Bi-Partisan Bloc Gangs Up to Kill Civil Rights Bill

By William Bundy

JULY 24 — A "gentlemen's agreement" between Southern racists and Northern liberal Democrats has put another civil rights bill to a quiet death as the 84th Congress draws to a close. The bill, or

which would establish a Federal C. Hennings Jr., the Missouri Civil Rights Commission and Democrat chiefly in charge of authorize the Government to strategy for Senate considera-

The "firmness" of Eastland's In order to allow other bills hold was assured by a previous "to get through Congress before adjournment" this week, so-called arrangement by that committee, proponents of the measure first made a deal with the Southern unanimous vote be required to Democrats to put off the vote in let this particular bill out of the House of Representatives committee. This allows all the until Monday, July 23. Then the liberals on the committee to liberal Democratic Senators "vote with their consciences" and allowed it to go directly into the blame the impasse on Eastland, grave of the Senate Judiciary who is quite ready to accept the Committee, headed by the unblame, since Negroes are not speakable Senator Eastland (Dallowed to vote in his con-Miss.). stituency, anyway.

The hypocrisy of both liberal The final scene in the farce was Democrat and Republican "supporters" of the bill is revealed by the July 20 New York Times, been "caught napping" yesterday, which says the debate in the when something might have been accomplished, moved to discharge the bill from Eastland's commit-House "was carried on despite the intensity of the fight, with a large the bill from Eastland's commitmeasure of good humor. . ." "The tee. Senate Majority Leader whole struggle," says the Times, Lyndon Johnson, Democrat from "was exposed in argument as Texas, refused to support the being a futile operation. Even motion saying that it would though the House passes the "bring all business to a halt, as Company in England. The unions bill . . . it does not have a chance it always has when this matter for consideration by the Senate is brought up." The motion was at this late stage of the addefeated.

journment rush. So it was evident The results: The Republicans the House members had made it a vehicle for putting themselves paign as "supporters" of civil in the record for their own camrights. The Southern block sucpaign. cessfully defended its position

of pickets in an effort, to break An objection from the floor without having to resort to a when the bill first hit the Senate messy and unpopular filibuster. might have kept it out of East- The Congressmen can go home land's committee, but, says the early. Civil rights legislation port and General Workers Union, July 24 Times, "Senator Thomas passed to date: absolutely none.

Protest Nine-Month Lockout



Steel Trust Uses Shutdown bring suit against violators, was sponsored by the Republican ad-ministration to cover up its glaring failure to use existing Federal powers to protect the civil rights of Negroes.

THE MULTANT

INTERESTS

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 30, 1956

OF

THE

arrangement by that committee, a majority of whose members "support" civil rights, that a manimus yota be required to **Spurs Stalinist Concessions**

WEEKLY

IN

THE

PUBLISHED

267

Vol. XX — No. 31 .

JULY 25-Violence marked the

opening day of the strike of 15

unions against the British Motor

called out their members, July

volves 51,000 workers. Mounted

police rode herd into the ranks

the strike.

By Murry Weiss

British Unions JULY 24 — The hot lava of workers' discontent in the smoldering volcano of Eastern Europe has thus far JULY 24 - The hot lava of workers' discontent in erupted most actively in Hungary and Poland. While all

enacted today when liberal Demo-cratic Senator Lehman, who had Strike Against political symptoms continue to disclose the subsurface mover amounts to just a little more than mont of the working class in all four percent of a worker's pay, ment of the working class in all four percent of a worker's pay, countries of the Soviet orbit, the would be abolished, they asked most visible signs of this move- suspiciously whether taxes or ment are, for the moment, strik- rents would be raised instead." ingly observable in these two A London Times dispatch, July countries. 23, says the Central Committee

Following the July 18 "resigna- meeting announced revisions in tion" of Matyas Rakosi, the hated the current Five-Year Plan aimsymbol of Stalinist tyranny in ed at "removing some of the Hungary; the Central Committee worst of the workers' grievof the Hungarian Workers (Sta- ances." The minimum monthly 23, in protest over the dismissal linist.) Party expelled General wage in industry has been raised of 6,000 workers on two days Mihaly Farkas and moved to to 650 forints [\$56 official rate, and liberal Democrats can cam- notice last month. The strike in- strip him of his military rank much less in terms of purchas "for breaches of Socialist legaling power].

ity." Farkas was one of the key The Central Committee meetfigures in the organization of (Continued on page 3) Stalinist frame-ups and terror in Hungary during the last eleven

The auto unions, the Transyears. the Amalgamated Engineering to make far-reaching economic Union and others, demanded imand political concessions to the mediate reinstatement of the disworkers in order to prevent a missed workers pending negotia-"second Poznan," that is, a repetition of the general-strike uptions and compensation for those rising of the workers that took whose dismissal was proved to place in Poznan, Poland, on June be unavoidable. While production cutback is the immediate excuse

"GRAVE DANGER"

offered by the company for its Erno Gero, who replaced Rakocallous dismissal of the workers, the development of automation said July 19. "It would be a in the automobile industry is at grave danger not to draw the the base of the unemployment consequences of the Poznan uprising. Our party must advocate

Picket signs posted by striking members of United Steelworkers Local 1397 in front of the Homestead plant of the U.S. Steel corporation in Pittsburgh.

13.37

striki

The letter To Our Readers

(Continued on page 2)

years. Both those moves are part of Int'l Socialist Review **To Publish First Issue**

The editors of the Marxist you have established a theoreti- cussion within the ranks of the cumulating inventory. The ir quarterly magazine, Fourth In- cal organ, I consider a festival movement. Taking advantage of strategy was twofold: (1) To

come off the press, the name of entire epoch. I am convinced that minority leaders absconded with tion of the lockout was depleted, "the magazine will be changed to your magazine will serve as an the magazine, "changing its edi- and (2) to use the pretext of si as First Secretary of the party, International Socialist Review. The change of name "does not lishment of the new International their revisionist views."

PRICE: 10 Centa

WORKING PEOPLE

New Terms Call for Long Pact

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, July 27 -With the precision of a wellrehearsed stage play the curtain appeared to be drawing on the one-month-old steel shutdown as reports emanated today from a hastily called conference that an agreement between the steel corporations and the steel workers union was imminent.

At the beginning of the tie-up it was predicted that the lockout would be brief. Authoritative Wall Street spokesmen predicted it would last from a month to five weeks. The strategy of the corporations was to force a shutdown. Their take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum to the union, hinged on a long-term 5-year pact, was calculated to force the union to strike upon the termination of the existing contract.

The object of the steel monopolists was to set the stage for another price hike in the face of a declining market and ac-

ternational, have announced that occasion. Its name, The New In- their technical position, as edi- force a shutdown in which the with the summer issue, soon to ternational, is a program of an tors of the New International the inventory piled up in anticipainvaluable weapon in the estab- torial policy to conform with piddling contract concessions as justification for another price

signify a change in editorial pol- on the foundations laid by the "Rather than squabble over this gouge which would mulct the icy," the editors say. "We shall great masons of the future: case of pett" larceny," the ISR public of millions in the form continue as before to present the Marx, Engels. Lenin. With Com-continue as before to present the Marx, Engels. Lenin. With Com-editors say, 'the majority de-of increased prices for the thou-

A delegation of wives and children of 6,000 Westinghouse strikers from the Lester, Pa. plant picket the New York office of the corporation demanding that the nine-month lockout be terminated immediately. Later the group went to Central Park for a picnic.

The company claimed that more broader democratization than half of its employes report- said. "Justified criticism has beed to work on July 23 despite the come stronger in Hungary. Our strike call. On the second day it party must absorb the forces claimed an additional 1,000 had which are dissatisfied with the returned to work. The unions de- present situation."

Gero also called for a bigger ny these figures .However, sharp struggles continued to break out police force, strong collective the second day between angry leadership, "iron party discipline pickets and those who refused to and a fight against diversionists."

of World War II." Budapest radio reported, acrespect the strike call. cording to a July 20 Vienna dis-The 1,300,000-member Transpatch to the New York Times: port and General Workers Union Socialist Review trace the histos organizing a boycott of all com-"When members of the Central ry of the magazine through the pany materials with the aid of Committee went to a factory to teamsters and dockers. The tell the workers about the last 22 years.

Trades Union Congress repre- changes [removal of Rakosi and] The Trotskyist theoretical magazine was founded in 1934 under Farkas] the workers promptly senting eight million workers has called an emergency meeting of asked for shorter working hours the name New International. In for women, free Saturdays and the first, July issue, Leon Trotall unions involved in the strike "to consider other action to be better pay. When told the 'volun- sky sent the following greeting: taken. tary' annual peace loan, which "Dear Comrades, The fact that

nunist greetings, Leon Trotsky Trotskyist outlook on world events, emphasizing in particu-THE NAME STOLEN

lar questions involving Marxist tional was selected as corre-The ISR editors explain that theory. The new name, we hope, at the beginning of World War II will help us reach a broader aua minority section of the Trotsky matic banners of the world movedience among those beginning to ist movement, headed by James appreciate the significance of the ment created by Leon Trotsky." Burnham and Max Schachtman, world-wide upsurge of socialism decided to split after they were that has occurred since the end defeated in a thoroughgoing dis-

> In This Issue 'The Lessons of Spain' By LEON TROTSKY (See Page 2)

cided to choose a new name for sands of steel products purchased the magazine. Fourth Interna- by the consumer.

It is impossible to slake the sponding with the task of the unbridled greed of the Wall time - to uphold the program- Street money-sharks who monopolize the steel industry. Every small wage increase granted in the past has been used as a means to boost their skyrocketing profits. The April issue of Steel Labor, for example, discloses how the steel corporations 'made a neat profit on the wage increase last year.'

"The theoretical 'cost' to U.S. Steel of the 1955 wage increase," reports Steel Labor, "was approximately 30 million dollars the actual cost was zero, because of increased productivity. But the corporation, immediately following the wage increase, raised steel prices \$7.50 per ton. This price increase brought in more than 96 million dollars in additional profits for the last six months of 1955 - a clear profit of 66 million dollars over and New York City Civil Defense the earth. This lie has dominated above the theoretical 'cost' of the wage increase."

