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## **Steel Barons Provoke** Shutdown to Justify **New Price Increases**

### By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN - It is now obvious to all that the profit-bloated steel corporations deliberately provoked a strike in order to create a situation in which they can

blame the unions for setting off by the magazine U.S. News and an inflationary trend in the World Report, July 20, which defends the views of corporate

Before the shutdown the demand for steel was falling off with prospects of further cutwith prospects of further cut-backs in production as auto, farm equipment, household appliance gained by the Republican adand other big consumers slashed ministration. their orders in the face of a "Without the strike," says U.S.

rapidly declining market. It was only in anticipation of the steel lockout that big users piled up large inventories and kept the mills running at near capacity. time. With the strike, output was

The profit-hungry steel barons who exercise a strangulating settlement, with pipelines depletmonopoly over this key sector of ed and demand heavy, steel mills the American economy, coldly calculated their strategy of extracting additional tribute from humming in autumn, just before the public. The union-hating election National Association of Manu-

facturers announced that the shutdown may result in "another spiral of inflation if uneconomic raises are forced on the companies." Every big business propaganda agency sang the same tune.

capitol.

From the beginning of the operations dependent upon shutdown, administration spokessustained steel production. Sevmen in Washington announced eral millions additional unemthat Eisenhower was adopting a ployed will mean votes for them, "hands-off policy." This was supsay the Democrats, with a supposed to indicate the "liberal" pressed chuckle. character of the Wall Street gang It seems, therefore, that the

shutdown is the best thing that that runs the show in the nation's has yet happened. Everyone is

Their real attitude is disclosed (Continued on page 4)



# Workers' Pressure Forces Hungarian 'Stalin's' Downfall

## Witch Hunters the shutdown, U.S. News chortles over the political benefits to be political by the Bonybligan ad

267

Are you opposed to blacklisting? Have you been victimized News, "steel output would have after being falsely accused by gone into a slow decline in the a privately-organized witch-huntsummer and autumn, hurting ing gang? If so, that obviously business just before election raises the question of whether "you are a friend or a foe of cut off all at once. Following America's struggle against communism"-at any rate so savs Rep. Francis Walter (D.-Pa.), will be hard pressed to supply chairman of the House Commitcustomers. Result: Things will be tee on Un-American Activities. Last month a two-volume, documented report on "Blacklisting

The Democrats, on the other in the Entertainment Industry" hand, argue that the shutdown was published by the Fund for will help elect their candidates. the Republic, which is subsidized In addition to those workers by the Ford Foundation. The projdirectely affected, the shutdown ect was headed by John Cogley, will throw hundreds of thousands a former editor of the liberal out of employment in industries Catholic magazine, Commonand transportation and mining weal. The report includes a host of

harrowing case histories of victimizations resulting from the blacklisting which now has the entertainment field by the throat. Countless entertainers have found themselves jobless after being listed as "communists" in such scurrilous rags as Red

ROVOCATEN WE PEOPLE

MEEDOM!

### Channels and Counterattack, or after having been fingered by Aware, Inc., the McCarthyite outfit which has been sparking the Smolders in E. Europe witch hunt in the radio and TV Cogley was hauled before the

House committee last week where he was told by Walter that his

report raised the question of where the Fund for the Republic stood in the "struggle against

By William Bundy 61 persons are included who used | In addition, it is by no means the disturbances for "robbery" excluded that workers who playcome out of Eastern Europe de- distinction was being made be- will be framed as either criminals

## **Regime Deposes Rakosi** With Warning Against "Any More Poznans"

**PRICE: 10 Cents** 

JULY 19 — The "resignation" of Matyas Rakosi, the 'Stalin" of Hungary, from his post as First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party was announced today. As in the case of Stalin in the Soviet O-

Union, Rakosi's repudiation by jail for five years, without perfellow bureaucrats comes as a mitting me to see my baby, reresult of the tremendous pressure ceive food, letters or clothes, but of the workers on the regime. they have utterly destroyed our Recently, the Kremlin sought to bolster Rakosi with public dec-moral life." (See report in the larations of support. This was July 1, New York Times.)

after long pent-up anger against A few nights later an even Rakosi and the bureaucratic re- stormier and larger meeting took gime had exploded at party place in Budapest called by the meetings and in the press. Petofi Youth League. There, Timeetings and in the press. But the top bureaucrats finally ber Deri, well-known Hungarian had to give way, in order - by writer declared "It is high time means of a concession to mass to end this present regime of pressure — to preserve the dic- gendarmes and bureaucrats." A tatorship of the privileged rul- few days later Deri was expelled ing caste. from the party.

At the same time, the Hun-garian government threatens the

masses with bloody reprisals If members of the ruling party should they push their struggle are speaking out in such a fashfurther. There will be "no second ion, one can imagine the far Poznan," warned Ero Gero, who greater anger of the masses. A took Rakosi's place as party muffled indication of this was carried in July 12 Budapest radio boss. report that workers at the Ma-

MOUNTING STRUGGLE

There have been a number of a protest meeting over pay dereports during the past several ductions. Trade union and govweeks showing mounting opposi- ernment officials present at the tion to the regime in Hungary. meeting failed to give adequate Thus at a meeting on June answers to the workers' ques-29 of 2,000 leading members of tions, the broadcast said,

tyas" Rakosi Steel Works held

the Stalinist party, more than a However, what forced the Sta-JULY 18-Reports continue to and "looting." He added that a ed a leading role in the struggle ty had degenerated. The widow Rakosi was not only the developdozen speakers charged the par- linist bureaucrats to sacrifice of former Hungarian minister, ments in Hungary, but above all Lazslo Raik, executed as a "Tito- the Poznan general strike

ist" in 1949 and cleared post- This rising of the workers has

pointed the finger of accusation lin and all East European re-



Picket signs of striking members of United Steelworkers Local 1397 and smokeless stacks are silent evidence of the steel strike at the Homestead plant of the U.S. Steel Corp. in Pittsburgh. 650,000 workers are on strike throughout the U.S.

tainers were able to secure re- Stalinist regimes among stuemployment only after winning dents, intellectuals and sections "clearances" from one of various of the Communist parties. At McCarthyite columnists.

On July 13 the committee deeided it wanted to hear from some head off recurrences of the Pozof those listed in the report as nan uprising continue to combine having been blacklisted after be- two methods: (1) Concessions, ing falsely accused of "commun- admissions and promises; (2) reism." Walter announced: "We pressions, frame-up and threats. want to ask them where they out for some of them right now." bundreds more arrested in the

framed-up, the entertainers in math are still under investigadegree.

A number of journalists also as preceded the Poznan general fillment of their rather justified number of professional criminals. humously as a frame-up victim, thoroughly frightened the Kremtestified to deny the charge that strike, June 28. Also reported is demands," and "reckless criminal Such elements are notoriously many of the blacklisted enter- criticism and opopsition to the and provocateur elements in- ready to swear to anything in spired by sources alien to Po- exchange for a deal with the land."

scribing a smoldering discontent tween "workers influenced by dis- or spies. It is apparent that the

The announcement of this "dis- sentences. the same time the efforts of the tinction" comes down to this: the Hopes have been raised among Kremlin-backed governments to factory workers will be depicted some socialists and liberals in as unwitting dupes of the "spies" Europe and the United States who cleverly exploited their that a relatively fair trial may lure them into "diversionary" events. These hopes are based on activity. Thus the regime hopes reports of a struggle within In Warsaw yesterday it was were blacklisted. Subpoenas are announced that 323 of the many credit past or future revolutiona- Polish United Workers (Staliry mass uprisings against it, nist) party. The Central Com In short, having already been June 28 events and its after- and to make examples of those mittee is scheduled to meet to who dared to organize a strike day and it is expected that question must now face the third tion. Prosecutor General Marian and demonstrate for working among those who will be in

Rybicki asserted that of these, class demands.

among the industrial workers such satisfaction caused by nonful- Security Police rounded up a prosecution promising lighter

(Continued from page 3)

IN THIS ISSUE:

Language"

By I. F. STONE

See Page 3

at the present rulers of Hungary gimes. By concessions and reand declared: pressions they seek to head off "Murderers cannot be rehabi- even more widespread and betlitated. They not only have de- ter organized actions against their stroyed my husband, held me in tyrannical rule.

### who cleverly exploited their that a relatively fair trial may "rather justified demands" to be conducted on the Poznan be them into "diversionary" events These hopes are based on to accomplish two things: to dis-credit past or future revolutiona-Polish United Workers (Stali-

Poznan and the Polish national question were analyzed by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president when she spoke at a public neeting in Philadelphia July 13.9-

While in Philadelphia Mrs. Weiss also met with a group of Temple University students and a serious probe was made of the fundamental problems of Marx-"Such support need not imply

The running mate for Presicritical support expressed recentdential Candidate Farrell Dobbs went to nearby Allentown for a public meeting there July 14 and mel said. It is the long-estab- Labor Party ine New York, who then returned to Philadelphia on lished Stalinist policy of seeking disagrees with the SWP's posito defend the Soviet Union by tion on 'peaceful coexistence' and Sunday, July 15 for an all day picnic which was concerned

chiefs of the Soviet CP." The imperialism. It failed to prevent "United action in the electoral largely with such political questhe Second World War. It was field-based on the concept of tions as events in the Soviet the Kremlin are an expression of through this policy that Com- class struggle in American poli- Union and the question of Negro munist Parties in the capitalist tics and against the policy of segregation in this country.

(Election rallies featuring Mrs. docile tools to be used as diplo- with a continuation of the pres- Weiss in New York on July 20 matic pawns in reaching a deal ent discussion in a friendly and and in Newark on July 21 will be objective manner," Himmel con- covered in the next issue of the cluded "can bring about the con-Militant.)

ditions for building a united In Michigan, Socialist Workers That is what the present lead- American socialist movement. Party Candidate Rita Shaw, who Such a movement would topple is waging a fighting write-in cam- formation of a labor party will capitalism in its strongest for- paign as candidate for Governor tress and carry society forward in spite of being arbitrarily ruled party system, an inevitable step ticular, Himmel scored the poli- to a world free of war and priva- off the ballot, has issued an ap- on the road to socialism. . .

peal for support to readers of the Michigan Worker, state we advocate the formation of a edition of the Daily Worker.

### FOR A LABOR PARTY



MYRA TANNER WEISS

constitute a break with the two-

"As the goal of a labor party Workers and Farmers Government able and willing to reorganize the economy along socialist lines, and to end capitalism in the only country where it retains any real strength. . .

