Class Politics And the Negro Movement

An Editorial

With the movement of the Negro people for equality at a peak level, it would be expected that the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which concluded in San Francisco July 1, would have been more than a "business as usual" gathering. Yet that is essentially what the convention was.

The convention reiterated in effect the traditional policy of relying primarily on court action and lobbying to cut down Jim Crow. It avoided taking a stand on proposals to incorporate in the NAACP program the new methods of struggle represented by the Montgomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla., bus boycott movements, and referred the issue to the Board of Directors for "careful consideration."

The Montgomery and Tallahassee movements certainly warrant the most careful study. But what better place was there for study and decision than the meeting of the NAACP's highest body, its national convention?

Montgomery and Tallahassee are the true symbols of the new South. The Montgomery Improvement Association and the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council are mass organizations of historic significance. Originally formed to fight for the most elementary demands they have already gone beyond the limits of the old-line organizations and committees. In these cities the ranks of the Negro community are actively involved in struggles that challenge the basic structure of Jim Crow.

• The MIA is now organized on a permanent basis. It has maintained its solid boycott for seven months and its pressure has won significant court victories. It is now moving to take on Jim Crow in housing and other fields.

The Tallahassee organization, unmoved by a campaign of police intimidation, has in five short weeks forced suspension of operations by the local bus company.

While both movements have found the boycott a powerful weapon, they have also come to understand its limits. They have found themselves in battle not simply with the bus companies but even more so with the city and state administrations whose function it is to preserve Jim Crow. The Negro people of Tallahassee and Montgomery now recognize they must fight fire with fire they must challenge the political rule of the white supremacists.

Both the MIA and the Inter-Civic Council have organized energetic campaigns to register the entire Negro community to vote at the polls. But in doing so they have run smack into a major problem. Once registered, who hould they vote for? - Longing till an

Pointing out that all of the candidates support Jim Crow, one prominent MIA leader voiced the attitude of the most militant section of the movement by saying, "I could not vote for any of these and still live with my conscience. They all stand for the same thing. So if I voted, I would be voting for what I am fighting against."

The problem is not confined to the one-party South.

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 16, 1956 Vol. XX — No. 29 **PRICE: 10 Cent** 267 **Stalinist Admissions Shatter** Their Poznan Frame-Up Lies

Peru Students Fight Fare Rise

THE

OF

THE MULTANT.

INTERESTS

THE

Steel Strikers Ready For Drawnout Struggle

PUBLISHED

WEEKLY IN

By Fred Hart

ssue.

fight

what might lie ahead."

PROVOKED STRIKE

JULY 12 — The 650,000 members of the Steelworkers Union, now in the twelfth day of their strike against the steel trust, are determined to keep the mills shut down as long as is necessary to preserve D

their hard-won gains. This flact is was carried out by the simple confirmed by reports from every device of proposing to handcuff najor steel center. the workers to a completely un

The magazine, Business Week, acceptable long - term contract which really speaks for business, precisely at a time when the candidly reports in its July 7 ind stry is entering a period of "The industry firmly be- economic uncertainty.

leves it has a principle at stake The solidarity of the steelworkn forcing the union into recipro- ers is a high tribute to their call blangainning, and in teaching it union consciousness and their that once it has forced on man- understanding of the bosses' agement the expense of closing game. Their own leadership has he mills it's in for a tough offered them nothing positive to fight for or shown any capacity "The unionigives no sign of back- to effectively counter the strategy

ing away from such a drawn-out of the bosses. To this day union President est of strength. As it set up its picket lines, it reminded its mem-McDonald has not revealed to the bers of the 57-day steel strike in ranks what demands he has put 1952 and - what is vividly before the companies. Throughout has tenure of office, Micemembered in Pittsburgh - the 156-day Westinghouse strike this | Donald has been so busy preachyear. There were no reports of

ing to the workers about their rank and file grumbling about "harmony of interest" with the bosses that he has never been able to develop effective means of defending the workers' in-It has not been difficult for terests against the rapacious the workens to recognize that steel barons.

the conportations delliberately pro-McDonald now compliains, and roked the stnike. The provocation nightly so, that "the steel industry forced this shutdown." This is the history of McDonald's I. F. Stone Hails leadership. Throughout, he has lacked the guits to take the of-Kutcher Victory fensive. Each time he has permitted the bosses to choose the [From I. F. Stone's Weekly,

time and place of battle - and June 25, 1956] the issue.

settiled.



High School students in Lima, Peru staged a demonstration protesting a rise in transit fares. Top photo shows police arresting a young demonstrator; below, a bus is overturned on Avenida Abancay. Thirteen vehicles were destroyed and 82 others were damaged during the fighting.

Big Meetings Sweep Japan

Not a Shred of Proof **Produced to Support** Charge of "Spy Work"

WORKING PEOPLE

By William Bundy

JULY 11 — The immediate result of the Poznan uprising of June 28, which was put down with tanks and bullets plus mass arrests, has been the opening of a double campaign of concessions and D

repressions by the Polish Stal- turbance, were thereby disarmed inist regime. The campaign is by the rioters.'

designed to weaken and behead Thus, a Stalinist reporter on the rising mass movement the spot reveals that there is no against the Kremlin - appointed evidence that the forelign agents imported arms. Instead we get

The government rushed extra a description, somewhat played ood to Poznan where two weeks down and distorted of how workago the workers marched into ens have always gotten arms durmachine-gun fire shouting, ing a revolutionary uprising.

bread, bread, bread." Direct But perhaps by now spies and cash payment of back taxes has provocateurs have been uncovered been made to workers at the among those arrested. Cruick-Stalin Locomotive Works, a shank reports otherwise. He says. storm center of the June 28 "Some (of the arrested) were events. Julian Tokarski, head of merely people who unwittingly the ministry of Auto and Tractor broke the curfew. Some few have works, the government departno documents and are refusing to ment in charge of the Poznan say who they are or where they Sitalin plant, has been dismissed. come from. A certain number Tokarski is said to be pensonally came from outside Poznan. These unpopular among factory workinclude people from various parits ars," the London Times says. of Poland who say they were in At the same time, the govern-Poznan for the fair. One is a ment refuses to release the names seaman Gdansk who was armed

of arrested workers, officially rewhen arrested." ported to be about 600. And by In other words the government stlicking to its frame-up charge has no spies or provocateurs that that provocateurs and spies led it can produce. Only a few the general strike the Stalinists unidentified suspects. On what, are obvilously attempting to lay therefore, is the loud and rethe ground for heavy reprisals peated charge that the workers against the leadens of the workwere led by imperiallist spies based? An editorial in Trybuna

There it is. The editors blurt

it out. It is the "form of protest"

the workers chose that the Stal-

inist rulers consider impermis-

sible! The real act of treason,

in the eyes of the bureaucraits,

is the independent class action of

audu, the official paper of the INVESTIGATION

Nationally, the Democratic and Republican parties stand (Continued on page 3)



NEW YORK - Election rallies here and in Newark, N. J., July 20 and 21 with Myra Tanner Weiss, vicepresidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party as

the principal speaker, will kickoff concentrated election campaigning for the SWP branches in this area.

The New York and Newark rallies will wind up Mrs. Weiss' nationwide speaking tour which began two months ago. The program of the Socialist Workers Party reached workers and students and radio, television, and newspaper audiences from coast to coast.

"America's Road to Socialism - Class Struggle or Class Collaboration?" will be the subject at the New York meeting Friday, July 20, 8:30 P.M. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue (near 14th Street). Following questions and discussion at the rally, open house will be held at SWP headquarters, 116 University Pl.

The New York rally will cover the 1956 election campaign, its importance and its lessons for American workers.

ble of arousing the interest of follow the meeting.

ism.

Mrs. Weiss will discuss the the Soviet Union to American torship. role of the various radical par- workers. and the Khrushchev Report" will cialism."

once our colleague on PM, in the current New York Smith Act trial. . . The Kutcher reinstatement was announced

as in compliance with a Court of Appeals decision of April 30 but that decision, like a previous one, was merely procedural. A new case could have been instituted against Kutcher, but somebody in the government finally had sense enough to see the cruel folly of this whole proceeding and throw in the sponge.

American workers. Yet while the Mrs. Weiss, a young but vet- munist Party, Soviet Union, meet- proportion to the degree of pres- erence was taboo. Democrats and Republicans avoid eran socialist campaigner, spoke ing in Moscow last February. a discussion of civil rights, civil in Boston July 6 to an audience liberties, unemployment and the consisting in the majority of mittee of the Soviet Communist sharpest, Thorez less so and Den- in Pravda was understood to pre- guage of working class revolt linked had marched into the mawar economy, the national press workers hearing the Trotskyist Party, made public the text of nis the mildest of the lot. Their sage an answer from the Kremis filled with political debate - analysis of Stalinism for the a resolution purporting to conthe question of socialism or ca- first time. There was a lively tain a "Marxist" explanation of three main elements: complaint, on the "Stalin cult" had un- ference. pitalism for the future of the discussion at the Boston meet- the origin and development of praise and plea. Complaint of leashed a storm of criticism goworld. Never before has the ing and some controversy on the "cult of Stalin" and what the manner in which the Khrush- ing far beyond the limits pre- may have had for a leisurely discapitalist class and its press felt the question of the Americaniza- their role had been during the chev revelations were made pub- scribed by the Kremlin, espe- cussion pegged on the Thorez, such compulsion to 'refute' Marx- tion of the radical movement period in which Stalin was con- lic, praise for the accomplish- cially in the East European "Peo- Togliatti, Dennis, "criticisms,"

the Communist Party. She has with American workers," Mrs. directed at the Khrushchev retalked to rank and file members Weiss said, "it is necessary to gime by Stalinist leaders Palmiro of the CP in all parts of the analyze such questions as the Togliatti of Italy, Maurice Tho- of the Central Committee resolucountry, and will report her first- Khrushchev speech and the Poz- rez of France and Eugene Den- tion, Pravda, official newspaper hand impressions of the current nan uprising. This applies to all nis of the United States. These of the Soviet CP had pubcrisis of Stalinism in the U.S. audiences, including trade union- "critics" had issued statements lished excerpts from the Thorez In Newark the following night, ists because these are the things expressing dissatisfaction with statement, nothing of Togliatti July 21, "The Polish Uprising they question in relation to so- the explanations contained in and all of Dennis, with one small

e rise to applaud James The steel barons current "test of strength" is made, of course, Kutcher, the legless war vetat the expense of the steelworkeran, and his lawyer, ADA Chairman Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., ers and the labor movement genon the former's reinstatement eraby, Already over 30 000 miners as a clerk in the Veterans in the steel-owned "captive pits," Administration regional office have been laid off, as well as an additional 50,000 in other steelin Newark, N. J. Thus victoriously ends an 8-year fight dependent industries.

by Kutcher against his dis-WALL STREET CHEERFUL charge for "disloyalty" because he is a member of the

The bosses, of course, are free of hardships. Quite the contrary, The N. Y. Times reported yes/terto independence day." day, "Traders on the N.Y. Stock

Exchange continued to take a heerful view of the steel situation. The prices of leading steel stocks went up again, apparently n anticipation of higher steel phices and increased company earnings after the strike was

States Army rental of land in But the steelworkers constitute Okinawa used for military bamighty power. Even with the ses," the report actually supports deck stacked against them they measures making the military will give a good account of themoccupation of Japanese territory selves. And once they build a new leadership based on a militant officially permanent.