Reports now coming through on steel profit figures for the We socialists on the other hand say that the drive to World War | first half of 1956 exceed the record-breaking profit levels of 1955 III comes from U.S. Big Business, which aims to hurl back the naby substantial margins. Yet, the steel barons have already announced that a price increase of from \$10 to \$12 per ton will immediately follow the conclusion China for imperialist exploita- of current negotiations. The corporations follow a consistent policy of making "a neat profit" on Union and Eastern Europe, which every little concession granted excludes American private capital the workers. This is the essence of the "free" enterprise system as practiced by the pay-triotic A program to protect the monopolists. American people from atomic

According to reports coming from the wage conference now in Socialist Workers Party before session here, the corporations have "retreated" from their ada-Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament held in Minneapolis. mant demand for a 5-year contract and are offering a 3-year The SWP representative, Dorothy pact instead. Steelworkers presihalt to nuclear weapons tests. dent David J. McDonald has in-- dominated as it is by Big new corporation offer.

If there is any "retreat" war-making powers. The people, this score it is on the part of said Mrs. Schultz, should decide the union officials. All of the the proposed 3-year agreement. For behind the corporations demust be abolished. The American mand for a long-term agreement pense of the workers.

U.S. Rescinds Aswan Loan; Real and Imaginary Nuclear Explosions **Called Liar by Egypt Leader** By Myra Tanner Weiss

By Della Rossa

Financial considerations was the official reason given by the U.S. State Department, July 19, for withdrawing its offer to help Egypt build her \$1.3 billion Aswan Dam.

Unofficially, it is recognized that D heart.

Egypt was shocked and embittered by the withdrawal. Egypt's president, Colonel Nasser, accused the American government of lying about its reasons for the withdrawal of aid. "We Egyptians will not permit any imperialists or oppressors to rule us militarily, politically or

to the dollar or to force." Further, Nasser said, "If an uproar in Washington creates false and misleading announce | agreement with China and Arab ments" that throw "shadows of doubt on Egypt's economy, I look | Baghdad military pact in the at Americans and say: May you Middle East.

choke to death on your fury!" The Aswan dam project would ing to do about helping to build push the industrialization of Egypt's High Dam is not yet irrigated land by one-third and Shepilov indicated they are "not power. But U. S. and British im- not a definite refusal and Yevfor industrial development to a dor to Egypt is quoted as sayin the Arab struggle for national the Aswan Dam if Egypt asks for it." liberation.

not finances but Washington's | William H. Stringer of the cold war against the colonial rev- Christian Science Monitor July olution caused the change of 23 revealed the real content of Washington's policy when he wrote, "The recent firebrand be-

havior of Colonel Nasser (President of Egypt), once considered an Arab leader of statesman caliber, is a large factor in the decision... The aim is to cut Colonel Nasser down to size." What is meant by "firebrand

behavior" are moves of the Naseconomically; we will not submit ser regime reflecting the nationalist struggle of the Egyptian

workers and peasants. These include the recent arms deal with Czechoslovakia, a large trade opposition to the U. S.-sponsored

What the Soviet Union is go-

perialism don't want to give aid geni D. Kiselev, Soviet Ambassa- have demanded that the U.S. soling": country that plays a leading role | ing, "We are ready to finance further tests.

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Vice-President JULY 23 - While we were ducking for cover last stitutionality of which was widely Director Robert E. Condon was U.S. politics for the last eleven Friday, July 20, under a mock nuclear bomb attack from questioned. the Soviet Union, the U.S. government was busy preparing

the biggest real **I** explosion yet un- persons were "killed" in 61 dertaken on the "attacked" cities and 6,550,000 testing grounds were "injured." In this year's

at once. in the Pacific. On civil defense test, with a presumthe morning of ed attack on 75 U.S. areas, no July 21 the red nation-wide "casualty" estimates line that moves were released by federal officials across the re- because such figures tend to no-strike pledge. cording charts in "breed a sense of futility in all

nine Japanese defensive measures." A "sense of futility" is even metereolo gical stations went

into "a veritable testimony of Lieutenant General Saint Vitus James Gavin, Army director of MYRA T. dance." The mi- research and development. He WEISS crobaragraph re- told the Senate subcommittee on

corded an intensity of 0.5 milobars the Air Force that several hun-- twice the intensity of the 1954 dreds of millions would be killed

H-bomb explosion. Japan also announced another on the Soviet Union. The dead nuclear test in the Pacific the would include the people of Asia following day, July 22. This was or Western Europe depending on the tenth explosion this spring, which way the wind blew. according to the Japanese, although the U.S. government has many people would have survived Jersey. The Civil Defense Director dreds of millions dead. acknowledged only two. Each of the simulated nuclear attack last Egypt by increasing her total clear. Soviet Foreign Minister these blasts has been given wide Friday even with the help of publicity in Japan. Two leading 5,400 new survey meters to detergreatly add to her hydro-electric considering" help. But this was pro-American newspapers, Asahi mine the extent of fallout, the Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, following facts may be First, President Eisenhower accept the Soviet offer to ban

war. In last year's drill he defined" duties of this apparatus. by its alleged plans to conque declared "martial law," the con-

In a letter "To Our Readers,"

the editors of the International

its moments of difficulty. Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the In- This fact is so widely known, that terior, told of one instance of the U.S. government did not 'panic." "We had a bad moment seriously pretend to be testing annihilation was presented by the n Saturday," he said, "when we discovered that one of the 'bombs' distributed the nation's gold sup- Alert "is designed to give the ply all over the adjacent landscape." But plans were quickly understanding of the problems made to send crews into the area that might exist in the event of to gather up the precious stuff. an attack." These problems are She also demanded that Congress dicated his "jubilation" at the

Defense personnel to police a real leash an H-bomb war. The U.S.

ciante, president of the federation, ized Operation Alert in order to people have a right to know what is the desire to strait-jacket the cook virtually dictatorial powers threatened to withdraw, union dramatize its own version: the kind of deals and threats the union while they modernize and

of a misdemeanor charge inwere arrested and taken to jail - this was not "simulated."

Actually, there is no defense against an all-out nuclear attack.

protection against H-bombs. According to Defense Secretary the June 16 hearing of the U.S. Charles E. Wilson, Operation people of our nation a better

The real problem, therefore, is

Sheriff of Hunterdon County got to prevent nuclear attack. And the life and death question of objections against the 5-year into trouble with the State Fed- for this it is necessary to know peace or war through referendum pact are just as valid against eration of Labor for using Civil who it is that threatens to un- vote.

more justified since the recent

in any large-scale nuclear attack

While there is great doubt that

"con-

In last year's Operation Alert by simulating a declaration of a members from Civil Defense Big Lie that the Kremlin State Department is cooking up automate the industry at the exwas estimated that 8,200,000 state of emergency and a state of unless the Governor "clearly threatens the peace of the world behind closed doors.

lyrical, if not accurate, in his years. Then, the Department of Labor praise of this city's participation was on the job and "alert." It in Operation Alert. He said "it simulated an order to create a was the best exercise I've obnew Office of Wage Administra- served in this area. All persons tion so that wages could be frozen | cooperated 100 per cent." On pain | tional independence revolutions Just in case anyone thinks this volving jail, a fine or both; people

might have evoked protests from somewhat naturally "cooperated." labor, AFL-CIO President George But 19 pacifists repeated their Meany was on hand to simulate a annual protest and refused. They

Obviously Civil Defense thought of everything. Still the drill had

had demolished Fort Knox and

In addition, all secret diplomacy strike in Milford. Louis P. Mar- Big Business government organ-

Another upset in the smooth- spelled out in the presumed running drill occurred in New casualty figures - namely, hunof Readington Township and the



against imperialism in Asia. Africa and Latin America. U.S. Big Business wants to reconquer tion. It also plans to destroy the planned economy in the Soviet

investments.

- Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, July 30, 1956

BY LEON TROTSKY Lessons of Spanish Revolutionary Struggle

Workers Rise in Spain Against Despotism of Franco

[This article by Leon Trotsky was written in 1937 when the Spanish Civil War was at its height. It exposes to its roots the class-collaboration, "peoples front" politics of Stalinism which opened the road to a fascist victory in Spain. The article was first published in the U.S. in the Socialist Appeal, Jan. 8 and 15, It appeared in pamphlet form in India in 1948 under the title, "The Lesson of Spain - the Last Warning!" We republish it now, not merely in connection with the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, but as a timely contribution to the struggle against the Stalinist politics of class peace, which is a treacherous and dangerous today as it ever was. - Ed.1

The military operations in but bourgeois reaction, that one Ethiopia, in Spain, in the Far can successfully fight against East are being studied closely by bourgeois reaction only with all military staffs, preparing forces and methods of the prothemselves for the great future letarian revolution.

war. The battles of the Spanish The Bolshevik point of view, proletariat, heat lightning flashes | consummately expressed only by of the future world revolution, the young section of the Fourth should be no less attentively International, emanated from the studied by the revolutionary theory of permanent revolution, staffs: only under this condition that is, that even purely demowill coming events not take us cratic problems, like the liquidaunawares. tion of semi-feudal land-owner-

Three conceptions fought-with ship, cannot be solved without uneven forces-in the so-called the conquest of power by the republican camp: Menshevism, proletariat;, but this in turn Bolshevism and Anarchism. So places the socialist revolution on far as the bourgeois republican the order of the day. parties are concerned, they had Moreover *the Spanish* workers themselves posed practically,

from the first stages of the revo-

lution, not only those problems

simply democratic but those pure-

ly socialist. The demand not to

Only through an overturn in

fascism. But the land-owners are

tied with indissoluble bonds to

the banking commercial-indus-

trial bourgeoisie and bourgeois

intelligentsia dependent on them.

Thus the party of the prole

tariat faced the necessity of a

choice between being with the

bourgeoisie in a common coali-

neither independent ideas nor independent political significance and maintained themselves only on the back of the reformists and anarchists.

Furthermore, it would not be step out of the bonds of bourany kind of exaggeration to say geois democracy signifies in acthat the leaders of Spanish tuality not a defense of the demanarcho-syndicalism did everyocratic revolution but a repudiathing to repudiate their doctrine tion of it. and virtually reduce its significance to zero. Actually in the agrarian relations could the peasso-called republican camp two antry, the great mass of the popdoctrines fought: Menshevism ulation, have been transformed and Bolshevism. into a powerful bulwark against

In accordance with the viewpoint of the Socialists and Sta-linists, i.e., Mensheviks of the first and second mobilization, the Spanish revolution was to have solved only its "democratic" tasks, for which a single front with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was necessary. From this point of view every attempt of the pro- peasant masses or with the libletariat to go outside the limits eral bourgeoisie. The inclusion of bourgeois democracy is not of the peasantry and the liberal only premature but fatal.