"We urge you if you are a member of the Communist Party, litically advanced workers. It is to try to persuade the coming national conference of the CP (in

"In this election campaign we September) that it would be advocate, and in the unions we criminal to continue the policy of have long been working for, the supporting the Democratic Party, formation of an independent labor and that the CP should endorse party, based on the union. Negro the candidates of the SWP for and dirt farmer movements. The the reasons given above."

## Petroit "Stalin Cult" Debate Sets Precedent

DETROIT, July 13-The first questions that are of paramount | uate many of his past opinions | significance of the 20th Congress | the Soviet workers against the opportunity the labor and radical importance to all those who are and that he intended to develop was the admission by Khru- bureaucracy and an attempt by agreement with the SWP on all ism. movement of the city has ever sincerely interested in building a his understanding further. He shchev and Co. of the crimes com- the bureaucrats to head it off by questions. It can be the kind of had to hear the ideas of Trot- better society. It is a discussion granted that a free discussion mitted by Stalin against the So- making some concessions." skyism and Stalinism pre- that is long overdue. But if the was a good beginning in this viet people and the Bolshevik sented from the same plat- obstacles that prevented it in the direction, but expressed the opin- Party. form was provided tonight at a past can be overcome the results ion that such a discussion could

debate between Bob Himmel, con- | can be only good. be of use only among people who "Such a discussion, involving recognized the possibility and degressional candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1954 and a free exchange of ideas among sirability of "peaceful coexist- ing class on the bureaucratic Bolza Baxter, Chairman of the the most diverse tendencies in ence." Labor Youth League. the working class movement, can (Baxter stated that in the de-

The debate was held in a pack- lay the foundation for building ed meeting hall at the Greater a strong and united party of so-King Solomon Baptist Church. cialism in America."

The debaters addressed them-Himmel referred to the writselves to the subject: Recent ings of Leon Trotsky that were Events in the Soviet Union and prominently displayed at the meet-Their Significance for the Amer- ing and recommended that they ican People. be studied for a genuine under-Leaflets announcing the meet- standing of events in the Soviet

socialist weekly.

ing stated that the following Union.

questions would be dealt with: (1) What is the meaning of the stated that the new world sit-Russian Communist Party's ex- uation and the revelations at the posure and disavowal of the "Sta- 20th Congress of the Communist lin cult"? What implicatios does Party of the Soviet Union had combined to force him to re-evalthis have for the future of Amer-

ican politics? (2) Is a "peaceful transformation to socialism" likely? What kind of a party and and program is needed to bring socialism to America? (3) Is it true that war is no longer inevitable? Can "peaceful coexistence" work?

"This meeting is a landmark in the history of the socialist movement here in Detroit," Himmel declared in his presentation.

"It marks the opening of what I hope will be a long and fruitful discussion of the many vital

developed at the 20th Congress and hailed it as the only hope of the American people to avoid another world war. In his presentation, Baxter

Labor Youth League.)

The 20th Congress also revealed that Stalin, too, made certain "errors" and engaged in certain 'excesses," Baxter said. But the fact that the Soviet leaders have discovered and revealed these 'errors" and "excesses" provides

bate he was not officially speak-

ing for the Communist Party or

He defended the idea of "peace-

the basis for a regroupment "of **To Subscribe** all genuine peace forces in this country." They can now work to-To subscribe to The Militant gether for "peaceful coexistence send your name and address to between the Socialist world and The Militant. 116 University the Capitalist world." The fact Place, New York 3, N. Y. Enthat one-third of the world is now close \$3 for one year's sub-'socialist" has forced the Amerscription or \$1.50 for 6 months. ican State Department to take And while you're about it, a new look and this indicates that why not take out a subscrippeaceful co-existence" is possition for a friend? Help spread ble if the American people exert the truth by widening the cirpressure in this direction. culation of America's leading

Himmel stated that the real

As for peaceful coexistence, it ly by Clifford T. McAvoy, one embodies no new concept, Him- of the leaders of the American

"The 20th Congress revelations came in response to overwhelming pressure by the Soviet workmeans of status quo deals with other questions." many concessions wrested from a growing political revolution by

countries were transformed into class collaboration - together with imperialism.

ers of the American CP propose to continue, and what the discussion ought to change. In parcy of the American CP leaders of tion. endorsing the Democrats in the election campaign.

ing socialists in this country is breaking the American working class out of the political straitjacket of capitalist parties. This is the essential prerequisite for building a mass party of socialism in the United States."

for Governor of Michigan.

ELECTION POLICY

"The most important task fac-

Himmel urged radical workers and youth to support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party-Farrell Dobbs for President, Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President, and Rita Shaw

**BOB HIMMEL** 

ful coexistence" as a new notion

- Page Two

### THE MILITANT

### Monday, July 23, 1956

## Letter from Trotsky To Soviet Workers

(The following letter, printed for clandestine circulation in the USSR, was written in May, 1940, a few months before Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist assassin. It sums up his position on the defense of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. — Ed.)

Greetings to the Soviet workers, collective farmers, soldiers of the Red Army and sailors of the Red Navy! Greetings from distant Mexico where I found refuge after the Stalinist clique had exiled me to Turkey and after the bourgeoisie had hounded me from country to country!

Dear Comrades! The lying Stalinist press has been maliciously deceiving you for a long time on all questions, including those which relate to myself and my political co-thinkers. You possess no workers' press; you read only the press of the bureaucracy, which lies systematically so as to keep you in darkness and thus render secure the rule of a privileged parasitic caste.

Those who dare raise their voices against the universally hated bureaucracy are called "Trotskvists." agents of a foreign power; branded as spies - yesterday it was spies of Germany, today it is spies of England and France - and then sent to face the firing squad. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters have fallen before the muzzles of the GPU Mausers in the USSR and in countries abroad, especially in Spain. All of them were depicted as agents of Fascism.

Do not believe this abominable slander! Their crime consisted of defending workers and peasants against the brutality and rapacity of the bureaucracy. The entire Old Guard of Bollshevism, all the collaborators and assistants of Lenin, all the fighters of the October revolution, all the heroes of the Civil War, have been murdered by Stalin. In the annals of history Stalin's name will forever be recorded with the infamous brand of Cain!

#### **Revolution Not for Bureaucrats**

The October revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolishevilk planty was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The would organization which the Communist International once was, is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of Workers and Peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate Commissians, Secretaries and GPU agents.

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy, Upon this foundation Workers' Soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy.

are incar

cracy had not trampled underfoot the vital interests of the population, then the USSR would have been a great magnetic pole of attraction for the toilers of the world and the inviolability of the Soviet Union would have been assured. But the inflamous oppressive regime of Stalin has deprived the USSR of its attractive power.

During the war with Finland, not only the majority of the Finnish peasants but also a majority of the Finnish workers, proved to be on the side of their bourgeoisie. This is hardly surprising since they know of the unprecedented oppression to which the Stalinist bureaucracy subjects the workers of near-by Leningrad and the whole of the USSR. The Stalinist bureaucracy, so blood-thirsty and ruthless at home and so cowardly before the imperialist enemies, has thus become the main source of war danger to the Soviet Union.

The old Bolshevik party and the Third International have disintegrated and decomposed. The honest and advanced revolutionists have organized abroad the Fourth International which has sections already established in most of the countries of the world. I am a member of this new International. In participating in this work I remain under the very same banner that I served together with you or your fathers and your older brothers in 1917 and throughout the years of the Civil War - the very same banner under which together with Lenin we built the Soviet state and the Red Army.

### Goal of the Fourth International

The goal of the Fourth International is to extend the October revolution to the whole world and at the same time to regenerate the USSR by purging it of the parasitic bureaucracy. This can be achieved only in one way: By the workers, peasants, Red Army soldiers and Red Navy sailors, rising against the new caste of oppressors and parasites. To prepare this uprising, a new party is needed - a bold and honest revolutionary organization of the advanced workers. The Fourth International sets as its task the building of such a party in the USSR. Advanced workers! Be the first to rally to

the banner of Marx and Lenin which is now the banner of the Fourth International! Learn how to create, in the conditions of Stalinist illegality, tightly fused, reliable revolutionary circles! Establish contacts between these circles! Learn how to establish contacts - through loyal and reliable people, especially the sailors - with your revolutionary co-thinkers in bourgeois lands! It is difficult, but it can be done.

The present war will spread more and more, piling ruins on ruins, breeding more and more sorrow, despair and protest, driving the whole world toward new revolutionary explosions. The world revolution shall re-invigorate the Soviet working masses with new courage and resoluteness and shall undermine the bureaucratic props of Stalin's caste. It is necessary to prepare for this hour by stubborn systematic revolutilomary work. The fate of our country, the future of our people, the destiny of our children and grandchildren are at stake.

Down With Cain Stalin and his Camarilla! Down With the Rapacious Bureaucracy! Long Live the Soviet Union, the Fortress

of the Toilers! Long Live the World Socialist Revolution! Fraternally.

## **One-Party System in Theory and Practice**

(An excerpt from Leon Trotsky's The Revolution Betrayed, written in 1936. The selection entitled "Democracy and the Party," and forms Section 3 of Chapter X, "The Soviet Union in the Mirror of the New Constitution. The Revolution Betrayed is available from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

#### By Leon Trotsky

The promise to give the Soviet people freedom to vote "for those whom they want to elect" is rather a poetic figure than a political formula. The Soviet people will have the right to choose their "representatives" only from among candidates whom the central and local leaders present to them under the flag of the party. To be sure, during the first period of the Soviet era the Bolshevik party also exercised a monopoly. But to identify these two phenomena would be to take appearance for reality. The prohibition of opposition

parties was a temporary measure dictated by conditions of civil war, blockade, intervention and famine. The ruling party, representing in that period a genuine WHY SPLITS OCCURRED organization of the proletarian vanguard, was living a full-blood- tariat is the least heterogeneous ed inner life. A struggle of groups and factions to a certain theless, the presence of such "litdegree replaced the struggle of the strata" as the workers' arisparties. At present, when social- tocracy and the workers' buism has conquered "finally and reaucracy is sufficient to give irrevocably." the formation of factions is punished with con- which are converted by the course centration camp or firing squad. of things into one of the weap- THE RUN-AROUND The prohibition of other parties, ons of bourgeois domination. from being a temporary evil, has Whether from the standpoint of been erected into a principle. wtih political questions has even and the proletarian mass is "fun-18. but the age limit for Com- International. munist Youth existing until 1936 (23 years) is now wholly abolished. Politics is thus once for less this society is at least inall declared the monopoly of an uncontrolled bureaucracy. NO BASIS FOR PARTIES?