The nature of the "rental" is working class program, they will quickly wipe the "cheer" from the revealed in a July 6 Christian oosses faces. Science Monitor report: "Oki-

More than 10,000 Japanese jammed a downtown Tokyo park on July 4 in a five-hour demonstration against week of proclaiming to the world violation of Japan's independence by U.S. imperialism. that the general strike was the While the crowd listened to >-

speeches denouncing U.S. reten- nawans now are recalling such regime opened an investigation documented cases as one in which to make a "fair and impartial" tion of military bases on Okinaan Okinowan farm family awak- inquiry into the facts. wa, a U.S. heavy cruiser in the ened one morning to find (U.S.)

harbor boomed a 21-gun "salute Army bulldozers leveling its shred of evidence to back up the The demonstration was part of take the family away with- responsible for the outbreak. On a mounting wave of popular pro- out any prior notification." tests which began about three strong in Japan now that even Worker, July 11, datelined War-

weeks ago with the leaking in the conservative capitalist politi- saw, we read the following: "To Washington of the Price report. cians are forced to make speech- date there is no evidence that Supposedly designed to "rectify discouncing U.S. occupation of arms were imported." Cruick-Okinawa. some injustices attending United

> See Page Two "When Communism Comes to America" By LEON TROTSKY

Against U.S. Okinawa Bases Pollish United Workers (Stalin-The Pollish government anist) Party provides the answer: nounced July 4 the organization 'The workers had reasons for of a commission to "investigate biltterness but the Poznan events the riots." Thus, after a full showed that the form of their protest was not proper and it was harmful." work of imperialist agents, the

ens' movement.

rulers.

So far there hasn't been a land, and a truck standing by to charge of provocateurs being the contrary. In Gordon Cruick-The anti-U.S. feeling is so shan's displatch to the Daily

the Pozman workers directed against their tyrannical regime. "THE PEOPLE SAY' Who started the shooting on June 28? In the Daily Worker July 7 Cruickshank reports: shank says, "More is now known "One woman, a trade union repabout where the rioters obtained resentative, said: 'We were their arms. Some were taken from entitled to demonstrate, but there the local Polytechnic and other should not have been shooting.' high schools where both arms and When I asked her who she ammunition are kept by students thought started the shooting: 'The receiving military training. Government says the hooligans Others were seized from the militia men, who being prohibited and provocateurs did, but the absolutely from using their arms people say the security men

in the first hours of the dis- did." Kremlin 'Answers' Togliatti, Thorez and Dennis

By Tom Kerry The uprising in Poznan on June

28 marked a turning point in the

Socialist Workers Party. .

And we rejoice in the directed

acquittal of Marian Bachrach.

MYRA TANNER WEISS.

"Stalin Cult" discussion raging be discussed by Mrs. Weiss at in all sections of the world Stalin-"I have never seen an election 52 Market Street, second floor, is' movement. The discussion campaign so devoid of issues," at 8:30 P.M. Questions, discus- was triggered by the shattering reflection of the seething discon- semitism was among the crimes cratization" was reputed to have Mrs. Weiss states, "so incapa- sion, and a social period will revelations which emanated from

On June 30, the Central Com-

and the importance of events in solidating his "one-man" dicta-

The resolution was ostensibly

cret session of the 20th Congress | Dennis statement part of a sen-| Stalin-appointed regime, Walter | financed by funds appropriated | reaucrats who rule the East Euin which Stalin was made sole- tence condemning the Stalin re- Ulbricht and his cohorts were by the American Senate. "It is ropean states, "All this demonly and personally responsible for gime for "snuffing out the lives trying to keep the lid on for fear clear," asserted the resolution, strates that one must not show all the crimes of the bureaucracy. of more than a score of Jewish of a recurrence of the June days. "that the anti-people's demon-The "dissatisfaction" of the cultural figures." Khrushchev And in Poland, where the post- strations in Poznan were paid machinations of the imperialist Stalinist tops was only a pale has not yet admitted that anti-

tent in the ranks. The sharpness of which the Stalinist bureaucrathe 20th Congress of the Com- of their questions were in direct cy was guilty and so the ref-

sure to which they are subject. The unprecedented action in Of the cuitics, Togliatti was the publishing the Dennis statement statements were compounded of lin to its "critics." The assault gravated by bureaucratic indif-

ments of the Khrushchev regime, ple's Democracies." In Hungary, were upset by the action in Pozand a plea for a plausible ex- the regime of Matyas Rakosi, nan and the growing manifestaplanation to allay the ferment longtime Stalinist hatchet-man, tions of militant dissent in the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Stalin himself could not have put ties in this election, especially "When discussing socialism intended to answer the questions stirred up by the assault on the was under heavy attack. In East European countries. The "Stalin cult." Czechoslovakia, students and in- Dennis statement appeared in

tellectuals, sensitive to the wide- Pravda on June 27. On June 28 Preliminary to the publication spread mood of mass discontent, the Poznan uprising occurred. were pressing the Stalin-ap- The Soviet CP resolution appearpointed rulers for elementary so- ed on June 30. cial reforms and for rehabilitation of the frame-up victims. In East Germany, scene of the paid provocateurs. The strike-Khrushchev's report to a se- deletion. They cut out of the 1953 June uprising against the demonstration, it asserted, was admonition to the Stalinist bu-

20th Congress process of "demo- from this source."

ANOTHER FRAME-UP been carried the farthest, the In language reminiscent of the

workers of Poznan entered the 'discussion" on their own behalf | Moscow frame-up trials, the resolution stigmatized the striking ing their grievances in the lan- Poznan workers, who, with arms

> lice, as "provocateurs and . . diversionists who were paid from overseas funds," and who "had only enough courage for a few hours.

zone, as actions paid for by it more delicately! American gold, by saying: "Sub-

The resolution stigmatized the Poznan action as the work of American monopolists."

agents, who are trying to penetrate into Socialist countries for

the purpose of undermining the achievements of the workers." The ruling bureaucracy did not need much prompting. The July 1, N. Y. Times reports that throughout Eastern Europe, "radios 'warned that lany rebellion similar to Thursday's bloody revolt in Poznan, Poland, would be dealt with ruthlessly." How "ruthlessly" is indicated by the announcement over Radio Prague

The resolution also laid the that: "Anybody who raises his basis, in advance, to slander any hand against the regime will workers' struggles against the have his hand chopped off." Even

With Poznan the Stalinist buversive activities in the people's reaucrats reverted to type. Ardemocracies will . . . continue to | rests and expulsions swept Pofail in the future, although such land, Czechoslovakia and Hungaactions are generously paid for | ry. The Kremlin's admonition from monies appropriated by "that one must not show a careless attitude," was followed with And, the resolution adds in an a vengeance. While reports dis-(continued on page 2)

and in their own way, articulatagainst intolerable conditions ag- chine-gun fire of the security po-Whatever plans the Kremlin



- Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, July 16, 1956

LEON TROTSKY'S FORECAST What Communism Would Be Like in America

[The following article by Trotsky, first pub-lished in the March 23, 1935 Liberty Magazine, has always been of keen interest as an example of a popular Marxist treatment of America's socialist future. It is of particular interest in the light of the current discussion in the Communist Party of the U.S. on America's road to socialism. - Ed.]

By Leon Trötsky

Should America go Communist as a result of the difficulties and problems which your capitalist social order is anable to solve, it will discover that Communism, far from being an intolerable bureaucratic tyranny and individual regimentation, will be the means of greater individual liberty and shared abundance.

At present most Americans regard Communism solely in the light of the experience of the Soviet Union. They fear lest Sovietism in America would produce the same material results as it has brought for the culturally backward peoples of the Soviet Union.

They fear lest Communism should try to fit them to a bed of Procrustes, and point to the bulwark of Angilo-Saxon conservatism as an insuperable obstacle even to possibly desirable reforms. They argue that Great Britain and Japan would undertake military intervention against the Ameridan Soviets. They shudder lest Americans be regimented in their habits of dress and diet; be compelled to subsist on famine rations; read stereotyped official propaganda in the newspapers; serve as rubber stamps for decisions arrived at without their active participation; keep their thoughts to themselves and loudly praise their Soviet leaders in public through fear of imprisonment and exile.

They fear monetary inflation, bureaucratic tyranny, and intolerable red tape in obtaining the necessities of life. They fear soulless standardization in the arts and sciences, as well as in the daily necessities of life. They fear that all political spontaneity and the presumed freedom of the press will be destroyed by the dictatoriship of a monstrous bureaucracy. And they shudder at the thought of being forced into an uncomprehended glibness in Marxian dialectic and disciplined social philosophies. They fear, in a word, that Soviet America will become the counterpart of what they have been told Soviet Russia looks like.

American Tradition

Actually American Soviets will be as different from the Russian Soviets as the United States of President Roosevelt differs from the Russian Empire of Czar Nicholas II.

Yet Communism can come in America only through revolution, just as independence and democracy came in America. The American temperament is energetic and violent, and it will insist on breaking a good many dishes and upsetting a good many apple carts before Communism is firmly established. Americans are enthusiasts and spontsmen before they are specialists and statesmen, and it would be contrary to the American tradition to make a major change without choosing sides and cracking heads.