Moreover, on the order of the tion could have been done with day stands not the revolution but but a single aim: to help the the struggle against the insur- bourgeoisie deceive the peasantry gent Franco. Fascism is "reac- and thus isolate the workers. tion." Against "reaction" it is The agrarian revolution could necessary to unite all forces of have been accomplished only "progress." Menshevism, itself a against the bourgeoisie, hence branch of bourgeois thought, does only through measures of the dic not have and does not wish to tatorship of the proletariat. There have any understanding of the does not exist any kind of mid-fact that fascism is not feudal dle, intermediate regime.

Oblivious to Leninism

From the viewpoint of theory at their disposal for deceiving the

militant spirit of the Spanish workers still lived after over a decade of Franco's barbarous rule. In this strike scene, two strikers had been killed by the fascist police. On Feb. 7 of this year students at the University of Madrid battled the fascists with rocks and sticks. In April, the northern provinces of Spain revealed the deep crisis that is rocking Franco's Spain.

groups of the working class is 180 degrees, is capable, as a genproblems. Under certain historic- tariat.

stronger than the force of each

Allied With the Shadow

These simple truths are least | mained, therefore, only insigof all the fruit of pure theo- nificant splinters from the pos retical analysis. On the contrary, sessing classes, Mesars. Azana, Companys, and their like-po they represent the unassailable conclusion of the whole historical litical lawyers of the bourgeoisie experience, beginning, at least, but not the bourgeoisie itself. with 1848. The newest history of Having placed its stake fully bourgeois society is filled with upon a military dictatorship, the all forms of the "People's Front," possessing classes were able at i.e., with the most diverse po- the same time to make use of supplies, the Spanish Communist an agreement with the republitical combinations for the de- their political representatives of Party remained a small minority lifcan bourgeoisie. ception of the toilers. The Span- yesterday in order to paralyze, ish experience is but a new tragic disorganize and afterward stifle link in this chain of crimes and the socialist movement of the masses upon "republican" ter betrayals.

Politically most striking is the ritory. fact that in the Spanish People's

No longer representing in the Front there was not in essence

proved capable of gathering into its hands all levers of power, in Civil war, where the force of face of the incomparably more bare coercion has little validity, powerful organizations of the Sodemands the spirit of the highest cialists and Anarchists. The self-denial from its participants, usual explanation that the Sta-The workers and peasants are linists merely bartered Soviet capable of assuring victory only weapons for power is extremely

"Communist" Party of Spain, in

if they carry on a struggle for superficial. For the supply of their own liberation. Under these arms Moscow received Spanish gold. According to the laws of ficient. How then did Stalin contrive to get power also into the commonly told: having raised its authority in the eyes of the masses by furnishing military supplies, the Soviet government asked as the conditions of its "collaboration" drastic measures

racy for them. As the finishing touch to their against revolutionists and thus removed dangerous opponents comfort, these gentlemen could from now on justify their befrom its path.

All this is completely indis- trayal to the workers by the necputable but this is but one, and essity for a military agreement at that the less important, aspect with Stalin. Stalin on his part of the matter. In spite of the "au- justified his counter-revolutionthority" created by the Soviet ary politics by the necessity for

and met with ever-growing ha-

tred on the part of the workers.

ficient that Moscow put up condi-

tions; it was necessary that

ing his incumbency as premier,

riously oppose the Stalinist pro-

Stalin with his arms and with

tum was a savior for these

for the course of the revolution.

cialist and anarchist masks into

re-established bourgeois democ-

onslaught of the workers.

Valencia accept them. In this is

the essence of the matter.

Two Irreconcilable Programs

Only from this wider point of | through the Soviet bureaucracy. view does that angelic toleration The second program translated slightest degree the Spanish which such knights of right and into 'be language of Marxism ex- ists is betrayal at any time. In revolutionary periods it a parallelogram of forces: the bourgeoisie, the left Republicans freedom as Azana, Negrin, Com- press d the not fully conscious still less represented the workpanys, Caballero, Garcia Oliver but powerful tendencies of the ers and peasants. They repre- and others showed toward the revolutionary movement of the sented no one but themselves, crimes of the GPU become clear masses. Unfortunately for the However, thanks to their allies to us. If they had no other choice revolution, between the handful the Socialists, Stalinists and An- as they affirm, it was not at all of Bolsheviks and the revolutionarchists, these political phantoms because they could not pay for ary proletariat, stood the counterplayed the decisive role in the the airplanes and tanks other revolutionary wall of the People's revolution. How? Very simply: than with the heads of the revo- Front. The politics of the People's in the capacity of incarnating the lutionists and rights of the workprinciple of the "democratic rev- ers, but because their own "pure- Front was defined in turn, not olution," i.e., the inviolability of ly democratic," i.e., anti-socialist at all by the blackmail of Stalin program, could not be realized as a supplier of arms. There was, of course, no lack of blackmail. by other measures except through The reasons for the rise of the terror. But the reason for the success Spanish People's Front and its When the workers and peasof this blackmail is lodged in ants enter on the path of THEIR the inner conditions of the revorevolution i.e., to take posses- lution itself. The growing onsion of the factories, property, slaught of the masses against drive out the old owners, seize the regime of semi-feudal and power in the provinces, then the bourgeois property was, during bourgeois counter-revolution - six whole years, its social backdemocratic, Stalinist, or Fascist, ground. there is no difference - has no The need to defend this properother means to stop this move- ty by the severest means threw ment except by bloody force, the bourgeoisie into the arms of complemented by lies and deceit. Franco. The republican govern-The advantage enjoyed by the ment promised the bourgeoisie to Stalinist clique on this road con- defend property by "democratic" sisted in its ability to use at measures but revealed, especially in July 1936, its full bankruptcy. When the situation on the property front became still more threatening than on the military front, the democrats of all col-Two irreconcilable programs thus fought on the territory of bowed before Stalin; and he hand, the program of saving prifound no other methods in his own arsenal than the methods of Franco. The baiting of the "Trotsky-Franco: on the other hand, the ists," POUMists, revolutionary program of abolishing private Anarchists and left Socialists; property through the conquest of the filthy slander, false docupower by the proletariat. ments, tortures in Stalinist holes, The first program expressed murders in dark alleys-without the interests of capital through the agency of the workers' aristocracy, the top circles of the not have lasted even two months. The GPU proved to be the master "Appointed Atheists" interests of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The Warsaw student news-In the struggle against the sopaper, Po Prostu, charged cialist revolution the "democrat" July 18 that many Communist Kerensky at first sought support ures of the GPU. Party members, officials and in the military dictatorship of others in Poland are "atheists Kornilov, then tried to enter by appointment." Rejecting Petrograd in the baggage-train religion only to further a of the monarchist general Krascareer, the newspaper said. the official atheist "frequents sheviks, in order to bring the church in disguise, is married democratic revolution to a conat night in an empty chapel, clusion, were compelled to overbaptizes his children by sendthrow the government of "demoing them to visit relatives and cratic" charlatans and babblers.



On this 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, which Franco began July 18, 1936, we reprint "The Lesson of Spain — The Last Warning." This penetrating analysis of the Spanish events is fully relevant were hit with general strikes that for today. It has significance for the Spanish workers who earlier this year gave inspiring evidence that 20 years of the fascist boot have not crushed their revolutionary spirit. And it has equal value for the workers living under "democratic" capitalism.

For the Spanish workers, the civil war was not simply On the other hand, it is insuf- an "anti-fascist" struggle. They began with the correct perspective of defeating fascism by abolishing the capitalist system from which it springs. But their official leaders - Stalinist, Social Democrats, Anarchists - diverted Not only Zamora, Companys them from that aim for the sake of "unity" with the liberal and Negrin, but Caballero, dur- capitalists. It was this fatal course that assured Franco's victory.

all of them more or less readily Spain proved the bankruptcy of the Stalinist "popular met the demands of Moscow front" policy. Yet it remains the basic policy of the Com-Why? Because these gentlemen themselves wished to keep the munist parties, under the new label, "peoples' coalition." revolution within bourgeois limits. To justify this continued advocacy of class collaboration, Not only the socialists but the the CP leaders must still defend its consequences in Spain. Anarchists as well did not se-

Writing on the 20th anniversary of the Civil War gram. They feared a break with in the July 22 Worker, Joseph North proudly proclaims the bourgeoisie. They were death- that the Popular Front government gave the revolution "a ly afraid of every revolutionary direction roughly approximating our New Deal. It did not seek a socialist solution or an anarchist solution."

When the fascist uprising began the workers realized his counter-revolutionary ultimathey could not rely on the capitalist government to smash groups. He guaranteed them, as it and they swiftly organized the union and party militias proletariat to the leadership of the capitalist market, this is suf-Franco and at the same time he confirms that "The Spanish Communists became the first freed them from responsibility protagonists of a unified army command responsible to the Popular Front government and to it alone.' They hastened to put their so-

There is one significant omission from North's recitathe closet in the hope of making tion of the Stalinists' pro-capitalist record in Spain. Now use of them again when Moscow absent is the once standard Stalinist slander that the defeat in Spain was due to the activities of "Franco's Trotskyite fifth column." True, Khrushchev's admission that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups makes difficult the further spread of this poisonous slander which was conceived in the atmosphere of the trials.

But the "fifth column" charge was more than a frame-up of the Trotskyists who were a political minority in Spain. It was the cloak for the criminal Stalinist campaign to smash all revolutionary acts of the mass of the Spanish workers. Tens of thousands of revolutionary Spanish workers were jailed and shot behind the lines under the infamous banner of "combatting the fifth column."

This is one of the most bitter lessons of the Spanish Civil War. "Coalition" of workers parties with the capitalbecomes a gang-up for the suppression of the revolutionary

completely indispensable for the eral rule, of only paralyzing the significant in numbers and level solution of common practical revolutionary force of the proleal conditions such a bloc is capable of attracting to itself the oppressed and petty-bourgeois masses whose interests are close to the interests of the proletariat. The general force of such a bloc can prove to be immeasurably

of its component parts. conditions, to subordinate the On the contrary, the political union of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, whose interests in the bourgeoisie means beforethe present epoch diverge upon hand to assure its defeat in the bargain? In reply to this we are basic questions at an angle of civil war.

in Spanish politics, Stalin more masses numerous staffs than anything astounds one by preachers of this holy formula, his complete obliviousness to the sincere ones and cheats, simplealphabet of Leninism. After a tons and charlatans.

lapse of several decades-and Louis Fischer with his ignowhat decades !-- the Comintern rance and self-satisfaction, with has fully re-established as proper his provincial reasoning and orthe doctrine of Menshevism.* ganic deafness to revolution is More than that: it has contrived the most repulsive representative to give to this doctrine a more of this unattractive fraternity. "consistent" and by that token a "The union of progressive more absurd expression.

