

Auto Local Bids Union Fight for 30-Hour Week

LINDEN, N. J., May 5 — General Motors Local 595, United Automobile Workers, by unanimous vote at its membership meeting here April 29, called upon the UAW International Executive Board to reopen the union contract for the purpose of negotiating a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay.

The Linden local was in the process of taking a strike vote on speedup grievances when the big layoff hit several weeks ago. Reduced income due to the elimination of overtime and short work weeks has been accompanied by an intensification of the back-breaking speedup. The membership was fighting mad at the callous disregard for human welfare manifest in the profit-gouging policy of the corporation. To top it off came the layoff of April 26 cutting another 1,000 off the work force.

The bitterness of the Linden membership was voiced in the unanimous resolution flaying GM corporate policy. "The membership of Local 595," says the opening paragraph, "regard the layoff of April 26 and the short work weeks in that period as crimes. General Motors Corporation has driven us cruelly all year. . . Now we find that their tremendous push — so harsh that it forced us to take a strike vote at Linden and at many other plants — has resulted in a stockpile so large that the company feels it necessary to cut back. One thousand of our brothers will be in the street, seeking work. The rest of us are working short hours and, if buying doesn't pick up, more of us stand to lose our jobs. What kind of justice is it to overwork us part of the year and then lay us off for the remainder? What kind of security do we have and what kind of existence can we offer to our families?"

Conditions at the Linden plant are duplicated at auto plants throughout the country. Production has fallen off by the week. Unemployment in auto and farm equipment has been mounting on a national scale. There are no visible signs of a change in the trend. The May 6 New York Times quotes Walter Reuther as saying, "he had no hope for the usual seasonal pickup common to both auto and the farm implement industries at this time of year. On the contrary, he added, indications point to a worsening of the situation."

Reuther has declared that the situation in auto has reached "alarming" proportions. He proposes to call a conference of labor, management and government officials to discuss the problem. A conference that does not have as its stated purpose the reopening of the union contract for needed changes can be nothing but a talk fest. The Linden resolution contains a realistic basis for affirmative action to meet the needs of the auto workers. It says:

"Since the UAW has established the principle that our contract is a 'living document,'" we call upon the International Executive Board . . . to authorize the General Motors Department of the Union to call upon the corporation to: (1) Call back all laid off employes. (2) Renegotiate the contract to provide a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay. (3) Renegotiate the contract to provide call-in pay for an entire week's work for each week an employe reports to work."

Nixon With Franco's Minister



Vice Pres. Nixon (r) takes Spanish Foreign Minister Alberto Ariza on a sightseeing tour of Washington. AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany criticized playing host to Franco's minister while Spanish workers "are risking their lives by striking in Spain against starvation wages." Meany didn't criticize the basic foreign policy of Big Business which lines up the U.S. with every fascist and oppressive dictatorship around the world.

The Fight to End Jim Crow Shows Need for Labor Party

Who Is Albert E. Kahn?

An Editorial

At the Stalinist-sponsored May Day rally in New York on April 30, a certain Albert E. Kahn was invited to speak on the topic of civil liberties. The same Kahn is listed as judge in a teen-age essay contest sponsored by the New York State Labor Youth League. The theme of the contest is "Our Country's Democratic Heritage" with special emphasis on civil rights.

Who is Albert E. Kahn? The Daily Worker lists his occupation as "author." It would be more accurate to list him as a professional frame-up artist. His books reek of rotten slanders against honest working class leaders. They also reek of American imperialist chauvinism. He has no business speaking at a May Day meeting nor acting as a mentor of the radical youth.

Here is his record in part:

(1) In his book, Sabotage! — The Secret War Against America (1942), Kahn and co-author Sayers maligned the Japanese-American minority in the worst jingoistic way. "In the years before Pearl Harbor," Kahn wrote, "potential Japanese saboteurs moved in by droves to take up residence and carry on business in the immediate vicinity of important United States military establishments. . . A mass evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans was found necessary, and was undertaken throughout the entire West Coast area."

The ouster of tens of thousands of Japanese from their homes at the start of World War II was one of the worst atrocities committed against a racial minority in this country. It was instigated by the greedy Associated Farmers trust in California as a means of grabbing lands the Japanese had painfully developed to fertility. The Japanese were herded into concentration camps "in droves" — the first such victims in U. S. history.

The high-handed act pulled by the Roosevelt Administration became the precedent for the concentration camp provisions of the McCarran Act of 1950. Such was the crime of U.S. imperialism that Kahn extolled, adding his slanders to all the other abuses piled on the hapless victims.

(2) Kahn and his fellow poison-pen wielder, Sayers, rode to notoriety on the strength of the Great Conspiracy, published in 1946. The book's main purpose was to refurbish the Moscow Frame-Up Trials of the 1930's in which Stalin wiped out the generation of Bolshevik leaders that led the Russian Revolution of 1917.

To spice up his slanders, Kahn did not scruple at forging quotations. (This was proved by Joseph Hansen in the Militant, Aug. 31, 1946.)

Most of Kahn's lies are drawn from the Moscow Trial records. He repeated them after the International Commission of Inquiry headed by Professor John Dewey had exposed them as lies. In a series of recent moves, the Soviet Government itself has, in effect, repudiated the Moscow Trials. The Great Conspiracy goes into the garbage-dump of history.

The leaders of the American Communist Party are presumably engaged in eliminating the Stalin cult in the CP. Isn't it time they stopped treating the cult's most sinister representative in this country — "author" Albert E. Kahn — as an honored figure?

Their Fight Goes On



Spotswood Bolling, one of the five Washington, D. C., youngsters who were plaintiffs in the case in which U.S. Supreme Court ruled, May 17, 1954, that school segregation is unconstitutional, is shown with his mother at time of court's action. This week marks second anniversary of the court's ruling which is being widely flouted in the South.

Integration in Schools Slows Down 2 Years After Court Decision

By John Thayer

The second anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision against school segregation will be celebrated this week at meetings throughout the country. It is fitting that opponents of Jim Crow commemorate that momentous victory of May 17, 1954. It is also appropriate to recall how it was won and to compute its results up to now and in the coming years.

For 60 years the Supreme Court cheated the Negro people of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment by its "separate but equal" doctrine. The overthrow of this vicious doctrine was a great victory in the struggle for equal rights. It was the culmination of 20 years of effort by American Negroes.

Out of the struggle for survival in the Great Depression the Negro people had emerged with new militancy and with a new ally — the white industrial workers organized in the CIO. The steady pressure of the Negro people plus the support of the most advanced sections of

the unionized white workers brought new gains during World War II. Taking advantage of the labor shortage the Negro people pushed back the boundaries of job discrimination and gained a foothold in many industries and job classifications hitherto forbidden to them. The greatest single advance in this campaign came from the March On Washington Movement that forced the wartime FEPC.

LEGAL VICTORIES

The growing pressure of the Negro people against Jim Crow and the limited but increasingly steady support of the labor movement meant not only concessions from the White House and governors but from the courts themselves.

But it was in the post-war period that American Negroes were to find new and decisive support in their fight against Jim Crow. A tremendous new world power had emerged and it hated Jim Crow with a hatred second only to that of its victims in the U. S. This power was the colonial revolution which was sweeping Asia and Africa.

European public opinion in its majority had always been on the side of the American Negroes against the white supremacists. But the post-World War II epoch differed from the pre-war period in that a whole host of colored peoples in the colonies had thrown off their shackles — India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Indonesia. A social revolution was tearing China from the grasp of imperialism. Social revolution was threatening other colonial possessions in Asia — as in Vietnam, which was almost entirely controlled by the insurgents. In Africa, Egypt was throwing off the British yoke; Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria were in revolt; British imperialism was being forced to make important concessions in the Gold Coast and Nigeria and had its hands full with guerrillas in Kenya.