However, the American Communist Revolution will be insignificant compared to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, in terms of your national wealth and population, no matter how great its comparative cost. That is because civil r of a revolutionary nature isn't fought by the handiful of men at the top - the five or ten percent who own nine-tenths of Amerikan wealth: this handful could recruit its counterrevolutionary armies only from among the lower middle classes. Even so, the revolution could easily attract them to its banner by showing that support of the Sloviets alone offers them the prospect of salvation. Everybody below this group is already economically prepared for Communism. The depression has ravaged your working class and has dealt a crushing blow to the flarmers, who had already been injured by the long agricultural decline of the postwar decade. There is no reason why these groups should oppose determined resistance to the revolution; they have nothing to lose, providing, of course, that the revoluitionary leader's adopt a farsighted and moderate policy toward them. Who else will fight against Communism? Your corporal's guard of billionaries and multimillionaires? Your Mellons, Morgans, Fords and Rockefellers? They will cease struggling as soon as they fail to find other people to fight for them. The American Soviet Government will take firm possession of the commanding heights of your business system: the banks, the key industries, and the transportation and communication systems. It will then give the farmers, the small tradespeople and business men a good long time to think things over and see how well the nationalized section of industry is working.

science of publicity and advertising, you have means for winning the support of your middle class which were beyond the reach of the Soviets of backward Russia with its vast majority of pauperized and illiterate peasants. This, in addition to your technical equipment and your wealth, is the greatest asset of your coming Communist Revolution. Your revolution will be smoother in character than ours; you will not waste your chergies and resources in costly social conflicts after the main issues have been decided; and you will move ahead so much the more rapidly in consequence.

Even the intensity and devotion of religious sentiment in America will not prove an obstacle to the revolution. If one assumes the perspective of Soviets in America, none of the psychological brakes will prove firm enough to retard the pressure of the social crisis. This has been demonstrated more than once in history. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the Gospels themselves contain some pretty explosive aphorisms.

The Unconvinced Millionaires

As to the comparatively few opponents of the Soviet Revolution, one can trust to American inventive genius. It may well be that you will take your unconvinced millionaires and send them to some picturesque island, rentfree for life, where they can do as they please. You can do this safely, for you will not need

to fear foreign interventions. Japan, Great Britain and the other capitalistic countries which intervened in Russia couldn't do anything but take American Communism lying down. As a matter of fact the victory of Communism in America - the stronghold of capitalism - will cause Communism to spread to other countries. Japan will probably have joined the Communistic ranks even before the establishment of the American Soviets. The same is true of Great Britain.

In any case, it would be a crazy idea to send His Britannic Majesty's fleet against Soviet America, even as a raid against the southern and more conservative half of your continent. It would be hopeless and would never get any farther than a second-rate military escapade.

Within a few weeks or months of the establishment of the American Soviets, Pan-Americanism would be a political reality.

The governments of Central and South America would be pulled into your federation like irron filling's to a magnet. So would Camada. The popular movements in these countries would be so strong that they would force this great untifying process within a short period and at insignificant costs. I am ready to bet that the first anniversary of the Amenican Soviets would find the Western Hemisphere transformed into the Soviet United States of North, Central, and South America, with its capital at Panama. Thus for the first time the Monroe Doctrine would have a complete and positive meaning in world affairs, although not the one foreseen by its author.

In spite of the complaints of some of your arch-conservatives, Roosevelt is not preparing for a Soviet transformation of the United Sitiates.

The NRA alims not to destroy but to strengthen the foundations of American capitalism, by overcoming your business difficulties. Not the Blue Eagle but the difficulties which the Blue Eagle is powerless to overcome will bring about Communism in America. The "radical" professors of your Brain Trust are not revolutionists: they are only frightened conservatives. Your President abhors "systems" and "generadities." But a Soviet government is the greatest of all possible systems, a gigantic generality in action.

Only when Socialism succeeds in substituting administrative control for money will it be possible to abandon a stable gold currency. Then money will become ordinary paper slips, like trolley or theater tickets. As Socialism advances these slips will also disappear, and control over individual consumption - whether by money or administration = will no longer be necessary when there is more than enough of everything for everybody!

Such a time has not yet come, though America will certainly reach it before any other country. Until then, the only way to reach such a state of development is to retain an effective regulator and measure for the working of your system. As a matter of fact, during the first few years a planned economy needs sound money even more than did old-fashioned capitalism. The professor who regulates the monetary unit with the aim of regulating the whole business system is like the man who tried to lift both his feet off the ground at the same time.

Soviet America will possess supplies of gold big enough to stabilize the dollar - a priceless asset. In Russia we have been expanding our industrial plant by 20 or 30 percent a year; but - owing to a weak ruble - we have not been able to distribute this increase effectively. This is partly because we have allowed our bureaucracy to subject our monetary system to administrative one-sidedness. You will be spared this evil. As a result you will greatly surpass us both in increased production and distribution, leading to a rapid advance in the comfort and welfare of your population.

In all this you will not need to imilitate our standardized production for our pitiable mass consumers. We have taken over from Czarist Russia a pauper's heritage, a culturally undeveloped peasantry with a low standard of living. We had to build our factories and dams at the expense of our consumers. We have had continual mometany inflation and a monstrous bureaucracy.

Fullblooded Democracy

Soviet America will not have to imitate our bureaucratic methods. Among us the lack of the have necessities has caused an intense scramble for an extra loaf of bread, an extra yand of cloth by every one. In this struggle our bureaucracy steps forward as a concilliator, as an allpowerful court of arbitration.

You, on the other hand, are much wealthier and would have little difficulty in supplying all of your people with all of the necessities of life. Moreover, your needs, tastes, and habits would never permit your bureaucracy to divide the national income. Instead, when you organize your society to produce for human needs rather than private profits, your entire population will group itself around new trends and groups, which will struggle with one another and prevent an overweening bureaucracy from imposing itself upon them.

You can thus avoid growth of bureaucratism by the practice of soviets - that is to say, democracy: the most flexible form of government vet developed. Soviet organization cannot achieve miracles but must simply reflect the will of the people. With us the Soviets have been bureaucratized as a result of the political monopoly of a single party, which has itself become a bureaucracy. This situation resulted from the exceptional difficulties of Socialist pioneering in a poor and backward country.

For Soviet America will not imilate the monopoly of the press by the heads of Soviet Russia's bureaucracy. While Soviet America would nationalize all printing plants, paper mills, and means of distribution, this would be a purely negative measure. It would simply mean that private capital will no longer be allowed to decide what publications should be established, whether they should be progressive or reactionary, "wet" or "dry," puritanical or pornographic. Soviet America will have to find a new solution for the question of how the power of the press is to function in a Socialist regime. It might be done on the basis of proportional representation for the vote in each Soviet election.

Thus the right of each group of citizens to use the power of the press would depend on their numerical strength - the same principle being applied to the use of meeting halls, allotment of time on the air, and so forth.

Thus the management and policy of publications would be decided not by individual checkbooks but by group ideas. This may take little account of numerically small but important groups but it simply means that each new idea. will be compelled, as throughout history, to prove its right to existence.

Science, Art, Philosophy

Rich Soviet America can set aside vast funds for research and invention, discoveries and experiments in every field. You won't neglect your bold architects and sculptors, your unconventional poets and audacious philosophers.

In fact, the Soviet Yankees of the future will give a lead to Europe in those very fields where Europe has hitherto been your master. Europeans have little conception of the power of technology to influence human desitiny and have adopted an attitude of sneering superiority toward "Americanism," particularly since the crisis. Yet Americanism marks the true dividing line between the Middle Ages and the modern world.

Hitherto America's conquest of nature has been so violent and passionate that you have had no time to modernize your philosophies or to develop your own artistic forms. Hence you have been hostile to the doctrines of Hegel, Marx and Darwin. The burning of Darwin's works by the Baptists of Tennessee is only a clumsy reflection of the American dislike for the doctrines of evolution. This attitude is not confined to your pulpits. It is still part of your general mental make-up.

Your atheists as well as your Quakers are determined rationalists. And your rationalism itself is weakened by empiricism and moralism. It has none of the merciless vitality of the great European rationalists. So your philosophic method is even more antiquated than your economic system and your political institutions.

"A New Breed of Men"

Today, quite unprepared, you are being forced to face those social contradictions which grow up unsuspected in every society. You have conquered nature by means of the tools which your inventive genius has created, only to find that your tools have all but destroyed you. Contrary to all your hopes and desires, your unheard-ofwealth has produced unheard-off-misfortunes. You have discovered that social development does not follow a simple formula have been thrust into the school of the dialectic - to stay.

Why Stalin Failed To Heed Warning

The Soviet people are now being told part of the truth about Stalin's criminal failure to prepare for the nearcatastrophic invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's army in June 1941. A film, "Immortal D-

Garrison," which shows how ter- | War," June 17, 1940. Fourth Inribly the Russian people suffer- ternational, October, 1940.)

ed because of the failure to pre-Trotsky's realism, based on his pare for the attack, is now being Leninist view of imperialism and shown throughout the Soviet Un- its driving forces, enabled him to ion. The film lays to rest the predict and warn of the inev-Stalinist myth that the invasion itability of a Nazi attack on the was anticipated and that the cas- Soviet Union at the very outset ualty-ridden retreat of the Red of the Hitler regime, and, in Army at the time was part of a fact, even before it came to powplanned "active defense." er. In 1931 he wrote: "Once Hit-

for Stalin's blindness.

again, starting in 1931.

longed and stable."

of taste."

A MATTER OF TASTE"

ler comes to power and proceeds The theme of the film corto crush the vanguard of the responds to Khrushchev's 20th workers, pulverizing and de-Congress indictment of Stalin which excoriated the late dictator moralizing the proletariat for for ignoring warnings of the years to come, the Fascist govimpending attack made to the ernment will be the only govern-Soviet government by Winston ment capable of waging war Churchill in April 1941. In his against the USSR." (Germany, indictment of Stalin, Khrushchev The Key to the International detailed some of the enormous Situation.)