In Czarist Russia, on the eve of the People's Front!" "The asof 1905, the formula of "purely sault of the Trotskyists on the democratic revolution" had be- unity of the anti-fascist ranks!" hind it in any case immeasurably | Who will believe that the Commore arguments than in 1937 in munist Manifesto was written 90 Spain. No wonder that in con- years ago?

temporary Spain "the liberal The theoreticians of the Peoworkers' policy" of Menshevism ple's Front in essence do not go became a reactionary anti-work- further than the first rule of ing class policy of Stalinism. At arithmetic, that is, addition: the the same time the doctrine of the total of "Communists." Socialists. Mensheviks, this caricature of Anarchists and liberals is great-Marxism, was transformed into er than each one separately a caricature of itself. Such is all their wisdom. Arith-

However, it would be naive to metic, however, is not suffithink that at the basis of the cient in this problem. Mechanics, politics of the Comintern in Spain at least, is necessary: the law of there lies a theoretical "mistake." the parallelogram of forces has Stalinism rules not through the validity also in politics. The retheory of Marxism, or through sultant, as is known, is the shortany kind of theory in general, but | er the more the competing forces by the empirical interests of the diverge from each other. When political allies pull in opposite Soviet bureaucracy. In their own circle the Soviet cynics laugh at directions, the resultant can prove Dimitrov's "philosophy" of the equal to zero. A bloc of different political People's Front. But they have

*The premise common to all by the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peastrends in the Russian Social Demantry. The resulting regime Lenin ocratic party was that Russia characterized as the "democratic faced a bourgeois revolution prodictatorship of the proletariat duced by the contradiction beand the peasantry." tween the development of the The third position was that of productive forces of capitalist society and the outlived semi-feudal relations, particularly in the countryside, From this the Mensheviks, (Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasulitch) advanced the viewpoint that to the liberal bourgeoisie, proletariat in power supported as the claimant to power, belong. by the peasantry. But the worked the leading role in the iming class placed in power by the pending revolution. According to dynamics of the democratic revthis the party of the working class was to be the left agency to the carrying out of the demoof the bourgeoisie in the creation of a bourgeois democratic to accomplish its own, socialist framework. tasks. Hence the democratic rev-

The Bolsheviks on the other olution develops uninterruptedly hand maintained that the libera- into the socialist revolution. Un- geoisie. tion of the peasantry from the der the guidance of Lenin, the fetters of semi-feudal agrarian Bolshevik Party adopted this relations and the democratizaperspective in April 1917, thus tion of the State could only be realized in intransigent strug- orienting itself toward the prolegle against the liberal bourgeoisie | tarian seizure of power.

cupied by its shadow. Through the agency of the Stalinists, Socialists, and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself, not even troubling itself to participate in the People's Front: the overwhelming majority of the exploiters of all political shades openly went over into the camp of

Franco. forces!" "The triumph of the idea Without any recourse to the theory of "permanent revoluthe Spanish hourgeoisie tion."

from the very beginning underinner mechanics are entirely clear. The problem facing the restood that the revolutionary movement of the masses, no mat- | tired leaders of the left wing of ter what is its initial point, is the bourgeoisie consisted in stopdirected against private property, ping the revolution of the masses in land and in the means of pro- and thus gaining the lost confiduction and that it is utterly im- dence of the exploiters: "Why possible to cope with this move-ment by democratic measures. do you need Franco if we, the Republicans, can do the same ment by democratic measures. In the republican camp re- thing?"

private property.

Secret ot Stalin's Power in Spain

The interests of Azana and they did not dare to mobilize the Companys fully coincided at this masses against the gendarmes of once methods which were not central point with the interests the People's Front, their efforts within the capacity of Azana, of Stalin who needed to gain the at the end were reduced to woe- Companys, Negrin and their left confidence of the French and ful jeremiads. The Stalinists thus allies. British bourgeoisie by proving to proved to be in alliance with the them in action his ability to pre- more rightist, openly bourgeois, serve "order" against "anarchy." wing of the Socialist Party, republican Spain. On the one Stalin needed Azana and Com- They directed their repressions panys as a covering before the against the left: The POUM, the vate property from the proletarworkers: Stalin himself, of Anarchists, the "left" Socialists, lat at any cost and-to the extent course, is for socialism, but one i.e., against the centrist group- possible-saving democracy from should not push aside the repub-' ings who reflected, though in a lican bourgeoisie! remote degree, the pressure of

Azana and Companys needed the revolutionary masses. Stalin as an experienced execu-This political fact, very sigtioner with the authority of a nificant in itself, reveals at the revolutionist: without this they, same time the extent of the dean insignificant lot, would never generation of the Comintern dur-Trotsky who while agreeing with have been capable of attacking ing the past years. We once de-Lenin regarding the relationship the workers. They would not have fined Stalinism as bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie and especially of the various classes in the dem- dared. The traditional reformists centrism, and events gave a se ocratic revolution held that the of the Second International, long ries of proofs as to the correctdemocratic revolution could be ago thrown off the rails by the ness of this definition. But now consummated only by placing the course of the class struggle, be- it has obviously become obsolete. gan to feel a new tide of confi- Already the interests of the Bondence, thanks to the support of apartist bureaucracy will not rec-Moscow. However, this support oncile with the centrist half-way was given not to all reformists policy.

olution could not limit itself only but only to the more reactionary Searching for reconciliation ones. Caballero represented that with the bourgeoisie, the Stalincratic tasks but would proceed face of the Socialist Party which ist clique is capable of entering was turned toward the workers' an alliance only with the more aristocracy. Negrin and Prieto conservative groupings of the inalways looked towards the bour- ternational workers' aristocracy. Thus the counter-revolutionary

Negrin won over Caballero character of Stalinism on an inwith the help of Moscow. The left ternational arena expressed itsocialists and anarchists, the cap- self definitively.

tives of the People's Front, tried We thus closely approach the it is true, to save what could be solution of the enigma of how saved of democracy. But since and why the leadership of the

prays behind closed shutters and under the quilt."

workers movement.



(Continued from page 1) traces the history of the magazine through the difficult war

years and details the key role it played in consolidating the new forces of Trotskyism that emerged from the Second World War. After discussing some of the considerations that have prompted the current change of name the ISR editors give a vivid account of the history of the orig-

inal International Socialist Review from which the new name was taken. The "old" ISR first appeared in July 1900 and ran until February 1918. The history of the magazine reads like a history of the world socialist movement throughout those cru-

cial 18 years. A fascinating story is told of the reflection of the great tides of world socialist thought and action in the pages of the magazine. In its early period the mag-

azine was under the editorship of A. M. Simons and then Charles ors, including the Anarchists, H. Kerr. Contributors of that period "constitute a roster of the great figures in the Second International.'

The magazine then passed through a period which reflected

tempt at military (or "fascist") dictatorship.

The Spanish revolution again all this the bourgeois regime, ble to defend democracy against the revolutionary masses other than by the methods of fascist of the situation only because it reaction. And vice versa, it is imdefended more consistently than possible to lead the actual strugthe others, i.e., with the greatest gle against fascism other than baseness and bloodthirstiness, the by methods of the proletarian revolution. Stalin waged war against "Trotskyism" (proletar-

ian revolution), destroying democracy by the Bonapartist meas-

By this, again and definitively is overthrown the old Menshevik theory, adopted by the Comintern, which divides the democratic and nov. On the other hand, the Bol- socialist revolutions into two independent historical chapters, separated in time from each other. The work of the Moscow executioners confirms, in its own way, the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution. (To be concluded next week)

the rise of the IWW movement. "A new galaxy of revolutionary figures appeared among its writers.

The history of the magazine is further traced through the crisis of the outbreak of World War I, the struggle for revolutionary internationalism during the war and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

"Not until January 1918 do the names of Lenin and Trotsky show up" the ISR editors report, "but then they at once dominate the magazine. In the February issue the lead article is a reprint of the preface to Trotsky's "The Bolsheviki and World Peace."

The summer issue of the "new" International Socialist Review will feature a number of articles under the general heading of the 'Vindication of Trotskyism." Ar-

ticles analyzing the Poznan events. the Khrushchev speech, the new developments in the Soveit Union are among its contents. Trotsky's important theoretical article on the concept of the UISISR as a workers' state ap-

pears in the magazine's Arsenal of Marxism. The article, first published in the July 1935 New International, deals with the problem of Thermidor and Bonapartism. Another installment of F. P. Cannon's invaluable letters to a historian on the history of American Communism is also in the table of contents. The ISR will continue to sell for 35¢ per copy and can be obtained by writing to the International Socialist Review, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. Subscription rate is \$1.25 for one

vear.

Los Angeles "The Khrushchev Program of Co-Existence and America's Road to Socialism' Speaker: Milton Alvin Fri., Aug. 3 - 8:15 P. M. 2936 West 8th St. Next to Channing Hall Discussion Questions

Through this they incidentally put an end to every kind of at-



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3

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American Dollar Democracy

We have in the past commented on the crocodile tears so copiously shed in Washington on behalf of the East European countries. We have never been taken in by the State Department's pretended concern for the freedom of the Kremlin's satellites. U.S. imperialism has its own satellites whose peoples it dominates, and plunders.

All of this was underscored again last week at President Eisenhower's "informal" Panama conference with the Latin American heads of state. The purpose of the conference was to exchange ideas on what is needed to make U.S.-Latin American ties "stronger."

How much stronger Washington wants to make the "ties" is rather difficult to determine since American Big Business has Central and South America pretty well tied up already. Back in 1938, 37% of Latin American imports came from the U.S. By 1953, it was 50%. Between 1949 and 1954, U.S. investments in Latin America rose from about \$4.5 billion to over \$6 billion.

Today, the U.S. grip on Latin American economy is even tighter. And the misery of the people has risen proportionately. According to the July 22 N. Y. Times, the situation there is "translated into the inflation and a skyrocketing cost of living which sap th strength and development capacity of a majority of the republics."