To a question from an American interviewer as to the role of the party in the new constitution, Stalin answered: "Once there are no classes, once the Stalin proved a good deal more political system, "guarantees the barriers between classes are disthe barriers between classeswhich are not!-are disappeartween various little strata of the themselves. Where there are not eral Secretary. several classes, there cannot be several parties, for a party is WHO WOULD DECIDE? part of a class."

Every word is a mistake and problem from another side. In Communist Party ... which conm nuclous of the Soviet Union, he says, the stitutes the guid them two! It appears from this that classes are homo- question where to go-whether all organizations, both social and geoneous; that the boundaries of back to capitalism or forward to governmental." This astoundingclasses are outlined sharply and socialism-is no longer subject ly candid formula, introduced inonce for all; that the conscious- to discussion. There, "partisans to the text of the constitution itness of a class strictly corre- of the hostile liquidated classes self, reveals the whole fictitioussponds to its place in society, organized in parties cannot be ness of the political role of those The Marxist teaching of the class permitted." To say nothing of "social organizations" - subordinature of the party is thus turn- the fact that in a country of nate branches of the bureaucratic ed into a caricature. The dynamic triumphant socialism partisans firm.

tive order. In reality classes are | political differences are far from heterogeneous; they are torn by comprised in the alternative: to inner antagonisms, and arrive at socialism or to capitalism. There the solution of common problems are other questions: How to go no otherwise than through an toward socialism, with what teminner struggle of tendencies, po, etc. The choice of the road is no less important than the groups and parties. choice of the goal.

kinds of nonparty social organ-

izations. And we have hundreds

It is possible, with certain Who is going to choose the qualifications, to concede that "a party is part of a class." But road? If the nourishing soil for political parties has really dissince a class has many "parts"appeared, then there is no reason some look forward and some back-one and the same class to forbid them. On the contrary, may create several parties. For It is time, in accordance with the the same reason one party may party program, to abolish "all rest upon parts of different classlimitations of freedom whatsoes. An example of only one party ever." In trying to dispel the natural corresponding to one class is not

to be found in the whole course doubts of his American interof political history-provided, of viewer, Stalin advanced a new course, you do not take the police consideration: "Lists of nominees will be presented not only by the appearance for the reality. Communist Party, but also by all

In its social structure, the prole-

of them.... Each one of the litclass of capitalist society. Nevertle strata [of Soviet society] can have its special interests and reflect [express?] them through the existing innumberable social organizations." This sophism is no better than the others. rise to opportunistic parties,

Stalinist sociology, the difference The right to occupy themselves between the workers' aristocracy

Even if in the Soviet society the upper privileged groups, and "there are no classes," neverthe- the last word remains with the tov, the mechanics of democracy is another no less important. comparably more heterogeneous and complicated than the prole- fers the elector from Pontius to asks Victor Serge, "if every worktariat of capitalist countries, and Pilate. consequently can furnish adje-

parties.

than he wanted to. From his right" to all male and female secret ballot. appearing ["there are no classes, reasonings it follows not only citizens to group themselves in that there can be no different trade unions, co-operatives, youth, ing"-L.T.], there remains only that there cannot even be one nical and scientific organizations. something in the nature of a not party. For where there are no As to the party-that is, the place for politics. Nevertheless, is not a question of the right of which enjoys a monopoly in the socialist society. There can be from this law Stalin draws a "so- all, but of the privilege of the Soviet Union is the political mano nourishing soil for the cre- ciological" conclusion in favor of minority. "... The most active chine of the bureaucracy, which ation of parties struggling among the party of which he is the Gen- and conscious [so considered, in reality has something to lose that is from above-L.T.] citi- and nothing more to gain. It

zens from the ranks of the work- wishes to preserve the "nourishing class and other strata of the ing soil" for itself alone. Bukharin tries to approach the toiling masses, are united in the

### Supreme Soviet Rubber-Stamps Rulers

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which convened in Moscow last week, after having been rendered virtually non-existant by Stalin, hardly matched the picture of revitalized democracy promised by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress.

In its main legislative session of July 14, the upper house of the Soviet met for 35 minutes and the lower house for 40 minutes. Both unanimously adopted Kremlin-sponsored legislation increasing pensions and ratified decrees reducing the work week from 48 to 46 hours and abolishing criminal penalties for tardiness at work or guitting jobs without permission.

Apologists for the Kremlin, while deploring the lack of debate, offer the consolation that while there was little discussion at least some progressive legislation was enacted. But the fact is that only the amount of such legislation as the Kremlin deemed advisable was passed.

A number of delegates offered liberalizing amendments to the pension bill from the floor. But debate was cut off and the amendments summarily rejected after Khrushchev branded them impractical.

The Supreme Soviet's lack of real authority was revealed by the fact that its agenda (also adopted unanimously) did not provide for discussion or action on the historic revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Last May four members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences called for the right to form a second party as a means of avoiding repetition of Stalin's dictatorship. The proposal was denounced by Khrushchev as a "right-wing" deviation and the four were promptly expelled from the party. The present session of the Supreme Soviet underscores the merit of their proposal.

party can reveal themselves at ileges to the ruling stratum. these democratic elections? To the question of a French jour- a glimpse of this motive to the The Soviet "social" organiza- nalist as to the groupings of the reform. "We have not a few intions-trade union, co-operative, ruling party, Molotov answered: stitutions," he told Roy Howard. cultural, etc.-do not in the least "In the party . . . attempts have represent the interests of dif- been made to create special fac- secret ballot in the Soviet Union ferent "little strata," for they all tions but it is already several will be a whip in the hands of the been withdrawn from the Com- damental" or only "something have one and the same hierarchic- years since the situation in this munist Youth, and that at the in the nature of" matters not at al structure. Even in those cases matter has fundamentally changvery moment of publication of all. It is from this difference that where they apparently represent ed, and the Communist Party is the new constitution. Moreover, the necessity arose in its time mass organizations, as in the actually a unit." This is proven the citizens and citizenesses en- for breaking with the Social De- trade unions and co-operatives, best of all by the continuous joy the franchise from the age of mocracy and creating the Third the active role in them is played purgations and the concentration exclusively by representatives of | camps.

After the commentary of Molo-"party"-that is, the bureaucra- are completely clear. "What recy. The constitution merely re- | mains of the October Revolution." er who permits himself to make The mechanics of this are ex- a demand, or express a critical quate nourishing soil for several pressed with complete precision judgment, is subject to imprisonin the very text of the funda- ment? Oh, after that you can es-In making this imprudent ex- mental law. Article 126, which is tablish as many secret ballots as cursion into the field of theory, the axis of the constitution as a you please!" It is true: even Hitler did not infringe upon the

The reformers have dragged in theoretical arguments about the ticipation of fresh and demandparties in the Soviet Union, but sport, defensive, cultural, tech- mutual relations of classes and ing communist youth. In the parties by the hair. It is not a cities the contrast between luxquestion of sociology, but of ma- ury and want is too clear to the at all fundamental difference be- classes, there is in general no concentration of power-there it terial interests. The ruling party eyes.

\* \* \*

Two Books By

Victor Serge

Former Communist

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**Russia 20 Years After** 

From Lenin to Stalin

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The first concern of the So iet aristocracy is to get rid of worker and Red Army soviets. With the discontent of the scattered rural population it is much easier to deal. The collectivized peasan'ts can even with some success be used against the city workers. This is not the first time that a In a country where the lava of

Stalin was compelled to give "which work badly. . . . The population against badly working organs of power." A remarkable confession! After the bureaucracy has created a socialist society with its own hands, it feels the need . . of a whip! That is one of the motives of

the constitutional reform. There In abolishing the soviets, the new constitution dissolves the workers in the general mass of the population. Politically the soviets, to be sure, long ago lost their significance. But with the growth of new social antagonisms and the awakening of a new generation, they might again come to life. Most of all, of

course, are to be feared the city soviets with the increasing par-

quests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the Tsarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoistie.

If Soviet economic life had been conducted in the interests of the people; if the bureaucracy had not devoured and vainly wasted the major portion of the national income; if the bureau-



Warning! Stalin's press will of course declare that this letter is transmitted to the UISISR by "agents of imperialism." Be forewarned that this, too, is a lie. This letter will reach the USSR through reliable revolutionists who are prepared to risk their lives for the cause of socialism. Make copies of this letter and give it the widest possible circulation.

of political consciousness is ex- of capitalism would be merely But if there is not to be cluded from the historical proc- ludicrous Don Quixotes incapable struggle of parties, perhaps the - L. T. ess in the interests of administra- of creating a party, the existing different factions within the one

revolution has not yet cooled, bureaucratic reaction upon the country in its struggle privileges burn those who posagainst the city.

sess them as a stolen gold watch Whatever in the new constiburns an amateur thief. The rultution is principled and signifiing Soviet stratum has learned cant, and really elevates it high to fear the masses with a perabove the most democratic confectly bourgeois fear. Stalin stitutions of bourgeois countries, gives the growing special privis merely a watered-down paraleges of the upper circles a phrase of the fundamental doc-'theoretical" justification with uments of the October revoluthe help of the Communist Intion. Whatever has to do with ternational, and defends the Soestimating the economic conviet aristocracy from popular disquests, distorts reality with false content with the help of concenperspective and braggadocio. tration camps. In order that this And finally whatever concerns mechanism should keep on workfreedom and democracy is satuing. Stalin is compelled from rated through and through with time to time to take the side of the spirit of usurpation and cyni-"the people" against the bucism. reaucracy-of course, with its

Representing, as it does, an immense step back from socialist to bourgeois principles, the new order at least partially to purge constitution, cut and sewed to the measure of the ruling group, follows the same historic course as the abandonment of world revolution in favor of the League of Nations, the restoration of the bourgeois family, the substitution of the standing army for the militia, the resurrection of ranks and decorations, and the growth of inequality. By juridically reinforcing the absolutism of an "extra-class" bureaucracy. the new constitution creates the political premises for the birth of a new possessing class.