On July 16, 1932, Trotsky cost paid by the Soviet people utilized the pages of Liberty What Khrushchev didn't explain magazine to warn again: "To is why Stalin refused to rec- make intervention (against the Soviet Union) possible, a great, ognize the Nazi threat and why highly industrialized, and, morehe ignored the persistent warnover, continental European emings, not merely of the imperialist Churchill in 1941, but of Leon pire would be needed . . . to be more accurate-a country would Trotsky, the organizer of the be needed which had nothing to Red Army, who from his exile lose. A glance at the political sounded the alarm over and over map of Europe will convince you

that such a mission could be un-The reason for Stalin's blind- dertaken only by a fascist Gerness to the imminent Nazi atmany. More than that a fascist tack was because he was follow- Germany would have no other ing the policy of "peaceful coroad left to go ... A war against existence" with German impe- the Soviet Union would grow out rialism. In December 1939, shortof these circumstances with fatal ly after the infamous Stalin-Hit- | necessity."

ler Pact was signed, Stalin pro-Trotsky went on to outline the claimed: "The friendship of the course the USSR should follow peoples of Germany and the So- in the event fascism triumphed viet Union, cemented by blood, in Germany: "In my opinion, this has all the grounds to be pro- is how the Soviet Government ought to act in the event of a

fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic com-So drunk with the "success" munication of this event I would, of their pact was the Stalinist in their place, sign an order for, high command, that Molotov was the mobilization of army reserves. When you have a mortal able to drink his toast with Nazi foreign minister Von Ribbentrop, enemy before you, and when war declaring, "Fascism is a matter flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation,

While these vile declarations it would be unpardonable lightwere emanating from "realists" | mindedness to give that enemy in the Kremlin, Trotsky, the time to establish and fortify him-"agent of fascism," according to self, conclude the necessary althe Moscow frame-up Trials, was liances, receive the necessary

Production Miracles

Here is where the American Soviets can produce real miracles. "Technocracy" can come true only under Communism, when the dead hands of private property rights and private priofits are lifted from your industrial system. The most daring proposals of the Hoover commission on standardization and rationalization will seem childish compared to the new possibilities let loose by American Communism.

National industry will be organized along the line of the conveyor belt in your modern continuous-production automotive factories. Scientific planning can be lifted out of the individual factory and applied to your entire economic system. The results will be stupendous.

Costs of production will be cut to 20 percent, or less, of their present figure. This in turn would rapidly increase your farmers' purchasing plower.

To be sure, the American Soviets would establish their own gigantic farm enterprises, as schools of voluntary collectivization. Your farmers could easily calculate whether it was to their individual advantage to remain as isolated links or to join the public chain.

The same method would be used to draw small businesses and industries into the national orglamization of industry. By Soviet control of raw materials, crediits, and quotias of orders, these secondary industries could be kept solvent unitil they were gradually and without compulsion sucked into the socialized business system. Without compulsion! The American Soviets

would not need to resort to the drastic measures which circumstances have often imposed upon the Russians. In the United States, through the

The Socialist Dollar

The average man doesn't like system or generalities either. It is the task of your Communist statesmen to make the system deliver the concrete goods which the average man desires: his food, cigars, amusements, his freedom to choose his own neckties, his own house, and his own automobile. It will be easy to give him these comforts in Soviet America.

Most Americans have been misled by the fact that in the UISSR we had to build whole new basic industries from the ground up. Such a thing could not happen in America, where you are already compelled to cut down on your farm area and to reduce your industrial production. As a matter of fact your tremendous technological equipment has been paralyzed by the crisis and already clamons to be put to use. You will be able to make a rapid step-up of consumption by your people the starting point of your economic revival.

You are prepared to do this as is no other country. Nowhere else has the study of the internal market reached such intensity as in the United States. It has been done by your banks, trusts, individual business men, merchants, travelling salesmen and farmers as part of their stock in trade. Your Soviet Government will simply abolish all trade secrets, will combine all the findings of these researches for individual profit, and will transform them into a scientific system of economic planning. In this your government will be helped by the existence of a large class of cultured and critical consumers. By combining the nationalized key industries, your private businesses and democratic consumer co-operation, you will quickly develop a highly flexible system for serving the needs of your population.

This system will be made to work, not by bureaucracy and not by policemen, but by hard cold cash.

Your almighty dollar will play a principal part in making your new Soviet system work. It is a great mistake to try to mix a "planned economy" with a "managed currency." Your money must act as regulator with which to measure the success or failure of your planning. Your "radical" professors are dead wrong in their devotion to "managed money." It is an academic idea which could easily wreck your entire system of distribution and production. That is the great lesson to be derived from the Soviet Union, where bitter necessity has been converted into official virtue in the monetary realm.

There the lack of a stable gold ruble is one of the main causes of our many economic troubles and catastrophes. It is impossible to regulate wages, prices, and quality of goods without a firm monetary system. An unstable ruble in a Soviet system is like having variable molds in a conveyor-belt factory. It won't work.

The American Soviets will be fullblooded and vigorous, without need or opportunity for such measures as circumstances imposed upon Russia. Your unregenerate capitalists will, of course, find no place for themselves in the new setup. It is hard to imagine Henry Ford as the head of the Detroit Soviet.

Yet a wide struggle between interests, groups and ideas is not only conceivable - it is inevitable. One-year, five-year, ten-year plans of business development; schemes for national education: construction of new basic lines of transportation; the transformation of the farms; the program for improving the technological and cultural equipment of Latin America; a program for stratosphere communication; eugenics - all of these will arouse controversy, vigorous electorial struggle, and passionate debate in the newspapers and at public meetings.

There is no turning back from it to the mode of thinking and acting prevalent in the Seveniteenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

While the comantic numskulls of Nazi Germany are dreaming of restoring the old race of Europe's Dark Forest to its original purity, or rather its original filth, you Americans, after taking a firm grip on your economic machinery and your culture, will apply genuine scientific methods to the problem of eugenics. Within a century, out of your melting pot of races there will come a new breed of men - the first worthy of the name of Man.

One final prophecy: In the third year of Soviet rule in America you will no longer chew gum!

assessing the pact," the division help, work out a plan of conof Poland and the acquisition of centric military actions-not onthe Baltic States by the Soviet ly from the West but from the Union, as follows: "In spite of East-and thus grow up to the the Kremlin's territorial seizures, dimensions of a colossal danger." the international position of the | The tragic verification of Trot-USSR is worsened in the ex- sky's prognosis bears important treme. The Polish buffer disap- lessons for today. While Khrupeared. The Rumanian buffer will shchev flays Stalin's paralysis at disappear tomorrow. Mighty Ger- the time of the Nazi attack, he many, master of Europe, ac- continues the political policy requires a common frontier with sponsible for it. Like Stalin, the USSR. Scandinavia, a place Khrushchev stakes the future of of weak and almost disarmed the USSR, not on revolutionary countries, is occupied by this internationalism, but on the classsame Germany. Her victories in collaboration policy of peaceful the West are only preparation coexistence-this time with the for a gigantic move to the East." organizer of the cold war, U.S. ("The Kremlin's Role in the imperialism."

. Kremlin "Answers" the CP Leaders

(Continued from page 1)

close that a number of prominent Communist Party members were summarily purged, there has not yet been uncovered one bona-fide "imperialist agent" so far as the available information goes up to the present time. So far as the CPs of the West were concerned, the Soviet CP resolution hailed the "approval and wide response" which the "condemnation by our party of the personality cult of Stalin and its consequences," had evoked among them. It singled out Thorez and Eugene Dennis for a special pat on the back for their understanding support and then selected a formulation by Togliatti for special criticism. In criticizing the explanation

given by Krushchev on the rise of the "Stalin cult," Togliatti had written: "At one time, all that was good was due to the superhuman positive qualities of one man; now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering de-

THOREZ fects of the same man. Both in the new society. It seems unquesare outside the criterion of judge- linked with an excessive increase "The real problem," he added, apparatus of the economic life 'escapes notice, such as the meth- and political system, and perhaps od by which, and the reason why, above all in the life of the Party."

Soviet society could and did stray As the above comes dangerously so far from the legality which it close to the Trotskyist analysis had traced out for itself, arriv- of the Soviet Union as a degening as far as degeneration . . . | erated workers state in which a 'Above all," Togliatti conclud- bureaucratic caste has usurped ed, "we recall the fact that Lenin, the power and uses it to defend in his last speeches and writings, its privileged position, it is no

could only view the line of in- | that the Soviet masses endured | In the later version, the exquiry opened up by Togliatti untold hardship and shed their planation given is that Stalin with dread foreboding as an om- life's blood to preserve the So- was too popular and anyone who inous turn in the "Stalin cult" | viet Union against capitalist res- | acted |against him "would not discussion. The Soviet CP resolution "cor-

rects" Togliatti with a neat bit cial conquests of the great Octo- transformed before our very eyes of verball sleight-of-hand worthy ber revolution. of a Jesuit. "One cannot," the Stalin was the most hated man reaucrats holding state power resolution argues, "agree with in the Soviet Union. To the So-Comrade Togliatti when he asks viet masses he was the symbol not honest men and this is not whether Soviet society has not of tyranny and oppression. The an honest regime," remarked the reached 'certain forms of degen- establishment of the nauseating journalist I. F. Stone after a eeration?' There are no founda- "cult of Stalin" was not of their recent visit to the Soviet Union. tions for such a question." Why? | doing. They were not "cultists" It cannot be denied. Because, says the resolution, "in for they had nothing to benefit another part of his interview thereby. They were the main vic-Comrade Togliatti says quite cor- tims of the Stalin cult. Because tripped all over themselves in rectly: 'It must be deduced that they were, the erstwhile prac- their haste to express their agreethe essence of the Socialist re- titioners of cultism find it pos- ment. Togliatti voiced "unreserved gime was not lost, since none sible and convenient to utilize of the preceding gains were Stalin as a scapegoat for all the lost. . .'"

crimes committed by the bureau-The "essence of the Socialist cratic caste which Stalin headed. regime" are the socialist proper-After disposing of Togliatti's ty forms established by the Octo- criticism the Soviet CP resolution ber revolution as distinct from presented its "explanation" of the bureaucratic apparatus of the how and why the Stalin cult arose cult." It called for the "ideologi-Soviet state which rests upon the and why they failed to combat cal unanlimity" of all the Communationalized property. The two its criminal manifestations. The are not the same. The bureau- purported explanation was noththe one case and in the other, we tionable that Stalin's errors were crats see an identity where there ing but a rehash of the one conis profound difference. That the tained in the Khrushchev report ment which is proper to Marxism. in the weight of the bureaucratic Soviet Union was able to survive to the 20th Congress, with one tern and Cominform ceased their the difficulties of capitalist en- slight variation. circlement, intervention and war, In the version contained in the from this that international solcompounded by the crimes, atroc- Khrushchev speech to the 20th idarity and the need of contacts ities and bureaucratic misman- Congress the reason given for between revolutionary and broth-

agement of the Stalin regime, is the failure of the present lead- erly parties which adopted the due solely to the strength and ers to "assert themselves against position of Marxism and Leniviability of the property forms the cult of the individual" was nism have lost significance." established by the Ocother rev- fear. Fear of their own hides olution and not to the early gen- prompted them to refrain from of the resolution Pravda describius of Stalin, as Khrushchev and ["asserting themselves." Not too ed the "answers" as "clearcut" emphasized the danger of bu- wonder that it became cause for Company would have us believe: complimentary but at least it had and indicated that the matter was reaucracy which was threatening concern by Stalin's heirs. They I it was not out of love of Stalin the merit of credibility.

toration but out of unconquerable have received support from the determination to defend the so- people." Stalin the monster is to Stalin the beloved. For bu-

With the publication of the Soviet CP resolution the "critics" approval." Thorez added his "amen," and Dennis said "me too."