When the Times speaks of "republics" it is admittedly using the word a bit loosely. According to the paper's own estimate, only five of the 20 Latin American countries are what it calls "stable democracies," while the rest are either dictatorships or "unsettled regimes."

A list of those attending the conference

Stuck With a Frame-Up

After three days of silence about the Poznan workers' uprising of June 28, the Daily Worker, July 2, ran a story and an editorial about this momentous event. The editorial, called "The Poznan Tragedy," offered the poison of slander in a sweet and syrupy brew. "Our deepest sympathy," it said, "goes out to the Poznan workers whose long-neglected needs were manipulated to explode into violence." (our emphasis.)

The editorial went on to repeat the official Stalinist frame-up lie point for included some of the bloodiest tyrants in contemporary history. Among those present, for instance, were Col. Armas of of the Soviet Union. Guatemala, who with U.S. government backing last year overthrew the legallyelected government of his country by force and violence. Last month, Armas' cops

shot into a crowd of demonstrating students, killing five. Also present was Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. It is at least

doubtful whether Eisenhower enquired of CP leadership or its conduct of Trujillo as to the whereabouts of the the present discussion, the fact missing Professor Galindez. Opponents of is that the Khrushchev revela-Trujillo have repeatedly charged that the CP ranks that its leaders have dictator's agents in the U.S. abducted and been compelled to admit some of murdered Galindez.

'Late in arriving for the get-together was Pinila, military dictator of Columbia. Press reports indicate widespread popular opposition to his regime. The July 22 N. Y. Times publicized a letter from a U.S. business man in Columbia confirming the East European "Titoist" purge accounts of how on Feb. 5, the police in trials. In March 1953 it hit the Bogota threw opponents of Pinila into a bull ring.

Crowds at the bull fight were vocally expressing their opposition to the regime when the business man saw "a body flying through the air. It started from the highest concrete steps in the bull ring, drew an arc and landed abruptly on the concrete steps ten feet below."

Police picked the body up and continued to toss it further down the stairs. The letter then told of hearing "inhuman shrieks" from other pants of the bull ring and the writer later learned that police had "seized demonstrators and tossed them over the side of the outer rim" to fall about 75 feet below.

How would this prove the movement was

instigated by foreign imperialist agents?

It would simply prove that the Poznan

workers were determined to be heard; that

they were not going to allow their cry for

bread to be stifled behind a wall of secrecy

and never be heard by the rest of the

Polish workers and the workers of the

Did the Daily Worker editors consider

this possibility before signing their names

to yet another shameful Stalinist frame-up

of revolutionary workers?

world.

Such in the condition of freedom in Washington's satellites.

Monthly Review, a self-styled ments on the subject. independent socialist magazine,' dited by Leo Huberman and OBLITERATE OWN PAST Paul Sweezy, devotes its July-The MR editors, however, don't August issue to the question, seem to feel that way about it. history's instrument for trans-

By Harry Ring

point to.

Stalin Cult.

WHY?

"What Is Happening in the The current issue of the maga-USSR?" The analysis comes zine is dated Volume VIII. after a four-month silence on the Number 3. From the contents one issues raised by the 20th Con- could easily get the impression gress of the Communist Party that it is Volume I, Number 1. There is not a word about the

editors' past positions or how and For eight years Monthly Review why they swallowed the Stalin has been a friendly critic of the American Communist Party and - anti-Semitism and all. a tireless apologist for the Krem-The four months silence was lin bureaucracy. It now chides

evidently spent not in re-examinathe CP for not making an indetion but in shopping around for a pendent analysis of the problems suitable "theory" to explain the posed by the 20th Congress.

new events in a way favorable to While we hold no brief for the the Soviet bureaucracy. After rejecting the official Communist Party explanation that the Stalin cult and frametions so profoundly affected the ups were simply a matter of for its users' good. Historical con-"errors" which have now been corrected and after rejecting the their crimes as servile pawns of State Department thesis that the Kremlin. Preciously little as nothing has changed, MR bought this is, it's more than MR can for resale the theory that what is going in the Soviet Union is

Monthly Review has defended every major crime of Stalinism. dictatorship. Stalin's successors It upheld the Moscow Trials and in the Kremlin are setting matters right — this is the contention of the MR editors. This newsstands with a defense of the theory is not original with them. anti-Semitic Doctors Case within It was first elaborated in 1953 by hours of Beria's revelation that Isaac Deutscher — commentator the doctors had been framed and on Soviet affairs and author of the "confessions" beaten out of biographies of Trotsky and Stalin them. In April 1953, the MR - to explain reform measures editors, writing on Stalin's death, introduced at the time under lauded the tyrant's memory in the Malenkov and Beria. most sickening manner of the

IT'S HISTORY'S FAULT

The Deutscher theory permits arose in 1923 out of the historical With such a sordid record, one might expect an "independent socialist" publication to engage in like, while still apologizing for tionary program of Stalinism. serious self-examination before their practitioners. Thus accord- The Trotskyists waged a strugdemanding it of others. One might ing to Huberman and Sweezy, also expect them to settle accounts with what they wrote previously on the topic of Stalin contradictory phenomena. Grow- to consolidate and extend the

and the Soviet Union before ing up under one set of condi-power, prestige and revenue of The only point where the masses passing on to new pronounce- tions, it completely altered these the bureaucracy.

THE MILITANT

conditions and thereby made its own existence impossible.".

MR Breaks 4-Month Silence on Stalin Cult

According to Huberman and Sweezy's reasoning, Stalin was forming Soviet society in a progressive direction even if hv the most brutal means. Stalin's heirs are history's instrument for correcting the brutality. History takes care of everything, and no one is to blame. "Take the cult of the personality which grew up cult and the Stalinist frame-ups around Stalin, for example," says MR. "Was this something for which Stalin, or for that matter any identifiable group of individuals was responsible? We do not believe that any serious student of Russian history would claim that it is."

> However, this pseudo-Marxist method turns out to be too slick ditions did produce Stalin,

Khrushchev and indeed the entire for "theory," they simply dis-Stalinist dictatorship. But historical conditions produced the Trotskyist opposition to the dictatorship of the bureaucratic two ends: the reactionary and the progressive," wrote Trotsky in the Revolution Betrayed (1937). Sweezy. "History teaches that persons and parties which drag at opposite ends of a necessity turn out in tion launched the fight against new situation."

the long run on opposite sides of the barricade." At which end did Trotskyism and Stalinism pull respectively?

A thorough analysis of the history of the fight between Trotskyism and Stalinism shows that the Trotskyist Left Opposition

one to criticize frame-ups and the necessity to combat the reacgle to remove the bureaucracy as one at that. They defended the

goats for Stalin's crimes. The WHAT ARE THE FACTS? editors state that they find it hard But the MR editors want to "to improve on the declaration of refer to historical necessity only the Chinese CP that 'The cult of in order to apologize for the the individual is . . . a force of bureaucratic status quo. Since his- habit of millions and tens of miltory confronts them with both lions. Since this force of habit Stalinism and its revolutionary still exists in society, it can inopposition, they solve the problem fluence many government funcby falsifying what the struggle tionaries, and even such a leader as Stalin was no exception'"

was about. According to Huberman and Sweezy, the Soviet leaders during the 20's "were divided three ways: there were those who looked to a world revolution for salvation (Trotsky), those who favored going slow and hoping "leaders" had to bring "the for the best (Bukharin), and those who called for a tremendous effort to develop the country's resources and strength to enable

heart of MR's thesis. "Conit to come through whatever tests ceivably, this might have entailed might lie ahead (Stalin)." a political revolution . . . but This is pure Stalinist invention. While relying on Deutscher

carded the historical facts he presents. For Deutscher at least revolution? Because, according to has a scholarly concern for the documents of the Trotsky-Stalin to be sure, trained in Stalinist the self-reform of the Stalinist caste as well. "A necessity has fight. The record explodes such methods, but it also retained its falsifications of history as that basic Marxian ideas and perspecpeddled by Huberman and tives ... and when the time came, The documents of the struggle put off, the leadership showed show that the Trotskyist opposi- itself capable of adapting to the

> the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely by advancing a bold program of planned development of democracy will be achieved, we industry and collectivization of are told, because "under social-

traditional Bolshevik idea that

tempo of industrial growth.

This program was violently op

oosed by Stalin in alliance with

Bukharin. Jointly these two and

their factional supporters de-

nounced the Trotskyists as "su-

per-industrializers." The Stalin-

Bukharin faction advocated build-

ing socialism in backward Russia

with the aid of the rich peasant

Then in 1929, as the industrial

a halt and the countryside was

and at a "tortoise pace."

tied to demands for workers' class-struggle policy. STALIN'S RECORD

Basing themselves on Marx and Lenin, the Trotskyists rejected the revisionist notion defended by Stalin of "building socialism" in one country, and a backward

fortunately it did not." (Emphasis in original.) Why does MR so airily dismiss the need for a political them, "the Soviet leadership was, when change could no longer be

THE CRUCIAL POINT

But, argue the MR editors,

history finally made new demands

on the "leaders." With the estab-

lishment of "socialism," the

socio-political superstructure up

to reasonably civilized standards."

And here we get to the very

- Page Three

enter MR's analysis is as scape-

By such continuing changes, "in the long run," full socialist agriculture. This the Trotskyists | ism the leadership prospers with society and not against it: and democracy and an international by continuously raising the level of society, the leadership must sooner or later transform itself

from master into servant." What exists in the Soviet Union today is not "socialism" as MR contends but a severely degenerated workers state in which the material interests of the ruling caste is in violent conflict with that of the working people. the USSR could establish social-Khrushchev and Co. are not a ism only through the extension group of "basically Marxist" of the workers' revolution to the dead-end kids who are recognizadvanced industrial countries. In ing the need to change their ways. the meantime they believed in They are the representatives of a making the Soviet Union as rapacious bureaucracy that has strong as possible by an optimum grown fat at the expense of the vorking people.

