucratic dictatorances took place. The official What kind of experience with resistance to the marchers. version. The Polish Communist ship — that is construed as amorgan of the Polish Communist the regime prompted the work-Party, not to speak of the regime ple evidence that imperialist Party, Trybuna Ludu, stated: ers to so readily believe the itself, is completely isolated agents were leading these work-"The economic demands of the "rumor" that their delegation At noon tanks and anti-airfrom the problems, daily lives ers by the nose. craft guns, levelled for direct workers were to a large extent was arrested? and struggles of the factory As a clincher the bureaucrats desperately to save itself from causes of Hungary's troubles. . brutally and openly the unity workers. Obviously the party and ask: "How can the workers rise Whether the delegation was ar- firing, rolled into the city. The justified and their grievances rested or not, it certainly did not demonstration was surrounded. were understandable." A governthe regime form an upper crust ment bulletin, declared the need get satisfaction in Warsaw for An Associated Press dispatch, against their own state?" This is of course the nub of the ques- group in history it wants to ne mistake after another but clared that 'our liberation is goof those who run the state apfor "carefully distinguishing be- the workers' demands. Trybuna from Frankfurt, Germany, June paratus and the various party tion. The bureaucrats in the Sotween provocateurs," whom it Ludu itself says, "The conflict 29, quotes a West German reinstitutions. The whole formation cannot viet Union, who usurped power blamed for the outbreak, and could have been avoided had the porter who witnessed the subsecessions, namely, that its power, count for their actions. It is be regarded as anything but a by destroying Lenin's Bolshevik "the workers of Poznan, who trade unions and the govern- quent scene: tact. That, however, is precisely to this present regime of gen- try. "Machine guns were brought up bureaucratic caste of arrogant, party, along with their appointfiled justified demands and pro- ment considered the demands of against the demonstrators. The privileged and nervous appoin- ed henchmen in Poland and the tested against unjustified cuts the workers in time." what the workers' political revo-In any case the wnole incident first shots were fired shortly tees to power. The ingrained con-the workers' state, established lution can not concede. of their wages." Echoing these official admis- of the delegation to Warsaw and after. Women and children fled ception of such a caste is that by the October 1917 revolution, clared. The only weapon the bureaucracy in Poland had at its dissions of the Polish government, the reports of its arrest cast to their homes. The workers it is the sole dispenser of all with themselves. the Stalinist secretary-general serious doubt on the Stalinist however, tightened their ranks. the good things in life. Any idea posal in dealing with a mass of the Italian General Confeder- assertion that the sole factor They locked their arms and began that the workers have the right HISTORICAL LAW movement of the working class ation of Labor, said: "The grav- determining the timing of the to march against the soldiers. to struggle independently is was the weapon of brute force. But history is revealing the ity of the Poznan revolt lay in strike was the presence of an Then the officers gave orders to alien and abhorent to them. Mass That, and the hope that an alldeeper laws of the proletarian the existence of a profound and international trade fair in Poz- shoot. The first victim lay dead independent struggles of the revolution which started in Ruson the cobblestones. The angry workers is the very antithesis widespread discontent among nan at the time. the workers of Poznan, coupled the mass of Polish workers." Thursday morning, June 28, mob tore branches from the of the bureaucracy — they hate degeneration; it became domiwith severe reprisals, will discourage the repetition of simi- released. If the Soviet Union trially advanced of the "Peoples" And he hastened to add: "This the workers of Stalin Locomo- trees and rushed against the and fear such activity. They do lar attempts in any other part was able to accomplish miracles Democracies." and he hastened to add: This the workers of Stahl Locontrolled, para malcontent offered favorable tive Works struck the plant at military shouting the demand everything in their power to stic caste of bureaucrats. In the nated by an uncontrolled, paraground for the maneuvers of 7 A.M. The workers gathered for freedom. of productive development under crush it. . of their domain.

"A flag was put over the dead

in a demonstration outside the rovocateurs." Trybuna Ludu said the strike plant and then began a march man. Others lifted kim and carstarted as a result of "badly im- toward the center of the city. ried the body before them as the Stalinists that this whole lemented economic moves" which The movement spread to other they surged forward. caused the wages of workers in plants and became general "The second victim was a Poznan to be drastically cut. people. Street car crews struck his gun. An officer pointed his

### "DOESN'T EXIST"

and joined the parade. So did the pistol at the soldier and killed itself the measure of the police The attitude of the regime to truckdrivers. Small shops closed him." the economic hardship of the up. The workers' parade, march- The encounter now grew sharp. workers in Poland is illustrated ing 20-abreast, moved into the An order was given to open diby an outspoken article in the center of the city.

