

**IN THE MILITANT**  
**"The Khrushchey Revelations"**  
**By JAMES P. CANNON**



# STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM - By Leon Trotsky

## Bolshevik Traditions and Fourth International

[We publish below the concluding installment of the brilliant polemic written by Leon Trotsky in answer to those who sought to equate counter-revolutionary Stalinism with the revolutionary ideas and program of Russian Bolshevism. Written in 1937, during the period of the Spanish Civil War, the pamphlet entitled: Stalinism and Bolshevism — Concerning the Historical Roots of the Fourth International, was published by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

The arguments of the rationalists assume at times, at least in their outer form, a more concrete character. They do not deduce Stalinism from Bolshevism as a whole but from its political sins. The Bolshevik — according to Gorter, Fannekoek, certain German "Spartakists" and others — replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the party; Stalin replaced the dictatorship of the party with the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. The Bolsheviks destroyed all parties but their own; Stalin strangled the Bolshevik party in the interest of a Bonapartist clique. The Bolsheviks made compromises with the bourgeoisie; Stalin became its ally and support. The Bolsheviks preached the necessity of participation in the old trade unions and in the bourgeois parliament; Stalin made friends with the trade union bureaucracy and bourgeois democracy. One can make such comparisons at will. For all their apparent effectiveness they are entirely empty.

The proletariat can take power only through its vanguard. In itself the necessity for state power arises from an insufficient cultural level of the masses and their heterogeneity. In the revolutionary vanguard, organized in a party, is crystallized the aspiration of the masses to obtain their freedom. Without the confidence of the class in the vanguard, without support of the vanguard by the class, there can be no talk of the conquest of power.

In this sense the proletarian revolution and dictatorship are

the work of the whole class, but only under the leadership of the vanguard. The Soviets are only the organized form of the tie between the vanguard and the class. A revolutionary content can be given to this form only by the party. This is proved by the positive experience of the October Revolution and by the negative experience of other countries (Germany, Austria, finally Spain).

No one has either shown in practice or tried to explain articulately on paper how the proletariat can seize power without the political leadership of a party that knows what it wants. The fact that this party subordinates the Soviets politically to its leaders, has, in itself, abolished the Soviet system no more than the domination of the conservative majority has abolished the British parliamentary system.

As far as the prohibition of the other Soviet parties is concerned, it did not flow from any "theory" of Bolshevism but was a measure of defense of the dictatorship in a backward and devastated country, surrounded by enemies on all sides. For the Bolsheviks it was clear from the beginning that this measure, later completed by the prohibition of factions inside the governing party itself, signaled a tremendous danger. However, the root of the danger lay not in the doctrine or in the tactics but in the material weakness of the dictatorship, in the difficulties of its internal and international situation.

### Led Workers to Victory



Lenin and Trotsky defended the program, theory and organization methods of Bolshevism against the bureaucratic degeneration of Stalinism.

or system whatsoever. Its "ideology" is thoroughly permeated with police subjectivism, its practice is the empiricism of crude violence. In keeping with its essential interests the caste of usurpers is hostile to itself nor to anyone else. Stalin revises Marx and Lenin not with the theoretician's pen but with the heel of the GPU.

Complaints of the "immorality" of Bolshevism come particularly from those boastful non-entities whose cheap masks were torn away by Bolshevism. In petty bourgeois, intellectual, democratic, "socialist", literary, parliamentary and other circles, conventional values prevail, or a conventional language to cover their lack of values. This large and motley society for mutual protection — "live and let live" — cannot bear the touch of the Marxist lance on its sensitive skin.

The theoreticians, writers and moralists, hesitating between different camps, thought and continue to think that the Bolsheviks maliciously exaggerate differences, are incapable of "loyal" collaboration and by their "intrigues" disrupt the unity of the workers' movement.

Moreover, the sensitive and squeamish centrists has always thought that the Bolsheviks were "calumniating" him — simply because they carried through to the end for him his half-developed thoughts: he himself was never able to. But the fact remains that only that precious quality, an uncompromising attitude toward all quibbling and evasion, can educate a revolutionary party which will not be taken unawares by "exceptional circumstances."

If the revolution had triumphed, even if only in Germany, the need of prohibiting the other Soviet parties would immediately have fallen away. It is absolute-

ly indisputable that the domination of a single party served as the juridical point of departure for the Stalinist totalitarian system. But the reason for this development lies neither in Bolshevism nor in the prohibition of other parties as a temporary war measure, but in the number of defeats of the proletariat in Europe and Asia.

The same applies to the struggle with anarchism. In the heroic epoch of the revolution the Bolsheviks went hand in hand with the genuinely revolutionary anarchists. Many of them were drawn into the ranks of the party. The author of these lines discussed with Lenin more than

once the possibility of allotting to the anarchists certain territories where, with the consent of the local population, they would carry out their stateless experiment. But civil war, blockade, and hunger left no room for such plans.

The moral qualities of every party flow, in the last analysis, from the historical interests that it represents. The moral qualities of Bolshevism, self-renunciation, disinterestedness, audacity and contempt for every kind of tinsel and falsehood — the highest qualities of human nature! — flow from revolutionary intransigence in the service of the oppressed.

only that for all his reservations, shufflings and pious sighs he is far nearer to the Stalinist bureaucracy than to the workers.

Like other exponents of Bolshevism "immorality," Thomas has simply not grown up to revolutionary morals.

The "lefts" who tried to skip Bolshevism in their "return" to Marxism generally confined themselves to isolated panaceas: boycott of the old trade unions, boycott of parliament, creation of "genuine" soviets. All this could still seem extremely profound in the first heat of the post-war days. But now, in the light of most recent experience, such "infantile diseases" have no longer even the interest of a curiosity.

established for the first time the only relation between vanguard and class that can assure victory. It has proved by experience that the alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed masses of the rural and urban petty-bourgeoisie is possible only through the political overthrow of the traditional petty-bourgeois parties.

The Bolshevik party has shown the entire world how to carry out armed insurrection and the seizure of power. Those who propose the abstraction of soviets to the party dictatorship should understand that only thanks to the Bolshevik leadership were the soviets able to lift themselves out of the mud of reformism and attain the state form of the proletariat. The Bolshevik party achieved in the civil war the correct combination of military and Marxist politics.

Even if the Stalinist bureaucracy should succeed in destroying the economic foundations of the new society, the experience of planned economy under the leadership of the Bolshevik party will have entered history for all time as one of the greatest teachings of mankind. This can be ignored only by bruised and offended sectarians who have turned their backs on the process of history.

### A Clash of Personal Ambitions?

The Stalinist bureaucracy imitates also in this domain the words and gestures of Bolshevism. But when "intransigence" and "inflexibility" are applied by a police apparatus in the service of a privileged minority they become a source of demoralization and gangsterism. One can feel only contempt for these gentlemen who identify the revolutionary heroism of the Bolsheviks with the bureaucratic cynicism of the Thermidorians.

Even now, in spite of the dramatic events of the recent period, the average philistine prefers to believe that the struggle between Bolshevism ("Trotskyism") and Stalinism concerns a clash of personal ambitions, or, at best, a conflict between two "shades" of Bolshevism.

The crudest expression of this opinion is given by Norman Thomas, leader of the American Socialist Party: "There is little reason to believe," he writes (Socialist Review, Sept. 1937, page 6) "that if Trotsky had won (?) instead of Stalin, there would have been an end of intrigue, plots, and the reign of fear in Russia." And this man considers himself... a Marxist.

