

TROTSKY LETTER TO SOVIET WORKERS

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Steel Barons Provoke Shutdown to Justify New Price Increases

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN — It is now obvious to all that the profit-bloated steel corporations deliberately provoked a strike in order to create a situation in which they can impose another price gouge and blame the unions for setting off an inflationary trend in the economy.

Before the shutdown the demand for steel was falling off with prospects of further cut-backs in production as auto, farm equipment, household appliance and other big consumers slashed their orders in the face of a rapidly declining market. It was only in anticipation of the steel lockout that big users piled up large inventories and kept the mills running at near capacity.

The profit-hungry steel barons who exercise a stranglehold monopoly over this key sector of the American economy, coldly calculated their strategy of extracting additional tribute from the public. The union-hating National Association of Manufacturers announced that the shutdown may result in "another spiral of inflation if uneconomic raises are forced on the companies." Every big business propaganda agency sang the same tune.

From the beginning of the shutdown, administration spokesmen in Washington announced that Eisenhower was adopting a "hands-off policy." This was supposed to indicate the "liberal" character of the Wall Street gang that runs the show in the nation's capitol.

Their real attitude is disclosed

by the magazine U.S. News and World Report, July 20, which defends the views of corporate wealth in this country. In addition to the economic benefits to be derived by Wall Street from the shutdown, U.S. News chortles over the political benefits to be gained by the Republican administration.

"Without the strike," says U.S. News, "steel output would have gone into a slow decline in the summer and autumn, hurting business just before election time. With the strike, output was cut off all at once. Following settlement, with pipelines depleted and demand heavy, steel mills will be hard pressed to supply customers. Result: Things will be humming in autumn, just before election."

The Democrats, on the other hand, argue that the shutdown will help elect their candidates. In addition to those workers directly affected, the shutdown will throw hundreds of thousands out of employment in industries and transportation dependent upon sustained steel production. Several millions additional unemployed will mean votes for them, say the Democrats, with a suppressed chuckle.

It seems, therefore, that the shutdown is the best thing that has yet happened. Everyone is

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Steel Union On Strike



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

Workers' Pressure Forces Hungarian 'Stalin's' Downfall

Witch Hunters Bait Victims Of Blacklist

Are you opposed to blacklisting? Have you been victimized after being falsely accused by a privately-organized witch-hunting gang? If so, that obviously raises the question of whether "you are a friend or a foe of America's struggle against communism"—at any rate so says Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Last month a two-volume, documented report on "Blacklisting in the Entertainment Industry" was published by the Fund for the Republic, which is subsidized by the Ford Foundation. The project was headed by John Cogley, a former editor of the liberal Catholic magazine, Commonweal.

The report includes a host of harrowing case histories of victimizations resulting from the blacklisting which now has the entertainment field by the throat. Countless entertainers have found themselves jobless after being listed as "communists" in such scurrilous rags as Red Channels and Counterattack, or after having been fingered by Aware, Inc., the McCarthyite outfit which has been sparking the witch hunt in the radio and TV field.

Cogley was hauled before the House committee last week where he was told by Walter that his report raised the question of where the Fund for the Republic stood in the "struggle against communism."

A number of journalists also testified to deny the charge that many of the blacklisted entertainers were able to secure re-employment only after winning "clearances" from one of various McCarthyite columnists.

On July 13 the committee decided it wanted to hear from some of those listed in the report as having been blacklisted after being falsely accused of "communism." Walter announced: "We want to ask them where they were blacklisted. Subpoenas are out for some of them right now." In short, having already been framed-up, the entertainers in question must now face the third degree.



Discontent of Workers Smolders in E. Europe

By William Bundy

JULY 18—Reports continue to come out of Eastern Europe describing a smoldering discontent among the industrial workers such as preceded the Poznan general strike, June 28. Also reported is criticism and opposition to the Stalinist regimes among students, intellectuals and sections of the Communist parties. At the same time the efforts of the Kremlin-backed governments to head off recurrences of the Poznan uprising continue to combine two methods: (1) Concessions, admissions and promises; (2) repression, frame-up and threats.