Po Prostu, a Warsaw newspaper, Trybuna Ludu's version of the their dead comrade before them, just two weeks before the Poz- beginning of the general strike advanced on the soldiers. They han uprising. In reference to the is different only in one detail. captured two tanks. During the official news agency, P.A.P., de- ing class of the Stalinist-domi- of the Kaiser to the contrary. of the world have an urgent dents' slogans have been emsevere unemployment problem It reports that the strike start- rest of the day they moved to all clared that the Poznan "disturb- nated, and bureaucratically de- One year after the Russian duty to perform. They must braced by the workers. that our legislature has failed to worst wage cuts had taken place, ords destroyed and the jail burn- ed provocative and diversionary That is the reality underlying in the streets. provide benefits or medical help then spread to the rest of the ed down. Communist Party head- action." That means the govern- the volatile movement on the

Polish Stalinist sources, the pened when the workers came to stratoers. workers of Poznan sent a dele- Poznan's center agree on a num- When the workers marched formed by so much as a hint of German uprising.

course of the further develop-

Take at face value, for a moment, the fantastic assertion of the workers' state can experiment of the world class struggle, EXAMPLE OF HISTORY ence a new revolutionary impulse seething movement of the workfrom the working class in upplants and became general "The second victim was a ing class in Poznan was a mere surge. This upsurge leads to throughout the city of 365,000 Polish soldier. He refused to fire catspaw of a few spies and prothe path of a political revolution vocateurs. Isn't that charge in that will regenerate the workers' democracy on which the workers' mentality of this bureaucratic state was founded.

elite, who are saturated from That is the most profound head to foot with contempt for

rect fire. The workers, carrying the working masses,

gation to Warsaw on Monday, ber of salient facts: When the into the square in the morning definite, proven imperialist. The pressure of the industrial European working class will be of Poznan.

The bureaucrats should con- obstruction of Stalinism, imagine the 20th Congress, afforded to sult their history books. Neither what the working class will be make mild criticism. However, violence nor slander can stop a able to accomplish under a re- instead of mild criticisms the revolution, and that, we repeat, gime of workers' democracy. students used the occasion to is what is brewing in the Soviet The Stalinist bureaucrats are parade throughout the city with orbit, a workers' political revo- now preparing to organize a slogans of strong criticism, salution. This revolution will no mass purge in Poland in an at- tires and demands for drastic more serve the interests of de- tempt to crush the independent changes, including an independcadent world capitalism than the class movement of the workers ent press and opposition parties. meaning of the events in Poznan. October revolution served the in the initial stage of its de- The alarm of Premier Viliam And what is the substance of It is another sign of world-shak- interests of German imperialism velopment. Under the circum- Siroky's government and the the spy charge? On June 28 the ing significance that the work- in 1917 - despite the illusions stances, the Communist workers Czech CP shows that the stu-

the paper said: "This tragic sit- ed in one section of the Zizpo parts of the city. The jail was ances. . . bore the imprint of a formed workers' states, is moving Revolution the crowns of the raise their voices against the Since then the government pation is made worse by the fact engineering plant, where the captured, prisoners freed, rec- large-scale and carefully prepar- toward a political revolution. European monarchs were rolling strikebreaking terrorism of the and the CP have been denounc-Stalinist machines. They must ing the students. Their demands, The political revolution in the side with their class brothers both political and those dealing for the unemployed on the ground plant and then to the Stalin Lo- quarters were attacked, the radio ment built its charge of the surface of Soviet society where that unemployment does not ex- comotive Steel Works where the station occupied. The offices of workers being dupes of spies the bureaucrats hold their con- rope will be a mighty factor in must meet the test of interna- been rejected. Also rejected has workers were "very embittered." the Security Police were the and provocateurs purely on the gresses and engage in the fran- hastening the downfall of world tional revolutionary solidarity as been a demand from a section From all reports, including Various accounts of what hap- special target of the demon- evidence of the visible mass tic gyrations observable since the capitalism. By the overthrow of it is posed today — on the work- of the Czech CP for holding a movement itself. We are not in- death of Stalin and the East the bureaucracy the vast creative ers' side of the class barricades special party congress, at which power of the Soviet and East that were raised in the streets a new central committee might be elected.

there on his way home from discussed past purges in the covering Marshall Tito's visit to party.