One would have the same right to say: "There is little reason to believe that if instead of Pius XI, the Holy See were occupied by Norman I, the Catholic Church would have been transformed into a bulwark of socialism."

Thomas fails to understand that it is not a question of a match between Stalin and Trotsky, but of an antagonism between the bureaucracy and the proletariat. To be sure, the governing stratum of the USSR is forced even now to adapt itself to the still not wholly liquidated heritage of revolution, while preparing at the same time through direct civil war (bloody "purge" — mass annihilation of the discontented) a change of the social regime.

But in Spain the Stalinist clique is already acting openly as a bulwark of the bourgeoisie order against socialism. The struggle against the Bonapartist bureaucracy is turning before our eyes into class struggle: two worlds, two programs, two moralities. If Thomas thinks that the victory of the socialist proletariat over the infamous caste of oppressors would not politically and morally regenerate the Soviet regime, he proves

The Dutchmen Gorter and Fannekoek, the German "Spartakists," the Italian Bordighists, showed their independence from Bolshevism only by artificially inflating one of its features and opposing it to the rest. But nothing has remained either in practice or in theory of these "left" tendencies: an indirect but important proof that Bolshevism is the only possible form of Marxism for this epoch.

The Bolshevik party has shown in action a combination of the highest revolutionary audacity and political realism. It has

But this is not all. The Bolshevik party was able to carry on its magnificent "practical" work only because it illuminated all its steps with theory. Bolshevism did not create this theory: it was furnished by Marxism. But Marxism is the theory of movement, not of stagnation. Only events on a tremendous historical scale could enrich the theory itself.

Bolshevism brought an invaluable contribution to Marxism in its analysis of the imperialist epoch as an epoch of wars and revolutions; of bourgeois democracy in the era of decaying capitalism; of the correlation between the general strike and the insurrection; of the role of party, soviets and trade unions in the period of proletarian revolution; in its theory of the soviet state, of the economy of transition, of fascism and Bonapartism in the epoch of capitalist decline; finally in its analysis of the degeneration of the Bolshevik party itself and of the Soviet state.

### How Bolshevism Enriched Marxism

They can teach the workers nothing.

Only the founders of the Fourth International, who have made their own the whole tradition of Marx and Lenin, take a serious attitude toward theory. Philistines may jeer that twenty years after the October victory the revolutionaries are again thrown back to modest propagandist preparation. The big capitalists are, in this question as in many others, far more penetrating than the petty-bourgeois who imagine themselves "socialists" or "communists".

It is no accident that the subject of the Fourth International does not leave the columns of the world press. The burning historical need for revolutionary leadership promises to the Fourth International an exceptionally rapid tempo of growth. The greatest guarantee of its further success lies in the fact that it has not arisen away from the large historic road, but is an organic outgrowth of Bolshevism.

August 29, 1937.

Let any other tendency be named that has added anything essential to the conclusions and generalizations of Bolshevism. Theoretically and politically Vandervelde, DeBrouckere, Hilferding, Otto Bauer, Leon Blum, Zyromski, not to mention Major Attlee and Norman Thomas, live on the dilapidated leftovers of the past.

The degeneration of the Comintern is most crudely expressed by the fact that it has dropped to the theoretical level of the Second International. All the varieties of intermediary groups (Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, POUM and their like) adapt every week new haphazard fragments of Marx and Lenin to their current needs.

### Vital Distinctions

The Kronstadt insurrection? But the revolutionary government naturally could not "present" to the insurrectionary sailors the fortress which protected the capital only because the reactionary peasant-soldier rebellion was joined by a few doubtful anarchists. A concrete historical analysis of the events leaves not the slightest room for the legends, built up on ignorance and sentimentality, concerning Kronstadt, Makhno and other episodes of the revolution.

There remains only the fact that the Bolsheviks from the beginning applied not only conviction but also compulsion, often to a most brutal degree. It is also indisputable that later the bureaucracy which grew out of the revolution monopolized the system of compulsion for its own use. Every stage of development, even such catastrophic stages as revolution and counter-revolution, flows from the preceding stage, is rooted in it and takes on some of its features.

Liberals, including the Webbs, have always maintained that the Bolshevik dictatorship was only a new version of Czarism. They close their eyes to such "details" as the abolition of the monarchy and the nobility, the handing over of the land to the peasants, the expropriation of capital, the introduction of planned economy, atheist education, etc.

In the same way liberal-anarchist thought closes its eyes to the fact that the Bolshevik revolution, with all its repressions, meant an upheaval of social relations in the interest of the masses, whereas the Stalinist thermidorian upheaval accom-

panies the transformation of Soviet society in the interest of a privileged minority. It is clear that in the identification of Stalinism with Bolshevism there is not a trace of socialist criteria.

One of the most outstanding features of Bolshevism has been its severe, exacting, even quarrelsome attitude toward questions of doctrine. The twenty-seven volumes of Lenin's works will remain forever an example of the highest theoretical conscientiousness. Without this fundamental quality Bolshevism would never have fulfilled its historic role. In this regard Stalinism, coarse, ignorant and thoroughly empiric, lies at the opposite pole.

The Opposition declared more than ten years ago in its program: "Since Lenin's death a whole set of new theories has been created, whose only purpose is to justify the backsliding of the Stalinists from the path of the international proletarian revolution." Only a few days ago an American writer, Liston M. Oak, who has participated in the Spanish Revolution, wrote: "The Stalinists in fact are today the foremost revisionists of Marx and Lenin — Bernstein did not dare to go half as far as Stalin in revising Marx."

This is absolutely true. One must add only that Bernstein actually felt certain theoretical needs: he tried conscientiously to establish the relationship between the reformist practices of social democracy and its program. The Stalinist bureaucracy, however, not only has nothing in common with Marxism but is in general foreign to any doctrine

## ...End A-Bomb Tests Says SWP

(Continued from page 1)

reduction will no doubt take place periodically in the future as in the past. But this much is certain. The United States will not abandon its basic military plans, and the ever-present danger of the cold war erupting into an atomic one will not be eliminated.

The existing conflict between the U.S. and the USSR is not the result of an arms race. On the contrary, the arms race is only one expression of the conflict between two antagonistic social systems. The United States government, which shapes its policies not on the basis of the needs or interests of the American people, but on that of a tiny clique of powerful industrialists and financiers, is determined to establish the economic and political domination of the American capitalist class over the entire globe. It cannot accomplish this by peaceful means. That is the primary reason for its vast, permanent arms buildup.

indispensable prop for the economy. Even if one accepted Mr. Dulles contention that armaments represent ten percent of the gross national product it is clear that any substantial reduction would result in economic crisis.

It is already being demonstrated that arms production is a palliative that can only postpone, but not eliminate capitalist crisis. There is today a crisis in agriculture and farm equipment production, in the automobile industry, etc., even while arms production is booming.

The propaganda for disarmament by those who support capitalism and approve of U.S. foreign policy, can only serve to deceive the great mass of the people who genuinely yearn for an end to the insecurity and tension which militarism engenders. This is the essential function of your committee as well as that of the President's special assistant on disarmament, Mr. Stassen. There is no one in the Pentagon in any way in danger of losing his job as a consequence of the "disarmament" proposals of either your committee or of Mr. Stassen.

so-called "containment" policy — which is the keystone of U.S. foreign policy, is doomed to failure.

A war unleashed against the Soviet Union and China under present world conditions would only mean a war of nuclear devastation which capitalism could not survive.