In Warsaw yesterday it was announced that 323 of the many hundreds more arrested in the June 28 events and its aftermath are still under investigation. Prosecutor General Marian Rybicki asserted that of these, 61 persons are included who used the disturbances for "robbery" and "looting." He added that a distinction was being made between "workers influenced by dissatisfaction caused by nonfulfillment of their rather justified demands," and "reckless criminal and provocateur elements inspired by sources alien to Poland."

The announcement of this "distinction" comes down to this: the factory workers will be depicted as unwitting dupes of the "spies" who cleverly exploited their "rather justified demands" to lure them into "diversionary" activity. Thus the regime hopes to accomplish two things: to discredit past or future revolutionary mass uprisings against it, and to make examples of those who dared to organize a strike and demonstrate for working class demands.

In addition, it is by no means excluded that workers who played a leading role in the struggle will be framed as either criminals or spies. It is apparent that the Security Police rounded up a number of professional criminals. Such elements are notoriously ready to swear to anything in exchange for a deal with the prosecution promising lighter sentences.

Hopes have been raised among some socialists and liberals in Europe and the United States that a relatively fair trial may be conducted on the Poznan events. These hopes are based on reports of a struggle within the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Stalinist) party. The Central Committee is scheduled to meet today and it is expected that among those who will be in-

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Regime Deposes Rakosi With Warning Against "Any More Poznans"

JULY 19 — The "resignation" of Matyas Rakosi, the "Stalin" of Hungary, from his post as First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party was announced today. As in the case of Stalin in the Soviet Union, Rakosi's repudiation by fellow bureaucrats comes as a result of the tremendous pressure of the workers on the regime.

Recently, the Kremlin sought to bolster Rakosi with public declarations of support. This was after long pent-up anger against Rakosi and the bureaucratic regime had exploded at party meetings and in the press.

But the top bureaucrats finally had to give way, in order — by means of a concession to mass pressure — to preserve the dictatorship of the privileged ruling caste.

At the same time, the Hungarian government threatens the masses with bloody reprisals should they push their struggle further. There will be "no second Poznan," warned Ero Gero, who took Rakosi's place as party boss.

MOUNTING STRUGGLE

There have been a number of reports during the past several weeks showing mounting opposition to the regime in Hungary. Thus at a meeting on June 29 of 2,000 leading members of the Stalinist party, more than a dozen speakers charged the party had degenerated. The widow of former Hungarian minister, Laszlo Rajk, executed as a "Titoist" in 1949 and cleared posthumously as a frame-up victim, pointed the finger of accusation at the present rulers of Hungary and declared:

"Murderers cannot be rehabilitated. They not only have destroyed my husband, held me in

jail for five years, without permitting me to see my baby, receive food, letters or clothes, but they have utterly destroyed our country's political, economic and moral life." (See report in the July 1, New York Times.)

A few nights later an even stormier and larger meeting took place in Budapest called by the Petofi Youth League. There, Tibor Deri, well-known Hungarian writer declared "It is high time to end this present regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats." A few days later Deri was expelled from the party.

WORKERS PROTEST

If members of the ruling party are speaking out in such a fashion, one can imagine the far greater anger of the masses. A muffled indication of this was carried in July 12 Budapest radio report that workers at the Matyas Rakosi Steel Works held a protest meeting over pay deductions. Trade union and government officials present at the meeting failed to give adequate answers to the workers' questions, the broadcast said.

However, what forced the Stalinist bureaucrats to sacrifice Rakosi was not only the developments in Hungary, but above all the Poznan general strike.

This rising of the workers has thoroughly frightened the Kremlin and all East European regimes. By concessions and repressions they seek to head off even more widespread and better organized actions against their tyrannical rule.

SWP Candidates Highlight Election Campaign Issues

Poznan and the Polish national question were analyzed by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president when she spoke at a public meeting in Philadelphia July 13.

While in Philadelphia Mrs. Weiss also met with a group of Temple University students and a serious probe was made of the fundamental problems of Marxism.

The running mate for Presidential Candidate Farrell Dobbs went to nearby Allentown for a public meeting there July 14 and then returned to Philadelphia on Sunday, July 15 for an all day picnic which was concerned largely with such political questions as events in the Soviet Union and the question of Negro segregation in this country.