The Christian Science Monitor Over 1,000 people crammed (July 2) reports: "Hungary's in other rooms of the building. er.' The party Central Commiton until 3 A.M. More than 80 a Budapest organization of stu-Times correspondent in Belgrade sociates of former Premier Imre gives (July 2) the following ac- Nagy, who was ousted by party count of the meeting from reboss Matyas Rakosi last year." ports in the Yugoslav press: Szabad Nep, official Commu-

The "point of rupture" means garian Communist writer, said tacked the Petofi League and "Tiber Deri, well-known Hunthe mass uprising of the work-ing class. And that's what the sonalities. What is needed, he Deri as follows: "Tibor Deri Stalinist bureaucracy is trying said, is a deep analysis of the used the discussion to attack - by both concessions and re- he demanded the 'removal of of the party. He also attacked pressions. But like every ruling leaders who had been making the leaders of the party. He deplace one small limit on the con- still had not been called to ac- ing to start only now' and asked prestige and revenue remain in- high time that an end be made party ideas throughout the coun-

darmes and bureaucrats,' he de-In Czechoslovakia it would appear also that at this moment "Mantin Horvaith, member of

the students and intellectuals the Central Committee of the are the most vocal in demanding Hungarian Communist Party and radical political and economic editor of its central organ Sza- changes. However, it should be bad Nep, sought to reply. How- kept in mind that in 1953, around out campaign of slander against ever, his attempt to excuse his the time of the East Berlin genown mistakes and errors made eral strike and uprising, a wave of strikes swept this most indus-

Last April, students seized the system of planned economy upon the opportunity that the despite the terrible and costly Czech government, in line with

### **Notebook of an Agitator** By James P. Cannon

# THE MILITANT

### Joseph Vanzler

To commades throughout the world who are familiar with his writings and translations of Trottsky's works, he was known as John G. Wright. His real name was Joseph Vanzler. His friends never called him anything but "Usick." The obituary articles by other comrades will, I am sure, give an account of the essential facts of his life and the many contributions he made to our movement over the past quarter of a century. It is an imposing record.

Here I wish only to say a few words in memory of Usick as a friend. I first remember meeting him 23 years ago at a party forum on the German crisis, in the days when Hitler was coming to power. He was obviously deeply disturbed by the German events and spoke excitedly at the forum. Soon afterward he joined our organization, and I gradually came to know him. It took time to know him as he really was, however, because the real man didn't reveal himself very well in branch debates.

It took personal association, over a long time, to know the real Usick. Our association during the first year or so was dominated by conflict over one question of party policy and another. In 1934 we came to agreement on party policy and perspectives for the long pull and were reconcilled in an unbroken union that lasted 21 years. We became more than comrades in the political struggle. We became friends.

Over that long stretch of time, without a break at any point, Usick gave me what everyone needs — I, perhaps, most of all — and that is simple freindship. It is the hardest thing to find, but it can't be got in any other way except by finding it. In present day business and politics people tend to think of "friendship" as a relation based on the exchange of flavors. It implies calculation and dependence of one kind or another. But friendship, as I understand it, is no good unless it is disinterested, free from any taint of self-concern.

The friendship that gives freely without counting, is the only friendship worth talking about. That, I imagine, will be the normal, takenfor-granted relation of congenial people in their communion with each other in the future. But in the class society of the present, with its lack of freedom and its artificial values, such firiendship is exceptional. When such a person as Usick comes along, with his simple, almost child-like trust, his appeal to the best in others and his readiness to believe the best about them, it is hard at first to believe that it is real.

Usick lived for more than 50 years in a transition period of the history of humanity. It is a mere interlude in the long evolution of the human race, but it has encompassed all our lives, and the lives of many generations. In this historical interlude, mankind, losing even the memory of its communal solidarity of earlier millenium's, has descended into the underworld of competitive class society in order to forge there the weapons for its liberation from helpless dependence on nature, and to create the material condittions for its retemergence in the communal solidarity of classless society in the future. The present world of class society, wherein all

human relationships are tainted by confilicts of interests, was a world Usick never made and he was not made for it.