The American people will inevitably come to realize that they have no actual conflict with the people of the Soviet Union, China or the colonial world. The aspirations of the American people for peace and security will not be realized in conflict with the oppressed of the world but in cooperation with them. The interests of the American people can be served only by replacing the present government of the monopolists with a Workers and Farmers government.

A Workers and Farmers government in America would extend a hand of genuine solidarity to the Soviet workers in their great struggle to redemocratize the

Soviet Union. Such an action would topple the Kremlin bureaucracy. This would create the basis for a world socialist order where barbaric militarism would be ended forever.

For the present, the Socialist Workers Party demands:

**SWP DEMANDS**

1. An immediate halt of nuclear weapons tests. Scientists throughout the world have urgently warned of the grave danger to the health of humanity resulting from the radioactive fallout of these explosions. The people throughout the world are insistently demanding a halt to these tests. Let your committee join in this demand.
2. The very destructiveness of a coming war demands that a decision on war or peace be removed from the hands of Congress and the President and be placed in the hands of the people. Let your committee demand that the question of war or peace be submitted to a peoples referendum.

### A VITAL DIFFERENCE

That the U.S. is the pacesetter in the world armament race is demonstrated by the simple fact that it is the only country in the world that can afford such an enormous sapping of its national resources. For the U.S., the production of the weapons for war is absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of its capitalist economy. For the Soviet Union, with nationalized production the effort to match the level of U.S. military power creates an enormous, unneeded drain on its economy.

### FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

A great movement is on foot throughout the world to end the rule of imperialism. The colonial people are fighting for and winning their independence. They are demanding an end to economic exploitation and political tyranny and no more war.

The Soviet workers have once again entered this world-wide freedom fight. By their pressure they have won important concessions from the Kremlin dictators. The Soviet workers are determined to eliminate the bureaucracy that has deprived them of their political rights. The Russian workers are pushing for an end to the bureaucratic privileges taken at the expense of their living standards.

The Soviet masses have endured Stalinist tyranny because of the imperialist encirclement which threatened the conquests of the 1917 revolution. This encirclement was smashed as the consequence of the victories of the Soviet army in World War II and as a result of the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions. The attempt to impose a new encirclement — the

## ...Legless Vet Wins Job

(Continued from page 1)

so, in almost every case, on the basis of denial of membership or associations alleged against them.

### PROUD OF IDEAS

Kutcher, however, presented the witch hunters with a brand new phenomenon. He proudly affirmed membership in the SWP and his socialist ideas. His early hearings, therefore, were farces in which the government's "case" consisted of proving what Kutcher never denied — that he belonged to the SWP. This made his case a fundamental challenge of the Attorney General's list itself and the right of the VA to fire him on the basis of it.

Kutcher denied these categorically and demanded in vain that he be allowed to confront his accusers. Early this year the VA board on pension forfeitures, with ill-grace, ruled in his favor.

On April 20 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., ruled that Kutcher should be restored to his job. This legal vindication came after his attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, had twice fought the case up and down the long ladder of "loyalty" boards and up to the Court of Appeals.

**IMPORTANT PRECEDENT**

The decision declared Kutcher's rights under the Veterans Preference Act had been violated. That it was a precedent for the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court two months later in the case of Kendrick Cole. This, too, was based on the Veterans Preference Act. In it, the high court ruled that the "loyalty-security" purge was being illegally used against government employees in "non-sensitive" jobs.

In addition to taking away his job, the witch hunters have tried to evict him and his aged parents from their home in a federal low-cost housing project, again solely on grounds of his SWP membership.

Not content with taking his job and threatening his home, the witch hunters, just before last Christmas, cut off the double amputee's pension. Public outcry rapidly forced its temporary restoration as well as an unprecedented open hearing on his charges of the pension board against him. At this hearing the chairman announced he would "make up the rules" as he "went along." The charges against Kutcher were fantastic and nonsensical statements attributed to him by faceless informers.

Some details of the government's action in restoring Kutcher's job are as yet not clarified. After the court decision last April the press declared that should the government give him back his job it would also have to pay him back wages. The June 21 N.Y. Times, however, reports: "There has been no determination as yet whether he can recover more than \$20,000 in back pay."

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## 1. The World Crisis of Stalinism

There is now unmistakable evidence of seething discontent in the ranks of the Communist parties throughout the world with Khrushchev's explanations of Stalin's regime of mass murder and frame-ups.

Palmiro Togliatti, Stalinist chief of the Italian CP, largest in the capitalist world, declared in an interview June 17 that the present Soviet leaders have not offered a satisfactory explanation "based on Marxist criteria" of how Stalin's police dictatorship "got mixed up with the development of a socialist society." He also raised the question of "the responsibility of the entire directing group," including Khrushchev, Bulganin, etc., for the crimes of the Stalin regime.

On June 19 the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party said: "The explanations given up to now on the faults of Stalin, their origin, the conditions in which they were produced, are not satisfactory. A careful Marxist analysis is indispensable to determine the combination of circumstances in which Stalin came to exercise personal power." The statement of the Political Bureau, which paralleled the declaration of Togliatti, also pointed out that the present Kremlin leaders participated in building up the Stalin cult.

What accounts for these unprecedented criticisms of the Kremlin by the leaders of two mass Communist parties? It is clear that neither Togliatti nor Thorez are eager to destroy the Stalin cult. As a matter of fact they couple their criticism of Khrushchev's explanations with complaints that Stalin's "positive" role is being underestimated. The French Communist Party

leaders have maintained an almost complete silence on the revelations about Stalin since the 20th Congress. Only the publication of the Khrushchev speech by the capitalist press forced them to speak up. Why then are they now raising the sharpest questions about Khrushchev's failure to explain the crimes of Stalin and his complicity in them?

The June 20 Daily Worker gives the answer: "For some time the French Communist leaders have taken a much less critical attitude toward the Soviet Communist errors than other Communist Parties. However, in the course of pre-congress discussion, now going on in preparation for the 14th congress of the French CP there has been considerable criticism of the leaders by the rank and file."

The Daily Worker does not explain why the French CP leaders had to be forced to break silence on Stalin's crimes by rank and file pressure. But it is nevertheless clear that in addition to the powerful pressure of the Soviet working class, which forced the Stalinist bureaucracy to make a number of important economic and political concessions since the death of Stalin we are now witnessing the intervention of the rank and file of the mass communist parties in the discussion that has opened with the 20th Congress.

This spells nothing less than a world wide crisis of Stalinism. It is a crisis which will inevitably force a discussion not only of the crimes of Stalin in the Soviet Union but also the international crimes of Stalinism and above all its political crimes.

## 2. Crimes of Togliatti and Thorez

The reason why Togliatti and Thorez are so reluctant to destroy the Stalin cult root and branch, is that they were an integral part of its development. Moreover, the domination of the bureaucratic machines in the French and Italian CP's are threatened by the destruction of the cult. The building of these machines was promoted by none other than Stalin.

The triumph of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which found its expression in Stalin's autocratic rule, resulted in the liquidation of the Communist International and the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist parties throughout the world. They ceased to function as instruments of the revolutionary workers' struggle against capitalism.

Alongside of the destruction of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Soviet Union came the international campaign against Trotskyism. In the process every Communist party was transformed. In place of independent revolutionary leaders, who had won their place in the test of class struggle within their own country, servile careerists were selected, whose main talent lay in expressing blind obedience to Stalin's international machine.