(Election rallies featuring Mrs. Weiss in New York on July 20 and in Newark on July 21 will be covered in the next issue of the Militant.)

In Michigan, Socialist Workers Party Candidate Rita Shaw, who is waging a fighting write-in campaign as candidate for Governor in spite of being arbitrarily ruled off the ballot, has issued an appeal for support to readers of the Michigan Worker, state edition of the Daily Worker.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

"There is only one party in the present campaign," the appeal states, "that reflects the sentiments and expresses the aspirations of class-conscious and politically advanced workers. It is the Socialist Workers Party."

"In this election campaign we advocate, and in the unions we have long been working for, the formation of an independent labor party, based on the union, Negro and dirt farmer movements. The



MYRA TANNER WEISS

formation of a labor party will constitute a break with the two-party system, an inevitable step on the road to socialism."

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

"We urge you if you are a member of the Communist Party, to try to persuade the coming national conference of the CP (in September) that it would be criminal to continue the policy of supporting the Democratic Party, and that the CP should endorse the candidates of the SWP for the reasons given above."

Detroit "Stalin Cult" Debate Sets Precedent

DETROIT, July 13—The first opportunity the labor and radical movement of the city has ever had to hear the ideas of Trotskyism and Stalinism presented from the same platform was provided tonight at a debate between Bob Himmel, congressional candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1954 and Bolza Baxter, Chairman of the Labor Youth League.

The debate was held in a packed meeting hall at the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church. The debaters addressed themselves to the subject: Recent Events in the Soviet Union and Their Significance for the American People.

Leaflets announcing the meeting stated that the following questions would be dealt with: (1) What is the meaning of the Russian Communist Party's exposure and disavowal of the "Stalin cult"? What implications does this have for the future of American politics? (2) Is a "peaceful transformation to socialism" likely? What kind of a party and program is needed to bring socialism to America? (3) Is it true that war is no longer inevitable? Can "peaceful co-existence" work?

"This meeting is a landmark in the history of the socialist movement here in Detroit," Himmel declared in his presentation. "It marks the opening of what I hope will be a long and fruitful discussion of the many vital

questions that are of paramount importance to all those who are sincerely interested in building a better society. It is a discussion that is long overdue. But if the obstacles that prevented it in the past can be overcome the results can be only good."

"Such a discussion, involving a free exchange of ideas among the most diverse tendencies in the working class movement, can lay the foundation for building a strong and united party of socialism in America."

Himmel referred to the writings of Leon Trotsky that were prominently displayed at the meeting and recommended that they be studied for a genuine understanding of events in the Soviet Union.

In his presentation, Baxter stated that the new world situation and the revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had combined to force him to re-eval-

uate many of his past opinions and that he intended to develop his understanding further. He granted that a free discussion was a good beginning in this direction, but expressed the opinion that such a discussion could be of use only among people who recognized the possibility and desirability of "peaceful co-existence."

(Baxter stated that in the debate he was not officially speaking for the Communist Party or Labor Youth League.)

He defended the idea of "peaceful co-existence" as a new notion developed at the 20th Congress and hailed it as the only hope of the American people to avoid another world war.

The 20th Congress also revealed that Stalin, too, made certain "errors" and engaged in certain "excesses," Baxter said. But the fact that the Soviet leaders have discovered and revealed these "errors" and "excesses" provides the basis for a regroupment "of all genuine peace forces in this country." They can now work together for "peaceful co-existence between the Socialist world and the Capitalist world." The fact that one-third of the world is now "socialist" has forced the American State Department to take a new look and this indicates that "peaceful co-existence" is possible if the American people exert pressure in this direction.

Himmel stated that the real

significance of the 20th Congress was the admission by Khrushchev and Co. of the crimes committed by Stalin against the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party.

"The 20th Congress revelations came in response to overwhelming pressure by the Soviet working class on the bureaucratic chiefs of the Soviet CP." The many concessions wrested from the Kremlin are an expression of a growing political revolution by

the Soviet workers against the bureaucracy and an attempt by the bureaucrats to head it off by making some concessions."