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## **Kremlin Assailed for Silence on Anti-Semitism**

### By Harry Ring

Party membership has waited for an explanation from the Kremlin about admissions of governmental antisemitism under Stalin. They D-

As final, bone-crushing proof

The interview appeared in the

curbs." Reaction to this brazen

have met with a stubborn re- pression of Jewish culture or refusal to give such explanations pression of the Jewish people." to many Jewish people prominent and with disturbing new reports She further assured Miss Petran in science and the arts' . . . this of continuing anti-Semitic prac- that although she had not read is like a Washington official retices.

Jewish paper published in Po- true "we would have published it Ralph Bunche, George Washingland, revealed the shocking facts ourselves and would not need to ton Carver, Cab Calloway and of the mass slaughter of the have it published in the Polish Louis Armstrong." leaders of Jewish cultural and press." Jewish culture has depolitical activity in the Soviet veloped freely in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist purge of Union, she asserted, and there Jews occurred in two waves: in | are many prominent Jews in the the Thirties during the Moscow | arts and sciences. Trials and in the period follow-Mrs. Furtseva conceded there

ing World War II up to 1953.

The silence of Khrushchev and Semitism based on a misunderhis associates about these damstanding of government actions. ning admissions is deliberate. It seems that "The government This was demonstrated when had found in some of its depart-Pravda on June 27 reprinted a ments a heavy concentration of statement on the 20th Congress Jewish people, upwards of 50% by Eugene Dennis, secretary of of the staff. Steps were taken to the American CP, and deleted transfer them to other enterfrom it the phrase, "snuffing out prises, giving them equally good the lives of more than a score of positions, and without jeopardiz-Jewish cultural figures," from ing their rights. All of this was Dennis' katalogue of Stalin's in accordance with Lenin's princrimes. ciples on the national question,

The only official Kremlin comshe said." ment on Soviet anti-Semitism to appear in this country thus far of the absence of anti-Semitism, comes in the form of a flat dethe Soviet bureaucrat pointed nial of its existence. The denial out that 80% of the musicians appears in the Progressive Party who played at the Kremlin reweekly, the National Guardian. ception for Tito were Jewish. which June 25 featured an ex-Miss Petran does not report clusive interview with Ekatrina Furtseva a member of the Cenbest friends were Jewish. tral Committee of the CPSU, by Guardian correspondent Tabitha Petran. line, "High Soviet official in

### "MANY PROMINENT JEWS"

The Guardian reports that Mrs. Furtseva "denied emphatically whitewash was quick and sharp.

For three months a deeply troubled U.S. Communist | Guardian said, "It is a remark- quotas on government jobs - improved in the past several Thirties. Nor was it he who enable commentary that, after al- something which is impermissi- years but that there was still a gineered the infamous "Jewish most 40 years of socialism, a ble if anti-Semitism is to be up- complete absence of Jewish culmember of the governing party's | rooted? ... The interview given | tural institutions. Such institucentral committee should smugly by E. Furtseva has only brought tions were absent, Soviet officials deny anti-semitism by 'pointing more unclarity and has further told the rabbis, because the Jew-Union.'

the Folksstimme revelations, she futing the persecution of the Last April 4, Folksstimme, a was positive that if they were Negro people by pointing to speaking for herself. In his inter- is but one twice-weekly Yiddish

> Another letter asks: "How do you find out there are too many holding office in the early days "Jew" stamped on his passport, by secret police or, just as bad,

anti-Semitic or anti-other mihad been talk of Soviet antifought for the elimination of such bias knows."

Freiheit, Stalinist Yiddish lan-June 25 editorial: "When Eka- to refute the charge made by C. trina (Furtseva asserts in the in- L. Sulzberger in the July 9 N. Y. stand up under criticism and does lin as well as his successors. terview that nothing happened Times that Khrushchev bears not correspond to reality." ) to Jewish culture, and that there much personal responsibility for are no problems of anti-Semitism, Soviet anti-Semitism.

she unfortunately showed that she does not comprehend what journalist, writes: "When Khru- speech by Khrushchev and in the the usurped power and privileges the Jewish question is about."

Citing the Jewish schools, heit asks: "Where is all this now? He was the first Premier of a the Soviet Union?" What has become of this mag- Soviet republic to prohibit acnificent edifice? It was destroy- tivity of Jewish theaters, schools ed! It fell victim to the crippling and publishing houses."

#### of Soviet democracy. It became whether any of Mrs. Furtseva's a victim of terror, a victim of RABBIS REPORT

Guardian under a banner head- Lenin. In 1948 when the Jewish to the report of the American the Daily Worker and Freiheit, under this form of reaction-Anti-Fascist Committee was li- rabbis who returned from a re- does not hold water. frank interview; denies Jewish quidated Jewish culture was com- cent visit to the Soviet Union. While Beria bears his share of

> pletely eradicated." The editorial adds, "Can there Times that the conditions of the He did not have the power to lead the plight of the Jewish masse

upset the friends of the Soviet ish people did not want them. With a Jewish population of two-to-three million in the So-Other developments show that Mrs. Furtseva was not simply viet Union, the rabbis said, there

view with a French Socialist del- paper, published in remote Biroegation in Moscow last May, bidzhan, with a circulation of Khrushchev spoke of a dispro- 1,000 to 2,000. They added that portionately high number of Jews while each Jew has the word

Jews or any other except either of the Soviets and that the num- he does not have any of the ber of Jews in professional posi- privileges accorded other Soviet biased questionnaires which are tions is now restricted to the national minorities.

relative proportion of Jews in the

June 10.] Khrushchev's statements on the Jewish question, coupled with his assimilation of the millions of

shchev was Prime Minister of the discussion at the 20th Congress?"

They said in the July 13 N. Y. guilt, he certainly was not alone. that there has ever been any sup-| One angry letter in the July 9 be such a thing as a system of Soviet Jews have substantially the anti-Semitic purges of thein the Soviet Union.

tacit consent. He finds it useful Doctors Plot" of 1953. to resort to the secret ballot in

### CULPRIT PROMOTED

the state apparatus of the cor-The doctors frame-up was en- ruptions which are devouring it. gineered on Stalin's orders by As early as 1928, Rakovsky the then Minister of State Sewrote, discussing a number of curity, S. D. Ignatiev and his cases of bureaucratic gangsterdeputy Ryumin. After Stalin's ism which were coming to the death the case was reviewed by surface: "The most characteris-Beria, and Ryumin was shot for | tic and most dangerous thing in torturing "confessions" out of this spreading wave of scandals the doctors. Ignatiev escaped ar- is the passiveness of the masses, rest and was restored to the the Communist masses even more party apparatus by Khrushchev. than the nonparty. . . Owing to He is now first Secretary of the fear of those in power, or sim-Bashkirian Provincial Committee. ply owing to political indiffer-Denunciations of the "Beria ence, they have passed these

gang" do not explain anti-Semi- things by without protest, or have nority, as any American who has population. [New York Times, also drawn the fire of Folks- tism in the Soviet Union any limited themselves to mere grummore than they can explain bling."

paper declared that "so-called frame-ups. Nor will reference to During the eight years which Stalin's personal aberrations be have passed since that time, the guage newspaper published in silence on this subject in his Jews of the Soviet Union" as a of any aid. What is required is a situation has become incompar-New York, bitterly declared in a Stalin indictment, does not help reason for elimination of Jew- Marxist analysis of the reaction- ably worse. The decay of the poish cultural institutions "cannot ary politics pursued under Sta- litical machine, exposing itself at every step, has begun to These politics flow from the threaten the very existence of

the state-no longer now as an privilege seeking of a ruling butions: 1. "Why was the Jewish reaucratic caste in the Soviet instrument for the socialist trans-Sulzberger, a well-informed subject passed in silence in the Union, and the need to defend formation of society, but as a source of power, income and priv-

from the Soviet masses. The bu-Ukraine after World War II he 2. "Why is there no full re- reaucratic regime destroyed the newspapers and theaters in the issued regulations barring Jews habilitation and revival of Yid- workers' democracy of Lenin's early days of the USSR, Frei- from important local positions. dish cultural and social life in time as well as the internationalist outlook of the Bolshevik party. These questions explode Folks-Under the slogan of "building stimme's original contention that socialism in one country" it rethe crimes against the Soviet vived great-Russian chauvinism. Jews were the responsibility of And in direct proportion to such one man-the hated secret police chauvinism the bureaucracy ingreat-Russian chauvinism, which The statements of Khrushchev chief, Beria. This contention, stituted oppression of national was so stubbornly fought by and Furtseva also lend credence which has been echoed here by minorities. The Jews-as always

> were among the worst sufferers. This is the key to understanding

The Khrushchev regime has stimme. On July 7 the Warsaw

Folksstimme poses two ques-



Vol. XX - No. 30

### A New Witch-Hunt Measure

A bill to sharply increase the penalties for violation of the Smith "Gag" Act has been approved by Congress and now awaits the President's signature to become law. According to available information, the bill, which was approved by the Senate, July 13, increases from ten to twenty years imprisonment the maximum penalty for advocating "illegal" ideas. "Conspiring" to advocate such ideas would now be punished by a 20-year term instead of the present five. Fines imposed under the act would also be hiked by the new measure. This reactionary new bill was slipped through Congress so unobtrusively that it

virtually escaped public notice. There were no public hearings on the measure and there has been no indication that Eisenhower will hold any before signing it.

By its present action Congress is further sharpening a law which does major violence to the U.S. Constitution, a law that has been a savage instrument of the witch hunt that dominates the American scene.

The U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and assembly. The Smith Act penalizes those who exercise these rights. The law is not aimed against actions. It punishes the advocacy of ideas and even "conspiracy" to advocate ideas. The meaning of the Smith Act, which was originally adopted over the protest of the labor and liberal movement, was clear

C

in its first application. Eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted and imprisoned under the act in 1941. They were jailed for advocating "the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky,' and for openly proclaiming their opposition to imperialist war.

Since then the law has been used to rain hammer blows on the civil liberties of the Communist Party. In wholesale numbers, leaders and members of the party have been railroaded to prison under the act solely for the expression of dissident political views. The law has also done much to spread a poisonous fog of intimidation over the country, contributing substanselves tially to the inhibition of the free exchange of ideas.

Unless strong popular pressure is brought to bear, there is little chance that election machinery on which their Eisenhower will veto this bill. It was put jobs supposedly depend. Once through Congress as part of his legislative to stay on until they die; they program. In his last annual message to live among flunkies and their Congress Eisenhower called for the enact- first concern is with power, and ment of stiffened penalties for "sub- with the intrigue and fear that versives."