> They are making concessions now under mass pressure but will not surrender their stranglehold on political power, since that s the source of their revenue and means of protecting it. "No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws." said Trotsky in the Revolution Betrayed. A political evolution is therefore inescabable.

machine threatened to grind to Huberman and Sweezy may prattle all they like about the 'leadership" raising the level of society, but the Soviet "leaders" themselves are faced with the

stark fact that in good time the

ing also rehabilitated a large treat of the Polish Stalinist re- | among the boldest and most mili

One big question arises: What aucing a single shred of evidence these militants and keep them prompts these concessions? The capitalist press has made. much of the Kremlin's overtures to Tito as a basic motivation for kiewicz said June 29: "Every one of revolutionary discontent. Let the concessions. While this is undoubtedly a factor, it is a sec-

ondary one. The primary impulse be sure that it will be hacked both in Poznan and in the earlier comes from the pressure of the off."

to save its power by combining gime is under such enormous Security Police. its ruthless repressions with ef-A BOLSHEVIK PARTY to back down from its frame-up The committees of factory plans and even admit that its workers are also the arena in own "soullessness" and bureau-The removal of Rakosi can be which a new Bolshevik party of by means of blood purges that cratic mismanagement were the made to appear primarily as a the Polish working class will be drenched the entire country. "primary" causes of the revolt. diplomatic concession to Tito. onborn. Among the most experi-In this kind of formula the caly if the basic social conflict beenced and tested elements the nard about "spies and provocaneed will be felt to give organi- tribute to the superiority of nateurs" leading the workers' upzation and direction to the broad rising is not abandoned but movement of the working class. shelved for a more propitious lin and the Stalinist regime in Lessons will be learned from the the heavy obstacles that both immoment. Hungary tried desperately to Poznan uprising. The need to

... Stalinist Concessions Spurred

number of those who had been gime from its original intention tant in the factories, is the surest purged during recent years. A to inflict severe reprisals on the sign of the growing maturity reported 474 cases have been leaders of the Poznan workers. of the movement. Out of these examined and practically all In the days immediately follow- committees will undoubtedly ing the uprising the Stalinists grow the new fighting organihave been cleared of charges. ranted against "spies and provo- zations of the Polish proletariat. cateurs" without, of course, pro- Attempts by the regime to isolate

working masses. Under this pres-It appears now that the re- free the prisoners held by the

"Stalinism was an extremely a parasitic growth on Soviet sodynamic and profoundly self- ciety, while the Stalinists fought

to support their charge that such under lock and key will prove elements instigated and led the fruitless. Moreover, such efforts general strike. Premier Cyran- will provide fuel to the flames

who raises his hand against the us recall that one of the first people [read: bureaucrats] may impulses of the mass movement.

East German uprising was to gripped by sabotage by the kulaks (rich peasants), Stalin broke with Bukharin. He took

plan the offensive against the

bureaucracy, to prevent needless

bloodshed, to time the actions on

a nationwide scale at a moment

point. "There is considerable evidence," it said, "from the fact that the riots occurred in Poznan at the time of the international fair when many westerners would be present, also from the availability of arms and the targets of the riots, that this was no 'spontaneous' uprising but a longplanned instigation."

This "considerable evidence" is no evidence at all. It is a set of amalgams, the linking of unrelated things to create a sinister appearance. In other words, a frame-up.

Point one of the "considerable evidence" amassed by the Daily Worker editors is the pure assertion that because a trade fair took place in Poznan at the time of the workers' general strike, and because this brought "many westerners" into the city, therefore the workers were "manipulated" into their uprising by imperialist agents.

When the June 17, 1953 East German workers' uprising took place, the Stalinists claimed that the proximity of East Berlin to West Berlin was "considerable evidence" that spies and provocateurs had played the leading role in the workers' struggle.

What kind of reasoning and what kind of evidence is this if not the kind used in the Moscow Frame-Up Trials? And how does this kind of evidence differ from that used to "prove" Lenin was a "German spy" because he travelled through Germany in order to return to Russia in 1917?

It so happens that everything the Polish Government has published since June 28 explodes the contention that the timing of the general strike uprising was connected with the trade fair. The Polish Stalinists admit that the strikes erupted when they did because the workers' patience reached the breaking point; they had exhausted every means at their disposal to get a hearing for their grievances and had run into a bureaucratic stone wall.

But what if the Poznan workers had decided to utilize the presence of the trade fair in their struggle for their demands?

Their Morals and Ours By LEON TROTSKY

Order from **PIONEER PUBLISHERS** 116 University Place/ New York 3, N. Y.

What about point two of the "evidence" -- the "availability of arms." We refer the forts to conciliate and concede Daily Worker editors to the July 11 issue to the demands of the workers. of their paper. In a dispatch from Gordon Cruickshank, datelined Warsaw, they can read the following:

"To date there is no evidence that arms tween the industrial workers and were imported. More is now known about the privileged bureaucracy is igwhere the rioters obtained their arms. nored. The fact is that the Krem-Some were taken from the local Polytechnic and the other high schools where both arms and ammunition are kept by students receiving military training. Others were seized from militia men, who being prohibited absolutely from using their arms danger" of ignoring "the consein the first hours of the disturbance, were thereby disarmed by the rioters."

Doesn't this bit of testimony, highly koyan in Budapest last week incolored as it is by the official Stalinist bias, dicates the close supervision of explode point two of our editors' "evi- the Kremlin in this ticklish opdence" that a "planned instigation" by imperialist agents took place?

Point three, the final point of the "evidence," claims that the "targets of the many and June 28, 1956 in Porioters" proves that the uprising was an land. imperialist plot. What were these targets? The workers, when attacked by the Security Police, moved against their headquarters and prison. They released prisonens. From all the experience the workers after his arrival, Bulganin rehad with the Security men, prisoners were workers with grievances, like themselves, who had dared to speak up.

How does this prove an "imperialist spy plot"? Wouldn't any other workers' uprising act the same way?

In a highly significant statement, July 20, Edward Ochab, head of the Polish CP, concentrate attention on the machinations of provocateurs and agents of imperialism. the Central Committee: The social roots of these incidents, evincing serious trouble in the relations between the party and a section of the working class, should be sought first of all. . . From an analysis made of the events in Poznan it appears that a considerable part was the authorities, both central and local."

Why wasn't this statement reported in the Daily Worker? Every other paper carried it. Is it because the editors are apprehensive that a shift is taking place, that the Polish regime will be forced to retreat from its frame-up of the Poznan workers to which the Daily Worker is now committed?

save Rakosi His downfall was LOGIC OF CONCESSIONS precipitated by the Poznan up-The interrelation between the rising. That is what Erno Gero workers' upsurge and the conmeant by pointing to the "grave essions of the Stalinist regimes is graphically illustrated in this best calculated to secure victory. quences of the Poznan uprising.' situation. Under conditions of will provide the burning incentive The presence of Soviet . First mass revolutionary ferment, to create a vanguard party or-

Deputy Premier Anastas I. Miheading towards the political ganization. overthrow of the bureaucratic Such an organization will base caste by the workers, each conitself on the programmatic founcession and admission by the re- dations of Leninism. The literaeration of trying to avert an exgime can become the starting ture of the long struggle of plosion of working-class mass point for a fresh outburst of the Trotskyism to defend Leninism action in Hungary on the model mass movement; this in turn can from bureaucratic reaction will of June 17, 1953 in East Gerforce new concessions. The proc- be the theoretical manual for the ess can, of course, be interrupted young Polish Bolsheviks. They

by the bureaucratic caste launch- will unite the irrepressible fight-At the same time two other ing fience repressions. Severe ing power of the workers with a top-flight Kremlin bureaucrats losses can be suffered by the broad theoretical outlook - thus arrived in Warsaw July 21-Soworkers as a result, but the gen- firmly tying a knot between Poviet Premier Bulganin and Mareral tendency of development to- land's revolutionary past and fushal Zhukov. In a speech shortly wards the political revolution ture.

cannot be halted. In this historic work the students and intellectuals of Poland New information, uncovered will play their part. Ample evisince June 28, reveals that an dence exists that a deep ideooutstanding feature of the struglogical ferment is taking place gle in Poznan was the organiza-

tion of a strike committee at the among them. When Edward Ochab recently Zispo works. It also appears that

so easily peddled by the Polish the delegation that presented the attacked "anti-party sallies and Stalinists themselves. In condemands of the Poznan workers bourgeois contraband expressed trast to three weeks of the moalso originated at the Zispo fac- in certain of our periodicals,' notonously repeated frame-up lie the student newspaper. Po Prostu tories. This type of committee cidents (Poznan) it would be an error to stigated and led by spies, Edward and delegation is evidently wide- firmly replied that criticism from Ochab, head of the Polish CP, tees were discussed recently by and depression only when such said at the July 20 meeting of the official trade union paper in criticism was ineffective in that Poland, Glos Prace. The N. Y. it was not followed by deeds. these incidents [Poznan] it would Times reports, July 20, that Glos "The criticism from below," the be an error to concentrate at- Prace "criticized the trade unions student weekly added, "is still tention on the machinations of for having alienated the confi- too narrow and does not peneprovocateurs and agents of im- dence of the workers by their trate sufficiently to all strata.' perialism. The social roots of failure to represent their inter- Po Prostu urged more democratithese incidents, evincing serious ests against the bureaucratic ap- zation through workers' conplayed by bureaucracy and soullessness of troubles between the party and paratus of the state." The paper trol of production, declaring that a section of the working class, said "this was the reason why "the completion of peoples rule workers chose non-union mem- through control by workers would "From an analysis of the bers as spokesmen in presenting curb the dignitaries and petty events in Poznan it appears that demands for more pay and lower despots who are still lording it with impunity."

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over Trotsky's program of planned industrial development but carried it out with enormous bureaucratic mismanagement and

thing upside down.

Soviet masses will hoist them but of their seats of privilege and ower.

The amazing development o Detroit Fri. Night Soviet industry is a double Socialist Forum tionalized economy over capitalism. For industry grew despite **Current Events** perialism and Stalinism placed in In the World of Politics its path. To credit Stalin for this A discussion of the candidates. development is to stand everythe issues, and the trends in But it is quite in keeping with politics today. the MR editors' outlook. For to them only the actions of the Friday, Aug. 3 - 8 P. M. Soviet rulers are decisive. The 3737 Woodward - 2nd Floor workers and peasants exist for them only as a mass to be shaped.



The Militant, leading Socialist weekly in the U.S. began its long life of reporting workers' struggles internationally on Nov. 15, 1928. In its pages are recorded the great battles that built the labor movement in this country and the development of American socialism in over two decades.

The Fourth International is the Marxist theoretical magazine of American socialism. Its pages are filled with the work of writers like Leon Trotsky who analysed the degeneration of the Soviet Union and explained the crimes of Stalin from a Marxist point of view.