It was this pressure from the colonial revolution, plus the pressure of the Negro people and their allies in the U. S., which proved overwhelming in the post-war period and led to the Supreme Court decision.

VALUE OF VICTORY

This was a great legal victory. It meant that henceforth the

May Day In Guatemala

It was not long ago that a U.S. government supported military putsch toppled the democratically elected Arbenz Guzman regime in Guatemala. Since then the workers have been subjected to a ferocious repression. In a bid for labor support the puppet dictator Castillo Armas recently contributed \$6,475 to help defray the cost of a May Day parade and celebration in Guatemala. The May 6 N. Y. Times reports: "The workers, in an apparently well-planned maneuver, booted the scheduled speakers, some of them government officials, off the platform and cheered five substitutes, some of them leaders under the regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. These speakers took over the meeting and vigorously attacked the Government's labor policies."

Chicago and Detroit Aid Montgomery Car Pool

MONTGOMERY, May 7 — Two representatives of the Chicago Station Wagons to Montgomery Committee, arrived here last week with a car and \$175 in cash, for delivery to the Montgomery Improvement Association which is conducting the bus protest movement now nearing its sixth month. Kenton Sanders, treasurer of the Chicago committee, turned the car and money over to the MIA. The money was collected in Chicago on street corner and plant gates from workers who voluntarily made their contributions as an expression of support to the heroic Montgomery freedom fighters.

From Detroit comes word that workers in that city have raised enough money to finance the purchase of a station wagon to augment the Montgomery car pool. A representative of the Detroit Station Wagons to Montgomery Committee, is making delivery of the station wagon on behalf of the workers of Detroit. Both of the above named committees were set up after hearing an eye-witness report by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

Upon his return from Montgomery following the recent trial of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, Dobbs addressed mass meetings in a number of midwestern cities calling for material aid to the bus protest movement. The response from Chicago and Detroit are a direct result of that appeal. In the latter city the Station Wagons to Montgomery Committee was set up at a meeting of the Detroit Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward Ave., which conducts regular weekly meetings each Friday.

Material aid coming into Montgomery from all parts of the United States has greatly boosted the morale of the entire Negro community of 50,000 freedom fighters. The truth of this was demonstrated again at a mass meeting held in the Holt St. Baptist Church on April 30. There were people from a number of states who spoke at the meeting to assure the Montgomery Negro community that they were not in this fight alone. To show they meant business they brought a little something along to back up their talk.

One of the speakers, the Rev. Wright, came from New Jersey with \$1,500 from the people of that state. He spoke out forcefully against those who think they can intimidate and frighten the Negro people into abandoning their fight for equal rights. "We are not running anymore," he declared. I am sick and tired, he said, of hearing the spurious complaint that "northerners" and "subversives" are coming to Montgomery to stir up the innocent Negro people. The racists would like nothing better than to isolate each struggle the better to destroy it. They are not going to get away with it.

The day following the mass meeting at the Holt St. Baptist Church was election day in Montgomery. The Montgomery Improvement Association had conducted a vigorous campaign to get the Negro community to register and vote. It did this in the midst of the bus protest action. The need for political action was emphasized at the mass meeting. The struggle for equality, it was pointed out, was essentially a political struggle. The political character of the conflict was highlighted in the recent developments of the bus protest fight. Following the recent Supreme Court verdict on a South Carolina bus segregation case, the National City Lines, operators of the Montgomery bus lines, notified its drivers not to enforce the local segregation laws. The city authorities immediately intervened and threatened anyone violating the local Jim Crow statutes with arrest and imprisonment. If there was any doubt before about the political character of the fight it was removed by the truculent intervention of the city officials. But the question arose immediately about whom to vote for. All the candidates were Jim Crow practitioners. Most were members and practically all supporters of the White Citizens Councils. On what basis was the choice to be made? While some counseled voting on the basis of "the lesser evil," one prominent leader summed up the attitude of the more militant section: "I could not vote for any of them and still live with my conscience; they all stand for the same thing. So if I voted I would be voting for what I am fighting against."

Soviet Revokes Stalin's Confession Trial Laws

By Daniel Roberts

Stalin's decrees of 1934 and 1937 under which the Moscow Trials of the late 1930's were staged have now been repealed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. These laws gave special powers to the secret police in dealing with alleged acts of sabotage, attempted terrorism and treason. They "established a special method of investigation and court consideration." In the Moscow Trials this spelled out as forced "confessions," denial of the right of appeal and summary executions within 24 hours of sentencing.

The action of April 19 is more than a mere repeal of Stalin's tyrannical laws. Taken together with other recent measures, it is in effect nothing less than the repudiation of the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and unspeakable blood-lettings. The repeal of the decrees is a link in the chain which includes the exposure of the "confessions" in the Lazlo Rajk purge trial in Hungary as police fabrications; the tacit rehabilitation of Alexei Ivanovitch Rykov — a Moscow Trial victim; the rehabilitation of leading Soviet generals purged in 1937, and the denunciation of juridical methods fol-

lowed by Vyshinsky, chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials.

KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH

Previously, at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikoyan charged that there had been frame-ups during the past 20 years. And in his speech at the closed session of the Congress, Khrushchev is reported in Borba, Yugoslav CP paper, to have related how Stalin personally selected the list of Moscow Trial victims and dictated the procedure to be followed in each case for extracting "confessions." The Borba report has not been denied by the Soviet government.

"It has already been noticed that such opponents of the present regime as the late Leon Trotsky are not being denounced as traitors any longer although they are still regarded as dangerous opponents," reports Jack Raymond from Moscow in the May 5 New York Times. But treason plus sabotage and terror were precisely the crimes to which the Moscow Trial victims "confessed" implicating Trotsky.

The Kremlin chiefs, it is true, have not admitted in so many words that the Moscow Trials

were frame-ups. They have not dared to admit that they and their boss, Stalin, tortured Lenin's leading associates in the making of the Russian Revolution, then forced them to degrade themselves by "confessions" and finally drowned them in blood. But all the partial acts taken together amount to the same thing: Stalin's heirs can no longer sustain the lying accusations in the face of the pressure of the working people demanding an end to the hated Stalinist dictatorship.

Already in 1937, the International Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by Prof. John Dewey, declared the victims to have been Not Guilty! and the trials to have been deliberate frame-ups perpetrated to serve Stalin's political purposes. The whole series of recent measures taken in the Soviet Union only confirm — nearly 20 years after! — the justice of the Dewey Commission's verdict.

NOT ENOUGH!

And yet the tacit repudiation of the Moscow Trials is far from enough. Involved are the reputations of virtually all the Bolshevik leaders during the first

five years of the Soviet regime. The Trials marked an apogee in the slander Stalin hurled against them in the course of consolidating the anti-working class rule of the bureaucratic caste. The true history of the Revolution and the civil war, the history of the Communist International, the authentic Leninist program, the history of the Soviet Union since its creation — all these lie buried under the mountain of falsehoods capped by the infamous blood-trials.

In other developments in the Soviet Union, Anatoli Volin, President of the Soviet Supreme Court, told a group of French Socialists of new legal reforms being prepared. "Conviction by association" will soon be outlawed, he said. Punishment for failing to denounce suspects of serious crimes — in reality for failing to stool-pigeon on fellow workers and friends — will be moderated. The right of accused to counsel will be broadened. Finally, political opposition, "when not involving crimes against the state or by concrete moves against the state," will no longer be subject to criminal prosecution.