While we have as yet not been able to determine the Congressional vote on the low intellectual level and bill, it is quite safe to assume that there | indeed the turgidity of the reply was no significant opposition to it by the liberal Democrats. If any voice had been raised sharply against it, the bill could not have glided through Congress so unobtrusively.

### They Flunked the First Test

Over the last few months the editorial writers of the Big Business press have set themselves up as the moral judges of the "sincerity" of the American Communist Party leaders' "declarations of independence" from the Kremlin.

The capitalist newspapermen do not come with clean hands. As a matter of course they tell lies about the working class, against the working class and for the capitalist class every day in the week. They have backed all the big anti-working class frame-ups, including the most recent frame-up - the thought-control trials under the Smith Act.

<sup>104</sup> But there is a legitimate court that must pass judgement on the revolutionary character of the leaders of the American Communist Party. That court is the public opinion of the class conscious workers, including the rank and file of the CP.

authors was still to be tested, the declarations held promise. And many rank and file CP members hoped that the promise would be fulfilled.

Then came the first acid test — the Poznan workers general strike on June 28. For two days the Daily Worker remained silent. Then on Monday, July 2, the editors caved in. They published the crude, frame-up lie that the Poznan workers were instigated and led in their class action by a bunch of imperialist spies and provocateurs. This frame-up lie may well be exploded even before the trials in Poznan take place. The countries of the Soviet orbit are passing through a new period and frame-ups do not go over so easily.

But in any case, without having at hand ing fundamental reforms in the a single shred of proof to support the direction of greater freedom of charge, the Daily Worker repeated it as good coin. On whose authority? On the authority of the same regime that framed Gomulka, as a "Titoist diversionary" in 1949 and only a year ago was forced to release him from jail. Why accept the unsupported charges of this regime against the workers of Poznan? We submit that the American CP leaders who direct the policy of the Daily Worker, flunked on the first test of their | Guatemala: promise to maintain an independent revolutionary position. This opens the question before the ranks of the Communist workers as to why this happened. We think such an inquiry will lead to the basic the U.S. State Department-was attachment of the CP leaders to the politics of Stalinism, which is the politics of the bureaucratic caste presently in power in the Soviet Union. In orderato act as revolutionary leadens it is necessary to break with the politics and interests of a bureaucracy and identify oneself completely with the class interests of the workers, internationally. The bitter truth that must be faced is that the American CP leaders have thus far shown no tendency to take this fundamental step.

## I. F. Stone Flays Soviet CP on Stalin Cult

THE MILITANT

[We reprint herewith an article entitled "Still Speaking Stalin's

has been supplied.) The Weekly is published at Room 205, 301 E. Capitol St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C, The subscription rate is \$5 per year. I. F. Stone, a noted liberal journalist, visited the Soviet Union and Poland in May and has reported his findings in recent issues of the Weekly. - Ed.]

By I. F. Stone which, miraculously, "correct" decisions infallibly flow. The The easiest way for an Amerheart of the statement is its can to visualize the ruling group warning that it would be "a in Russia today is to picture serious mistake to deduce from George Meany, David Dubinsky, the past existence of the cult of like Beatrice and Sidney Webb and Carmine de Sapio governing personality some kind of changes | because it was all so enormous a country where there was State in the social order in the USSR

ownership of all the means of or to look for the source of this production and communication, cullt in the nature of the Soviet with no opposition allowed. The social order. Both alternatives are men at the top in Moscow are absolutely wrong. . ." Thus we much like the trade union are led to believe that the cult bureaucrats and machine poof Stalin was a kind of anomalous liticians we know so well: shrewd evil apparition unrelated to the though they ceased being organs and resourceful but of limited conditions of Soviet life and mentality, not without devotion Communist dictatorship. And now after the Bolsheviks took power. to the institutions they serve but that the evil man has been easily identifying loyalty to themremoved, no changes need to be with loyality to the made to prevent recurrence. system. Like our trade union Thus supernatural causation

leaders, they are accustomed parades as Marxism. To blame cynically to manipulate the it all on some vague emanation called Stalinism is to avoid changes which would reduce one's own power.

go to maintain it.

will not learn the ABC's of free insures them materially." Wilth this picture in mind, one government, whether under capitalism or communism. They of Stalin's Constitution which still talk vaguely of "the cult of says that the freedoms of speech pensonality" when they should press, assembly and demonstrabroadcast from Moscow by their be talking of the means to check tions "are ensured by placing at Central Committee to criticisms it - of independent courts, a the disposal of the working peofrom abroad. This is about what free press, a parliament or Soviet ple and their organizations print one would expect in a cristis from in which delegates speak up for ing shops, supplies of paper, an A.F. of L. Council: a stubborn the grievances of those who public buildings, the streets, repetition of cliches by bureauelected crats so accustomed to be obeyed demonstrate in the streets, other material requisites for the that they have long lost or failed trade unions which can voice exercise of these nights." There to develop any capacity to perworker grievances. Theoretically, suade or inspire. all these exist in the Soviet ever foolish enough to take this The thoughtful Soviet citizen

Union. Had they existed in pracand there are many, despite tice, the evils of Stalinism would the stupefying atmosphere will read the statement with glee, nausea and hope: glee, that the Khrushichev crowd has been put bounds.

on the defensive; nausea, at having to read for the umteenth time this same imbecile litany days of the Revolution, when about "the Beria gang" and the there were still opposition parties with their own papers. Some of THE PET BUGABOOS "Trotskylites, right wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalthe bitterest battles within the ists"; and hope, that maybe this crowd is so clumsy it will lose power. The intelligent Russian will watch first for the reaction from abroad, particularly in Italy where Togliatti must compete with the Left Socialist Nenni For this statement is a challenge which says that the Khnushchev regime has no intention of makstrength.

ECHOES OF AN OLD HOAX expression and greater security against the State apparatus. tion, civil war, and old habits ----

Language" from the July 9 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly. (Boldfacing begin, that lessons may be learned, intelligent Pollish regime is there Pollish regime. How it reacts will from which a new Russia can find recognition of real grievances. its way again. How much is the de-Stalinization campaign worth when his successors and traducers talk exactly as he did? The condescription from Poznan. "Work-

> statements of the 30's which ed against the peoples' power?'

accompanied the adoption of Stalin's Constitution, statements of view, to give Washington credit for the uprising, to exagwhich read so painfully today in the pages of friedly observers gerate Allen Dulles's importance, to picture the conventional minds and sedentary spirits of our State Department and CIA as

a hoax. The very words might be Stalin's. He too if he were alive and felt it necessary to defend to see that this is the familiar himself would be saying that the Soviets "were and remain organs on sinister foreign influence. of genuine popular authority, The Poznan demonstrations. like strikes under other despotic regimes, quickly took on a poof popullar authority very soon litical character. The whole affair had a quaint Nineteenth Todaý they are the vermiform appendixes of the Russian Revo Century flavor. A young girl, militantly striding ahead, was lution, vestiges of spontaneous uprising in 1905 and 1917. Today photographed leading one band of workers; they carried a flag the Supreme Soviet neither legisdipped in blood. There were lates nor debates; it only apbarricades in the streets. This plauds. Stalin, too, boasted in the was like 1848, and even at a 30's exactly as this Central Comdistance had that genuine Polish mittee does now that "Soviet There is no evidence in the democracy" is superior to "bourromantic air; one could almost Central Committee statement of geois democracy" because it not hear someone playing Chopin any fresh thinking whatsoever. only "proclaims freedom of speech from a balcony as the battles in These are men who have not or and of the press . . . but also the streets mounted in intensity. Soldiers fraternized with demon-

The reference is to Article 125 strators; there were cries of "down with the Russian's." The main grievance was underscored by the attack on the secret police leadquarters. the wildest support from abroad: them, freedom to means of communication and the is no record that anybody was

ited is Wladislaw Gomulka. seriously and ask, please, could he print up some leaflets for a st from the leadership of the never have grown so emormous; protest demonstration on Sverdcriticism, exposure and protest lov square next Tuesday? This party in 1949. He was released from prison last year. According would have kept them within provision alone puts the Stalin to the reports Gomulka lines up Constitution among the masterwith the "liberal" wing of the All these issues were under- works of Russian humor. But is stood and argued out in the early this the time to retell old jokes? party leadership which professes a "softer" policy, greater con-

OUT COME

The Central Committee state ranks of Bolshevism were fought ment, on the heels of the Poznan over the issue of a free press, uprissing, must shake confidence i.e. a press which would not be not only in the sincertity of the the monopoly of one party or one Khrushchev leadership but in its point of view. Originally, after competence, Its content and Mosthe Revolution, Lenin projected cow's reaction to Poznan will add the re-allocation of nationalized to the disillusion engulfing the printing resources among various | Communist parties abroad. The parties in proportion to their aroma of regimes doped by their own incense-burners is evident in

Fanaticism, foreign interven- bramed worker discontent in Poznan on "immonialists" th

determine its right to survive. If Where but in Moscow would a the emphasis is on suppression, regime give out such implausible all its bright hope will be and stereotyped drivel as Tass's destroyed. If the emphasis is on correcting grievances and if it clusions of the Central Committee ers expressed their deep disgust has the magnanimity to treat the sound extraordimarily like those at the diversionist actions direct- arrested demonstrations fiairly, it will win confidence at home and What folly from Moscow's point abroad.

> Unfortunately the Poles must act within the limits of their subordinate relationship with the Russians, and Moscow seems incapable of such bigness of spirit. Poznan may set off a chain global Robespierres? Even the reaction elsewhere in Eastern lensest Communist must begin Europe; both the Czechs and the Hungarians are restive under tactic of blaming every strike wooden - minded Communist regimes. The pendulum may swing back to rigid repression. Now is the time for Western Leftist opinion of all kind to make its influence felt on the side of the Poznan workers if socialism is altimately to survive in Eastern Europe

> The Polish regime should be challenged from abroad to permit foreign observers in Poznan; there have been no direct newspaper reports from the city since the first day of the uprising. I would like to see - and would be glad to join - a group of persons friendly to Poland send cable asking the regime to allow full legal guarantees for those arrested. The Polish' regime and socialism itself will be on trial. Have Cyrankiewicz and his colleagues the greatness to see the real challenge of the Poznan uprising and to meet it this uprising is the test of the | - with clemency and reform?