In the Soviet Union, the bureaucratic caste destroyed not only Lenin's party and the institutions of workers' democracy, but also abandoned Leninist internationalism and replaced it with Stalinist national socialism. Marching in step, the respective Communist parties abandoned the politics of class struggle in favor of the most treacherous brand of reformist class collaboration.

Stalin insisted that the Communist parties should shape their basic attitude toward their respective capitalist rulers to the needs of Soviet diplomacy. Thus when

Stalin consummated a military pact with French imperialism in 1934 (Stalin-Laval Pact) the French Communist Party overnight switched to support of the capitalist government.

When Stalin made his deal with Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta, in return for certain territorial, diplomatic and military concessions, he gave his assurance that the Communist parties of Europe would protect capitalism from revolutionary overthrow following World War II.

Stalin kept his word at the expense of the Italian and French working class and the international socialist revolution. Both the French and Italian Communist parties emerged from the war with the decisive sections of the working class in their ranks. Capitalism in both countries was ruined, its leading political parties and spokesmen compromised, discredited and despised as fascist collaborators. The middle class showed every inclination to mobilize behind the working class. In word, the objective situation created first rate revolutionary opportunities for the victory of workers' power.

The extreme debility of the French and Italian capitalist class assured a relatively peaceful transformation provided the parties of the working class acted decisively. American imperialism was impotent to halt such a transformation by military force. Its hands were tied by the tremendous "Go Home" demonstrations of the GI's.

Togliatti and Thorez, following the politics of Stalinism, acted as saviors of capitalism and not revolutionary leaders. They bear the responsibility for dissipating these magnificent revolutionary opportunities. When the discussion in the ranks of the Italian and French CP's really gets under way, a full accounting of this betrayal will be high on their list of topics.

## 3. Where is the Discussion Leading?

With the active intervention of the revolutionary working class of the mass Communist parties the discussion in the world working class movement will deepen. The questions posed by Togliatti and Thorez in response to the turbulent pressure from the ranks will lead to other and deeper questions.

The Marxist analysis of the roots of Stalin's crimes in the Soviet Union will disclose the social formation that produced the Stalin cult — the parasitic caste of the Soviet bureaucracy. It will also show how the Trotskyist program best expresses proletarian opposition to Stalinism. The character of Stalinism as a manifestation of the pressure of world capitalism on the summits of the first workers' state in history will be fully revealed.

All attempts to separate the monstrous crimes of Stalinism from its politics will fail to the ground. It will become clear that the program of the Communist parties today are an expression, not of the application of Leninism to new conditions, but the very opposite. Stalinism will stand exposed

as the very evil that Lenin fought all his life — namely, class collaboration and betrayal of the revolution.

We Trotskyists have complete confidence in the outcome of the discussion now forced upon the CP leaders by their ranks. It was initiated by the irresistible determination of the Russian working class to put an end to Stalinism. Now it is clear that in addition to the Soviet working people the ranks of the world Communist movement are intervening to demand revolutionary truth and clarity.

In England and in the United States the discussion is making rapid progress. Every day there is new evidence that the old taboos of Stalinism against discussing with Trotskyists are being removed by honest militants in the CP, determined to think through the burning problems under discussion.

These developments open up a great new prospect: the regroupment of the world working class vanguard under the banner of revolutionary Marxism. Such a regroupment is the indispensable prerequisite for the world socialist victory.

# NAACP Banned; New Organization Set Up

By George Lavan

In prompt and stirring reply to the injunction banning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from Alabama, the Negro people of that state have already set up another organization with a militant anti-Jim Crow program.

The new organization was formed in Birmingham, the largest city in Alabama and one of the worst Jim Crow hells in the South. Its name is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and its goal is complete integration.

The ACMHR was first projected on June 4, three days after the anti-NAACP injunction, by a meeting of eleven religious and civic leaders of Birmingham's Negro community. This committee determined to call a mass meeting to form a new organization.

### LARGE MEETING

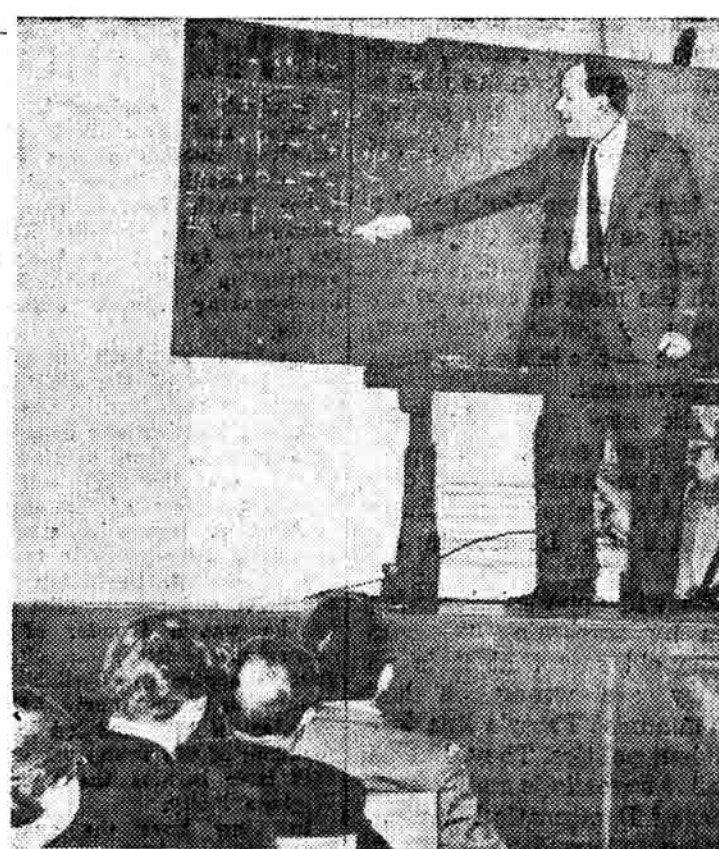
The meeting was called for June 6 at the Sardis Baptist Church. According to the Afro-American (June 16), "about 1,500 jammed the church that had a seating capacity of about 850."

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, 34-year old pastor of another Baptist Church and a member of the initiating committee, presided. He explained the need for the proposed organization and its state-wide implications. A very promising feature of this founding meeting was its completely democratic nature. There was no cut and dried, take-it-or-leave-it plan and program being handed down from above but a free and open discussion of the needs of the Negro people of Alabama and the best ways to proceed.

Before the adoption of a statement of principles, by-laws and election of officers, a conservative Negro leader, Rev. G. W. Murray, took the floor to object. "We should think sanely of what we are doing, Birmingham is too over-organized now." He referred to an organization of Negro ministers formed in the city a number of months previously.

In reply, Rev. Shuttlesworth indicated that the ACMHR would not be merely another top level committee doing little, and that slowly. He pointed out

## U. S. Scientist in Moscow



Dr. Robert E. Marshak of the University of Rochester, N. Y. addressing the High Energy Physics Conference in Moscow last month. He was one of 14 U.S. scientists attending the conference. The Soviet Union leads the U.S. in peaceful uses of atomic energy. The USSR also leads this country in declassifying atomic information.

the ineffectiveness of the ministers' committee by remarking, "If it takes one organization five months to get a constitution, what are we going to do?"

### PRINCIPLES STATED

The meeting enthusiastically adopted a Declaration of Principles, which stated in part: "As free and independent citizens of the United States of America, and of the State of Alabama, we express publicly our determination to press forward persistently for Freedom and Democracy, and the removal from our society of any forms of Second Class Citizenship."