He was our most learned man. Indeed, in the many broad fields which were the subject of his thought and study - the whole range of Marxism, history, philosophy and world literature - it is doubtful that the workers' movement anywhere in the world possessed a comrade so roundly learned as Usick was. He was an intellectual. If there is uch a thing as a pure intellectual, one concerned with theoretical ideas as a primary interest, Usick was one. He was also a pure idealist, in that his whole life was devoted to the socialist ideal, but he knew and taught that the ideal must rest on material foundations and can be realized only in the struggle of classes.

Usick's learning and his idealism were his strength - and also his weakness. At home in the broad ocean of theoretical concepts. Usick floundered helplessly in the narrow creeks of practical affairs in the workaday world; and that included the political and party struggle, which, unfortunately, is not always free from the . malignant influences of the class society it strives to change. Usick, the scholar and idealist, didn't know how to take care of himself in the roughand-tumble business of the political fight, which others handle by reflex action, almost without thinking about it. He needed help there, lest he

be taken advantage of. It was here that a few of us, who had learned

how to fight for our place under the banner without forgetting the larger aims of our struggile; how to survive in the pollitical alley-fights and protect ourselves and others against the groin-kickers and eve-gougers - came to Usick's aid. We valued him for his learning, for his real and soliid contributions to the cause, and we would not allow him to be thrust aside. I am proud of that, and it is my consolation in sorrow today.

Usick gave a lot to the party and thereby to the great cause it represents. His contributions of steady daily work - his articles, lectures and transliaitions - added considerably to the sum tioital of the party's capilital, and all those who have inherited this capital are his debtors.

To his friends he has left the memory of uncounted acts of generosity and kindness, of simple service simply given, which helped to take the rough edges off many a tough personal situation. The grief is too deep for tears, but we hope and believe that the memory of Usick, as he was in life, will be stronger than the grief. Usick helped the cause he bellieved in, and helped his friends to pensevere. He helped to build our faith in men by showing us the example of a communist man. None of us can hope to do more. His life was not lived in vain.

Los Angeles, Calif. June 25, 1956



(Continued from page 1) | against Stalinism, Stein said, his all; and which he enriched March, when his failing heart "While all of us Trotskyists ab- because he lived in it," confined him to the house for hored Stalinism, I don't believe Joseph Hansen, who had workthe second time in six months. anyone, except Stalin's direct ed for many years with comrade At the very moment when Trot- victims, suffered as much as Wright on the editorial staff of skyism was receiving its most Usick during the dark years of The Militant and the magazine, far-reaching vindication, Usick Stalin's rule. Stalin not only of- Fourth International, observed was unable to continue the work fended his beliefs, but his very that the memorial meeting af-

VOLUME XX

# Text of Goldway Speech on '56 Election

MONDAY, JULY 9, 1956

[We publish below a tape recording transcription of the speech by David Goldway, ex-ecutive secretary of the Jefferson School, at the Brooklyn Compass Club symposium, Sunday June 24. Goldway supported the Com-munist Party position on election policy in the 1956 campaign. The World Stalinist Crisis Club symposium, Sunday June symposium topic was: Working BUFFALO, June 30 - Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Class Policy in the 1956 Elections. Other speakers were: Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate meeting here tonight on recent developments in the not calling for the defeat of the tweedle-dum, tweedle-dee, char-

of the Socialist Workers Party, Soviet Union. With a good ad- >-W. E. B. Du Bois, educator and vance press coverage, the meet-Clifford T. McAvoy, former ing was well attended and a American Labor Party mayoralty lengthy, animated discussion on candidate in New York. We pubthe crisis of world Stalinism follished last week the text of lowed her presentation. Farrell Dobb's speech and will

### publish next week the speech of FLAYS DULLES The Buffalo Courier-Express

By David Goldway

Clifford T. McAvoy.]

take place now.

ties as now constituted are in-

struments designed to serve the

political needs of Big Business.

of working class policy for this

election year.