In the field of trade unions — completely bureaucratized as is

the rest of Soviet life — a May 8 Pravda editorial urged "a good wrangle" between the trade unions and industrial managements. At the same time the CP organ sharply warned against strikes.

As against the various "reform" measures — passed in an attempt to appease mass dissatisfaction — are the crack-downs on those within the party and working class labelled "rotten elements" who are really seeking to exercise the rights proclaimed by the Kremlin. To the crack-down must be added the admission by the Soviet press that over 100 people were killed when Soviet troops fired on demonstrations in Tiflis, Georgia early in March.

Despite the attempts to control the situation by threats and actual reprisals, however, there is revolutionary seething throughout the Soviet bloc. "The flood of disclosures now being made of brutality, injustice, errors, incompetence, corruption and bungling . . . has caused the most profound shock to lower-level Communists and particularly Communist youth," reports Sydney Gruson from Poland in the May 9 N. Y. Times. "Only the very top leaders are talking these

days of what socialism has achieved in Poland. Everyone else is talking of the errors."

ANTI-SEMITIC OUTRAGES

It was in Poland several weeks ago that the Jewish-language newspaper Folksstimme reported accounts of pogroms against Soviet Jews conducted by the Stalin regime. The pogroms resulted in the extermination of the flower of Soviet Jewish writers. To this day, the Kremlin remains silent about the bestial crimes.

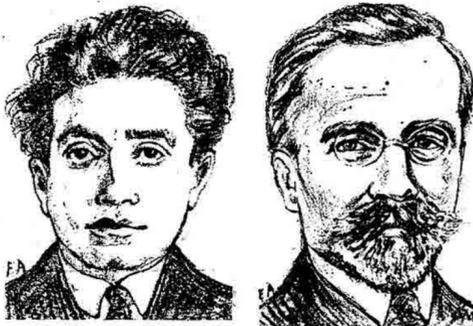
"Let me . . . confess to being shocked that confirmation of what enemies of the Soviet Union have charged for years reaches us second hand — from the Yiddish organ of the United Workers' Party of Poland — rather [than] from Moscow," writes A. B. Magill in the April 25 Daily Worker. And Z. Yachnes writes in a letter to the Stalinist Morning Freiheit, May 1, "The blame shall not be removed by as much as one hair from him, who is already dead three years. Stalin's name must bear full responsibility for the horrible crimes. He could not possibly have not known about them." And Yachnes also points an accusing finger at the present chiefs of the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS III

The Three Crucial Points of the Soviet Trials

[We publish herewith the third installment of Leon Trotsky's closing speech at the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyocan, Mexico. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher and a veteran of American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist movement and one of the men most hated by the fascist dictator, Mussolini. Otto Ruehle who stood side by side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti. The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." Leon Trotsky's speech has been reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in a pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. — Ed.]

Victims of Stalin's Blood Purges



Gregory Zinoviev (left) and Lev B. Kamenev (right), Lenin's oldest collaborators in the Bolshevik Party leadership at the time of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. They joined with Trotsky in 1926 in the struggle for workers' democracy, then capitulated to Stalin in 1927. Finally, Stalin's GPU forced them to "confess" to terrorism. They were shot following the first Moscow Trial in August 1936.

The very necessity of having to "justify" oneself against the charge of being in league with Hitler and the Mikado indicates the full depth of the reaction which today is conquering a great portion of our planet, and particularly the U.S.S.R. But none of us can leap over historically conditioned stages. I put my time and my energy at the disposal of the Commission with entire willingness. It is superfluous to remark that I have and can have no secrets from the Commission. The Commission will itself understand the necessity of being guided by caution with respect to third parties, especially subjects of fascist lands and of the Soviet Union. I am ready to answer ALL questions and to place at the disposal of the Commission all my correspondence, personal as well as political. At the same time, I think it necessary to state in advance that I do not at all regard myself as a "defendant" before the bar of public opinion. There is not even a formal basis for such a characterization. The Moscow

authorities did not indict me in a single one of the trials. And that is, of course, not accidental. To indict me they would have had to summon me before the court, or to demand my extradition. For this purpose they would have had to announce the date of the trial, and to publish the indictment at least some weeks before the opening of the court proceedings. But Moscow could not even do that far. Their whole plan was to take public opinion by surprise, and to have the Pritts and Durantys ready in advance as commentators and reporters. They could have asked my extradition only by opening the question in a French, Norwegian or Mexican court, before the eyes of the world press. But that would have meant for the Kremlin to court a cruel failure! For this very reason, the two trials were not a prosecution of myself and my son, but only a slander against us, carried out by means of a legal process, without notification, without summons, behind our backs.

in order to have the first outlines of the answer already apparent. (2) In the last trial, as in all the preceding ones, the only bases of the charges are the standardized monologues of the accused, who, repeating the thoughts and expressions of the Prosecutor, outdo one another in confessing, and invariably name me the principal organizer of the plot. How explain this fact? In his summation, Vyshinsky tries this time to justify the absence of objective proofs by the considerations that the conspirators did not have membership cards, did not keep records, etc., etc. These miserable arguments appear doubly miserable on Russian soil, where plots and trials stretch out over many decades. The conspirators write pseudo-conventional letters. But these letters can be seized during raids, and then constitute serious evidence. The conspirators quite frequently have recourse to chemical ink. But the Czarist police hundreds of times seized such letters and presented them in court. Among the plotters there are provocateurs who give the police concrete information about the progress of the plot, and make it possible to seize documents, laboratories, and even the conspirators themselves at the scene of the crime.

We find nothing like that in the trials of Stalin-Vyshinsky. Despite the five-year duration of the most grandiose of all plots, with ramifications in all parts of the country and connections across the western and eastern borders, despite the innumerable raids and seizures and even thefts of archives, the GPU has not been able to present to the

Why I think it extremely important, for the understanding of the mechanics of the confessions, to bring out the psychology of the capitulators as a political group, and to give a personal characterization of the most important defendants of the two trials. I have in mind not arbitrary psychological improvisations, constructed after the event in the interests of the defense, but objective characterizations based on unimpeachable documents which pertain to various parts of the period which interests us. I have no lack of such materials. On the contrary, my dossiers are bursting with facts and citations. That is why I choose one example — the clearest and most typical, namely: Radek.

Already on June 14th, 1929, I wrote of the influence exerted by the powerful Thermidorian tendencies on the Opposition itself: "... We have seen by a whole series of examples how old Bolsheviks, striving to preserve themselves and the traditions of the Party, tended with all their strength to go with the Opposition; some until 1925, others until 1927, and yet others until 1929. But in the long run, they did not hold out; their nerves gave way. Radek is now the most headlong and vociferous ideologue of the elements of

this type." (Bulletin of the Opposition, Nos. 1-2, July, 1929.) It was none other than Radek who in the last trial provided the "philosophy" for the "criminal activities" of the "Trotskyites." According to the testimony of many foreign journalists, Radek's testimony seemed in the trial to be the least artificial, the least constructed on a model, the most deserving of confidence. All the more important is it to demonstrate by this example that on the defendants' bench sat not the real Radek, as nature and his political past made him, but a "robot" out of the laboratory of the GPU.