"We are not echoing the will or sentiments of outsiders but our conviction and will to be free, so help us God."

"... We believe in our courts and in justice administered by our courts; but we now point out to the nation's conscience a strange paradox: One state district court judge can rule and immediately it is obeyed over the entire state — even if questioned or disagreed with; but even a unanimous decision by nine judges of the U.S. Supreme Court (set up by the constitution) to be the highest and final court, and rulings by federal district judges, representing the whole U.S.A., are not only questioned and disagreed with, but openly flaunted, disregarded and totally ignored."

"... But most especially do we applaud Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla., for conducting themselves

in the struggle so valiantly and without rancor, hate and smear, and above all, without violence."

### WAITED TOO LONG

"As to 'Gradualism' we hold that it means to move forward, slowly maybe, but surely; not vacillation, procrastination or evasion. And the hastily enacted laws and enflamed statements of public officials do not lead us to embrace 'Gradualism.' We want a beginning now! We have already waited 100 years!!"

The meeting unanimously elected Rev. Shuttlesworth president. Also chosen were com-

mittees on finance, education, recreation, transportation, police protection, civic rights, jobs, voting, registration, housing and youth.

Several days after the meeting Rev. D. Shuttlesworth told reporters that the ACMHR "is growing like wildfire. I think it will lead to all parts of the state." He also declared: "They can't accuse us of being outsiders; we are insiders." The NAACP was forced to suspend activities in Alabama on the legal fiction that it was a "foreign" organization.

## ...CWA to Fight 'Security' Case

(Continued from page 1)

American Civil Liberties Union, that there was no need to fire Kreznar and Dressler for lack of "security" clearance since the company had plenty of their type of work in places requiring no clearance, were ignored by the Bell Corporation.

### BACKED BY BOARD

The CWA Executive Board, recognizing the importance of the case for safeguarding the union's contract rights, decided to fight to regain Kreznar's job through arbitration.

A reactionary minority on the Executive Board, headed by Vice President A. T. Jones, a McCarthyite type, bitterly opposing carrying the Kreznar case through the grievance procedures. Jones tried to make the issue the rallying ground for a faction to oust President Beirne from office. A barrage of letters was sent out in the pre-convention period hysterically labeling the Executive Board's support of Kreznar's rights as a union man an endorsement of communism and smearing Beirne and the majority of the Executive Board.

On June 13 the fight came to a head on the floor of the convention. Vice President Jones led the attack for a repudiation of the Executive Board stand in a ranting, flag-waving speech that lasted over an hour. The core of his argument was the untenable assertion that use of the union's grievance machinery to prevent Kreznar's firing meant CWA endorsement of Kreznar's alleged political beliefs.

### HEARTENING SIGN

The CWA Convention's support of Kreznar's job rights is a heartening sign that the labor movement is awakening to the danger posed to unionists by the "loyalty-security" program in the hands of anti-labor employers. These latter have been using it to weed out union militants in industry after industry. Awareness of the importance of the CWA action is reflected in the June 16 issue of the AFL-CIO News which carried the Kreznar story on its front page.

It is also significant that the witch hunt which began in government agencies and then spread like a malignant cancer to private industry is now under attack in its original source. Recently the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the "loyalty" purge was illegal when used against government workers in "non-sensitive" jobs. This is not only a limited and belated reassertion of traditional American civil liberties but a measure of the discredit with which the witch hunt has come to be regarded by the American people.

### PROGRAM ADOPTED

At the CWA Convention the forces of reaction raised their heads once more in an attempt to strike out of a resolution a demand for state FEPC laws. This, too, was beaten down.

The convention adopted a 1956 bargaining program which included a 35-hour week, a substantial general wage increase, elimination of area differentials in pay, company-paid health insurance and improved vacations.

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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## Our Readers Take the Floor

### 'Salt of Earth'

Dear Editor:

Tonight I took my children to see a movie. The name of it is "Salt of the Earth". It was shown in a small hall in Lester, Pennsylvania, scene of Local 107 United Electrical, Westinghouse strike. In fact Local 107, my husband's local, showed it. The event was family night and a finer bunch of kids ever to sit with their mothers and fathers I haven't seen in many a day.

The strike steering committee chairman, Bob Kyler, with his little girl in his arms (she wouldn't stay put) introduced the film with the remark that this film could have been produced in Lester instead of New Mexico.

"Salt of the Earth", a story of a 13-month strike in a mine, and ours is a story of a 34-week strike against Westinghouse. There was a fight for equal pay for Mexican miners with the other mines and ours is the fight against a 20 percent wage cut. There was the fight to raise living standards to a higher level, ours is the fight to defend our standard of living. There was the fight of man, woman and child solidizing themselves as one unit to fight the copper bosses, ours is the same type of battle against Westinghouse. It is no wonder that the film has been banned, for any worker or his three year old babe could recognize himself on the screen. It is a very personal, intimate movie; you are not even aware of the acting — you are a participant.

In spite of the fact that the film got off to a bad start (the sound projection didn't work at first, and the film had to be stopped several times) sitting with these Local 107 strikers I could feel every struggle the miners went through. It wasn't so important that the miners' wives played a real role as mates and displayed such tremendous courage in taking over on the picket line when the men strikers got an injunction slapped on them, but the thinking this struggle released. Interesting enough the same thinking occurred here in Lester among the men. The applause for the women in the movie can only be compared to the cheering and applause one gets at a fight ring when every punch your boy gives comes from inside you.

This eight-month struggle in Lester can be victorious if in no other sense than that out of this strike another company has forced a stronger tie between man and woman. Just as the women played a role in "Salt of the Earth", you can believe they are doing the same here. Many are working and keeping families together. They are not griping; they understand what their men are doing for the family. Women are working tirelessly in the union hall, on the picket line. The "woman question" as raised in "Salt of the Earth" is no longer a hypothetical proposition, it is a question of declaring sides — "Which side are you on?"

This is my first attempt at reviewing a movie and is not intended as a literary treatise. It is a description of seeing a show with a bunch that were looking at themselves. I just thought Militant readers would like to share this experience with me.

Sincerely,  
Mrs. G.

### Letter from England

Sherwood, Nottingham  
England  
May 25, 1956

Editor, The Militant:

Copies of The Militant now go almost as soon as they arrive and recently have been snipped up by members of the Communist Party around here. The local Communist Party has been in turmoil since the revelations about Stalin and there is difficulty keeping up with the demand for Trotsky's writings.

The Militant has done a fine job on the 20th Congress and its articles have really contributed to the clarification of the events in the Soviet Union. At the local library there is a waiting list for the writings of Trotsky, (there are very few), and for such books as that of Orlov and the memoirs of Litvinov. Our own library of Trotsky's works now rest on about 20 different bookshelves, mostly CP's. Let's hope they keep circulating.

With warmest fraternal greetings,

Signed: S. B.

### Letter from India

Kampur, India  
May 21, 1956

Editor, The Militant:

Every one in the East is pained to read about the segregation being practiced in the United States. The factual incidents reflecting the courage of the Negroes in facing insults, acts of violence and murder, are highly

commendable. The world was shocked by the behaviour of university students in Alabama toward Miss Lucy, when they threw bricks and eggs at her and refused to allow her to study library science with them because of the color of her skin.

The news reports show that the problem is not limited to the incident of Miss Lucy but has been repeated in several other cases. Racism in one area leads to racism in another, just as fire flares up from one place to another.