The Kremlin made it clear it would not tolerate any criticism going beyond the limits fixed in the discussion of the "Stalin nist Parties and reminded the Stalinist leaders, who prate about their new-found "independence," that although "the Comin-

activities, it does not follow

The next day after publication closed.





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The Steel Strike

The United Steelworkers of America, 650,000 strong, is a powerful union. Its strike has effectively shut down the nation's basic industry. Its membership can be relied on to wage the strike with solidarity and discipline.

Such a union is capable of wresting major concessions from the bosses. Yet it finds itself in a position where the steel barons can make a completely unacceptable offer and deliberately force a strike. Why is this?

In challenging the Steelworkers, the companies in no way underestimate the union's power. What they are banking on is the present union misleadership as represented by President David J. Mc-Donald. The bureaucratic way in which McDonald conducted the pre-strike negotiations and is now leading the strike itself is the basic source of the present arrogance of the steel magnates.

The steelworkers are faced with profound economic problems. Production cutbacks loom large. In addition, the steel industry is introducing automation to reduce the number of workers employed and is demanding exclusive control of speed-up.

These facts indicate the need for the widest possible discussion in the union ranks in the formulation of contract demands. But McDonald has prevented this. The membership was denied voice in drawing up demands and in determining the terms of a settlement. McDonald has not even revealed precisely what he is asking of the companies.

With a few local exceptions, meetings are rarely called, and those held are so cut and dried that many members don't attend. Many of the workers are not familiar with the strike issues. There is much understandable distrust of the leadership.

The Christain Science Monitor July 5 reports these comments from strikers at the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Ind. One was all about. I wish I knew exactly what for bread, the demand for free-McDonald wants. No one has ever told me what the issues are."

Another says bitterly, "No. I don't know what McDonald wants. I think he is in cahoots with management. I think we are entitled to know what he wants. No, I never go to a meeting. Why should I? There is a clique that runs everything." A 30-year man adds, "Sure. They're just a bunch of 'yes men' at the union. I used to go, used to be an official at one time."

But despite this the men have reacted instinctively against company efforts to shackle them with a long-term contract that would leave them open to increased speed-up and the threat of automation layoffs.

McDonald, on the other hand, wants only "peace" with the steel trust. He has been compelled to oppose the five-year pact but has indicated a willingness to accept a three-year agreement and has not informed the membership what he will settle for on the basic demands.

As in the past, he undoubtedly intends to wheedle the best terms management will concede and then confront the membership with a "package" settlement, banking on their accepting it for lack of a clear alternative.

Internal union democracy is indispensable to the solution of the Steelworkers' problems. It is needed to develop rankand-file understanding of the issues confronting them. It is indispensable for the elaboration of a program to realize their interests and to mobilize the power necessary to write such a program into a union contract.

Today many are free and the rest are on

the road. . . We are part of that great

In the days ahead this fact of life

ennunciated by Rev. King will assume

even deeper significance for the front-rank

fighters against Jim Crow. They will begin

to see the pattern of the world anti-

... Negro Struggle and Class Politics

movement."

(Continued from page 1)

fundamentally united in opposition to the abolition of Jim Crow. Both their civil rights records were summed up for the NAACP convention by Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins who said, "They have been scratching each other's backs and we have been left out in the cold."

Wilkins urged the delegates, "Use your votes in behalf of civil rights." But that

gles. The workers need the broad- prison and most of the leaderest possible democracy to defend ship in refuge in the Soviet their interests and move for- Union. ward onto the socialist road. During the Moscow trials the There was yet another demand leaders of the Polish Communist

sung.

ture.

ists in case of war.

raised in Poznan: The demand Party were arrested by Stalin's that the Russians get out of Posecret police and shot. Among land. It is also reported that the them were such prominent heroic old flag of capitalist Poland was hoisted atop a government building and that national songs were

struggle. There is no way of checking Even such a man as Julian the accuracy of this information. Lensky, who faithfully purged The Polish government prefers the Trotskyists in the Polish to pass over this part of the af-Communist Party and adhered fair in silence. It is too embarstrictly to the Stalin line, did not rassed to admit that the masses escape Stalin's executioners. consider it a Russian puppet gov-Stalin dissolved the Polish ernment. The U. S. State De-Communist Party and executed partment and the capitalist press ts leaders under the charge that try to exaggerate and distort this the party was "riddled with spies, phase. They see in the nationalist Pillsudskylists. Trotskylists." etc. aspect of the Poznan struggle The result was that the old revtheir greatest hope for a return to a capitalist Poland and for a base of support to the imperialamong the masses were annihilated. The new leadership which

arose during the years of re-NATIONAL OPPRESSION sistance to the Nazis, either per-It is safe to assume that there ished in the ill-fated Warsaw was a heavy nationalist ingredi' uprising or were vilified and perent in the Poznan uprilsing. It ecuted. would be unnatural if it weren't

FACELESS BUREAUCRATS present. Nationalism is nurtured and spread by national oppres-Stalin had finally triumphed. sion and Poland has been his-After the defeat of the Nazis, torically the most abused nation Poland remained in the palm of on the European continent. Prior his hand. He constituted a pupto World War I it was divided pet regime of faceless bureau between imperial Germany and crats and set them up to rule Czarist Russia. It was ruled by over the country. He proceeded to foreign appointees who sought to introduce into Poland the Soviet impose their domination and culconomic forms. The capitalists and the landlords were expropri-

After some 20 years of mation ated, the means of production hood following World War I were nationalized and planned mainly under French hegemony economy was introduced. The so-Poland was one again divided up. cial transformation was accom-This time the division of the plished by bureaucratic and milcountry was part of the shortitary means lived deal between Stalin and What is the result?

Hitler in September 1939. This The surprise nature of the cynical pact between the Soviet Poznan workers' uprising revealdictator and the Fascist beast, was the curtain raiser for World soil, the deep gulf separating the War II of which Poland was only the countries ruled by Stalin's

the first victim. But once Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the brief period when Stalin sought to profit from days in Poznan revealed this ger. Socialists champion the le-Poland's desperate plight recedcapitalist development. Movements like ed into the background. The na- it is also part of everyday life. the Polish as well as other op- new salaries go into effect. A

THE MILITANT

The Role of the National Question in Poland

By Morris Stein

In Poznan, as in East Germany ing to rehabilitate and establish lenged, the regime could fall back in June 1953, the spark that set kinship with the old Communist only on military force. In the off the explosion was economic. Party of Poland which was dis- showdown the government could-The masses rebelled against the banded by Stalin in the late n't rely on any section of the conditions of work imposed by 1930's. population aside from the troops The Polish Communist Party and secret police to defend it arbitrary bureaucrats. But these

from the angry masses. rebellions became generalized into had always been severely perpolitical movements almost from secuted by the reactionary Pil-The "unity of the people" th the beginning. The Poznan work- sudsky government as well as by Stalinist bureaucrats a l w a y ers boldly inscribed on their ban- his successors. It was compelled boast of, and in the name of complaints, "I sure wish I knew what this ners, in addition to the demand to function underground and which they seek to justify their many of its members languished totaltiarian regimes, exists in in jail. When Stalin dissolved it, fact. However, it is not a unity This is quite natural and in the at least 7,000 members of the behind the government but

| heavily upon it. It has been try-| demonstrated that when chal-

best tradition of workers' strug- Polish Communist Party were in against it.

WHAT SOCIAL DIRECTION? The Poznan and East German

uprisings were explosions which brought to the surface the deep hatred for a regime which is alien to the people. The accumulated bureaucratic abuse of the masses fighters as Adolf Warsky, Rosa over the years has served to unite Luxemburg's close collaborator the masses in opposition to the and a veteran of 40 years of regime. But it still leaves open the question of the social direction such insurrectionary move ments as Poznan can take once they succeed in overthrowing the Stalinist regimes.

olutionists and reactionaries for Revolutionary socialists have the deepest attachment to the final outcome will be determineconomic foundations of present ed in the struggle itself. day Poland. These are the foun-In favor of a revolutionary dations which guarantee the outcome is the fact that neither country's economic development and upon which a socialist Po land will be built. The foundaolutionary leadership, men of tions must be defended against proven ability and standing the counter-revolutionary schemes of the imperialists. the socialist road.

Revolutionary socialists have at the same time been the most consistent opponents of Stalinist rule and tireless fighters for workers' democracy. They oppose Stalinism because it derailed the masses from the forward march to socialism begun with the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which It fosters inequality; it is antipromoted - Great-Russian nationalism and abused the national A promise to support the strike aspirations of the many nation- against British Motors, which ism. Capitalist restorationist ele

ments will of course, seek to take advantage of any insurectiionary movement against the East Germany and the June 1956 not close their eyes to this dan- However, the workers declare the balance of power in the cleavage most dramatically. But gitimate national grievances of moving upward even before the

ent situation cannot endure. The discredited bureaucracy cannot long remain in power. It's attempts to gain support by renouncing Stalin serves only to direct attention to it's own complicity in Stalin's crimes. For Poland to be assured of a socialist future, the working masses must come to power in their own name and in pursuit of their own interest .

Poznan was a beginning stage of this struggle. It served to reveal all the component parts of the social conflict in Poland as well as internationally. It served to reveal the power of the workers' resistance to the bureaucracy as well as its weaknesses. Above all Poznan, like East Germany three years earlier, revealed the unpostponable need for a workers' vanguard party.