If I succeed in demonstrating this with full conviction, then the role of the others accused in these trials will also be clarified to a considerable extent. That I discard the clarification of each separate personality. On the contrary, I hope that the Commission will give me the opportunity to carry out this task at the next stage of its work. But now, because of the limitations imposed by time I am obliged to concentrate attention only on the most important circumstances and the most typical figures. The work of the Commission, I hope, will only gain thereby.

lute incontestability that what is involved is not an underground Trotskyite conspiracy first unearthed in some startling manner in 1936, but a systematic conspiracy of the GPU against the Opposition, with the aim of impugning to it sabotage, espionage, assassinations and the preparation of insurrections. (7) All the "recantations" extorted from tens of thousands of Oppositionists since 1924, contained by compulsion a barb directed at me. All who wished to re-enter the Party, the exiles wrote in the Bulletin of the Opposition (No. 7, Nov.-Dec., 1929), were ordered to "give us Trotsky's head." In conformity with the previously indicated law of the mathematical series, the threads of all the crimes of terrorism, treason and sabotage, in the trials of 1936-1937, lead invariably to me and my son. But our entire activity during the past eight years was, as is well known, carried on abroad.

Here the Commission enjoys, as we have already seen, a great advantage. The GPU abroad had no approach to me, since I was always surrounded by a circle of devoted friends. On November 7th, 1936, the GPU stole a portion of my archives in Paris, but until now they have been unable to make any use of them. The Commission has at its disposal all my archives, the testimonies of my friends and acquaintances, not to speak of my own depositions. The Commission is in a position to compare my private correspondence with my articles and books, and in this way determine whether my activity bears the slightest tinge of double-dealing. (8) But that is not all. The directives of the conspiracy allegedly came from abroad (France, Copenhagen, Norway).

Thanks to an unusually fortunate combination of circumstances, the Commission has full opportunity to determine whether any of the alleged conspirators — Holtzman, Burman-Yurin, Fritz David, Vladimir Romm and Pyatkov — did visit me at the specified times and places. While the Moscow court has not lifted a finger to prove (by questions regarding passports, visas, hotels, etc.) that these meetings and interviews really did take place we are able here to solve a much more difficult problem: To prove with documents, depositions of witnesses, circumstances of time and place, that these meetings and interviews did not and could not have taken place. To employ legal terminology — I am able in all important instances, where exact dates are given, to establish an unshakable alibi.

(9) If the criminal is not mentally deranged, but a responsible person and even an old and experienced politician, then his crime, however monstrous it may be, must fit in closely with his specific aims. Yet in the Moscow trials there is no such concordance of aims and methods. The state Prosecutor at different trials, ascribes different aims to the very same defendants (now a naked "struggle for power" under the Soviet regime, now a struggle for the "restoration of capitalism"). In this question, likewise, defendants docilely take their cue from the prosecution. The methods to which the defendants resort are absurd from the standpoint of their supposed aims; certainly, they appear to be specially created to furnish the bureaucracy with the best possible pretext for exterminating every kind of opposition.

Who Are the Criminals?

The verdict of the latest trial states that Trotsky and Sedov "having been convicted... of personally directing the treacherous activities... in the event of their being discovered on the territory of the USSR, are liable to immediate arrest and trial." I leave aside the question of the technical means by which Stalin hopes to "discover" me and my son on Soviet territory (apparently by means of the same technique which permitted the GPU, on the night of November 7th, 1936, to "discover" a part of my archives in a historical institute in Paris and to transport them in substantial diplomatic valises to Moscow). The fact which, above all others, commands attention is that the verdict, after declaring us "convicted," although we have not been indicted and examined, promises to deliver us to the court for trial, in the event of our being discovered. In this way I and my son have already been "convicted" but not yet tried. The object of this nonsensical but not accidental formulation is to arm the GPU with the possibility of shooting us upon "discovery," without any judicial procedure whatsoever. Stalin does not permit himself the luxury of a public arraignment of us, even in the USSR!

which side of the dividing line are the criminals. If one accepts the view that the real criminals are the organizers of the Moscow trials—and that is the opinion of wide and growing circles—can one then permit them to set themselves up as judges of their own case? Just because of this the Commission of Inquiry stands above both parties. The territory covered by the Moscow trials is immense. If I assumed the task of refuting before you all the false accusations directed against me, if only those contained in the official reports of the two most important Moscow trials, I would be forced to take up too much time. It is sufficient to recall that my name is met on almost every page, and more than once, I hope that I shall have the opportunity to speak more fully before the entire Commission. Now I am forced to impose severe limitations upon myself. For the time being, I am compelled to leave aside a whole series of questions, each of importance for the refutation of the charges. For a series of other questions, still more important, I must confine myself to a short resume, noting only the general outline of the conclusions which I hope to present in the future to the Commission. On the other hand, I will attempt to bring out the crucial points of the Soviet trials, principled as well as empiric in nature, and to clarify them as much as possible. These crucial points lie on three planes:

Too Much for Shakespeare

The number of instances in which the testimony of the accused — their denunciations of themselves and others — falls to pieces when confronted with the facts, is very large. That has already been made sufficiently apparent here during the inquiry. The experience of the Moscow trials shows that a frame-up on such a colossal scale is too much even for the most powerful police apparatus in the world. There are too many people and circumstances, characteristics and dates, interests and documents, which do not fit into the framework of a ready-made libretto! The calendar stubbornly maintains its prerogatives, and the seasons of Norway do not bow even before Vyshinsky. If one approaches the question in its artistic aspect, such a task—the dramatic concordance of hundreds of people and innumerable circumstances—would have been too much even for Shakespeare. But the GPU does not have Shakespeare at its beck and call. In so far as it is a question of "events" in the USSR, the external semblance of concordance is maintained by inquisitorial violence. All—the defendants, the witnesses and the experts—chorus their confirmation of materially impossible facts. But the situation changes abruptly when it is necessary to extend the threads abroad. Yet, without threads abroad, leading to me, "Public Enemy Number One," the trials would lose most of their political importance. That is why the GPU was forced to risk dangerous and most unfortunate combinations with Holtzman, Olberg, David, Burman-Yurin, Romm, and Pyatkov. The choice of objects for analysis and refutation thus unfolds by itself from the "facts" which the accusation alleges against me and my son. Thus, the refutation of Holtzman's assertion about his visit to me in Copenhagen, the refutation of

Mathematical Series of Frame-Ups

(1) It can be unimpeachably established, on the basis of official sources, that the preparations for the assassination of Kirov were made with the knowledge of the GPU. The head of the Leningrad section of the GPU, Medved, and eleven other GPU agents, were sentenced to prison because "They possessed information concerning the preparations for the attempt on S. M. Kirov... and failed to take the necessary measures." One should imagine that the police agents who "knew" ought to have figured as witnesses at all the subsequent trials. But we never hear again of Medved and his collaborators; they "knew" too much. The Kirov assassination serves as the basis of all the subsequent trials. Yet at the basis of the Kirov assassination lies a colossal provocation of the GPU, attested to by the verdict of the military court on December 29th, 1934. The task of the organizers of the provocation consisted in implicating the Opposition and especially myself, in a terrorist deed (through the medium of the Latvian consul Bissenec, an agent provocateur employed by the GPU who has likewise vanished without leaving a trace). The bullet fired by Nikolayev was hardly part of the program, but rather one of the incidental costs of the amalgam. This question was analyzed in my pamphlet, "The Kirov Assassination and the Stalin Bureaucracy," written at the beginning of 1935. Neither the Soviet authorities nor their foreign agents even attempted to answer my arguments, which were based exclusively on official Moscow documents. (2) As we have proved before the Commission, seven trials took place in the USSR, with the Kirov assassination as their starting point: (a) the trial of Nikolayev et al, December 28-29th, 1934; (b) the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, January 15-16th, 1935; (c) the trial of Medved et al, January 23d, 1935; (d) the trial of Kamenev et al,

Five Conclusion

The conclusions which flow from the initial stages of this investigation are, in my opinion, the following: (1) Despite long years of struggle against the Opposition, despite tens of thousands of raids, arrests, banishments, imprisonments, and hundreds of executions, the Soviet judicial authorities do not have at their disposal even a single substantial fact, not a shred of material proof, to confirm the truth of the accusations. This fact constitutes the most damning evidence against Stalin. (2) Even if we concede for sake of argument that all or some of the defendants really committed the monstrous crimes attributed to them, their stereotyped references to me as the principal organizer of the plot do not carry any weight. Moral degenerates capable of preparing railroad wrecks, poisoning workers, entering into relations with the Gestapo, etc., would naturally have attempted to ingratiate themselves with the bureaucracy by means of standardized slanders against its principal adversary. (3) The testimony of the defen-

Who Profits?