The Negro for a century or over has suffered racial indignities. After the Supreme Court decision, how does it happen that the government in Washington allows four Southern Governors to frame new laws designed to retain the pattern of race segregation?

A reporter (William Drylie) wrote: "Southern defiance of the Supreme Court is nothing new. In 1832 during the presidency of Jackson, the court upheld an appeal of Samuel Worcester, who was jailed by Georgia for

living among Indians without a license; the keeping of which was necessary to control a gold rush in the state."

"When Justice John Marshall and other members of the court ruled against the State of Georgia, the State ignored the decision and kept Worcester in jail for over a year before releasing him. Justice Story wrote: 'The court has done its duty. Let the nation do theirs. If we have a government let its command be obeyed; if we have it not it is as well to know it at once and to look at the consequence.'

"John Marshall has made his decision now let him enforce it," president Jackson replied. It is these words of Jackson which are echoing in the South today."

It would be illogical and fallacious on the part of right thinking U. S. citizens to keep mum over such an important national issue which needs foremost attention, so that all may live in tranquility and friendship.

Yours truly,  
Miss Vijaya Lakshmi Aga

## NEW TROTSKY REPRINT

THE KIROV ASSASSINATION. By Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York. 32 pp., 25 cents.

The murder in 1934 of Kirov, one of Stalin's lieutenants, by a local Soviet functionary, Leonid Nikolayev, sparked the infamous juridical frame-ups known to history as the "Moscow Trials" of which the exiled Leon Trotsky was the principal target. Analyzing the Kirov murder at that time in this pamphlet, now reissued, Trotsky deduced from the Soviet press dispatches that the shooting of Kirov had been engineered by the GPU itself.

### TROTSKY CONFIRMED

Twenty-two years later, Trotsky's charge has been confirmed by Khrushchev in his 20th Congress speech in which he said, "The circumstances surrounding Kirov's murder hide many things which are inexplicable and demand a careful examination. There are reasons for the suspicion that the killer of Kirov... was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov."

Khrushchev then wrestles with a seemingly thorny dilemma. The Stalinist terror, according to Khrushchev, began after "socialism in our country was fundamentally established."

### TROTSKY'S EXPOSURE

Proceeding from the Marxist conception that the Soviet bureaucracy is a reflection of the "transitional stage between two systems," Trotsky was able to unerringly predict, "The economic successes and the cultural progress... turns more and more against bureaucratic conservatism, bureaucratic license and bureaucratic rapacity.... The progress in technology and culture... automatically turns against the bureaucracy.... The conditions are created which clearly menace the rule of the bureaucracy which has outlived itself."

— HARRY RING



# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## What Kind of Political Action for NAACP?

If the 1956 convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People truly reflected the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Negro people this year, it would change its policy on political action from non-partisanship to independence.

What would such a change signify? It would express in the field of politics what the Negro masses are saying through boycotts, legal battles, student strikes, etc., that they will no longer accept the lesser evil in the fight for equality. They want an end to Jim Crow now.

The non-partisanship of the NAACP has been a policy of mobilizing the Negro vote directly or indirectly for the Democrats and Republicans. The political action of the Association has consisted of campaigns to get Negroes to register and vote — to vote no matter how bad the choice before them.

This has meant supporting Democrats and Republicans who advocate segregation — openly in the South, more "diplomatically" in the North. It has also meant making a fetish of voting, as though the holding of elections were an end in itself, instead of simply a means to an end.

This is not to say that fighting for the right to vote is not important. But that fight would be more meaningful, and it would not be necessary to harangue, insult, threaten and cajole the Negro masses to register and vote if they could be shown

how they could vote against Jim Crow, instead of "for a better man."

Independent political action as an NAACP policy, would mean a boycott of both the Democratic and Republican parties on the basis of their record, their platform, and their bi-partisan devotion to "gradualism" as the formula for selling-out the democratic rights of the Negro people.

At the same time, independent political action would mean calling for the formation of a new party by the two powerful movements with the most in common and the most to gain by putting their own candidates in office — the labor movement and the Negro movement.

And while the new party is being organized on a national scale, independent candidates can be nominated in local campaigns. Everywhere, write-in candidates can be substituted for Democrats and Republicans.

Political hacks will oppose independent political action by screaming "Communist," or by the old saw that it is not "realistic." They are wrong on both counts. The Communist Party's line is to oppose independent politics. They, like the other hacks, call it unrealistic and propose, instead, support of Democratic liberals.

By substituting independent for "non-partisan" politics, the NAACP, (to paraphrase an old socialist slogan) has nothing to lose but its chains to the two Jim Crow parties, and a world to win.

# Democrats and Labor Laws

By Della Rossa

Congress is a graveyard for pro-labor legislation and the executioner is a representative of "labor's own" Democratic Party. It is clear now that nothing will be done on the most important labor issues in Congress — Taft-Hartley revision and extension of minimum wage law coverage.

Chief Executioner of this session's buried pro-labor legislation has been Democratic Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina who, as chairman of the House Labor Committee, has unique power over all labor legislation. Barden uses his vantage point to give full vent to Dixiecrat anti-labor fears and hates, preventing even the mildest kind of pro-labor legislation from even getting a hearing.

Even if hearings are finally held, it is certain, with Congress driving for adjournment by July 15, that labor legislation couldn't possibly be cleared through House Rules Committee, passed on the floor and then passed by the Senate in this session.

Proposed labor legislation would affect more than 40,000,000 people yet subcommittees have not even been named to make their recommendations. This legislation was simply forgotten.

Barden is of the "right to suffer" school and callously says, "I've heard it said that the United States doesn't get injured just because of a bill that doesn't get passed."

It is obvious from a statement like this

that there are two Americas. One is the America of the bosses "that doesn't get hurt." The other America is that of the workers. Southern congressmen are dead-set against extending minimum wage coverage for instance into retail and wholesale fields and into chain hotels and chain theaters. They know that if these wages break into the South it will give an impetus to the demands of the farm workers for something beyond their present subsistence wages.

The anti-labor record of the Democrats in Congress is not confined to the Dixiecrats. Lack of action by Democratic leaders of committees and by a Democratic-controlled Congress has brought complaints from even Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who is a Republican.

However, any claim that the Republicans are more pro-labor than the Democrats is strictly phony. The truth is that the Taft-Hartley Act has been amended, although not by Congress. It's been amended in practice by strangulating piece-meal anti-labor restrictive interpretations of Taft-Hartley made by the Republican-dominated National Labor Relations Board.

The lesson labor must learn is that it won't get even the drop in the bucket it has been asking for so long as it supports the two-party system. The only answer is for labor to build its own independent labor party, based on the trade unions.

# Notes on World Events

**BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS** took place without the coup d'etat expected of the reactionary Socialist Falange Party with Argentine backing. Incomplete election results indicate a large margin of victory for the ruling MNR Party. This is the petty-bourgeois led movement that was lifted to power by the workers in the April 1952 revolution. After nationalizing the tin mines and making some land reforms, it has steadily moved to the right under the pressure of U.S. imperialism from which it has obtained financial aid. It still has considerable support among Bolivian workers and peasants. The Trotskyist party, the POR, which has a long history of influence in the country, particularly among the miners, was active in mobilizing workers and peasants militias to stand guard on election day against the expected violence. No doubt these preparations counted heavily in the Falange's decision not to rise. The POR vote is as yet not known. A clue to what it may be is given in the dispatch

(June 18) of N.Y. Times correspondent Edward A. Morrow describing the Bolivian voting: "In this city [La Paz, the capital] most booths had ballot slips of all parties entered in the race. However, voters in the interior apparently had a more limited choice. In 12 of 13 booths visited by this correspondent in the provincial city of Viacha, 20 miles west of here, the voters could choose only between the government party and the Communists [Stalinists]."