The Stalinists destroyed the old workers' parties. In their place there is only one partythe party of the bureaucracy. Stalinist terror has prevented so far the emergence of Marxist parties. But the revolutionary contest between the genuine revresurgence the countriles of the influence over the masses. The Soviet orbit are now experiencing offers the greatest opportunity yet for the speedy reemergence of Bolshevik parties. This is the next indispensable capitalist nor Stalinist reaction step to assure that the struggle could afford the Poles' national against the bureaucracy will sucindependence. A solution of the ceed and at the same time guarnational question for Poland as antee the defeat of the imperialall other countries lies only on ist attempts to exploit the workers' mass resistance for reac-

One thing is certain. The pres- tionary ends.

World Events

BRITISH AUTO LAYOFFS | basis of language and cultural have resulted in a strike call affinities. Prime Minister Nehru against Britain's largest auto has been attempting to weaken claims to represent the masses in manufacturer, the British Motor the political power of the worktheir march 'to socialism is in Corporation. Four hundred auto ing class by a process of gerryreality anti-socialist to the core. union stewards demonstrated mandering the state lines. This outside the House of Commons has resulted in the outburst of democratic and tyrannical. It has July 9 calling for a strike against political strikes during the last the whole motor car industry. year in all parts of India.

THE SOVIET UNION'S ecoalities within the Soviet orbit. laid off 6,000 of its 55,000 work- nomic output, together with that Stalin's crimes have given aid ers on two days notice, came of the East European states. and comfort to world imperial- from the large Transport and will forge ahead of Western Europe's within the next two General Workers Union. decades at the present rate of

INFLATION IN BRAZIL was growth. This prediction was made protested July 6 by 150,000 work- by Robert R. Bowie, Assistant ers in Brazil's southernmost state Secretary of State, July 10, at ed once again, this time on Polish Stalinist regime. They will try when they walked out in a 24- a New Jersey meeting of Soviet above all to exploit the national hour strike with the demand and American bankers. Bowie masses from the governments in feelings of the masses in order to that their \$22 a month wages declared that the Soviet leadersubjugate them to the imperial- be raised to \$44. They had been ship was "clearly counting on heirs. The June 1953 days in ists. Revolutionary Socialists do granted 2,700 cruzeiros (\$34). this material progress to shift

* * *

AN AFRICAN-LANGUAGE Rio de Janeiro newspaper said newspaper in Kampala, Uganda,



1919) was the founder of the

Polish Marxist movement and

a leading figure in the left

wing of the Second Interna-

tional. Her close collaborator,

Adolf Warsky, was murdered

by Stalin during the Moscow

Trials along with the entire

Central Committee of the Polish

There will no doubt be a bitter

Communist Party.

- Page Three

was all he could advise. The big question - precisely who to vote for in behalf of, civil rights — remained unanswered.

At the root of this dilemma is the political policy of the official leaders of the Negro people and the trade unions, a policy of dissipating the political strength of the Negroes within the capitalist two-party system. So long as this policy prevails the tragic contradiction of an anti-Jim Crow movement that supports pro-Jim Crow candidates will not be resolved. Negro people will continue to feel they are cutting their throats in the voting booths.

The struggle of the Negro people for equality is essentially anti-capitalist. Only the factory owners and big landlords are real gainers from Jim Crow. Every blow against Jim Crow is a blow against a capitalist class that rules over a divided and thereby retarded labor movement.

By the same token, each new stage in the struggle for equality has drawn the Negro and labor movement more closely together in a natural alliance against the common enemy — the capitalists and their political agents.

In addition, the Negro people have come to correctly see themselves in alliance with the colonial freedom fighters throughout the world. This sentiment was reflected in the declaration of MIA President Martin Luther King: "Whether we want to be or not, we are caught in a great movement of history. . . The vast majority of the people of the world are colored. . . Up until four or five years ago most of the one and a quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West...

Montgomery and Tallahassee will one day acknowledge a profound debt to the Russian working class and its Bolshevik party that in 1917 set off a chain reaction whose When the Soviet armies sucreverberations throughout the globe are still being felt. For it was the Russian war against the Nazis, the Polish Revolution that gave the impetus for the people took heart in these vicworld-wide anti-imperialist struggle of today and chartered the road for the libera- their repressions.

tion of the oppressed and exploited everywhere.

While the very logic of the struggle leads the masses of the Negro people towards a break with capitalist politics, their official leaders are tied to the the following year, as the Soviet ideology of capitalism. Like the labor armies approached Warsaw, the bureaucrats the social position and material advantages of the official Negro engaged considerable for control of the as a result of the success of the leaders bind them to the capitalist status | city. quo from which their privileges derive. militants identify themselves with the armies instead of pursuing the world movement against imperialism, the stopped at the very gates of War- bly it is a little bit of both. top official leadership finds itself in the saw and made no effort to enter role of apologist for imperialism. This is it until some five months later.

of the Wall Street imperialists.

of the leaders and the anti-capitalist interests of the ranks must ultimately be in the back by Stalin. They cited resolved by the development of a program such facts as the appeal of the and leadership firmly based on an anti- Soviet radio to the people of capitalist outlook. The first long step in Warsaw to the up usual they that direction will be the building, in people heeded the appeal they alliance with the trade unions, of an did not get the support of the independent Labor Party capable of doing the Kremlin denounced the upbattle against the twin Jim Crow parties of capitalism.

tional struggle of the Polish people was directed mainly against the Nazis. The fierce resistance struggle continued for five years. ceeded in turning the fortunes of sistance. The Nazis intensified

> STALINIST BETRAYAL The heroic uprising of the Jew-

ish Ghetto of Warsaw broke out in April 1943. Almost the entire Jewish populatoin of Warsaw was murdered. In the summer of people rose against the Nazis and

At this juncture something

in the city. This conflict of the pro-capitalist politics

The governments of the self- pressed people. styled People's Democracies, as that of the Soviet Union itself, BITTER CONTEST have no real intimate ties with This is the surest way to comthe masses and are, on the con- bat any attempt to direct the natrary, in sharp collision with tional feelings of the Polish peo

ple into the old reactionary Poznan and East Germany course of Pilsudsky's Poland

MASS AFRICAN BOYCOTT SHAKES BRITISH COLONY By William Bundy

We are hearing a great deal more these days about boycotts by oppressed peoples throughout the world. engaged considerable forces in a Whether the boycotts themselves have been spreading

Montgomery movement, or boy- ern Rhodesia are among the cott news has simply been most brutally oppressed peoples While the most conscious of the Negro peculiar happened. The Soviet reported more extensively as a on the face of the earth. They result of the initerest created by are heavily taxed by a governretreating Nazi armies suddenly Montgomery is not clear. Proba- ment in which they have no voice, and which does not rule in their interest. In order to pay the The latest boycott is now taking taxes, they are forced to seek place in the British "protectorate" the objective meaning and result of their This gave the Nazis the time to of northern Rhodesia. The African work in the copper mines and drown in blood the uprising of Negroes there, who outnumber pliantiations where they are "held support to the political representatives drown in plood the uprising of the whites and Indians by more in a status of templorary involunthan ten to one, are boycotting | tary servitude during the period

This sudden halt of the Soviet European and Indian shopkeepers of their contract." If they break the contract, that is quilt their offensive was interpreted by the to protest rude treatment. jobs, they are hunted down like According to Cyril Dunn, a cor-Polish people as a deliberate stab criminals, jailed and fined. The respondent for the London miners wages averaged less than Observer whose report is reprinted in the June 22 New York \$7 per month in 1953. There is Herald Tribune; "As a general no indication of substantial wage Warsaw to rise up against the rule, African customers are ncreases since them.

The June 30 Pittsburgh Courier treated with discourtesy. Some reports that while the boycott shops will not even admit them, movement proceeded apace, the but compel them to wait outside Soviet armies. On the contrary, native African Mine - workers until the shopkeeper can spare Union called a limited three-day time to go to the door and be rising as ill-timed and vilified the general strike to protest the told what they want. At others insurgent masses as provocateurs.

In his report on Stalin to the 20th Congress, Khrushschev did orders.' speak of Stalin's crimes in relation to other nationalities. He Nattional Congress. by others. The Kremlin's criminal POLITICAL MOTIVE

the Affrican National Congress has simply assumed the direction. It is reasonable to guess that the campaign has a political motive too. . .

FRANCO'S MINISTER OF translated

organizations outlawed by the fascist regime. "Those men," the Minister said, "the natural leaders of the workers in their

This would require conceding a

part of the state of Bihar and

Calcutta workers demand that

this be arranged by the govern-

ments of the two states on the

NEWARK

HEAR

Myra Tanner

Weiss

SWP Candidate

for

Vice-President

and the

Khrushchev Report."

Sat., July 21 - 8:30 P. M.

52 Market St. - 2nd Floor

"Polish Uprising

that a family of five needed has been charged with "sedition" about 4,500 to live, and conclud- by the British colonial governed that in the capital of Brazil ment and a wave of prosecutions one lived "on stubbornness, ac- has followed in an attempt to cumulating hungers, debts and hold back Uganda's burning desire for self-government. The unsatisfied necessities." newspaper, Gambuze, (freely translated "The Answer") was * * *

ABOR, Jose A. Giron, promised fined for quoting, "All of us should strike for self-governthe Spanish workers a wage inrease by fall. In a widely pub- ment. Foreigners pack up and go licized speech July 8, he took home. The people of Uganda what the New York Times called should unite to clamor for self-'a surprisingly realistic approach government and if we are to die to the problem." He advised the then we shall die until we are six million workers in the gov- exterminated." Another paper, ernment-controlled "unions" to the Uganda Post, paid a fine seek the advice of the former for printing a letter with refleaders of the left-wing union erences to "racial discrimination, being made to work like slaves and being, cheated in a cunning manner.

communities. . . have the key San Francisco to many solutions." These unrecedented remarks were re-Militant Labor garded by close observors as efforts of the Franco regime to Forum conciliate the turbulent workers "Which Course movement which recently has For The Colonial waged illegal strike struggles in **Revolution?**" protest against inadequate wage Speaker: concessions by the government. William Farrell A GENERAL STRIKE in Cal-Friday, July 20 - 8:00 P. M. cutta tied up the Indian seaport

307 So. Van Ness Ave. for ten hours July 7 in support (near 14th St.) of a demand that state lines Domation: 25c. be redrawn to unite the two sections of West Bengal, where Calcutta is the dominating city.