(1) The foreign apologists of the GPU monotonously repeat the selfsame argument: It is impossible to admit that responsible veteran politicians accused themselves of crimes they had never committed. But these gentlemen obstinately refused to apply the same commonsense criterion not to the confessions, but to the crimes themselves. Yet it is much more appropriate to the latter. My point of departure is that the accused were responsible individuals—that is, normal—and consequently could not knowingly carry out absurd crimes directed against their ideas, their whole past, and their present interests. In planning a crime, each of the accused had what from the juridical point of view can be called freedom of choice. He could commit the crime, or refrain from doing so. He considered whether the crime was expedient, whether it corresponded to his aims, whether the means employed were reasonable, etc.—in a word, he behaved as a free and responsible person. The situation, however, changes radically when the real or pretended criminal falls into the hands of the GPU, for whom, because of political reasons, it is necessary at all costs to obtain certain testimony. Here the

Warnings and Predictions

(4) As far back as 1926, the Stalin clique tried to charge various oppositional groups with "anti-Soviet" propaganda, connections with White Guards, capitalist tendencies, espionage, terrorist aims, and, finally, the preparation of armed insurrection. All these attempts, which are akin to rough drafts, have left their traces in official decrees, in newspaper articles, in documents of the Opposition. If we were to arrange chronologically these rough drafts of and experiments in frame-up, we would obtain something in the nature of a geometric progression of false accusations, whose end terms are the indictments in the last trials. Thus we uncover the "law of frame-ups" and the mystery of the alleged Trotskyite conspiracy vanishes into thin air. (5) It is the same with the improbable declarations of the defendants, which at first sight contradict all the laws of human psychology. Ritualistic recantations on the part of Oppositionists date back to 1924, and especially the end of 1927. If we collate the texts of these recantations on the basis of the leading Soviet press — often consecutive recantations made by

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Monday, May 14, 1956

Where is Khrushchev's Speech?

Ten weeks have elapsed since Nikita S. Khrushchev, head of the Russian Communist Party, made a secret speech to a closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP in Moscow.

Ten weeks have elapsed but the speech has not yet been made public. The N. Y. Times carried a report of the speech on March 16. It had been siphoned through "diplomatic" channels which is journalistic for the U. S. State Department.

Ten weeks have elapsed in which the Stalinist parties in every part of the globe have been jolted by the shocking revelations which came as an aftermath of the Khrushchev speech.

Khrushchev made his secret speech the

evening of Feb. 24. It is obvious that the American State Department was given a copy of the speech. The "Russian expert" of the Christian Science Monitor reports that Tito has a full text of the speech.

In the meantime the discussion within the Soviet Union was giving the bureaucrats cause for alarm. Editorials began to appear in the Soviet press bristling with epithets directed against "rotten elements" seeking to take advantage of the "free discussion" to question the Kremlin's political line.

And all of this is palmed off as a return to Leninism. It would be in the interest of political hygiene if some "rotten elements" in the American Communist Party began asking a few questions about what kind of a discussion is it where the main document remains the secret property of the Stalinist leaders and high capitalist circles.

"American Labor Statesmen"

The two top "labor statesmen" in this country, George Meany and Walter Reuther, recently engaged in a verbal duel over what attitude American labor should adopt toward Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India.

According to news reports, the Meany-Reuther argument at the AFL-CIO executive council meeting "reached such a pitch that one member said, 'it made the battle between Meany and Beck look like a molehill.'"

In the field of foreign policy, both Reuther and Meany function as agents of the American State Department. Meany was a little slow in catching up to modifications of American foreign policy due to recent international developments.

The Morton Sobell Case

As popular revulsion for the witch hunt grows, more questions are being raised about the 1951 trial of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell.

The Rosenbergs were hurried off to the electric chair in response to the McCarthy hysteria of the period. But Morton Sobell, who has steadfastly proclaimed his innocence from the first, is serving a 30-year sentence in the Devil's Island of the U.S. prison system — Alcatraz.

Sobell has been subjected to unusually cruel treatment by the prison authorities. He has been put in the prison reserved for the most violent prisoners even though he has no record of violent acts.

Recently the famous English philosopher and scientist, Bertrand Russell, publicly proclaimed his belief in Sobell's

last December was made during the visit to India of Khrushchev and Bulganin. Their warm reception by government officials and the tremendous crowds that turned out to hear them alarmed the "cold war" practitioners in Washington.

Instead of intimidating Nehru, Meany only succeeded in inflaming the antagonism of the Indian masses who want no part of American imperialist war policy in Asia. Nehru is bitterly opposed to communism in India.

The offer of economic aid from the Soviet Union threw the American State Department into a dither. They began talking about economic aid "with no strings attached." So "hard cop" Meany was shunted aside and "soft cop" Reuther was pushed to the fore.

innocence, accused the FBI of having framed him and called for a new trial. In a crude attempt to answer Russell, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee produced two witnesses from the original trial at a public hearing.

History has provided enough examples of frame-ups to make the re-opening of the most celebrated case of the McCarthy era an elementary demand.

History has provided enough examples of frame-ups to make the re-opening of the most celebrated case of the McCarthy era an elementary demand. One has only to recall the Dreyfus frame-up to realize the possible parallel.

Elementary decency and justice require that Morton Sobell be removed from Alcatraz to an ordinary federal prison nearest his family and that the Department of Justice stop its frenzied opposition to the motion of Sobell's attorneys now before the federal courts for a new trial.

An Important Book on the Negro Struggle

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. Grange Publications: London, 1956. 192 pp. \$1.50. American Distributor: G. L. Weissman, 325 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

By George Lavan

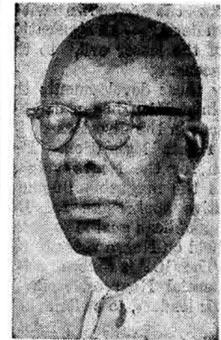
American workers owe Frenchman Daniel Guerin a vote of thanks for this remarkably comprehensive and penetrating study of the Negro struggle in the United States.

Guérin is a militant socialist and a scholar of note. Some American readers know the quality of his work from his book, "Fascism and Big Business," that appeared in this country in the 1930's and still remains the best book on the subject.

Reviewed by COURIER. Even before its translation into English Guerin's analysis of the Negro struggle in this country drew the attention of American scholars.

The article continues: "His impressive bibliography reveals that he has read voluminously on the subject; in fact, his is certainly the most thoroughly documented account written by a Frenchman."