### . EASTERN EUROPE (Continued from page 1)

inefficiency and mismanagement without, of course, introducing a fundamental political overturn to effect this.

The previously mentioned London Times article also reported that "pro-regime intelligentsia" in the upper-Silesia mining region are in a state of "mental ferment." Satirical inscriptions cessions to the masses, more deadorn the walls of the local writers club. "It is difficult to write ence from the Kremlin as against the truth," says one sign, "so the "old line" Stalinist faction. just copy straight out of Pravda." The hopes of a fair trial in Another was a tombstone inscribed: "Here Lies Creative Poznan are pinned to specula-Man." The club was opened last January as "a product of the It is possible that the Polish new political atmosphere, which regime can be forced to abaneveryone refers to here as 'the thaw.' "

don its efforts to push through Coal is Poland's major export, a frame-up. This would be an enormous victory for the world and almost half of its export the reactions from both Moscow | socialist movement. But such an | quota goes to the Soviet Union. d Beligrade; the Russians outcome depends entirely on the Even official Stalinist sources amount of pressure the workers report that there is widespread

Following the appearance of

Lehman's article in the trade

union paper Tribuene, Labor Min-

ister Friedrich Macher ordered

The June 17, 1953 East Ger-

man general strike was precipi-

tated by bureaucratically decreed

more work at less pay

### - Page Three

Following the publication of the Knrushchev speech on Stalin, the Daily Worker declared in an editorial June 6: "The blind and uncritical attitude of the Daily Worker in the past years to the repressions in the Soviet Union, only did grave damage to our goal of promoting a socialist movement in this country."

The next day the Daily Worker editors wrote: "We were wrong terribly wrong." They berated themselves for making "a stupid and arrogant condemnation of those who told the truth about the violations of justice in the Soviet Union."

Earlier on April 2 the Daily Worker characterized the 1949 "frame-up of Rajk and the other Hungarian Communist leaders" who had just been posthumously rehabilitated by the Hungarian government, as a "betrayal of socialism." The editors asserted the "right to demand that investigations in Hungary and the Soviet Union shall be full and complete and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position is."

Now, these statements were all excellent in their way. Although the sincerity of the

### Tito -- 'Coexistence'

Where the Kremlin slandered the Poznan general strike demonstration as inspired by "provacateurs" and "imperialist spies," Marshal Tito's newspaper, Borba, vilified it as instigated by "Stalinist forces."

These "forces," said the June 30 Borba. opposed the new policy of "democratization" in Poland and desired to throw a monkey wrench into the fight on "everything bureaucratic and Stalinistic."

A brief glance at the role that Tito has played over the last few years on the world political stage gives the key to what at first glance might appear as a ludicrous editorial slip up.

Tito has pretended for a number of years to be politically independent of either the Kremlin or U.S. imperialism. Actually, he has alternately aligned himself with the Soviet bureaucracy or Wall Street.

When American imperialism launched its all-out intervention in the Korean civil war in 1950, the Tito regime gave its support to U.S. imperialism by painting up the intervention as a "defensive action."

### Broker

It did so in exchange for increased financial and military aid.

Since then Tito has made his peace with the new rulers in the Kremlin and has attempted to play the role of broker between East and West. In the punsuit of gime of Lozano Diaz in Honthat goal, he has not hesitated to praise of the top leaders of the Honthe Mollet government of France for its duran Liberal Party.] "liberal" policy towards Algeria. He did this at a time when "Socialist" Mollet was he has done repeatedly since U.S. sending additional troops to the North African colony to drown the Algerian national independence revolution in blood. another promise that he would Now he covers up for the Kremlin in Poznan.

Tito advocates "active coexistence" between the East and West. He can see all the representative of the semisides of the problems. The only thing he feudal and semi-colonial intercannot view sympathetically is the inde- ests, he is in no position to wipe pendent activity of the colonial masses struggling for national liberation and the heroic actions of the Polish workers fight- gling for survival. ing for workers' democracy against the Soviet bureaucrats. Such independent ac- human and anti-social system, he existence."

Here it is in black and white, Russian habits - soon swept all Yugoslavs on "Stalinists." Both from the Central Committee, this into the discard. But it is in trotted out their pet bugaboos. the leader of the Polish party, Wladislaw that "collective leadership" from these first years that study must Only in the reactions of the more



wipe out the deeply-rooted eco- ples: The raising of bus fares in

By Jose Gomez

The unpopular and anti-democratic regime of Castillo Armas -which came into power two in the national life of Guatemala, strations. A strike of 400 emyears ago with the moral blessings and material resources of again faced with wide-spread and deeply-rooted popular opposition. The Armas government was thrown into such a state of panic that on June 26 Guatemalan police shot into a group of demonstrating students, killing five. The students, about half of them girls, were singing the na-

piot."

100,000. In the last couple of months we have witnessed ballots and bullets in Peru, another typical expression of the ceaseless strug- to the problem by imposing a gle between a semi-feudal, semi- state of emergency and arresting colonial ruling group run by the numerous leaders of the APRA.

Peru:

military and the mass of people But all his efforts in this direcstruggling for survival. tional anthem as they advanced The ballots were forced down toward the sub-machine guns of the throat of the military dic- in Guatemala or Peru, is doomed the police. Armas' alibi for the tatorship of Manuel A. Odria by to failure. killings was that the peaceful

the popular masses. This upset demonstration was a "communist the dictator's plans for suppress-

ing any expression of the will of Hundreds of oppositionists were arrested, mostly students and the productive classes of the the U.S. State Department in country-the workers and peas- Latin America - the Argentine workers. A considerable number ants. The election of Presidentof the leading elements were elect Manuel Prado Ugarteche, more contradictions than it exexiled to Honduras. But the Honhowever, cannot be considered a duran government, which is also

faced with opposition and anprotest movement. He won only tagonism, re-exiled them to Costa Rica. [In fact, the de facto re-APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), which duras exiled to Guatemala three the elections with its own candi-

Castillo Armas once again, a Prado. since he was the only one who made a definite promise to firing squad. imperialism put him in power by legalize the party if he wins. overthrowing the democratically-Otherwise, politically, Prado repelected Arbenz government, made resents the same basic interests

of the semi-feudal and semi-"wipe out the reds." colonial forces and not of the He is going to be badly disap

pointed again, and there is very needs and aspirations of the toiling masses. little he can do about it. For, as

And the very same toiling tacking the union movement, nasses who deposited their prowhich was closely tied to Peron test ballots against the inhuman when he was in power. The shootconditions of their existence were ing of militant workers is, of out the horrible misery under which 90% of the Guatemalan the victims of free bullets when ourse, conducted in the name of population is desperately strugthey went a step further than "democracy." the ballots in their struggle for

In the U.S., liberals who used As the representative of an in- the right to live. o cry out indignantly whenever The internal contradictions are Peron arrested one of his options of the masses upset the status quo can find only one "solution" to so unbearable that the masses ponents, remain silent about the the burning aspirations of the are forced to give expression to which is indispensable for "peaceful co- masses-to throw in jail anyone their desperation at the slight- blood spilled by the present milwho dares, in whatever way, to est provocation from the ruling litary dictatorship.

of Poland, Eastern Europe and | resentment in Poland against the the Soviet Union can bring to secret terms of the export agreebear, plus the amount of efment with the Kremlin, which fective intervention of world are believed to be very unfavoraworking class public opinion. ble to Poland. In East Germany, Stalinist

The workers of Poznan deserve

Gomulka was purged as a Tito-

mocracy and increased independ-

tions on the victory of this "lib-

eral" faction.

The London Times July 14 resources reveal that workers, "in ported in a dispatch from Stalinograd, in the Polish Silesian a number of enterprises and incoal fields, that "in trying to industrial branches," went over the crease output, the Government heads of their trade union offiis up against various chronic ills cials and sucessfully combatted connected mostly with labor speed-up attempts. Otto Lehman, demand his rights. And precisely | interests. The June 26 New York shortages. At the same time, Po a Stalinist trade union leader rebecause he is in no position to Times reports these two exam-Prostu, a student newspaper in ported in an article that work-Warsaw, complained of "huge ers made "corrections" on their mass unemployment, land waste own wage slips balancing the and food and housing shortage loss of pay resulting from increased norms (speed-up).

nomic and social contradictions Lima resulted in mass demonall his efforts to "wipe out the ployees of a United States oil throughout Poland." This same reds" is doomed to total failure. | company spread like a petroleum paper, two weeks before the Pozfire into a nation-wide general, nan uprising deplored the "tragsolidarity strike involving over ic situation" of unemployment and declared it was "made worse

The military dictatorship of by the fact that our legislature state-owned factories to drop new Odria, again found a "solution" has failed to provide benefits or production quotas calling for medical help for the unemployed on the ground that unemployment does not exist." In its recent article, reported

tion, as it has been proven by the experience of the past, whether

### Argentina:

The latest favorite puppet of government - is also faced with pected. The military elements victory for the masses. It was a that rule the country today under President Aramburu are

because in the last minute the forced, in order to maintain themselves in power, to conduct systematic daily arrests of what wasn't allowed to participate in they call ex-Peronist. In the most social character of production savage and barbaric manner they dates, switched its support to have also put the leaders of the and bureaucratic system of management of the Socialist nation-June 10 revolt before a summary al economy." This would appear to reflect an official government

politics today.

We don't know the details yet as to who they were, but one thing we do know is that quite

a few of the "ex-Peronists" are militant workers. Indeed, in the guise of an attack on "Peronism," the Aramburu government is at-

agriculture and industry" have increased during the last six-

of July 27-29. David campaign to reform the state structure in order to eliminate **Revolution**"

and Bolshevism Today" Detroit Fri. Night Sun., July 29 Socialist Forum For Reservations **Current Events** Call or Write Socialist Workers Party In the World of Politics 116 University Place New York, N. Y. - AL 5-7852 A discussion of the candidates, the issues, and the trends in Mountain Spring Camp Friday, July 27 - 8 P. M. 3737 Woodward - 2nd Floor

RD 1, Washington, N. J. MUrray 9-1352 **Transportation Arranged** 

year plan. Po Prostu says that there were 500,000 unemployed in Poland, and 2,000,000 "superfluously employed." The student paper gave as the reason for these economic difficulties "a disparity between the and the excessively centralized

has made no progress for the last ten years. The high agricultural production in territories taken over by us from Germany has been allowed to drop many times. . . Disparities between

in a July 14 Reuters dispatch. increases in work norms. Reports in the East German Po Prostu said, "Our agriculture press on the current Moscow conference of government and party

officials with the Kremlin, stress promises of economic aid from the Soviet Union to East Ger-

man economy. **POLITICAL-CULTURAL** 

WEEKEND

ENCAMPMENT N. Y. Local, Socialist Workers

Party invites you to Mountain Spring Camp for Week-End Discussion by: "Socialism Weiss and the State" Sat., July 28

Dan Roberts - "Culture and Murry Weiss - "Stalinism

SWIMMING - CAMPFIRE

## The Negro Struggle By Jean Blake

## THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 23, 1956

### Shop Talk on Prejudice

You've probably heard friends of yours who are opposed to racial discrimination express the opinion: "You can't reason with prejudice. There's no point to discussing the Negro question in the shop when some loud-mouthed bigot sounds off. The best thing to do is ignore it. It's better to discuss such matters quietly with the 'best elements' at a more appropriate time and place."