**74 YEARS OF IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION** of Egyptian soil ended on June 18 when the last British troops left the Suez canal area. The Egyptian masses celebrated wildly and a three-day national holiday was proclaimed.

**RIOTING IN CEYLON** over the language question has resulted in deaths, arson and looting. This is the fruit of the communalist (i.e. playing off racial and religious communities in the country against one another) policy followed by the United Peoples Front, headed by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in the recent elections. His campaign mixed in with anti-imperialism and liberalism a large dose of chauvinism for the Sinhalese-speaking majority of Ceylon. In this he had support of a party led by Buddhist monks and a "leftist" group headed by Philip Gunawardene. The Trotskyist LSSP, which won second place in the elections, opposed communalism, urged solidarity of the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking minority. Its program called for making both Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon. Prime Minister Bandaranaike's attempt to pass a law making Sinhalese the only official language called forth passive resistance demonstrations by Tamils which were soon met with mob action by chauvinist Sinhalese. The LSSP is calling for solidarity of workers and peasants of all races, religions and languages to stop the rioting.

**PERUVIAN ELECTIONS** proved a smashing repudiation of former dictator President Odría. His candidate for president is running so far behind the others that Peruvian papers have stopped reporting his vote. Military dictator since 1948, Odría became so hated that a year ago he began granting political concessions to the people. Consequently the recent election was more or less free, with even the officially still outlawed APRA running a candidate. This candidate is running neck and neck with a political unknown. The N.Y. Times editorial of June 19 notes that there is little danger from the once-revolutionary APRA, which now "craves respectability."

**BRITISH REPRESSION** IN CYPRUS is justified (June 19) by Hanson Baldwin, N.Y. Times military expert, in a pro-imperialist argument in the course of which he states that the Communists "control the labor unions there." Labor's Daily of June 13 and 14 carry articles from an imprisoned, anti-Communist Party trade union leader in Cyprus and from a recently returned UAW official who was in Cyprus for the anti-Communist ICTTU. Both emphasize that the British militarists are smashing the ICTTU supported unions there.

## John G. Wright

NEW YORK, June 21 — John G. Wright, internationally known Marxist theoretician, educator and journalist, died here today at 3:00 p. m. just before the Militant went to press, of a heart attack after an illness lasting approximately six months. There will be a memorial meeting for Comrade Wright at headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, on Wednesday, June 27, at 8:00 p. m. The Militant next week will carry Comrade Wright's obituary.

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## Trotskyists Probe New CP Zig-Zag At Public Forums

Hundreds of workers in Los Angeles and New York City, including sizeable groups from the Communist Party and the Labor Youth League, attended meetings of the Socialist Workers Party June 15 to hear an explanation of Khrushchev's epoch-making speech exposing Stalin.

Speakers at both meetings were leaders of the SWP and experts on Stalinism. In Los Angeles the meeting was addressed by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP and one of the founders of Trotskyism in America. Cannon has a record of nearly fifty years in the labor movement. Beginning with the IWW and the Socialist Party, he was a founder of the Communist Party. One of the first to oppose the Stalinist degeneration of that party, he was expelled in 1928 and led in the founding of the Trotskyist group that later became the Socialist Workers Party.

In New York the audience heard Murry Weiss, editor of the Militant, who was expelled from the Communist Party in 1933 for questioning the Stalinist policy which had permitted Hitler to rise to power without opposition from the German CP. Since then Weiss has been a leading SWP organizer, speaker and writer.

### FOR FULL DISCUSSION

"There must be a new discussion, a free exchange of ideas, a new regroupment of honest workers for the victory of socialism in America," Cannon told his audience of 150 at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles.

Taking as a point of departure a recent editorial of the Stalinist Daily Worker promising

Next Week

IN THE MILITANT  
The  
"Khrushchev Revelations"  
By  
JAMES P. CANNON

ing honesty and open-mindedness, Cannon called for a full and free discussion of the regime and policies of Stalin in a series of debates and forums in which all radical and socialist tendencies could take part. He extended a special challenge to any Communist Party leader to debate with him the present CP policy of supporting the Democratic Party.

### NEW YORK MEETING

In New York, Murry Weiss analyzed, for an audience of more than 100, the contents of Khrushchev's secret session speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. He showed that it was an official repudiation of the monstrous Moscow "confession" trials on which the whole campaign of slander and vilification of Trotskyists had been based.

Weiss's speech was followed by a question-discussion period lasting over an hour. Spokesmen of the viewpoint of the Communist Party and of other tendencies in the labor movement took the floor to express agreement or differences with the speaker. When the hall had to be closed a large part of the audience continued the discussion at an open house at SWP headquarters in New York.

## SWP Meet To Hear Weiss

After completing a successful tour of major cities on the West Coast and Middle West, Myra Tanner Weiss, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, returns East to wind up her nation-wide election campaign trip. Her first speaking engagement on the East Coast will be in Buffalo on June 30.

Mrs. Weiss has been scheduled to speak on: The U.S. Election Campaign and the New Events in the Soviet Union. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party, at 831 Main St., on Saturday, June 30 at 8:00 p. m.

Mrs. Weiss's presentation of the Trotskyist analysis of the Khrushchev revelations and the death of the Stalin cult has aroused great interest among audiences throughout the country.

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# THE MILITANT

## Detroit SWP Names Candidate for Governor

### Socialists Want This, Not H-Bombs



A new device to combat cancer is shown being "charged" with radioactive cobalt. A tiny particle of radioactive cobalt equals in radiation a 3-million volt X-ray machine. Cobalt can be used to cure. In the form of a cobalt bomb it can kill all life on this planet. While capitalism spends billions for atomic instruments of death, socialism would use atomic energy only to improve and lengthen life. Under the so-called "free enterprise" system, the development of atomic energy for promoting the public welfare is stymied.

DETROIT, June 17 — Michigan voters were promised a fighting socialist campaign today when the state committee of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Rita Shaw as candidate for Governor in the 1956 election campaign.

Accepting the nomination, Rita Shaw, who is an active trade unionist, said she will work actively with Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidates for President and Vice-President, to "oppose both capitalist parties as agents of Big Business, unable to solve the problems of unemployment, the cold war, Jim Crow and the witch hunt."

### CAMPAIGN OBJECTIVE

Two objectives of her campaign, she said, will be:

(1) "To convince the union men and women, poor farmers and victims of Jim Crow that what we need in this country is a new party, a labor party, able and willing to reorganize our economy in the interests of the majority who work for a living."

(2) "To act as a rallying center for all radical and socialist-minded workers who want an end to class-collaboration politics in all its forms and a chance to express their desire for socialism at the polls."

### CERTIFICATION DELAYED

The Socialist Workers state committee also protested Secretary of State Hare's continuing delay in certifying the SWP for a place on the Michigan ballot. The customary way of checking nominating petitions was changed this way without advance notice to the minor parties, resulting in the possibility that they may be barred from the Michigan ballot for the first time in many years.

Despite this threat from the Democratic state administration, the SWP state committee says it will take every available step — including court action and, if



RITA SHAW

necessary, a write-in campaign — to insure that the voters will have an anti-capitalist alternative to the candidates of the old parties this year.