A Militant Leader



E. D. NIXON, prominent leader of the Montgomery bus protest movement, was interviewed by Daniel Guerin in 1948 when the author was gathering material for his book: "Negroes on the March."

As his record in the French labor and anti-imperialist movements attests, Guerin is no compromiser. He begins this book with a devastating criticism of a sacred cow — the encyclopaedic survey commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation and directed by Gunnar Myrdal known by the title, An American Dilemma.

demonstrated by the fact that before publishing his criticisms of Myrdal's work he journeyed to Switzerland to interview Myrdal and inquire whether the omissions of An American Dilemma might not be the sociologist's fault but the result of pressure from the Carnegie Foundation.

In addition to tracing the historical origin of Jim Crow, describing its ugly features in contemporary America and measuring the rate of progress in the fight against it, Guerin takes up the basic problems of the Negro struggle. He examines the theoretical questions involved in separation (or nationalism) and integration.

One cannot help but be struck with Guerin's indefatigable pursuit of evidence on which to arrive at his conclusions. Throughout the book he makes points by referring to what he saw at union meetings in the South — of longshoremen, machinists, etc., etc.

Guérin's scrupulous approach is demonstrated by the fact that before publishing his criticisms of Myrdal's work he journeyed to Switzerland to interview Myrdal and inquire whether the omissions of An American Dilemma might not be the sociologist's fault but the result of pressure from the Carnegie Foundation.

have carried protests against attempts to interfere with his search for the facts as far as Southern State houses.

This book appeared as part of a larger work on America in a French edition in 1951. Parts of it were serialized in a Paris newspaper, Souff. thereafter the Pittsburgh Courier carried a series of excerpts in translation.

The powerful French Stalinist movement on the other hand attacked the book because Guerin had objectively but unsparingly traced the history of the American Communist Party's opportunistic policy on this all-important struggle.

For its English translation Guerin revised the book to bring it up to date on events which had transpired since its original writing. He also added a new introduction addressed to the American reader.

Negroes On The March is a full-scale Marxist analysis and as such is an invaluable tool for all class-conscious American workers. They should add it to their libraries. And all serious participants in the Negro struggle are obligated to read this book and compare what it says and proposes with the writings of liberals, Stalinists, humanitarians, etc., on the subject.

British Dockers Win Fight for Own Union ... Labor Party Needed

(Continued from page 1) Negro people would have the letter of the law on their side in the battles against segregation.

By John White

LONDON, May 4 — By their own determination, solidarity and courage thousands of British port-workers have established their right to belong to a union of their own choice and have made a tremendous stride towards a militant national portworkers union.

On July 6, 1955, 10,000 dockers in the ports of Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester and Hull, were expelled from the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union (NASD) by order of the top circle of British trade union bosses.

In accordance with that order, the main Executive Committee of the NASD (a committee on which the Northern dockers were not represented) dispatched a letter to the secretaries of the Northern branches, curtly informing them that their members were outside the union.

Nine months later, another letter has now been received by these secretaries. This informs them that the expulsion has been rescinded. The dockers of the North are back in the union and a smashing victory for militant trade unionism in Britain has been registered.

Readers of the Militant, who have followed reports from Britain over the past 18 months, will remember how these dockers broke out of the bureaucratic prison house of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and joined the NASD — or "blue" union as it is called by trade unionists here.

Over a period of six months, at the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955, 10,000 dockers left the TGWU and joined the "Blue" union.

The mass walk-out from the TGWU aroused violent protests from the trade union bureaucracy. Accusing the NASD leadership of "pouching," they threatened reprisals, alleging violation of the "Bridlington Agreement" — drawn up by the trade union leaders before the war to protect the monopoly and spheres of influence of the big unions in certain industries.

A united front of employers and trade union bosses resisted the recognition of negotiating rights for the "Blue" union in the Northern ports. The NASD was forced to take strike action in the spring of last year in an attempt to secure that recognition.

After six weeks of strike, the Northern dockers went back with their objective still unachieved. They had fought on against an array of enemies and treachery, both within and without the labor movement, it would be hard to equal. They were forced to return to work, beating a temporary retreat, and maintaining their forces intact, as solid as

fielddom have failed to launch an effective counter-offensive.

Every Deep South state has made legislative preparations to delay interminably and evade enforcement of desegregation in the event the federal district courts attempt to put some teeth into the high court's implementation ruling.

Then began a struggle in a great many ways harder and more difficult than the six weeks' strike, a constant, slugging fight to maintain the organization, while seeking to establish membership rights legally, through a test case in the courts.

For the leadership and the hard core of militants on the docks there was no let-up in the struggle to preserve morale, while legal proceedings took their tortuous course.

But the militant movements on the docks had tapped the immense capacity for organization, loyalty and sacrifice of the working class. It survived intact. Unrecognized by the employers, forced to avoid provocations and sectional disputes to preserve its forces, it was nevertheless capable of giving the employers an occasional shamp reminder when they sought to take advantage of the situation.

Finally, in March, 1956, in a Liverpool court, crowded with dockers, judgment was given, and the expulsion of the Liverpool dockers whose case had been fought as a test, was declared to be void.

The Northern men had won a decisive round in their struggle for a democratic militant union. They had struck a blow that shook the trade union bureaucracy.

But it was not the arguments of the law-men which won victory. The trade union leadership, certainly, had no great confidence in the legality of the expulsions. They hoped only to wear the militant movement down. The victory was a tribute to the strength and firmness of working men with a militant idea and a leadership able to harness it.

"Oh, yes, I'm certain the men will return to the Transport and General," a representative of the Trade Union General Council is reported to have said to a Northern dockers' spokesman last July. This dockers had heededly warned him that the 10,000 workers would not be consigned back to the TGWU like so many meek cattle.

But the bureaucrat was neither able nor willing to understand the feelings of the men on the waterfront. For him the problem was solved by a decree from above. The sacrifice and solidarity of working men, however, proved more powerful than the bureaucratic machine.

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"You're smashing the trade union movement," he fumed. "Back came the answer. 'Your type of movement.'"

Back came the answer. "Your type of movement."

The Negro Struggle

By Tom Kerry

The Negro Vote and The 1956 Election

Every four years the Negro vote becomes an object of intense concern to the capitalist politicians who head the Democratic and Republican parties. In between national presidential elections they view the "Negro question" as a sectional problem. But due to the great migration from the South to industrial areas of the North and West, the Negro vote has become an important factor in national politics. In a number of key states the Negro vote constitutes a balance of power. In a close election it can be decisive. It is this fact that has kept the capitalist politicians awake nights figuring how to garner the Negro vote — by hook or crook.

Since 1936 a majority of the Negro voters in the North and West supported the Democrats. They constituted an important part of the Labor-Democratic coalition which kept the Democrats in power for 20 years. In their majority they voted for Stevenson against Eisenhower in 1952. It is not so much that they retained many illusions about the Demo-Dixiecrat party but hoped through their alliance with the labor movement to wring from the Democrats significant concessions in the fight for civil rights. These hopes have been repeatedly dashed against the hard reality — the role of the Demo-Dixiecrat party as the political bulwark of the Jim Crow system.

The recent primaries disclosed a marked shift in the Negro vote. The nation-wide mass protest meetings around the lynch-murder of Emmett Till, the Autherine Lucy case, the Montgomery bus protest movement, were characterized by explosive resentment against the political party directly responsible for the outrages. Adam Clayton Powell, a sensitive barometer of the mood of the Negro people, even went so far as to threaten the formation of a "Third Party." Roy Wilkins, head

of the NAACP, was indiscreet enough to tell a mass meeting that it may be necessary to "support the unknown witch against the known devil," — an application of the "theory of the lesser evil," to the current political scene.