As for peaceful co-existence, it embodies no new concept, Himmel said. It is the long-established Stalinist policy of seeking to defend the Soviet Union by means of status quo deals with imperialism. It failed to prevent the Second World War. It was through this policy that Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were transformed into docile tools to be used as diplomatic pawns in reaching a deal with imperialism.

ELECTION POLICY That is what the present leaders of the American CP propose to continue, and what the discussion ought to change. In particular, Himmel scored the policy of the American CP leaders of endorsing the Democrats in the election campaign.

"The most important task facing socialists in this country is breaking the American working class out of the political strait-jacket of capitalist parties. This is the essential prerequisite for building a mass party of socialism in the United States."

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



BOB HIMMEL

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"Still Speaking Stalin's Language"

By I. F. STONE

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Letter from Trotsky To Soviet Workers

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

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

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

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

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

Revolution Not for Bureaucrats

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Goal of the Fourth International

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

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

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

Down With Cain Stalin and his Camarilla!
Down With the Rapacious Bureaucracy!
Long Live the Soviet Union, the Fortress of the Toilers!
Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

Fraternally,
Leon Trotsky
May, 1940

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

— L. T.

One-Party System in Theory and Practice

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

By Leon Trotsky

The promise to give the Soviet people freedom to vote "for those whom they want to elect" is rather a poetic figure than a political formula. The Soviet people will have the right to choose their "representatives" only from among candidates whom the central and local leaders present to them under the flag of the party.

To be sure, during the first period of the Soviet era the Bolshevik party also exercised a monopoly. But to identify these two phenomena would be to take appearance for reality.

The prohibition of opposition parties was a temporary measure dictated by conditions of civil war, blockade, intervention and famine. The ruling party, representing in that period a genuine organization of the proletarian vanguard, was living a full-blooded inner life. A struggle of groups and factions to a certain degree replaced the struggle of parties. At present, when socialism has conquered "finally and irrevocably," the formation of factions is punished with concentration camp or firing squad. The prohibition of other parties, from being a temporary evil, has been erected into a principle.

The right to occupy themselves with political questions has even been withdrawn from the Communist Youth, and that at the very moment of publication of the new constitution. Moreover, the citizens and citizenesses enjoy the franchise from the age of 18, but the age limit for Communist Youth existing until 1936 (23 years) is now wholly abolished. Politics is thus once for all declared the monopoly of an uncontrolled bureaucracy.

NO BASIS FOR PARTIES?

To a question from an American interviewer as to the role of the party in the new constitution, Stalin answered: "Once there are no classes, once the barriers between classes are disappearing ['there are no classes, the barriers between classes—these are not!—are disappearing'—L.T.], there remains only something in the nature of a not at all fundamental difference between various little strata of the socialist society. There can be no nourishing soil for the creation of parties struggling among themselves. Where there are not several classes, there cannot be several parties, for a party is part of a class."

Every word is a mistake and some of them two! It appears from this that classes are homogeneous; that the boundaries of classes are outlined sharply and once for all; that the consciousness of a class strictly corresponds to its place in society. The Marxist teaching of the class nature of the party is thus turned into a caricature. The dynamic of political consciousness is excluded from the historical process in the interests of administration.

political differences are far from comprised in the alternative: to socialism or to capitalism. There are other questions: How to go toward socialism, with what tempo, etc. The choice of the road is no less important than the choice of the goal.

Who is going to choose the road? If the nourishing soil for political parties has really disappeared, then there is no reason to forbid them. On the contrary, it is time, in accordance with the party program, to abolish "all limitations of freedom whatsoever."

In trying to dispel the natural doubts of his American interviewer, Stalin advanced a new consideration: "Lists of nominees will be presented not only by the Communist Party, but also by all kinds of nonparty social organizations. And we have hundreds of them. . . . Each one of the little strata [of Soviet society] can have its special interests and reflect [express?] them through the existing innumerable social organizations." This sophism is no better than the others.