As a result of that kind of thinking what usually happens is that only the biased view is expressed. In a group of six workers only one may be prejudiced, but each of the other five goes away thinking, "That's how backward my fellow workers are. Fighting prejudice is a pretty hopeless proposition. No use hitting your head against a stone wall."

A very different story could be told in many cases, if those opposed to prejudice would speak up. The experience of a close friend of mine is an example.

My friend — let's call her Anna works in a shop in a Northern city. During her 15-minute rest period one day last week she went down to the ladies' room and stretched out on the cot for her usual forty winks. Some of the other women were sitting around talking and reading the newspaper.

Rose, the loud-mouthed one, was haranguing the others with the details about a colored family that had been sent back to a Southern state by relief authorities.

"It's getting terrible!" she exclaimed. "Wherever you look, it's black. I don't know what's going to happen to this city. They ought to ship them all back to the South, where they belong!"

Anna gave up trying to sleep. She sat up and joined the group.

"What kind of nonsense are you talking, Rose? Who said colored people belong in the South? Don't you know they have just as much right here as you have?"

Rose sat open-mouthed in astonisltment. The others stopped what they were doing and looked up with interest. Something new had been added.

"But they're niggers!" Rose protested, as though Anna didn't understand. lous and cold-blooded shell game, "They're Africans. That's where they which goes by the name of the belong.'

"They're colored people and Americans." Anna corrected. "They've been here coating of hypocrisy. for hundreds of years, before your folks or mine came to this country. - Where did your folks come from, Rose?"

For a moment Rose looked stunned. The others grinned. Infuriated, she gathered up her prejudices and returned to the fray. - "My people came from Germany, and they weren't any uncivilized niggers, either!"

"From Germany?" Anna said. "Don't you know that civilization started first in Asia and Africa? Colored people in Africa were reading and writing while Europeans were still living in caves?"

"Well, all I can say is that if God wanted people to be together he wouldn't have put them in different parts of the world — the black in one place, the yellow in another, the white in another!' Rose had God on her side now; she couldn't

But Anna looked at her pityingly. "If that's the case, Rose, they'd better ship all the whites back where they came from. You know enough about American history crease under the employers' to know God didn't put them here."

Rose was squelched. The other women smiled to see the loud-mouthed one finally shut up. Anna went back to work.

"You know, Rose," said the youngest girl, "you're going to have to give up those ideas. They're old-fashioned. People don't think like that any more."

(Continued from page 1) happy! That is, everyone - ex-. cept the workers who are the victimized pawns in this cal-"free enterprise system." To add

insult to injury, the whole rotten mess is larded over with a thick

VOLUME XX

Motivated by insatiable greed, the corporations went through the pretense of collective bargaining knowing all the while that their take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum to the union would inevitably lead to shutdown. Then they filled the newspapers of the country with full page advertisements designed to picture the bloated money-grubbers as patriotic citi-

zens actuated only by the most noble sentiment of concern for the welfare of the workers and the general public. Thanks to the tax laws rigged in favor of corporate wealth this nauseating tripe is paid for largely by the

public treasury.

An examination of the steel corporations' ads disclose that they are compounded of halftruths and outright distortions

When they advertise that the workers would receive a 7.3 cents per hour yearly wage inproposed five-year pact, they conveniently neglect to mention that

> this figure is the gross amount and that the take-home increase would amount to approximately five cents.

When the corporations advertise their offer of an alleged Guaranteed Annual Wage plan for 52 weeks, more commonly known as a Supplementary Unemployment Benefit scheme, they do not bother to go into detail — it sounds better in general terms. In effect the proposal amounts to very little as it is based on earnings calculated for

a hearing of the VA Appeals Board. The lawyer the few weeks before a layoff declared that Thompson had been denied due and then only on a percentage process of law when the VA refused to confront of a 32-hour week. him with his accusers. Thompson, who contracted When they talk about increased pulmonary tuberculosis after being wounded in benefits in the form of pensions,

World War II, is now serving a prison term on holidays and vacations, they corporations to cancel pay inthe Smith Act conviction. His wife and two deliberately forget to mention children now receive \$21.77 a month instead of that these amount to practically effective during the term of the the \$150 pension he is entitled to.

But what the ads do not talk NAZI WAR CRIMINALS GO FREE. Of the steel workers. They do not say sion all bets are called off as far 3,700 convicted Nazi war criminals in prison in that vacations will be granted, as increases and benefits are con-January 1950, only 119 are still serving their under their proposal, only if the sentences, reports the N. Y. Times July 19. The companies decide that their release of the other 95 percent was effected largely by the U.S. government which jails people course they agree to payment in at home for the expression of left-wing political



### Idle steel mills on Chicago's south side.

getting a vacation only if the oss is willing to allow it.

propose to butcher the contract o as to take the rights of the union to participate in the setting of rates on incentive (speed-up) plans on the job. Nor do they disclose their pro-

tories of automobile steel, create osal of punitive action against an emergency demand for their workers involved in work stop- products and enable them to Montgomery Improvement Assoages any time during the exact a wage increase far above period of the proposed five-year the additional costs of a new pact. Under their proposal workwage contract."

ers protesting corporation viola-THE ANSWER

tion of the contract would be "Warehouses are bulging with penalized by being deprived of steel," says steel union president one day of their vacation time for each day of any stoppage David J. McDonald, "and this shutdown means that the steelprovoked by the corporations. workers are out of work now These are only some of the booby-traps hidden in the corporation proposal. But the big-

gest one of all is the provision which reserves the right to the creases and benefits not yet the rates of output, etc.' What is the answer? The labor proposed five-year pact "in the

event of a national emergency." about is most important to the That is, in the event of a deprescerned except that the union is securely tied in a no-strike fiveproduction schedules permit. Of vear strait jacket.

What about the labor leaders?

. Steel Shutdown Provoked Racist Cops Told To Jail Negroes In Fla. Boycott

NUMBER 30

### By Fred Hart

JULY 18 - Racist officials in Tallahassee, Fla. have begun a crackdown on the Negro bus boycott movement there. The City Commission yesterday ordered police to arrest drivers in the car pool o-

which has been providing trans- refused comment, but Birmportation to the city's Negroes ingham Negro leaders are awaitsince May 28, two days after the ing a conference with the company after a 30-day "consideraboycott began.

tion" period. "Head of the new The drivers are to be charged movement, the Rev. F. L. Shuttwith operating public carriers lesworth . . . has indicated a boywithout licenses. The racist City cott is possible," reports the July Attorney reported to the Com-16 Christian Science Monitor. mission that the police have been spying for the past two weeks The boycotts in Montgomery and Tallahassee, small cities with

and have compiled lists of cars, little industry and tiny unions, drivers, pick-up points, destinations and passengers. gave rise to effective Negro Meanwhile, a local capitalist,

mass movements. The same development in Birmingham, a fom Brownlee, has been released from his duties as head of the major steel center with half mil-Chamber of Commerce to work lion population and a stronghold of industrial unionism, would put full time on a "ride the bus" campaign. He said he plans to the movement on a qualitatively new level. have bus service resumed, in steel union presidents, all are white areas only, within 10 days.

Other developments in Alabama The bus company had suspended include open support for the agree that the shutdown was operations July 1 because it was White Citizen's councils by the provoked by the corporations. losing money as a result of the state's top Democratic Party pol-"Obviously," says Meany, "the 100% effective boycott by the iticians, White Citizens activity steel industry anticipates that a city's Negroes in their demand in Birmingham unions, and a strike will reduce heavy inven- for full integration on the buses. continuing fight by Macon County The Inter Civic Council, Tal-Negroes to secure their right to lahassee's counterpart of the vote.

> Senator John J. Sparkman ciation, has asked all Negro Adlai Stevenson's running mate women to meet at 5 p. m. to in 1952, Senator Lester Hill and begin a prayer meeting, with the all of Alabama's nine Repremen to join them at 7. A business sentatives to the U.S. Congress recently told the Montgomery "It's kind of a shocking ex-Advertiser that they would be perience," said Rev. K. S. Duwilling to appear on a White Pont, Inter Civic Council Vice-Citizen's Council platform. All are President, according to today's influential members of the Democratic party.

> > RACIST "UNIONS"

In Birmingham, a racist dual union, the newly formed Southern Aircraft Workers is sponsoring a July 21 Southwide rally of White Citizens Council supporters. The phony union is challenging United Auto Workers jurisdiction at the large Hayes Aircraft plant in Birmingham. Another racist dual union, the Southern Fabricating and Steelworkers was defeated 109 to 42 in a National Labor Relations Board election recently in Birm-

leaders have none and can have ment against Jim Crow buses none so long as they support and which began in Montgomery defend the so-called "free enter- seven months ago has spread to

prise system." Only a system of Birmingham, Alabama, the production for use, in which the "Pittsburgh of the South." A producers of wealth are able to newly formed organization, the enjoy the fruits of their labor, Alabama Christian Movement for can put an end to the insanity of | Human Rights, has petitioned the production for profit under the Birmingham Transit Company lieu of vacations but the workers | What are they doing to counter | capitalist system which benefits | for a "first come, first seated"

the AFL-CIO down to the local

want the right to decide and not the propaganda of the bosses? the parasitic few at the expense policy.

N. Y. Post, "but I guess we'll instead of short work weeks or have to pass through it," he said. being unemployed altogether in Car pool drivers have been told the next few months. When work | to "be careful" and not to resist is resumed, the industry will the police. make up production by raising

BIRMINGHAM NEXT

meeting will follow.