Encouraged by these developments the Eisenhower administration began making demagogic gestures in the direction of introducing civil rights legislation. "Political competition for the Negro vote is mounting," notes the magazine Business Week, authoritative spokesman for Big Business. "The Republican goal is to break the Democratic hold on Negro votes in the industrial areas. The GOP is concentrating on getting influential Negroes, such as ministers and civic leaders, to switch their registration."

The two-party system is a political shell-game. You can't win for losing. Big Business controls both parties. From the end of the civil war through 1932 the Negroes in their majority voted Republican. For most of the period the Republicans were the majority party. Northern capital joined with the Southern plantocracy to keep the Negro in bondage. It is no different today.

An appreciation of these facts has led W. E. B. DuBois, one of the more politically conscious Negro leaders, to advocate a boycott of the election as a protest against the virtual monopoly exercised by the twin political pillars of the Jim Crow system. A protest boycott would be valid if there were no other alternative. But there is. The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president, stand foursquare, in both word and deed, for the end of Jim Crow in all spheres of American life — economic, political and social. A vote for Dobbs and Weiss is the best expression in this election of the determination to carry the fight for equality through to the end.

"Young and The Damned"

By Don Barry

"The Young and the Damned" is a movie that tells a story about some juvenile delinquents in Mexico City. Like the Italian movie "Rome: 11 O'clock" it shows tragedy and poses this question: who is to blame?

In the picture a social worker says, "Sometimes we feel that the parents should be punished for lack of love and warmth." The mother replies, "I scrub floors all day to pay for their food."

Some of the workers in the picture seem to be starting early in life, about the age of six. Over them stands a boss who shouts, "You'll rest when you're dead!" After 30 years of this they don't seem to have much love and warmth left in them. In old age they become beggars and drunks.

The movie, which was produced in Mexico City, admits it "gives no solution. It leaves it to the progressive forces of our times."

Little Pedro is about ten years old. He has no father. He doesn't go to school. He has to choose between working and stealing. The kids see the Cadillacs of the rich and they know the owners didn't get their money by sweating for it.

Pedro has a record of staying away from home, so his mother turns her back on him and tries to give a good start in life to the three smaller children. But what have they to look forward to except poverty and dirt?

Pedro tries working but he is suspected of stealing, and his mother tells the police to take him.

Still, in all this slime of degradation, the

children are very human. Pedro can't ask his mother to love him but he dreams she does. He dreams that there is food in the house, and love and peace. His mind doesn't bother to dream up a new house. His dream is about the same rat hole, but even his small dream never comes true.

Animals are the only friends that Pedro trusts. When his mother is annoyed by the sound of roosters fighting she takes a broom and strikes them repeatedly. Pedro cries, "Enough! Enough!" then throws himself on the bed and cries hysterically.

When Pedro is sent by the police to a corrective farm he is assigned to the chicken yard. He gets into a fight and the other boys lock him in the yard. Then he vents his hatred on two chickens. The directors say, "You wanted to kill us but you couldn't so you killed the chickens."

Then they give him money and ask him to go out and get cigarettes for them and bring back the change. He is thrilled and starts out to prove that he can be trusted. His gang leader, Jaibo (about 17 years old), sees him outside the farm. Jaibo grabs the money and runs. Later they meet again and Jaibo kills Pedro and is shot by police.

It would be easy to blame Jaibo for Pedro's troubles, but Jaibo is only what Pedro could have become. The little that Jaibo tells of his beginnings makes it obvious that his troubles started at an even more tender age than Pedro's. Pedro and Jaibo are but two of the many characters. Each one starts out in life with a spark of human creativeness that glows and flickers, and then goes out.

THE MILITANT

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"They really ought to be glad to get laid off it gives them a nice long vacation after working so hard to build all those new cars."

"Subversive List" Seen As Witch Hunt Keystone

By George Lavan

As more voices are raised in criticism of government witch hunt there was evident a tendency on the part of government officials to modify the procedures in order to lessen the criticisms without in any measure giving ground on the basic structure of the witch hunt itself.

An important attack on the very cornerstone of political repression in the U.S. — the Attorney General's "subversive" list — was made on May 8 by a committee of the District of Columbia Bar Association. This chapter of the Bar Association has particular authority because of the large percentage of members practicing before federal courts. The committee recommended an investigation of the Attorney General's list on the grounds that recent court decisions indicated that membership in the proscribed organizations was by itself "an incompetent and arbitrary basis for denial by a state or federal government agency of any right or privilege."

"AMERICAN TRAGEDY"

Another attack on the "subversive" list received wide publicity. It was made in a speech of Harry P. Cain, maverick member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, before the Jewish Labor Committee's conference on civil rights in New York. Cain declared the "loyalty" purge based on the "subversive" list and denial of due process to its victims was an "American tragedy."

Still having repercussions was the Supreme Court's refusal to rule on the constitutionality of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. This 6-3 decision was a blow to the Subversive Activities Control Board though only on procedural grounds.

This was the SACB's first completed case — a finding against the Communist Party and an order that it must register its members. Although three of its chief witnesses, Harvey Matusow, Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson, were shown to be of doubtful veracity, the SACB refused the Communist Party a rehearing to prove these three had committed perjury.

The Supreme Court declared it would not render judgment on a court record unless it was certain there was no "tainted" evidence in it. This gave the SACB the alternatives of striking the suspect testimony from the hearing record or allowing the Communist Party a chance to prove the three professional informers to be perjurers. In either event the final decision on the police-state McCarran Act is deferred for some time, possibly as long as several years.

In recognition of this the SACB suspended all other cases on its docket. Among these were proceedings against the Mine Mill and Smelter union, the National Lawyers Guild and the National Negro Labor Council, which had announced that it would disband as of April 30, the day it was due to be tried by the SACB.

The Atomic Energy Commission on May 9 announced a new set of "loyalty" regulations. Publicized as making things fairer for victimized employees, the new procedure still does not permit the accused to confront and cross-examine the accusers. Rather it provides for secret examination of witnesses by board members. In addition an "impartial" counsel is to conduct the questioning with

instructions "to avoid the attitude of a prosecutor."

On the other side of the ledger the witch hunters are extending their attacks on civil liberties. The Social Security Administration, for example, withdrew survivors' pension benefits from the children of a deceased ex-Communist. Ironically the one-time Communist Party employee, George Hewitt, had subsequently become an informer for the government. Nonetheless the witch hunters are determined to cheat the Hewitt children of their tiny income. Social security pensions of Jacob Mindel and other retired CP employees had previously been stopped.

The police-staters are also stepping up Smith Act cases. In New York the trial of seven secondary CP leaders is underway with the usual "evidence" of

books. Professional witness John Lautner, who has testified at 16 trials, agreed that he had never in his life had it so good financially. He admitted under cross-examination to receiving in the past five years over \$22,000 from the Department of Justice for his services.

In Massachusetts Judge Francis W. Ford rebuked the Department of Justice by postponing the Smith Act membership trial of Michael Russo since the Supreme Court has announced that it will review the legality of the membership convictions of Claude Lightfoot and Junius Seales. This is just the opposite of what happened in the Buffalo trial of John Noto, who was tried and convicted despite the high court's announcement that it would rule on the Lightfoot case.

Detroit Sends Station Wagon to Montgomery

DETROIT, May 5 — A project in this city to mobilize aid for the Montgomery bus boycott movement was successfully completed this week when a 1951 eight-seat station wagon was delivered to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

The project was initiated a month ago, on April 6, when Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, gave the Friday Night Socialist Forum a stirring report on the trial of Rev. M. L. King and his impressions of the significance and needs of the Montgomery protest movement.