THE RUN-AROUND

The Soviet "social" organizations—trade union, co-operative, cultural, etc.—do not in the least represent the interests of different "little strata," for they all have one and the same hierarchical structure. Even in those cases where they apparently represent mass organizations, as in the trade unions and co-operatives, the active role in them is played exclusively by representatives of the upper privileged groups, and the last word remains with the "party"—that is, the bureaucracy. The constitution merely refers the elector from Pontius to Pilate.

The mechanics of this are expressed with complete precision in the very text of the fundamental law. Article 126, which is the axis of the constitution as a political system, "guarantees the right" to all male and female citizens to group themselves in trade unions, co-operatives, youth, sport, defensive, cultural, technical and scientific organizations.

As to the party—that is, the concentration of power—there it is not a question of the right of the minority. " . . . The most active and conscious [so considered, that is from above—L.T.] citizens from the ranks of the working class and other strata of the toiling masses, are united in the Communist Party . . . which constitutes the guiding nucleus of all organizations, both social and governmental." This astounding candid formula, introduced into the text of the constitution itself, reveals the whole fictitiousness of the political role of the "social organizations"—subordinate branches of the bureaucratic firm.

But if there is not to be a struggle of parties, perhaps the different factions within the one

Supreme Soviet Rubber-Stamp Rulers

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

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

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

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

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

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

party can reveal themselves at these democratic elections? To the question of a French journalist as to the groupings of the ruling party, Molotov answered: "In the party . . . attempts have been made to create special factions but it is already several years since the situation in this matter has fundamentally changed, and the Communist Party is actually a unit." This is proven best of all by the continuous purgations and the concentration camps.

After the commentary of Molotov, the mechanics of democracy are completely clear. "What remains of the October Revolution," asks Victor Serge, "if every worker who permits himself to make a demand, or express a critical judgment, is subject to imprisonment? Oh, after that you can establish many more secret ballots as you please!" It is true: even Hitler did not infringe upon the secret ballot.

The reformers have dragged in theoretical arguments about the mutual relations of classes and parties by the hair. It is not a question of sociology, but of material interests. The ruling party which enjoys a monopoly in the Soviet Union is the political machine of the bureaucracy, which in reality has something to lose and nothing more to gain. It wishes to preserve the "nourishing soil" for itself alone.

In a country where the lava of revolution has not yet cooled, privileges burn those who possess them as a stolen gold watch burns an amateur thief. The ruling Soviet stratum has learned to fear the masses with a perfectly bourgeois fear. Stalin gives the growing special privileges of the upper circles a "theoretical" justification with the help of the Communist International, and defends the Soviet aristocracy from popular discontent with the help of concentration camps. In order that this mechanism should keep on working, Stalin is compelled from time to time to take the side of "the people" against the bureaucracy—of course, with its tacit consent. He finds it useful to resort to the secret ballot in order at least partially to purge the state apparatus of the corruptions which are devouring it.

As early as 1928, Rakovsky wrote, discussing a number of cases of bureaucratic gangsterism which were coming to the surface: "The most characteristic and most dangerous thing in this spreading wave of scandals is the passiveness of the masses, the Communist masses even more than the nonparty. . . . Owing to fear of those in power, or simply owing to political indifference, they have passed these things by without protest, or have limited themselves to mere grumbling."

During the eight years which have passed since that time, the situation has become incomparably worse. The decay of the political machine, exposing itself at every step, has begun to threaten the very existence of the state—no longer now as an instrument for the socialist transformation of society, but as a source of power, income and privilege.

illeges to the ruling stratum.

Stalin was compelled to give a glimpse of this motive to the reform. "We have not a few institutions," he told Roy Howard, "which work badly. . . . The secret ballot in the Soviet Union will be a whip in the hands of the population against badly working organs of power." A remarkable confession! After the bureaucracy has created a socialist society with its own hands, it feels the need . . . of a whip! That is one of the motives of the constitutional reform. There is another no less important.

In abolishing the soviets, the new constitution dissolves the workers in the general mass of the population. Politically the soviets, to be sure, long ago lost their significance. But with the growth of new social antagonisms and the awakening of a new generation, they might again come to life. Most of all, of course, are to be feared the city soviets with the increasing participation of fresh and demanding communist youth. In the cities the contrast between luxury and want is too clear to the eyes.