DIFFER ON APPROACH

spokesman that the Khrushchev Mr. Chairman, fellow panel- revelations of Stallin's crimes ists, friends: I would first com- will be a body blow to the mend the Brooklyn Compass American Communist Party and Club for arranging this sympo- that a regroupment of radical sium. Gatherings such as this workers around the SWP can be for the expression of divergent anticipated.

points of view among left and Discussing the recent worksocialist-minded people cannot ers uprising in Poznan, Mrs. but be a positive factor in Amer- Weiss castigated Secretary of ican political life. It is to be State Dulles' expression regretted that such discussions of "sympathy" to families of have taken place so infrequently Polish workers slain in the in the recent past, and it is a revolt as "hypocritical to the wholesome sign of the times I core."

guess that they're beginning to In an interview with the Buf-

reported the view of the SWP

falo Evening News, Mrs. Weiss I want to begin with premises said, "The SWP is opposed to somewhat similar to those enun- the regime of Bulganin and ciated by Mr. Dobbs. I think all Khrushchev . . . the present the speakers on our panel are bureaucraits all participated in in agreement concerning the the terror regime." We are necessity of a basic political witnessing the beginning of a change in our country. I think "pollitical revolution in the Soviet we all agree that socialism is Union," she said. Mrs. Weiss the only ultimate solution of the forecast that the outcome will be problems of the American peo- the complete elimination of the ple, and I think we are likewise bureaucracy. "The day of Bulon "The Coming Downfall of

meeting will be held Friday, July 13, 8:30 PM, at the Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Critical letters to the Daily Avenue.

Suggesting the slogan of de-Where we differ is in our a number of real issues that Carthyites, Dixiecrats and other net therefore, in this way, means self to sterile isolation. approach to these questions in will to one degree or another ultra-reactionaries in both par- the opposite of a blank check THE HIGH ROAD, terms of what they mean for force themselves into the 1956 ties. In New York it means con- to the Democratic Party. Rather, working class political action in electoral struggle and even in- centration on the defeat of such suggesting such a slogan is the 1956. It is my hope that in the fluence the two big capitalist incumbent congressmen as Dono- best way in my judgment, to process of expressing our differ- parties who dominate the elec- van and Coudert. At the same bring issues to the forefront in ences, debating our points of toral scene. In my judgment the time it means fighting for the the campaign, to prod both parview and examining various ap- issues that will to one degree nomination and election of la- ties, and to guarantee that the proaches, we will all come by or another assert themselves in bor, Negro and progressive can- people will get some concessions this to a correct understanding 1956 are: didates in a considerable number whoever wins in November. In

MYRA TANNER WEISS

First: The militant battles of of districts, where such a thing addition, a defeat for the GOP the Negro people to enforce the is possible. And in upper New under such conditions will prob-Let me enunciate the founda- Supreme Court desegregation de- York State the possibility for ably put into office an admin- the socialist-minded left learns tions of my approach to working cision, to win the right to vote, winning nominations for labor istration a little more amenable how to do this, and it's much to which he had devoted the best part of his life — the work of analyzing developments in the Soviet Union. "It is a cruel brutality in any form He soviet Union. "It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the soviet Union." It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the soviet Union. "It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the soviet Union." It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the soviet Union. "It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the soviet Union." It is a cruel brutality in any form He method and to carry out an the method and to carry out an the program for 1956 and the program for the work on the program for the s are as follows: The program for 1956 the South and to carry out an Party ticket is a real one, the four years after election. Party ticket is a real one, the four years after election. A further task for the work-once we learn how to do it,

cabinet and the removal of the paign move closer to grappling paralyzing grip of the GOP- with the real issues. To the de-Dixiecrat alliance from Congress. gree that they refrain from put-In asserting the objective of de- ting pressure on the major parfeating the GOP administration, ties, to that degree will the Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, addressed a I want to make clear that I am elections tend to assume a

esues that must be seized hold of such organizations as the AFL-by the working class. CIO, the NAACP, THE ADA,

Another major working class etc. To the degree that these

task in 1956 as I see it, is the groups intensify their political

ousting of the Republican ad- militancy and vigilance, pro-

ministration and the Cadillac gressively, will the 1956 cam-

GOP and the Cadillac cabinet acter. at all costs or for giving a blank The strengthening of the incheck to the Democratic Party. dependent political activity of the organizations of labor, the Ne-

DEFEAT GOP Let us look concretely at what

er administration.

by the working class.

dle class is also important bea policy of favoring the defeat cause it is from these sectors of the GOP and the Cadillac cabi- of the population and from their net in the national elections chief organizations that will really means. My premise is that come the new political realignthe GOP cannot be defeated as ment that our country so desthings now stand. Assuming that perately needs. Eisenhower recovers, becomes the GOP standard bearer, and