T	he	Militant		Fourth	International
1955			\$6.00	1952-53	\$8.00
1954			6.00	1950-51	8.00
1953		ē.	6.00	1948-49	8.00
1952			6.00	1947	8.00
1951		-	6.00	1946	8.00
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1949			7.00	1944	10.00
1948	9		7.00	1943	10.00
1947			7.00	1942	10.00
1946			7.00	1940-41	18.00
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1943			7.00		1
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1939 - fir	st	half	15.00		
		few bound eal. Write f			Militant and 193

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By "non-union" members Glos the authorities, both central and Prace obviously refers to work-

may well represent a basic re- selected by the ranks from 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

ferred to the Poznan uprising as

having been "provoked by hostile

This slander is evidently not

agents" of capitalism.

"SOULLESSNESS"

should be sought first of all. . .

a considerable part was played prices to the government." by bureaucracy and soullessnes of

local.'

ers who are independent of the This significant shift in atti- trade union bureaucracy. That tude toward the Poznan events such worker-leaders are being

The Negro Struggle

Dawson's Vote: A Lesson in Politics

Those of us who have heard Congressman Adam Clayton Powell tell Negro audiences to "Vote Black" would like to hear his explanation of why Congressman William L. Dawson, his fellow colored Democrat, opposed the anti-segregation amendments to the federal school bill.

Dawson's color didn't prevent him from voting with the while supremacists and "moderates" in favor of granting federal funds to help maintain segregated schools. Regardless of his personal feelings, as a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he has to do the dirty work of the Democratic Party.

In th same way, Mr. Val Washington, director of the "minority division" of the Republican national committee, Judge Joseph H. Rainey of Philadelphia, and others are demonstrating that a politician's color is no guarantee of loyalty to the struggle against Jim Crow.

Many Negro leaders who recognize this and are groping for a way out of the blind alley of the two-party system are unging a so-called non-partisan policy for colored voters. "Don't be tied to either party," they say. Vote for good men in either party."

But "independents," either on one of the two party tickets or off, are powerless. If they do not subscribe to the program of the party where label they bear, they must fight the political machines for election. In the rare cases where they are elected despite the opposition of the "regulars," they are soon subjected to so much pressure that they either compromise their principles or are unable to accomplish anything in the face of the combined boycott of both parties.

There is only one way out of the dilemma, and that is to build an independent party with the complete abolition of Jim Crow as a basic element in its program. In Amreican politics today the only mass party that could be built with such a program is an independent labor party, a party of workingmen and women dedicated to the advancement of their interests as opposed to those of the ruling class which exploits all workers regardless of race, creed or color.

Some Negro working-class leaders readily admit that is the most reasonable course — but not this year. Some day, they say, when such a party is organized, we will support it, along with millions of others. But until then, they will "make the best of things" within the two-party system.

It was a different kind of thinking that made the people of Montgomery and Tallahassee and many other cities rise up against segregation this year. They got came together and said, "Right now is the time to start boycotting Jim Crow."

Now is the time to stop voting for the two parties opposed to change, too. The Socialist Workers Party candidates, the ed rate. only candidates with a record and program of uncompromising struggle against discrimination and exploitation, and for the building of a mass party dedicated to that program.

That is the only way to avoid voting for particular quota will be met. candidates, black or white, who will maintain segregation.

Fund Scoreboard

VOLUME XX

City			Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit			\$ 825.00	\$ 681.00	80%
Twin Citties			1,320.00	1,022.00	77
Chilcago			1,560.00	1,094.60	70
Allentown	Ŀ		85.00	60.00	70
Cleveland			350.00	226.00	63
Youngstown			250.00	150.00	60
Los Angeles			3,300.00	1,929,29	58
San Francisco	1		650.00	365.00	56
New York			4,000.000	1,934.40	48
Milwaukee			250.00	102.00	48
Buffalo			1,760.00	800.00	46
Boston			500.00	220.00	44
Newark			200.00	63.00	31
Seattle		s'	300.00	85.00	28
St. Louis		2	85.00	25.00	28
Oakland	1		200.00	30.00	15
Philadelphia			400.00	52.00	12
General		. <u>\</u>		155.00	
Totals			\$16,175.00	\$8,994.29	55%



The Socialist Publications Campaign Fund continues way to do it in 1956 is to vote for the to lag. Payments are coming in at only a slightly accelerat-

Communications from all parts cial lag can endanger the entire of the country are uniform in socialist press and publications Steel Corporation in Lackawanna, expressing vigorous determina- project. We are in the position of an army fighting a critical tion to complete the drive in full battle, with considerable success and on time. Everyone assures us that, despite difficulties, their but with a fast diminishing store

of ammunition. We must now turn our full at-Yet the scoreboard still shows that without a very sharp inproblem. That is the number one crease in the rate of payments

task for the revolutionary socialthe deadline for the end of the drive will find us with the total goal far from realized. To date 55% has been paid in, but over 75% should have been received by now. If we are to avoid a time extension in the drive, a conclusions and act upon them. P.S. Friends in Connecticut stepped-up pace is essential.

The fact is that the sale and distribution of our socialist literature is being conducted at an all time high. Stocks of many of the most important items are moving very rapidly and are nearing the point of depletion. A

also be in the out-of-print cat-Meanwhile our publication

plans are proceeding with the fullest possible speed. The finan-



By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, July 20 -- A warning from President has exhausted every source of income, including borrowing on Eisenhower that his Big Business government will in- life insurance, but he must tervene in the steel strike if an early settlement isn't prove that his relatives through blood or marriage living in the reached was received by Lack-D-

awanna steel workers with But as the rank and file passed household are in the same fix. skepticism and humor. As they through their second payless He must even turn in his car waited to file applications for Friday many families were license plates. This is a slap in surplus food in their new union facing some hardship. Through- the face of the workers who pay headquarters on Ridge Road, out the week, hundreds of the taxes that support the relief one striker wanted to know, workers in Buffalo lined up in what took Ike so long to speak front of bank tellers windows up?" Someone answered, "May- with withdrawal slips in their in Erie County have signed up be the 'Cadillac Cabinet' didn't hands. The big steel corporalet him know about the strike. tions watched this trend care-After all, he's a sick man and fully as they planned their distributed will be butter, cheese, "starve them to break them" they didn't want to upset him

tactics. In Lackawanna, the This token assistance will not in an election year." steel-smoked city sorrounding be available for nearly two No, he waited for the word the Bethlehem plant where weeks. from his sidekicks, Wilson and nearly 20,000 work, it was clear Humphrey." (Humphrey is Sec- that the workers were tightenretary of the Treasury, and the ing up their belts.

A slow paralysis was setting wearing a Ryerson Steel Comtional Steel Company and their in on the industrial life of the pany button remarked, "There's city. As one walked down Ridge still plenty of steel around the Road, the dust-covered main warehouse I work. The company street of Lackawanna, many comments by storekeepers could up." An older worker in the

workers on the Niagara Frontier chant stood in front of a big economy is still in good shape. will be waiting to see how the sign, steel leaders will react to the DOWN PAYMENT UNTIL the depression days. Nobody strong ultimatum of the cor- STRIKE IS SETTLED."

States. That's the situation as a sense it was a vacation withwe see it from here; it's neces- out pay. It was good to get away sary for all our supporters and from the hot mills and dirty readers to draw the necessary furnaces. Some workers took their families to nearby beaches, others could be seen with their continue to back up their sup- kids fishing, and some just money where it counts. caught up on repairs around the house

HARDSHIPS BEGIN

All felt the pleasures of being up by day and sleeping at night instead of the gruelling rotation of three shifts and week-end work. Even the pickets outside the sprawling Bethlehem and plications for home relief since Republic Steel plants relaxed. the start of the strike. At some gates they took sun

usually true. Requirements are rigid and But it certainly isn't true now. Area-wide meeetings with progress reports on negotiations draws out investigations for

Local 600 Resolution Calls For 30-Hour Week Fight

DETROIT, July 16-The mem- | sections of the top UAW teader | ployment in Michigan increased bership of Ford Local 600 has ship. According to reliable re- by approximately 13,000 in a sinunanimously adopted a resolution ports, sentiment in leading cir- gle month to a total of 220.000. opening a campaign for the 30- cles exists for an end to so-called and that unemployment in Dehour week at 40-hours pay. The "pioneering" for fringe demands, troit increased by approximately resolution, introduced by Presi- among which apparently are indent Carl Stellato, points to the cluded the GAW and the shorter tal of 139,000." growing menace of unemploy- work-week, and concentrating inment and cites the shorter work- stead on straight wage increases. week demand as the only mean- Some of this thinking tends toingful answer.

the recent struggles within the ten years" while concentrating on UAW to make the 30-for-40 de- improving the admittedly inadetion passed at last year's UAW compensation at 100% of wages convention calling for the strug- for the duration of unemploygle for the shorter work week ment. There was, he stated, no as next on the agenda after the reason for any worker to be

wards accepting the possibility The resolution also reviewed of a shorter work-week "within mand the number-one goal of quate and gimmick-loaded GAW. Security Commission estimates negotiations. It reminded the top In addition to 30-for-40, Stel- that the rate of exhaustion will UAW leadership of the resolu- lato has called for unemployment increase to about 18,000 or 20,tions have always utilized times

6,000 in the same period to a to-

"In the first six months of this year," the statement continued, approximately 38,000 people exhausted their unemployment egory. benefits due to the inadequate. duration provisions of the present law. The Michigan Employment Increase to about 18,000 or 20,-000 a month later this summer." Added to this is the increasing pressure of speed-up Corpora pressure of speed-up. Corpora-

port with cash — \$10 this time. To Subscribe To subscribe to The Militant send your name and address to The Militant, 116 University large number of urgently needed Place, New York 3, N. Y. Enworks by Trotsky have long been close \$3 for one year's subout of print. Soon, other imporscription or \$1.50 for 6 months. tant books and pamphlets will

And while you're about it, why not take out a subscription for a friend? Help spread the truth by widening the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

Another worker joshed back, largest shareholder in the Nasubsidiaries like Hanna Furnace

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1956

which supplies coke to the giant blast furnaces of the Bethelehem

N. Y.) Meanwhile, the 28,000 steel their stores. One clothing mer-

tention to the ammunition supply poration-minded government. Further down the street, As the strike rolls through its gas station attendant told one of

third week, the holiday spirit is his customers that he is pumping their stock dividends going up ist movement in the United beginning to wear off. And in 50% less gas since the strike since the strike began." began. A tavern owner said that he would close down until the strike ended. "I haven't seen some of my best customers for Molony, Director of District weeks. You've got to hand it to Four (whose members in the them. They're spending their Buffalo-Lackawanna area pro-

duce more steel than all of Many workers with large families haven't been able to Western Germany) must face up to this problem. Molony, defeated save a dime. For them there is

candidate in the bitter struggle no relief in sight. Strike benefits for the international vice-presidon't begin until the eighth week. Many have applied for dency, as well as other officials relief. The Erie County Home have often complained that not Relief Bureau reported that enough members attend meetthere were as many as 600 apings. Unfortunately, due to shift work and other problems, this is

baths, while at others they threw the red tape of bureaucracy a ball around. It was a far cry from the bitter strikebreaking weeks. Not only does a steel would draw steel workers by the struggles of a few years back. worker have to prove that he thousands to their union halls.

working, nobody buying. Must be the company the government is talking about. I read about However, much of the talk among steelworkers reflects uncertainty as to what is going on in negotiations. Joseph P.