> Twin Cities "Behind the Uprising In Poland." Speaker: **Dorothy Schultz** Friday, July 20 - 8:00 P. M. 10 South Fourth Street Minneapolis

Chicago "Revolt in Eastern Europe." Speaker: **Bert Deck** 777 W. Adams July 21 - 8:15 P. M. Questions - Discussion Refreshments

Auspikes: Militant Labor Forum

By LEON TROTSKY All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists - from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" - are answered in this classic

work. 25 cents 64 pages

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This pamphlet by James P. Cannon is must reading for anyone opposed to another war. It explains why peace cannot be won by following the Stalinist program and outlines Lenin's real views on this life and death question, with particular application to America.

25 Cents

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there are special hatches through monthly labor contracts. But the boycott movement is which Africans must give their not for a limited period of time. These are the conditions that Says Dunn; "The campaign itself, starting up in one town as it is are attacked in the immediate closed down in another, has about demands of the organization ilt an alir of grand strategy inwhich is leading the boycott, the consistent with the limited obofficially unrecognized African ectives openly declared." Still, the imperialist govern-

ment has absolutely refused to "It would be maive to suprecognize the Africans as a oose," says Dunn, "that this political entity. The white and widespread and immensely effec-Indian traders, suffering heavy financial losses, have demanded tive boycott is no more than a that the government disarm all consumers campaign of which Africans (the carrying of welapion's as protection against wild beasts is common) in preparation for a campaign of violent repression of the boycott move-The native Africans of Northment.

The Negro Struggle

Communist Party on the Negro Question

The world-wide effects of the re-entry of the Russian workers on the political scene are just beginning to be felt in the United States.

Khrushchev, Stalin's successor, only opened the door to criticism of the dead tyrant so the Russian bureaucrats could get the masses off their necks, but the workers stepped in and tore the door off its hinges.

The result has been exposes, admissions and confessions that have shaken up the Communist parties throughout the world.

American Communists are no exception. After they recovered from the first shock of seeing the horns beneath Stalin's halo, many began to try to understand how they could have accepted so much on faith instead of testing the party's policies by scientific socialist standards.

Now, the more thoughtful are reevaluating past positions and actions of the party on American issues, as well as Russian and international questions.

One phase of the struggle against capitalism that requires careful re-examination is the Communist Party line on the Negro question. The whole history of the party's policies must now be reviewed from the standpoint of whether they were based on the needs and aspirations of the Negro struggle and the relationships of class forces, or on the needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Was the slogan of "self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt" of the South and a Negro state in America valid, or was it a mechanical application of the demand of oppressed nationalities in Europe to this continent?

More important from the point of view of learning from past mistakes in order not to repeat them: were the policies of building or destroying a whole series of Negro struggle organizations designed to for mayor of New York, at the States. strengthen the Negro movement against Brooklyn Compass Club sym-Jim Crow, or to use it as a pawn in the bargaining between Moscow and Wall Street?

Was it correct to dissolve the old Negro Defense League in 1938-39? To attack the March on Washington Movement in 1941? To condemn Negroes and the Socialist Workers Party for vigorously pressing the fight against Jim Crow during World War II?

Is it correct to advocate support of the Democratic Party of Eastland and Stevenson in 1956? Is this policy of class-collaboration going to advance the Negro struggle, or progress, or socialism one bit more than support of the other party of Big Business, the Republicans?

Negro Communists in particular, who have felt and expressed the conflict between the party line of supporting the Democratic Party, and the burning need to call for denunciation of both Jim Crow parties and formation of an independent labor party, should speak up.

It is not too late to rectify the current mistake, to adopt a principled position on political action in 1956.

American Labor Party, that la- congressional candidate on the bor must have its own party, that Democratic ticket who supports there is no possibility in any the Humphrey Act, the Commuultimate sense, of labor obtain- nist Control Act, who supports ing any goal by supporting can- the McCarran Subversive Activididates of either the Republican ties Control Act, who supports or the Democratic Party. I say the McCarran-Walter Immigrathis not as a theoretician, be- tion Act. I would demand an un-

VOLUME XX

issues.

on a state and county level. And in trying to interest the workers first of all in taking an active part in politics of any kind,

the goal. Now I approach this question of working class policy in the 1956 elections from the other end Puerto Rican-haters — like the janitor in from which Mr. Dobbs approach- the quota is to be completed on This confidence was booster ed it. I believe he approached it degenerates suffering from an inferiority from the theoretical end and in- accelerated even more sharply. from Connecticut came into our sofar as he spoke from theory I think he is entirely correct. But drive, every supporter of the left \$50 for the fund with the in speaking from the practical Fund will really have to pitch explanation that while we do not In my opinion the only questionable side of it I would first start with in to make up for the slow start. at present have an organized

What can labor do, what can any American do in the 1956 gram has always been of pri-derstand the special need for elections to advance the cause of peace. When I say peace I don't we have continually strained our are intent on doing their share mean static peace, the kind of financial and technical resources to help provide it. peace which exists now between to publish and circulate the writhe United States and the So- tings of the great Marxist think-

change of delegations on every literature embodying the teachlevel-of workers, of farmers, of ings of Trotsky, Marx, Engels

able the writings of Trotsky constructive interrelationship beand in actuality we have never tween the two greatest counbeen able to fully meet the detries in the world. Because I coexistence unless it includes long out of print and have long the so-called "security" program P Is there any candidate now on the horizon or likely to be nominated by either the Democratic or Republican parties who has but throughout the English is of the security program — fees for those accused who are ise of the security program — fees for those accused who are cleared; abolition of the Attorvery next moment, tell you: "This neigh-borhood is getting real bad with all those Puerto Ricans moving in!" uerto Ricans moving in!" Here the let any such approach to the relasonally shall cast my vote for them on this. But while our own Republican administrations since by membership alone. the candidate on the Socialist financial resources are meager before World War II — an abuse Workers Party ticket in the 1956 they are even more so in other that has been steadily growing, to be accepted by the Eisenhow-English-speaking countries, and elections. [Applause] I do so even though I agree with the foreign policy platform of the Socialist Workcoexistence, as I have tried to munist Party and the radical proposes a 75% reduction of the liberties. So far the voice of is clearly on the rise again." movement generally as a result numbers of employes covered by the New York Bar Association describe it to you-a constructive peaceful coexistence of a long lasting interrelationship between the two countries. With peaceful competition in the economic part of the country and from proposes to eliminate altogether CONCERN FOR WORLD field as well as the cultural field. abroad comes reports of mem-Because I ibelieve fundamentally bers and supporters of the Com- existence of the Port Security in socialism I have no doubt as munist Party now turning to Program. to the final outcome of such Trotsky in their search for a COLE CASE DECISION Marxist explanation of the de-But first of all we must at-Earlier, June 11, the U.S. Sugeneration of the Soviet Union. tain a situation where such compreme Court ruled that the Ei-We are now expending a maxi- senhower administration had expetition is possible. And the first mum effort to make available ceeded its authority by submit step in that direction is of course a multilateral, that is universal again the many works of Trot- ting "non-sensitive" federal emsky which are indispensable for ployes to security screening. In disarmament of all the countries of the world, with the abolition the present discussion, and are the case of Kendrick M. Cole the using every means at our dis- court declared that congress inposal to do so as quickly as pos- tended to cover jobs only "disible. We have reprinted already rectly concerned with the naof all types of nuclear weapons his pamphlet on the Kirov As- tion's safety." U.S. Attorney by both the Soviet Union and sassination. We made available General Herbert Brownell in the through the pages of The Militant the chapter from The Revo-The second greatest issue, on lution Betrayed on Socialism and which of course peace depends the State, while working on plans and all other issues depend, is to re-issue the book itself. the issue of civil liberties, the When we launched the current decision. issue here in America of the Bill publications fund two months ago the special need for a stepped-Constitution. . . I don't believe up publications program was unthat any one of us should sup- derstood by all. Each day that port any candidate for Congress has passed since that time has if the does not take an unequivocal underscored the urgency of this position on the Bill of Rights, project. And that means of course the special need to complete the and that means complete freedom of speech, freedom of fund drive in full and on time. Correspondence from throughthought, freedom of association, out the country indicates that mitted, the time in jail was not entirely single political position now rep- the lag in payments arises from a variety of individual difficulresented in the United Statesof course first of all the Com- ties and not from any lack of munist Party because that is the enthusiasm for the project. We most persecuted party in the Uni- are confident that, as in

MONDAY, JULY 16, 1956

THE MILITANT

McAvoy's Speech at Brooklyn Symposium

-[We publish below excerpts of | ted States at the present time, | port whatsoever. Because noth-| any realistic student of political | to go down to Montgomery, Alathe speech made by Clifford T. and including every other sin- ing can be more fundamental affairs that the most progressive, bama. . . McAvoy, former ALP candidate gle political party in the United than the Bill of Rights to the if one can use that term in con-Now there are very few con- bly be more American than that? the delegates to the Democratic bor party. . . In my opinion hisposium, June 24. The symposium gressmen that I have run across,

topic was: Working Class Pol- and I've had a considerable assoicy in the 1956 Elections. Other ciation with congressmen for speakers were: Farrell Dobbs, some 15 years, who take that unpresidential candidate of the Soequivocal position of full supcialist Workers Party, W.E.B. port of the Bill of Rights with that depends our existence or ican ideals than absolute first American Labor Party by prob-Du Bois, historian and educator full freedom for political opinand David Goldway, executive ion for every political party. secretary of the Jefferson School. Where there is a congressman In the last two issues of the who has the courage of his con-Militant we published the speech- victions to take such a position, this country and the monopolists the minority groups. [Applause] dependent labor party was never es of Farrell Dobbs and David then I don't think we should be can continue to perpetuate the

Goldway.] . By Clifford T. McAvoy doctrinaire and refuse to support such a congressman if he tainly right behind those two State Assembly or State Senate, now and November, 1956? Well

... It is my conviction today, Democratic ticket or the Repub- tion of civil rights which is also or Democratic ticket, again an what political parties we now beas it was in 1936 when I was one lican ticket. But I certainly would a constitutional question. of the founding members of the not advocate coalition with a

COALITION WITH EASTLAND?