Whatever form it takes it is the Democratic Party remains clear that we must have such a as is; that is, a vacillating and that is my judgment flabby bundle of contradictions that objective events will put such a perspective on the order dominated by the Lyndon Johnof the day in the not at all disson, Sam Rayburn line of party tant future. unity with the Dixiecrats and

gro people and the liberal mid-

NUMBER 28

collaboration with the Eisenhow- ATTENTIVE EAR

Finally, there is an important To defeat the Cadillac cabiplace in the 1956 campaign for net it is necessary to presuppose political groupings that espouse a defeat for the Dixiecrats in the cause of socialism for the the Democratic Party, a new ap- American people. Such groups proach to such key issues as can be of enormous value by peace, and a new boldness and placing the question of socialmilitancy by the liberal wing of sim, if even only in an educathe Democratic Party. It means tional sense before the whole further important changes in the country. I am sure that greater attitude of labor, the Negro peo- numbers than ever will be willple and other progressive forces ing to give an attentive ear to toward the Democratic Party. to such a discussion of social-On the part of these groups ism. there must be a real spirit of

However, the propogation of independence, a real insistence socialist ideas must not be unthat the Democratic Party either dertaken in such a manner as take a forthright position on key to stand in the way of achieving issues or forfeit the support of the immediate goals, which it is these groups, without which the possible to achieve in 1956. Any such advocacy of socialism will be rejected out of hand by the workers and the group making

such an advocacy will doom it

If, on the other hand, the spokesmen for socialism show how the tasks of the day and the ultimate achievement of so= cialism are interconnected, theuthey will be making an enormous contribution both to the cause of socialism and to the struggles of the moment. Once

Worker, she said, "show that rank and file communists are shocked by the developments and are trying to understand how the terrible regime in the Soviet Union came to power." The next public meeting for SWP vice-presidential candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, will be Philadelphia, where she will speak

all solidly in agreement that the gamin and Khrushchev are num-Khrushchev and Company." The Republican and Democratic par- bered," she added. CRITICAL LETTERS

health."

times I hesitated to visit him As a man he was the antithesis strong artistic sense. for fear that the strain of the of a Stalinist. Stalinist treach-

political discussions he insisted ery, the endless lies and falsifiupon would sap his declining cations, to which others might scientific world. He was an exenergy and have an adverse ef- become inured, always distressfect on his heart. But I also knew | ed him. that if I failed to discuss poli- "Usick was steeped in the a career by the Soviet Union.

tics with him it could have an history of the Bolshevik Party even worse effect on his recov- and of the Russian Revolution like few other people. He made

ery. "Once when he persisted in a minute study of the persondiscussing heatedly, as was his alities and the role they played. manner, the developments in the He knew them as if he had Soviet Union, I pleaded with worked and lived with them. The tainly would have been a suchim to forget politics for a torture and murder of the old cessful one. He possessed the while and to conserve his meager Bolsheviks at Stalin's hands necessary drive and energy, and energy. He looked at me with was keenly felt by him. Usick his appreciation of the laws of an expression of great hurt and considered each one a personal capitalist economy was not simsaid, 'I'm disappointed in you. friend lost.

I thought you knew that if I cannot talk politics, I cannot REASON FOR PRIDE live? ? "We have reason to be proud,"

Discussing comrade Wright's Stein concluded, "of the Party contributions to the struggle which inspired Usick to give

### **Tribute to John G. Wright**

National Committee members in Los Angeles, and the Los Angeles Branch, join with comrades in New York and throughout the party in mourning the death of Comrade John G. Wright, able and valiant 9-

party, ever appearing as an ex-

The passing of Usick, as he ponent of Marxist theory and a was affectionately known among defender of principled class poli- alleviate the pain we feel at his here and now. Wishful thinking, struggle, especially with Estes comrades, is a severe loss to the tics. This activity, spread over loss. entire international Trotskyist more than a quarter-century, movement. We join with com- made Usick a true veteran in rades everywhere in our deep- the fight for a new world. est sympathy for Doris, his wife, Comrades may find some comcompanion and helper. Her fort in the fact that during the poingnant sense of loss is shar- closing days of his life, Usick ed by all of us. was able to witness the begin-

In a very real sense, Usick ning of the end of the abominawas irreplaceable, for he was tion of Stalinism, to whose dethe translator of the writings struction he had devoted him- to have worked with him, and tive the smothering and evasion paign, they will thereby lay the tion to Stevenson early thus givof Trotsky, which enriched and self with burning zeal. His work to have fought with him shoulder of issues. What the Republicans basis for wresting concessions ing him the nomination. Accordpreserved the heritage of Marx- will fructify when fresh thou- to shoulder in the greatest cause would like the issue to be is just on these issues no matter who ing to the Daily Worker writer, ism through the long period of sands of young proletarians there is." Stalinist reaction. In this work, surge on to the field of the class he earned the unstinting praise struggle. They will arm themof Trotsky himself for his pain- selves with the Trotskyist ideas NEXT WEEK staking conscientiousness and that Usick helped make availhigh competence in rendering able to them as they move forthe Russian texts into English. | ward to the final victory over

Los Angeles, Calif.