The audience was so impressed that right then and there it set up a Detroit Committee to Send a Station Wagon to the Montgomery Car Pool. Within a day or two the committee was busy raising funds.

The response was excellent, showing a widespread desire among Detroiters, both white and colored, to demonstrate in a practical way their solidarity with the Montgomery fighters against segregation.

"LONGEST PICKET LINE"

Within a period of about two weeks approximately 600 people made contributions to the committee, ranging from 10 cents to \$10. A second-hand station wagon, in good shape, was purchased for the Montgomery car pool which, as Dobbs had put it, is conducting "the longest picket line in the world."

In keeping with the committee's promise, notices were mailed to all contributors informing them where the station wagon was on display for their inspection before it departed for Montgomery, and where they could get a complete financial report of the committee.

The station wagon was delivered in Montgomery this week. Also turned over to the Montgomery Improvement Association was a donation of \$90, raised above and beyond the sum needed to buy, reconition and deliver the station wagon.

The committee representative who delivered the vehicle reported back to the Friday Night Socialist Forum last night, with a written message from the MIA expressing thanks for the gift and promising to make use of it in the spirit in which it was given.

The morale of the Montgomery movement remained high and that what he saw confirmed the vow that he had made not to go back on Jim Crow buses. He also called for renewed efforts by Detroit union members to get the labor movement here to use its resources to extend aid to Montgomery on the scale that is merited by the importance of the issue, and that no small group can muster by itself.

Twin City Forum Rallies Union Aid For Bus Protest

MINNEAPOLIS, May 4 — "Labor should come out and take the front seat in the struggle of the Negroes of Montgomery against segregation," declared union spokesman Harry Brazelton at a meeting of the Twin Cities Labor Forum held here tonight to aid the Montgomery bus protest movement.

"With manufacturers moving South because of cheap labor, all laboring people will suffer if segregation is permitted to continue," explained Brazelton, who is Secretary of the United Packinghouse Workers of America Area Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Other speakers were: Jean Brust, Chairman of the Twin Cities Labor Forum Committee; Frank Boyd, member of the National Executive Committee of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Employees; Herman Bradford, Vice-President of the Minneapolis NAACP Youth Council, and Dorothy Schultz, a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

A collection was taken at the meeting to support the car pool of the Montgomery Improvement Association and a resolution was adopted urging all those present to go to their unions and other organizations to rally moral and financial support for the Montgomery freedom fighters.

British Strike Hits Automation Layoffs in Auto

By Della Rossa

According to all press reports, the militant reaction of British auto workers to the introduction of automation on a profits-first basis has become a national issue, touched off by a strike at the Standard Motor Co. at Coventry. Walkout of the 11,000 auto workers at Standard Motor began April 26 to protest a proposed four-month shutdown to install automatic controls at the 300-acre plant.

The strike is not against automation, which could lighten the burden of workers. It is against the suffering that comes with the callous way it is being introduced.

Strikers demand that all workers be retained on a short-week basis. This proposal was rejected by Alick S. Dick, managing director of the Standard Motor Co., with the comment, "We can't carry people for fun."

Even without official sanction from the powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union, shop stewards from Standard sent out squads to 16 other large industrial towns to collect strike funds for a national campaign, persuade dockers not to handle Standard's cars or tractors, and get clauses adopted throughout British industry against automation layoffs.

WINNING SUPPORT

Support of the strikers at Standard has come from shop stewards of Britain's major automotive factories, who recommended an industry-wide voluntary assessment from the 200,000 union members.

The Christian Science Monitor compares the current "automation war" with the Luddite movement which began in Nottingham around 1811. The introduction of power machinery in

the First Industrial Revolution left millions of workers without jobs. They roamed England as paupers, angry and helpless, venting their rage on the new machines.

But the current movement against the dislocations of automation, in what has been called the "Second Industrial Revolution," has a different character. Union workers are not resisting better industrial techniques. They are using their organized power to prevent the capitalists from utilizing automation as a means for more intensive exploitation of the workers and the creation of a huge army of unemployed.

Rank-and-file British auto workers face some of the same problems faced by the American auto workers. American as well as British workers must conduct their struggle against the profit greed of the bosses not without the help of the union bureaucrats but often in fierce conflict with them. That's why workers in the U. S. will feel a keen sympathy for this militant struggle of the British auto workers.

The answer to automation, speedup and layoffs in the U.S., from such unions as Ford Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers, and just recently from a Linden, New Jersey, GM local (see page one), has been the demand for shorter hours at the same pay, such as the call for 30-hours work for 40-hours pay. Big Business, however, will not grant such a demand without a bitter struggle.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Recent reports from the various parts of the country have been reflected by the work done with the two main issues. The Militant has been concentrating upon: the world crisis of Stalinism and the civil rights fight in the U.S.

John Collins wrote from Detroit: "We want to report that at an NAACP rally at which E. D. Nixon of Montgomery spoke, Edie Green, Stevey Marshall, Edith Black and Bertha Bell here on a visit, sold 56 copies of The Militant and 17 Bohannon pamphlets. We are all now busily engaged raising money for a station wagon for the Montgomery car pool."

From San Francisco: "We have really been doing great on our Militant sales" says Ruth Aaron. "This weekend we sold 130 papers during a street sale. We found that the paper practically sold itself and everyone we met had a very friendly attitude. Many people came up to me and said they had gotten the paper before, enjoyed it and hoped to see us more often. The top salesmen were Frank Barbara who sold 50 Militants and E. Harris with a sale of 25."

A friend in Canada: "Enclosed is my renewal to the Militant — sorry to be a couple of weeks late. Several of us here look forward to the arrival of our paper. The news of the last few weeks: Stalin, Montgomery, Ceylon portend a rising tide. I would like to suggest inclusion of short paragraphs such as highlighted the "Appeal to Reason" in bygone days, something we may quote from memory on the job — the answers a lot of people will be looking for. Let us know early if any national broadcast time is obtained. We want to hear Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss."

An urgent appeal from Richard Clausen in St. Louis: "If you have them to spare, please send me some copies of the March 26 Militant. I need them because of Cannon's article on the Stalin cult. Over the years I have gotten out of the habit of talking about the Russian bureaucracy, but workers bring it up themselves now."

Helen Baker of Seattle tells us: "Last Wednesday evening Ann Martin and I distributed The Militant to some Stalinists. The reactions were mixed. We got only one violent, No! . . . Six people came to our last two affairs from my regular Saturday route"

John Tabor turned in a batch of subs from New York and these remarks: "Not only have our newsstand sales increased as a result of our articles on the death of the Stalin cult and the coverage of the Montgomery issues, but we have added more stands as well. Some of the new stands are in Brooklyn. Four thousand Militants reached readers at the Stalinist May Day meeting in Union Square. The paper was accepted and a few discussions resulted. At a Monthly Review meeting 250 copies of the March 26 issue with Cannon's speech were well received. One immediate result: a woman came in the next day, bought \$2.25 worth of literature and remarked that she likes the paper very much and had never known that a party like ours existed."

Tabor also reports, "There has been consistent coverage of the classes at the Jefferson School. People have been reading the paper openly in the lobby of the school. I noticed two women discussing the editorial on the Daily Worker and the article on the Smith Act and 18 Trotskyists imprisoned under it. One young man, in answer to the question why he was taking the Militant said: "Why, everybody is reading it."

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Staff writer of the Militant
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