NUMBER 31

be heard as they stood idly by group chipped back, "Yeah, and the government reports that the "STRIKE SALE. NO Why, Lackawanna reminds me of

agencies.

More than 5,000 steel workers

at their union headquarters for

federal surplus food. The foods

dry milk, flour, and corn meal.

In the streets of Lackawanna,

huddles of workers can be seen

throughout the day. One worker,

won't talk terms until it's used

achievement of the so-called without a job in this immensely Guaranteed Annual Wage (sup- wealthy country. If the employplementary unemployment com- ers pleaded inability to pay, he pensation). said, it would then be high time

The Local 600 resolution called to revive Reuther's 1947 slogan for an all-out campaign to win of "Open the Books." 30-for-40 in the 1958 contract. olution are to be sent to every UAW local in the country.

on significance, even though it established towards the end of meed for re-opening contracts million fewer men and women now, in view of various currents were at work in January than of thought circulating among last December.



HE I				
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of layoffs to increase the of the production lines.

As a result, despite the attempt of the International leadership to discourage them, wildcat strikes have increased some-As background for the action what in the past several months. As a beginning, copies of the res- of Local 600, we should take note In Detroit alone, at Dodge Local of the following: In the nation 3 and Local 212, such actions have as a whole, production in January taken place. Even at the Ford The action by Local 600 takes was maintained at the peak rates Rouge plant-heretofore hardly noted for such actions-the workfailed to properly recognize the December 1955. But a full 1.3 ers in the Dearborn Assembly plant struck for several days. In this case the action against speed-up took the form of strik-

In the automobile industry, by ing against the company for perlast May 210,000 workers had mitting a supervisor who had been laid off. The total unempushed a woman to go unpunployment in Michigan stood at ished.

Negro workers, in addition, to lease asking that the state legissuffering the effects of unemlature in Michigan act immediateployment and speed-up, have also expressed dissatisfaction with the failure of the UAW leadership,

25c.

Officials of the AFL-CIO are ecoming aware that the everspreading government "security program" constitutes a threat to the union movement and to civil liberties generally. The reasons

> for this justified concern are documented in a 52-page survey entitled, "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions," published by the AFL-CIO in collaboration with the National Labor Service of the trial Security can pay off in American Jewish Committee.

The survey shows the mushroom growth of the "security program," presents case histories of victimizations under it, reveals the anti-labor bias of many who administer it. and shows how it is used by employers as an anti-union weapon and how it including that of Ford Local 600. lays the basis for even more danto take adequate measures in regerous attacks against labor. lation to White Citizens Councils

which had the audacity to at-In a foreword to the retempt to set up a headquarters port, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasin Dearborn, across from the urer William Schnitzler proposes Dearborn City Hall. as a solution to the problem that The combination of all these "Instead of being excluded from

factors has led to increased rum- it, labor should be invited to take blings of rank-and-file discontent part in the administration of our within the UAW. In a surpris- Government's Industrial Securiing number of locals during the ty Program as it applies to workpast several months, incumbent ers in industry."

slates-many running with open This proposal flies in the face International UAW support of the report. whose facts conhave been defeated. A new slate stitute a strong argument in won at Cadillac Local 22. There favor of the unions opening an were big turnovers in the leadall-out attack on the entire "seership of Oldsmobile and Fisher curity" program, not to assume Body locals in Lansing. Both responsibility for it. have new presidents. At Flint

TEN MILLION 'RISKS'

there were significant changes in the six big GM locals. Traditionally left-wing Dodge Local

tramck local, aligned himself could be tagged a 'security risk' tells his wife everything about with Stellato. The press quotes Stellato as ten million Americans and their making speeches that we'll have ment security programs. Many a short work week in ten years. This causes a bad reaction among screening process." the rank and file. We need a idea," he said.

witch-munt role in By Herman Chauka

1949. The "offense" finally spe- resenting the "tyranny of a pocified was picketing in service lice state." uniform.

Top union officials should se-The government security pro- rously study their own survey gram has inspired many non- on Security, Civil Liberties and defense employers to establish Unions before trying to get in unofficial "security programs," on the "security" program. Too The advantages are cited in a many officials have already used 1952 report by the National In- the "security" agencies to rid themselves of union militants or dustrial Conference: inter-union opponents. They have

"Even if you don't have a already helped open the door to trained salboteur in hire, Indusa program designed only to ensure the "security" of the empeacetime. It can help you rid ployers by crippling the unions. your plant of agitators who cre-The Butler bill embodies the next ate labor unrest, who promote logical step in this development. labor grievances, slowdowns and Labor must fight these policestrikes and encourage worker state measures, not help "adminantipathy toward management... ister" them. Furthermore, while Communism

is a great threat to America today, who knows in this unset-Strike in Italy tled world what the color, nationality or political philosophy

Railroad traffic throughout Italy was stopped completely July 24 by a one day general strike of all Italian rail unions. The workers demanded increased wages and security benefits.

Voters League Questions

-0

SWP Candidate Answers



DANIEL ROBERTS

Nottingham, England

17th July, 1956

NEWARK, July 23 - Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 12th Congressional District, today sent the following answers to questions directed to him and other candidates by the League of Women Voters of New Jersev.

Q. Please indicate the aspects of U.S. Foreign policy with which you' are most in agreement; those of which you are most critical.

A. I oppose all aspects of the foreign policy pursued by both Democratic and Republican Administrations. It is a policy of attempted world domination, for the sake of Big Business profits and actual domination in Latin America. It gave us World War II, the Korean War, U. S. intervention in Indo-China and the Formosa Straits. It backs French imperialism in Algeria and British imperialism in Asia and the Middle East. It upholds such tyrants as Franco, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. It aims at restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and ultimately launching World War III to achieve this objective. I believe that peace can only be brought about through the working people establishing socialism all over the world.

Q. In what domestic legislation are you especially interested? Please state your support or opposition?

A. I favor immediate repeal measures punishing persons by jail, deportation, or firing for the expression of political beliefs. I favor the Powell amendment which would deny Federal education funds to school districts' that continue racial segregation. Also any other measure that would aid the Negro people and its labor allies to win the struggle for Negro equality. I favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. I favor federal unemployment compensation at 100% of wages (at union rates) for the duration of unemployment, a 30-hour maximum work week, nationalization of all monopoly enterprises and their operation under workers' control.

trade magazine: EVERYBODY'S A 'RISK' "Fire 'em. That's my answer to

anyone who asks me how to handle security risks in his plant. And that's exactly what we did with 250 of them this year. Of these 250, only 15 were known

of our next enemy may be?"

Some employers are demand-

ing contract clauses excluding

the union from taking up "se-

curity case" grievances. A pic-

ture of what this means is given

in the survey's report of the at-

titude of the Security Director at

Communists. No matter. They all

"Since 1947," the report says, get the same treatment. . . All "the number of Americans under security risks are not Commun-3-second largest in the UAW security screening has swelled ists, not necessarily subversives, -recently reelected an anti- from less than one million to ap- not necessarily disloyal. In fact Reuther slate. Pat Quinn, newly proximately ten million. And the the most patriotic American could elected president of the Ham- number of reasons for which one be your biggest risk! Maybe he has grown steadily. Today, about his job and she talks too much...

The survey analyzes the Butsaying that Reuther "goes around families are covered by govern- ler Bill, first introduced in Congress in 1954 and which may have suffered injustice in the come up again. The bill, as its supporters point out, closes the The report cites many unjust last "gap" in the "security" ring. short work week now. The work- and anti-labor actions under the It provides that with Presideners realize it would have helped security program. It begins with tial declaration of an "emergencut unemployment." Stellato pre- the story of James Schuetz, a cy," workers in just about any dicted that his forces would have shop steward at Bell Aircraft in plant could be fired on "reason-"sizeable representation" at Niagara Falls, N. Y., who was able grounds" that they might the coming convention. "We're branded a "security risk" be- some day commit espionage or ready to fight for the 30-for-40 cause of "picket line offenses" sabotage. AFL-CIO officials have in the Bell Aircraft strike of correctly branded the bill as rep-

Republican Aviation in Farming-(A letter to James Kutcher legless war veteran, who recently dale, N. Y., as expressed in a won back his Federal job from which he had been fired eight years ago, solely because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party. - Ed.)

Dear Comrade Kutcher.

We were delighted to read in the Militant of your final resounding success in winning back your job and thus securing a great victory over the witch-hunters and persecutors of socialist ideas.

In a very much more modest way, we too, have been victims of the witch-hunt. Excluded from membership of the Labor of the Smith Act and all other Party by a bureaucratic trick, we have been trying, with the support of the local Labor Party, for five years to secure reinstatement. But the Labor Party bureaucracy like the U.S. Government is mortally afraid of the dissemination of truly socialist ideas and refuses to yield to the pressure of the local party. But the witch-hunts, expulsions, victimizations, etc. cannot prevent the spread of ideas.

British Militant Hails Kutcher Victory

We congratulate you and the SWP on your great fight. Your courageous stand, resulting in ultimate victory, must have given heart and new hope to many other victims of the foul system of intrigue and frame-up.

On behalf of my husband and myself and our two young daughters who have many times protested indignantly against the victimization you have suffered, I send to you our sincerest salutations and greetings. May the victory you have secured be but the beginning of still bigger victories by the working class against the tyranny and oppression of their class enemies.

Very warmest fraternal greetings. M. S.