June 24, 1956

Usick burned himself out in capitalism. the service of socialism. He was a tireless contributor to the party press and an active partici-

the Soviet Union. "It is a cruel brutality in any form. He was comrade Wright to all. irony," Stein observed, "that the intensely loyal to ideas, to com- He pointed out that comrade mortal crisis of Stalinism should rades, to friends, to his party, Wright could have easily made working close the Negree needs of the Second: An agricultural crisis coincide with a crisis in Usick's to the world working class. He a career for himself in the capiwas extremely scrupulous in talist world. He could have done

Stein explained the difficulty questions of theory. When citing so, Hansen said, as a writer and he faced when visiting comrade facts or quotations in polemics, translator who possessed great diate needs as I see them, are year. Wright during his illness. "At he valued truth above all else. technical skill, combined with a

At the same time he had open to him a promising career in the pert in colloidal chemistry who had been invited to accept such

HAD WARM HEART

If he had chosen to remain a business man, as he was when he entered the revolutionary movement, Hansen said, he cerply theoretical.

"Comrade Wright was a combination of the artist and scien-

tist," Hansen said. "But in ad- finally: I believe it should prodition to a high intelligence and vide avenues for educating the great natural talent, he had a people to understand that the warm heart. It was this combina-

to revolutionary socialism." Describing comrade Wright's cialism in the United States. contributions to the collective

work of the party, Hansen af- MUST BE REALISTS firmed: "Those contributions will

have their effect on the forward achieved? No matter how pas- issue in the Democratic Party. movement of humanity. That is sionately we yearn for these Stevenson came into the camfighter for the socialist revolu- pant in the daily life of the genuine immortality, the only objectives or goals, our starting paign calling for moderation and immortality there is. Usick won point in my opinion must be the seeking to evade the civil rights that. This knowledge should help realities of today. What exists issue. The course of his primary

utopian fantasy, youthful ful- some degree to abondon his mod-"But at the same time," he minations - these will not help. Kefauver, has forced him to will never be quite the same The most superficial view of tion. now that he is gone. There was the election campaign of the ma-

Ike. We like Ike. And if the wins the election. In The Militant

"When Communism Comes to America' By Leon Trotsky

should make a contribution, if Jim Crow in all phases of Amerat all possible, to the most press- | ican life.

working class, the Negro people, which is causing deep ferment the family farmers, professionals in the rural area undoubtedly and other middle class group- will be bound to make itself felt ings. The chief of these imme- in the election campaign this

peaceful coexistence and disar-Third: A host of economic mament, a measure of economic problems, which promise to be security and prosperity for the more severe in the coming masses of people, an end to semonths, and which are already gregation and dincrimination plaguing large sections of workagainst the Negro people in our ers and sections of small busicountry, and restoration of ness. These economic issues will democracy and the Bill of force themselves forward in 1956. Rights. Next, the continuing and grow-

(2) This program should have ing demand to clean out Mcas a major objective the expos- Carthyism and restore the freeing of the political rule of Big dom of thought and opinion em-Business, and especially its most bodied in the Bill of Rights is reactionary elements: the Mc- and will be more of an issue Carthyites in the Republican in the 1956 election. Finally, Party and the Eastland Dixie- continuing changes in the intercrats in the Democratic Party. national situation pose ever (3) It should help to under- more sharply the necessity for mine the present two-party basic changes in American forstraitjacket and contribute to eign policy and these questions

ward the formation of a new must be discussed in 1956. political alliance. Fourth and

CIVIL RIGHTS

Thus far these issues have not been suggested to any consideronly satisfactory ultimate solu- able degree by the major partion, I think, that brought him tion for our country is the es- ties, as I have already indicated. now, which is still four and a half months before election day, these issues have, made them-