How can we support any pocause I don't consider myself a equivocal opinion on the part of Democratic Party in this coun- schools and colleges of the na- not all fighting in the same theoretician. In fact I should every candidate for Congress in try. [Applause] How can we ad- tion, and to an end of discrimina- party to build an independent probably plead guilty to being New York City [Applause] be- vocate coalition with such a party tion of all kinds right here in American Labor Socialist Party. somewhat of a pragmatist in the fore I would give him any sup- when it's perfectly obvious to our own city, without bothering [Applause]

> PAYMENTS As our scoreboard shows, payments to the Socialist

Publication Campaign Fund is substantially behind schedule. With the drive two-thirds over, collections to date represent but 41-percent of D-

| past, such difficulties will be During the past several weeks surmounted and that the entire the rate of contributions has fund will be collected by the stepped up. Needless to say, if August 15 deadline. schedule this process must be this week when a good friend With one month to go in the office for a visit this week and Throughout the history of our group in his area, the supportmovement, the publications pro- ers of our movement there unmary importance. Over the years financial ammunition today and

And then of course the great convention will at best advocate tory will show that one of the question of civil rights. It's very appeasement of the Dixiecrativing greatest mistakes that was made difficult to say which of these of that party. There is no cause by the radical movement in the questions comes first. Peace I in the United States today more last 20 years was the deliberate think must come first because on holy to the realization of Amer- and conscious liquidation of the our annihilation. And civil lib- class citizenship without any ably a majority of the present erties should probably come next qualifications whatsoever for the members of that party when the

advocacy, nothing can change in Rican people and people of all party, when the need for an insituation as it is today. But cer- candidate for Congress or for the happens to be running on the great questions comes the ques- whether he be on the Republican I think most of us regardless of

And we should demand of a

Constitution. What could possi- nection with these gentlemen, of to begin the building of the la-

because without the freedom of Negro people and the Puerto need for an independent political greater than it is today. . What can we do then between

long to should begin to initiate unqualified, an unqualified support of the militant, brave and discussions of this kind. And I courageous fight of the people of think the Brooklyn Compass Montgomery for first class citi- Club, as my colleagues have said,

Now, I don't think it's too late

NUMBER 29

zenship in Montgomery, Alaba- deserves the highest credit for litical party which has as the ma; for complete, unqualified initiating this kind of discussion. Chairman of the Senate Judiciary support for carrying out in acts It is a matter of great regret to Committee the unspeakable Sen- the desegregation decision of the me; it's a matter of sorrow, that ator Eastland of Mississippi, one Supreme Court with respect to all four of us here tonight, alof the leading members of the the public schools, and the though we have differences, are

Fund Scoreboard			
City	Quota	Paid 1	Percent
Allentown	\$ 85.00	\$ 60.00	70%
Twin - Clittles	1,320.00	822.00	62
Chilcago	1,560.00	1,054.60	61
Cleveland	350.00	210.00	60
San Francisco	650.00	365.00	56
Detroit	825.00	450.00	55
Los Angeles	3,300.00	1,477.00	45
Youngstown	250.00	100.00	40
Milwaukee	250.00	102.00	40
Newark	200.00	63.00	31
New York	4,000.00	1,239.00	31
St. Louis	85.00	25.00	29
Seattle	300.00	85.00	28
Buffalo	1,760.00	500.00	28
Boston	500.00	85.00	17
Philadelphia	400.00	52.00	13
Oakland	200.00		- ⁻
Akron	140.00	·	
General		80.00	
Totals	\$16,175.00	\$6,770,50	41%

viet Union, but a constructive ers. By this process we have built up an impressive body of literature embodying the teach-Yet, as I said before, it is a good pic-ture. I wanted to find out how accurate a portrait of the Puerto Rican's life and life in both the Soviet bases of life bases of life in both the Soviet bases of life bases of li

"Crowded Paradise[?] By Trent Hutter

There are 500,000 Puerto Ricans living in New York — most of them in overcrowded slums, exploited by landlords who cash in on prejudice since prejudice makes it tough for Puerto Ricans to find adequate apartments at reasonable prices. In New York discrimination against Puerto Ricans is as burning a problem as the Negro question, the struggle for the rights of Puerto Ricans as important as the struggle for the rights of the Negro.

"Crowded Paradise" is an independently produced motion picture about Puerto Ricans in New York and their enemies. Directed by Fred Pressburger. it was filmed on location in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and in New York. It is a good picture with fine performances by Hume Cronyn, Mario Alcade, Enid Rudd, Nancy Kelly, Frank Silvera — the story of a young Puerto Rican mechanic coming to New York in order to marry his fiancee and to make a living. We see him experience widespread discrimination and even a certain prejudice of his fiancee's father, a long-time Puerto Rican resident of New York, who is proud of the position he has conquered in 20 years of hard work and looks down on the newcomer. It is also the story of a janitor, an ex-con who hates Puerto Ricans and is linked to a racket dealing in Puerto Rican birth certificates.

even belong to the upper class, but to the petty-bourgeoisie who desperately try to keep up their bourgeois front and group whether capitalist or socialist. cohesion and are afraid to be submerged by a proletarian wave; while some other "Crowded Paradise" - are neurotics and complex and glad to find a group they think they can look down upon.

point in "Crowded Paradise" is the role of the police. The police officer in this picture wants to help Puerto Ricans as much as he can. He shows genuine understanding and friendliness. Let us grant that there are a few police officers like him, but they are not typical: the New York police are not the Puerto Rican's friend

portrait of the Puerto Rican's life and phases of life in both the Soviet responsibility for making avail problems in New York it is and asked a Puerto Rican what she thought about "Crowded Paradise" after she had seen it. "It is true," she replied. "Things really are like that. It's a very fine picture." that kind of approach. I hope many people are going to see VOTE FOR DOBBS "Crowded Paradise" and to do some serious thinking about discrimination — especially those who like to affirm their belief in equality and civil rights, but who, the or Republican parties who has very next moment, tell you: "This neigh-

field of political action. I have ence as a vice-chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, STEPPED UP had some ten years of experiduties which consisted of going from state to state, city to city and county to county building political action committees in lo cal unions, international unions

How often do we hear people say: "This neighborhood is getting real bad with all those Puerto Ricans moving in!" A majority of the persons who say so does not

Youth in Jail

By Joyce Cowley

Right now there are around 500 young people between the ages of 16 and 21. "detained" in New York City jails, according to a report by Gertrude Samuels in the New York Times. They are not prisoners, although they wear prison clothing and live in heavily barred six-by-eight foot cells, frequently in the same cell block with adult criminals. Young girls are sent to the Women's House of Detention where they share cells with convicted prostitutes and narcotics pushers.

These youngsters may be awaiting trial, or a court transfer, or a formal complaint from the injured party. A judge may be investigating their cases. Sometimes the youth's crime is homelessness, and the only spot for him while waiting for "placement" is the city jail.

One reason for detention is that some judges feel sending these boys to jail for a few days will "do them good." It's an obvious violation of their constitutional rights, but the Times points out that most of them come from "the city poor" and can't afford a lawyer.

The courts are slow, and a great many delays occur because the staff is too small to take care of investigations and paper work. There are fifteen different courts that deal with youth problems, and each judge decides for himself whether a youth will be treated as a criminal or non-criminal offender. The tough type like Judge Samuel Leibowitz considers it "soft-headed insanity" to classify youth as such just because of their age. "Many are punks . . . who can give older criminals hearts and spades in this business."

Other judges use high bail as a form of punishment. The working-class youth generally can't raise the money, so he has to stay in jail while he waits for trial. One boy of 17, deserted by his parents, was supporting himself at a \$40-a-week job. He was arrested for going through a subway turnstile without paying. He couldn't raise bail and waited 25 days for trial. He was dismissed with a warning, but of course his job was gone.

The majority of these young people peaceful competition. wind up in jail because there's no other place to put them. There are no shelters, youth hostels or homes. Social service agencies already have more cases than they can handle and nobody wants to board youngsters accused of crime or of nuclear weapons, the abolition prostitution. According to Mayor Wagner: of the H-bomb, the A-bomb and "The judges themselves, to my knowledge, haven't asked for new buildings or by both the Soviet Onion and the United States and all of the demanded shelters for this group." Money other lesser countries through has been allocated in the 1956 budget to the United Nations. [Applause] start surveying and acquiring land for shelters but the Mayor concedes that this will take many years.

In the meantime, when the Youth Court Act goes into effect next February and of Rights of the United States youth cases are consolidated in the County Courts, the court calendars will be even more crowded and "justice" will move even more slowly than in the past. There will be hundreds of boys like Robert, who spent 65 days waiting for his case to come to trial. But then, as Robert himself ad- | freedom of meeting for every wasted. He said that while he was there he "learned an awful lot about how to commit crimes better."

By Shirley Clark

.The conservative New York Bar Association through mands for his works. A whole its nine-member Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty- in every land." Just as the Big think there can be no peaceful series of his writings have been Security Program July 8 published its 301-page report on

commanded top prices from out-of-print dealers when available. In assuming the obligation for In assuming the obligation for the continued circulation of Trot-shu's works we have helped to but throughout the English that the U.S. suffers danger of ney General's subversive list un-

that has meant a special obliga-tion for us in this historic work. Federal and private employes and the American people would concern with freedom of speech Today, with the great discus- have been put under a cloud by and the American people would concern with freedom of speech sion in the ranks of the Com- the security "risk" program. It regain some of their traditional and fair hearings, although that

maritime screening, ending the OPINION

program to the more obvious It is interesting to note that abuses. It will take an aroused prominent among the considera- labor movement to end the police tions of the lawyers' Committee powers grabbed up by the capiis its concern for the appearance talist politicians by eliminating of U.S. liberty abroad. Liberty altogether the dictatorial instimust be upheld not only here, tution of a "subversive" list.



the report says, but as "a continuing appeal to the oppressed Business rulers of this country are embarrassed by the specter of Jim Crow when they face the insurgent people in the colonial world, so these Big Business legal advisors are embarrassed by the destruction of civil liberties at home when they are trying to appear as the champions of

Were these recommendations fic and technological advance-The report claims that 25,000 er administration, the witch- U.S. abroad, injured employes'

These lawyers, who know the of the new revolutionary develop-ments in the Soviet orbit the "risk" program, limiting screening processes to employes overed by the "risk" program, limiting screening processes to employes overed by the "risk" program, limiting screening processes to employes overed by the screening processes to employes over the screening processes to employe the screening processes to employ the screening processes to be screeni requests for Trotsky's works has in actually sensitive jobs. Among an end to the persecution of in the witch hunt, are reluctant sharphy increased. From every other categories the committee people for their political ideas. to propose the full restoration of civil liberties. They confine their attack on the government "risk"