The first concern of the Soviet aristocracy is to get rid of workers and Red Army soviets. With the discontent of the scattered rural population it is much easier to deal. The collectivized peasants can even with some success be used against the city workers. This is not the first time that a bureaucratic reaction has relied upon the country in its struggle against the city.

Whatever in the new constitution is principled and significant, and really elevates it high above the most democratic constitutions of bourgeois countries, is merely a watered-down paraphrase of the fundamental documents of the October revolution. Whatever has to do with estimating the economic consequences, distorts reality with false perspective and braggadocio. And finally whatever concerns freedom and democracy is saturated through and through with the spirit of usurpation and cynicism.

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

Kremlin Assailed for Silence on Anti-Semitism

By Harry Ring

For three months a deeply troubled U.S. Communist Party membership has waited for an explanation from the Kremlin about admissions of governmental anti-Semitism under Stalin. They have met with a stubborn refusal to give such explanations and with disturbing new reports of continuing anti-Semitic practices.

Last April 4, *Folksstimm*, a Jewish paper published in Poland, revealed the shocking facts of the mass slaughter of the leaders of Jewish cultural and political activity in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist purge of Jews occurred in two waves: in the Thirties during the Moscow Trials and in the period following World War II up to 1953.

The silence of Khrushchev and his associates about these damning admissions is deliberate. This was demonstrated when *Pravda* on June 27 reprinted a statement on the 20th Congress by Eugene Dennis, secretary of the American CP, and deleted from it the phrase, "snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures," from Dennis' catalogue of Stalin's crimes.

The only official Kremlin comment on Soviet anti-Semitism to appear in this country thus far comes in the form of a flat denial of its existence. The denial appears in the *Progressive Party* weekly, the *National Guardian*, which June 25 featured an exclusive interview with Ekaterina Furtseva a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, by Guardian correspondent Tabitha Petran.

"MANY PROMINENT JEWS"

The Guardian reports that Mrs. Furtseva "denied emphatically that there has been even any sup-

pression of Jewish culture or repression of the Jewish people." She further assured Miss Petran that although she had not read the *Folksstimm* revelations, she was positive that if they were true "we would have published it ourselves and would not need to have it published in the Polish press." Jewish culture has developed freely in the Soviet Union, she asserted, and there are many prominent Jews in the arts and sciences.

Mrs. Furtseva conceded there had been talk of Soviet anti-Semitism based on a misunderstanding of government actions. It seems that "The government had found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upwards of 50% of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions, and without jeopardizing their rights. All of this was in accordance with Lenin's principles on the national question, she said."

As final, bone-crushing proof of the absence of anti-Semitism, the Soviet bureaucrat pointed out that 80% of the musicians who played at the Kremlin reception for Tito were Jewish. Miss Petran does not report whether any of Mrs. Furtseva's best friends were Jewish.

The interview appeared in the Guardian under a banner headline, "High Soviet official in frank interview; denies Jewish curbs." Reaction to this brazen whitewash was quick and sharp. One angry letter in the July 9

Guardian said, "It is a remarkable commentary that, after almost 40 years of socialism, a member of the governing party's central committee should smugly deny anti-Semitism by 'pointing to many Jewish people prominent in science and the arts' . . . this is like a Washington official refuting the persecution of the Negro people by pointing to Ralph Bunche, George Washington Carver, Cab Calloway and Louis Armstrong."

Another letter asks: "How do you find out there are too many Jews or any other except either by secret police or, just as bad, biased questionnaires which are anti-Semitic or anti-other minority, as any American who has fought for the elimination of such bias knows."

Freiheit, Stalinist Yiddish language newspaper published in New York, bitterly declared in a June 25 editorial: "When Ekaterina Furtseva asserts in the interview that nothing happened to Jewish culture, and that there are no problems of anti-Semitism, she unfortunately showed that she does not comprehend what the Jewish question is about."