Stevenson that the Daily Worker wishes to arouse its readers

closely with him for two decades, in 1956, I think this attention increasingly he has been forced spiracy by any standards. The I can't help saying that things should be given to the issues. to take positions on this ques- leaders of the Southern wing of In any event if the working Rayburn and Senate Majority only one Usick. There will never jor parties thus far reveals that class and progressive forces suc- Leader Johnson, are "plotting" be another like him. It was a the spokesmen of these parties ceed in giving overriding em- to swing the Southern delegaprivilege to have known him, have made their primary objec- phasis to issues in the 1956 cam- tions at the Democratic conven-Rob F. Hall, who somehow people could think no further Another key working class knows what is going on in than that, the Republican high task in 1956 as I see it, is to Stevenson's innocent m i n d, command would be happy. As defeat the most reactionary can-for the Democratic politicians, didates from both major parties of a plot."

their number one candidate, Adlai and to elect as large a number The "plot" is growing by leaps Stevenson, began his campaign of candidates as possible who and bounds: "Rayburn has alon the emptiest of all possible favor progressive social legisla- ready predicted that Stevenson tion, civil rights, civil liberties will be nominated on the second notes: Moderation. Yet life itself, and the press- and a genuine path to peace. | ballot. His plan is to offer ure of important sections of the . This means two things. First, Stevenson the 54 votes of Texas,

representation in the legislature ing class in the '56 elections is will all be on the high road to is a real one, and these are is essentially a political arm of socialism in our country.

Democratic Party cannot win.

TO PROD BOTH

### Stalinists Warn of 'Plot' **To Seduce Stevenson**

### By John Thayer

The "new line" of the Daily Worker is very curious. It resembles to a T the "old line" of the 1952 election and the way, according to Hall. It the even older line of Browder - the line - old and new is simply support of the Demo-D

(which on the first ballot will cratic Party. Although defenders of the go to favorite son Lyndon Communist Party line, such as Johnson), the 36 votes of North David Goldway, executive direc- Carolina, the 24 votes of Louitor of the Jefferson School, have siana, and the 26 votes of Arkanmaintained that the CP will not sas, if Stevenson will agree to son before the Dixiecrats can give the Democrats a blank the terms of the Southern bloc. check, such statements are be- And Rayburn expects to be able ing disproved with every new to scare up the additional votes edition of the Daily Worker. necessary if Adlai meets his The issue of July 2, for exam- specifications."

pel carries a front-page article Was ever such a dastardly entitled "The Plot to Tie Adlai plot against a capitalist politi-

Stevenson to Dixiecrats." The cian heard of? impression the headline gives the reader, of course, is that the the Bourbon politicos want to them. knot has not yet been tied. To tion for our country is the es-tablishment of democratic so- But even in the period up till swallow this, one has to wipe Southern bloc for his nomina- at the beginning of this article, tended visits to the South in the past two years precisely to How can such objectives be selves felt. Take the civil rights make deals with the Dixiecrats. Also wipe out such facts as racist Herman Talmadge's endorsement of Stevenson, as well ready pledged to him? as that by the Governor of Mississippi.

concluded, "as one who worked Therefore looking at our tasks eration line on civil rights and about? It is a most unusual conthe Domocratic Party, Speaker

Stevenson? The Minnesota Democratic convention, has shown "voted unanimously to throw the state's 26 votes now committed to Kefauver, to Stevenson," as soon as they are released. Now if other supporters of Kefauver. Harriman and various favorite sons will also swing to Stevennominate him then the "plot" would fail. Stevenson would then be "beholden" to Northern lib. erals.

This is the line the CP is peddling today. It is asking workers and Negroes to expend their energy, money and votes in the flimsy hope of "stealing" By getting him the nomination, the Dixiecrats' candidate from

tion." This is not an unusual that the CP would not give the expectation at capitalist party Democrats a blank check, Far, conventions - after all it takes rell Dobbs, also a speaker at the two to make a bargain. How Brooklyn symposium countered does Hall think Stevenson got with the prediction that the CP those Southern delegations al- would swallow whoever the

Democrats put up in the coming How can Daily Worker read- elections. It was a prediction ers and those they can influence that is being borne out as fast What is the "plot" against in the labor and Negro move- as the Daily Worker presses ments foil the "plot" against can roll.

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Forum	•
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Socialist Workers Party	Speaker:
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speak on Khrushchev and the	Marxist Writer and
Polish Workers	Lecturer
Uprising	Friday, July 13 – 8 P. M.
Fri., July 13 - 8:30 P. M.	2936 W. 8th St.
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