Meanwhile, the protest move-

ingham. The AFL-CIO Iron Bus company officials have Workers retained jurisdiction.

A QUAKER ORGANIZATION charged July 9 that Post Office officials had "secretly impounded" and partly destroyed two shipments of pacifist literature that the organization, the American Friends Service Committee, had ordered from England, A spokesman for the organization said that after protest a small fraction of the material was received. "Presumably," he said, "the undelivered matter had been destroyed by the censors secretly without notice."

**CENSORSHIP BY PRESSURE GROUPS is "a** very real and serious menace" in the U.S., playwright-novelist Elmer Rice told an international writers congress in London July 10. He also expressed concern about the tycoons who manipulate writers and who have reduced the writer to "a cog in a vast industrial machine." The "new and dangerous and insidious form of censorship'

\* \*

## Notes from the News

views.



by reactionary pressure groups, Rice declared, must be fought by the counterpressure and agitation of those insisting on complete freedom of expression

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER Robert Thompson was denied his constitutional rights when the Veterans Administration deprived him of his disability pension after his conviction under the Smith Act, charged Thompson's attorney, July 10, in appealing the denial of the pensions at

INCREASED CRIME IN NEW YORK is due in part to a failure to develop in the city's penal system "a sound recruitment policy (which) has left the service open to the hiring of 'headbeaters,' men with prior arrest records and others without potential for the humane and intelligent handling of prisoners," declares Corrections Commissioner Kross in her annual report to the Mayor. Mrs. Kross was the subject of editorial controversy last year for having several relatives on the Commission's payroll.

### **BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY On the Soviet Union and Stalinism**

"Is it normal that having lived almost 40 years after October we do not have either a brief or a complete Marxist-Leninist textbook on the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet state, which would show, without varnishing, not only the facade but the whole many-sided life of our Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan, First Deputy Prime Minister, at 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMIN- TERN — Documents and speeches of the first four congresses of the Communist In-	STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS \$1.00 EUROPE AND AMERICA — (includes "Per-
ternational before its Stalinist degeneration.2 vols.Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50Vol. II (paper only)3.00	spectives of World Development" and "Whither Europe") \$.50
Both for 6.00 THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED - An	IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM — An exposition of the Soviet Union in World War II, its class nature and the role of the Stalinist
analysis of the social relations within the Soviet Union, the rise of the Stalinist bu-	bureaucracy. cloth \$2.50 paper 2.00
reaucracy, the Stalin cult, the position of the working class, the peasantry, etc.	THE SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN \$ .25
cloth`\$2.50 paper 1.50	LEON SEDOFF — written on the death of his son \$ .25
STALIN An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence (Originally published at \$5.00)	STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM \$ .15
Special price \$3.50 THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COM-	THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION — Copenhagen speech \$ .15
MUNIST INTERNATIONAL — a criticism of fundamentals (with explanatory notes)	I STAKE MY LIFE speech on the Moscow trials \$.15
Trotsky's basic work on the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country (paper) \$.25	THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION— FromOctober to Brest-Litovsk\$1.00
PIONEER PUBLISHERS	
116 University Place	New York 3, N. Y.

New York 3, N. Y.

to be placed in the position of From George Meany, president of of the many.

## **Collaborator's Tribute to John G. Wright**

By Morris Stein

York.) Comrades and friends: The

messages from Comrade Wright's Trotskyist truth to the cruelly numerous friends throughout the country read here by chairman Farrell Dobbs as well as the main features of the man's character, the basic outlines of his great contributions to the socialist movement. I can only add politics with him it could have more of the same.

covery. Usick and I have been intimate friends and close collaborators WRIGHT LIVED IDEAS for many years. In addition to Once when he persisted in disthe regular consultations which cussing heatedly, as was his mantake place among leading comner, the developments in the Sorades in the course of the day viet Union, I pleaded with him to day work, Usick and I often to forget politics for a while and collaborated on various writing to conserve his meager energy. projects for the movement, pri-He looked at me with an exmarily documents and resolutions. pression of great hurt and said, In the recent years the two of us teamed up on a more permanent basis.

### HIS LAST WORK

We pooled our political experience, theoretical knowledge, tech- to the doctor was at the cruelty nical skills for joint work in behalf of the movement. How little to do. did he or I suspect that this "permanent" team work would when there was so much we had planned to do. The last thing we worked on as Usick during the dark years together was a series of articles of Stalin's rule. Stalinism offor the Militant on the 20th fended not only his political be-Congress of the Communist Parliefs, but his very qualities as a ty of the S. U. We finished two man. articles and blocked out a third early in March when his failing person. He couldn't tolerate brufor the second time within six tensely loyal to ideas, to commonths. At the very moment rades, to friends, to his party, when Trotskyism was receiving to the world working class. He its most far reaching vindica- was extremely scrupulous in tions, Usick was unable to continue the work to which he had facts or quotations in polemics,

devoted the best part of his life he valued truth above all else. -the work of analyzing develop-PAINED BY LIES ments in the Soviet Union. It is a cruel irony that the

| coincide with a crisis in Usick's | and tyranny pained him physical- | equal in the world. In addition, | mersed in factional struggles (Text of address at memorial health. While his heart demand- ly. Stalinist treachery, the end- he enriched the movement by even before his application was meeting for John G. Wright, ed rest and calm, he was in a less lies and falsifications to seeking out Marxist writings, un- accepted. But once inside the ornoted Marxist scholar and teach- state of great excitement at the which others might become in- known in English, translating ganization, he was in for some er, who died June 21. The meet- new forward surge of the Rus- ured, always distressed him. ing was held June 27, in New sian Revolution. Though very ill, his mind was active, thinking of tory of the Bolshevik Party and most recent translation of Plekhathe best way to present the of the Russian Revolution like nov's essay on Belinski, publish-

few other people. He had made ed in the Fourth International, deceived Stalinist rank and file. a minute study of the personali- was widely acclaimed not only as ties involved and the roles they a great work of Marxist literary the class struggle as well as part At times I hesitated to visit him for fear that the strain of had played. He knew them as if criticism, but also because of the chairman's introductory remarks the political discussions he in- he had worked and lived with high quality of the translation. have pretty well captured the sisted upon, would sap his declin- them. The torture and murder ing energy and have an adverse of the old Bolsheviks at Stalin's writer on questions of theory and he made a conscious decision to effect on his heart. But I also hands was keenly felt by him; political analysis and as speaker concentrate his activities in those Usick considered each one a per- and lecturer. But there is more! fields of party work where his knew that if I failed to discuss sonal friend lost. an even worse effect on his re-

Usick was one of those rare in all of us who associated with individuals who could not be him. These contributions were typed. He was one of a kind. below the surface and unnoticed This applied to his qualities as by many.

well as his weaknesses of which he had his share, like all of us. prejudice.

'I am disappointed in you. I Usick had more than his share thought you knew that if I cannot talk politics, I cannot live." among the petty bourgeois intel- help received it unstintingly. Last Wednesday, 24 hours belectuals who strutted through our fore he died, his main complaint movement like so many peacocks from time to time. He was so ism alone. And Usick's idealism, of fate which immobilized him at unlike them, that they despised his devotion to party and friends a time when there was so much him.

He was an intellectual of the While all of us Trotskyists have highest quality. He was a man come to such an abrupt end, just abhored Stalinism, I don't be- of great scholarship. But he was sult of a conscious decision as to ed in the proletarian party. He lieve anyone, except Stalin's dinot a virtuoso type. He never his role in the movement. This tied his fate to the Trotskyist rect victims, suffered as much sought the spotlight for himself. He did not use his vast knowledge to overwhelm worker compart. rades in the party. On the con-

trary, he always sought to imlate Antoinette Konikow shortly part his knowledge and his skills before he joined the Trotskyist

Usick was an extremely gentle heart confined him to the house tality in any form. He was in- ment in quiet unobtrusive help Marxism and politics. Further, material comforts he gave up to others. The worker comrades he was convinced that this was in the party loved him for it.

It is because of his role as a

the movement cannot be measur- A CONSCIOUS ROLE When he joined our organizaed merely by the work done in his own name. To be sure he did tion, he joined to reform it and As a man he was the antithesis a lot. As translator and editor to shape it according to some pre-

them and making them available rude shocks. Without political ex-Usick was steeped in the his- to the advanced workers. His perience and being very sensitive. he became a target for factional opponents.

He had to learn that there is no substitute for experience in ty political struggles. He had to learn his own shortcomings and Usick accomplished much as a limitations. It was only then that There is a great part of Usick talents represented a genuine contribution.

In the role he played from them, on he was governed by the concept of the alliance of the review He gave freely of his skill as olutionary intellectual and the political and literary editor. He worker in the construction of the Because he would not fit into helped with research, in which proletarian party. The transforany stereotype, he was more dif- he was an expert, everyone who mation he underwent following ficult to understand. As so often turned to him for such aid. Com- the first few years after he joinhappens, what people cannot un- rade Leon Trotsky relied heavily ed our movement in the early derstand, they tend to treat with on his research for a number of thirty's was remarkable. The unyears. But Trotsky was only the disciplined individualistic intelmost eminent. Every comrade in lectual became a team worker, a of detractors. These were mostly the party who came to Usick for wonderful collaborator. It is a great tribute that he could effect This readiness to selflessly such a transformation. It is a help others was not due to idealtribute to the party that helped him do it.

> But it was above all his own was boundless. But there was an conscious effort which had set additional reason why he gave so him apart from all other intellecmuch to iso many. It was the re- tuals who could not be assimilatdecision did not come easy. It movement because of his prorequired a transformation on his found faith in its program, in its historic mission, because of his

I first met him through the love of every fighter in it. Usick was very happy in our party .The party afforded him to others, especially worker rev- movement. At that time Usick the kind of life he wanted to live, olutionists. He found his fulfill- had only a book knowledge of and he would not trade it for the when he entered the movement. all that was necessary. It was We have reason to be proud of very difficult to talk to him. He the party which inspired Usick did not know how to listen. That to give his all; and which he enriched because he lived in it. was twenty-four years ago.

> A One-Year Subscription to THE MILITANT Only \$3

mortal crisis of Stalinism should of a Stalinist. Stalinist brutality of Trotsky's work, he had no conceived ideas. He became im- 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

A MARXIST TEACHER teacher, that his contributions to

questions of theory. When citing