SWP headquarters will be at 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.

### French Ban Paper

A Reuters dispatch reports that on May 31 the French government suppressed the current issue of La Verite, weekly newspaper of the French Trotskyists. Reason for the confiscation of the paper was its articles denouncing French imperialism's war against the independence seeking people of Algeria.

## Wage Crisis Causes Shift

(Continued from page 1)

quas — received bonuses away out of proportion with the actual increases they brought in production. For instance, to this day, in many sections of the coal industry, if a worker meets 80% of the work quota he receives the base salary. If 100%, twice the base pay. If over 100%, three times the base pay.

### SPEED-UP SYSTEM

Originally, work quotas were set well above the average worker's capacities, so that only by straining every nerve could he even realize the quotas. At the same time a minority of pace setters — the Stakhanovites — were induced by the high premiums to overshoot the quotas. Their marks in turn tended to become new norms. This appeal to crass self-interest plus the murderous speed-up were dubbed "socialist competition" by Stalin.

In addition to bonuses, Stakhanovites were showered with all kinds of extra privileges by the state. According to Leon Trotsky's estimate in The Revolution Betrayed (1937), "The real earnings of the Stakhanovites often exceed by twenty or thirty times the earnings of lower categories. And as for especially fortunate specialists, their salaries would in many cases pay for the work of eighty to a hundred unskilled laborers."

Production in factories and mines was organized so as to enable Stakhanovites to set ever higher records. This put an intolerable strain on the rest of the workers. (For instance, it led to stretching the working day well beyond the official limits). It also tended to disorganize production completely. As a matter of fact, the bureaucracy used Stakhanovism, not only as a means of raising productivity, but far more effectively to divide the ranks of the proletariat by creating a labor aristocracy tied to the privileged bureaucratic strata.

### HARSH LEGAL CODE

The unions, thoroughly bureaucratized under Stalin, were officially transformed into administrative instruments of production a few years earlier. The workers were bound to the job by the harshest of legal provisions. These were the features of wage-payments and conditions of labor during the first Five-Year Plans.

However, over the years, with the growth of industry and despite bureaucratic mismanagement, the Soviet working class developed its productive abilities.

The majority of the Soviet workers are now in the skilled or semi-skilled brackets. Stakhanovites have completely dropped from sight. "Socialist group competition" — groupings of pace setters who replaced the individual Stakhanovites — are referred to only on ceremonial occasions. Bonuses and premiums originally designed for a minority now form a substantial part of the wages paid to a majority.

At the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU last July, Bulganin stated that during the course of the four preceding years the rate of productivity was supposed to have risen faster than that of real wages. Instead, he complained, real wages rose 37 per cent, whereas productivity increased only by 33 per cent. He blamed too low quotas and too high premiums for the actual development.

Besides upsetting the bureaucratically decreed relation between productivity and wages, the existing bonus system has led to inflation and to an actual curtailment of production in a number of instances. With bonuses rising steeply beyond the 80 per cent or 100 per cent of quota mark, every overfulfillment of the norm of a factory or mine brings with it a jump in labor costs and hence prices. But the factory managers depend for their premium not only on fulfillment of quotas but also on reducing prices and on a show of profits. Thus the old bonus system interferes with their personal records as managers and their privilege seeking.

The project of overhauling the wages-payment system has their full support.

The solution advanced by Bulganin last July was to raise work quotas and lower bonus rates. This is viewed by the workers with deep suspicions. On the one hand, the proposal does tend to level out glaring inequalities among workers, and this side corresponds with their own demands. On the other hand, Bulganin's proposal poses the following questions: Raise quotas how high? Reduce bonus rates how low? How much work will be demanded on an average for how much pay? The workers don't trust the grasping bureaucracy in the least to give them a fair deal.

The hated distinctions between the labor aristocracy and the mass of factory workers has certainly not been eliminated. But with the growth in skills it has diminished. It is estimated that in the engineering industry in 1946 highest wage

rates stood to lowest wage rates in a ratio of 3 1/2 to 1. Today they stand in a ratio of 2 1/2 to 1. The pace setter has lost his importance. As in all other modern industry, production is built around the average worker. This gives the working class far greater cohesiveness than in the days of Stakhanovism.

Furthermore the Soviet working class is again asserting itself politically as an independent force. Their pressure against the bureaucratic dictatorship has forced significant economic concessions and the dismantling of the Stalin cult — that is, the arbitrary one-man dictatorship.

These are the conditions under which the Committee on Wages and Labor must set new wage rates. It is noteworthy that the Committee has already labored a year without results. At the end of the year, Kaganovich is removed as chairman. Clearly, the workers have his number. This notorious Stalin lieutenant authored all the Draconian measures against them in the past. Any new wage proposals emanating from that source would immediately be suspect — even if it included a few temporary concessions.

The temper of the workers is such that the bureaucracy cannot openly proclaim wage-freezes and speed-ups. Hence hesitation and delay in formulating a plan of wage-rate changes. Hence also the need to place at the head of the committee a man without a glaring Stalinist past — a man, in short, who is but "little known."

Just the same, the working class is completely deprived of any voice in the setting of policy. It has no representatives on the Committee. The most the workers can therefore expect from this bureaucratic agency if they exert sufficient pressure on it is a few concessions. These would still not meet their basic needs. And it would leave the essential positions of the privileged bureaucracy intact.

To achieve a basic solution to bureaucratic oppression what the workers need is, first, to establish democratic rank and file control of their unions.

Then, they need the democracy of freely elected Soviets. There, represented by their own party or parties, the workers can re-vamp in their own interests the plans for industrial development. Only through this means can they establish a favorable ratio between their current consumption needs and the long-range needs of industrial growth of the country. The ratios between the production of consu-

mer goods and capital goods, between leisure and the duration and intensity of labor would be made subject to nationwide discussion and democratic decision, rather than being settled by bureaucratic edict.

A revival of Soviet democracy would above all result in a ruthless paring of the swollen privileges of the bureaucracy. With the workers in control, social inequality would be confined within the limits of strict necessity.

Before such a development, the bureaucratic caste, which rules uncontrolled in the Soviet Union today, stands in mortal fear. All the moves of the Kremlin — concessions as well as repressions — are designed to preserve the prestige, power, and revenue of the parasitic bureaucracy.

Thus the issue of quotas and bonuses and all the related issues can be resolved in favor of the working masses only by a political overturn of the bureaucratic autocracy.

### Play 'Little Stalins' For One Man Rule

"Little Stalins" in regional and district positions of power are now being denounced by top Soviet bureaucrats in terms that Khrushchev used against Stalin himself. The June 13 Pravda condemned local officials for their rudeness, conceit and refusal to consider opinions other than their own. "Some of them act like political bosses who have the idea they can make all decisions themselves." Worse. "They feel incapable of making mistakes, and they regard every critical remark as being aimed at undermining them."

Pravda cites as a particularly horrible example one Bondarenko, a party boss in the Ukraine. "This man... took on himself full credit for the good crops in his district last year when in reality they were due to favorable weather." He also ordered the arrest of a farmer for criticizing the method of payment on a collective farm.

A higher party body first dismissed Bondarenko, then reinstated him two weeks later. "Leaving this man in his party post has aroused resentment among rank and file party members," says Pravda. Khrushchev's remedy in a case like this is to fire the "little Stalin" and replace him with a more artful "little Khrushchev."