Citing the Jewish schools, newspapers and theaters in the early days of the USSR, Freiheit asks: "Where is all this now? What has become of this magnificent edifice? It was destroyed! It fell victim to the crippling of Soviet democracy. It became a victim of terror, a victim of great-Russian chauvinism, which was so stubbornly fought by Lenin. In 1948 when the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was liquidated Jewish culture was completely eradicated."

The editorial adds, "Can there be such a thing as a system of quotas on government jobs — something which is impermissible if anti-Semitism is to be uprooted? . . . The interview given by E. Furtseva has only brought more uncertainty and has further upset the friends of the Soviet Union."

Other developments show that Mrs. Furtseva was not simply speaking for herself. In his interview with a French Socialist delegation in Moscow last May, Khrushchev spoke of a disproportionately high number of Jews holding office in the early days of the Soviets and that the number of Jews in professional positions is now restricted to the relative proportion of Jews in the population. [New York Times, June 10.]

Khrushchev's statements on the Jewish question, coupled with his silence on this subject in his Stalin indictment, does not help to refute the charge made by C. L. Sulzberger in the July 9 N. Y. Times that Khrushchev bears much personal responsibility for Soviet anti-Semitism.

Sulzberger, a well-informed journalist, writes: "When Khrushchev was Prime Minister of the Ukraine after World War II he issued regulations barring Jews from important local positions. He was the first Premier of a Soviet republic to prohibit activity of Jewish theaters, schools and publishing houses."

The statements of Khrushchev and Furtseva also lend credence to the report of the American rabbi who returned from a recent visit to the Soviet Union. They said in the July 18 N. Y. Times that the conditions of the Soviet Jews have substantially

improved in the past several years but that there was still a complete absence of Jewish cultural institutions. Such institutions were absent, Soviet officials told the rabbi, because the Jewish people did not want them.

With a Jewish population of two-to-three million in the Soviet Union, the rabbi said, there is but one twice-weekly Yiddish paper, published in remote Birobidzhan, with a circulation of 1,000 to 2,000. They added that while each Jew has the word "Jew" stamped on his passport, he does not have any of the privileges accorded other Soviet national minorities.

The Khrushchev regime has also drawn the fire of *Folksstimm*. On July 7 the Warsaw paper declared that "so-called assimilation of the millions of Jews of the Soviet Union" as a reason for elimination of Jewish cultural institutions "cannot stand up under criticism and does not correspond to reality."

Folksstimm poses two questions: 1. "Why was the Jewish subject passed in silence in the speech by Khrushchev and in the discussion at the 20th Congress?" 2. "Why is there no full rehabilitation and revival of Yiddish cultural and social life in the Soviet Union?"

These questions explode *Folksstimm*'s original contention that the crimes against the Soviet Jews were the responsibility of one man—the hated secret police chief, Beria. This contention, which has been echoed here by the *Daily Worker* and Freiheit, does not hold water.

While Beria bears his share of guilt, he certainly was not alone. He did not have the power to lead the anti-Semitic purges of the

Thirties. Nor was it he who engineered the infamous "Jewish Doctors Plot" of 1953.

CULPRIT PROMOTED

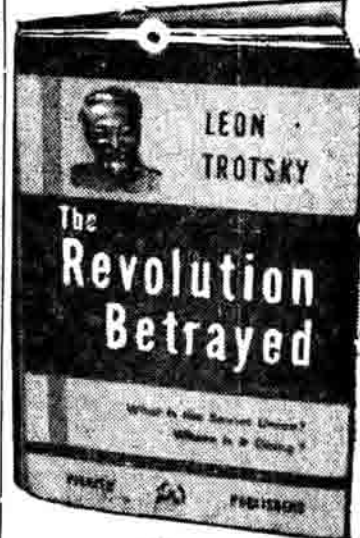
The doctors frame-up was engineered on Stalin's orders by the then Minister of State Security, S. D. Ignatiev and his deputy Ryumin. After Stalin's death the case was reviewed by Beria and Ryumin was shot for torturing "confessions" out of the doctors. Ignatiev escaped arrest and was restored to the party apparatus by Khrushchev. He is now first Secretary of the Bashkirian Provincial Committee.

Denunciations of the "Beria gang" do not explain anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union any more than they can explain frame-ups. Nor will reference to Stalin's personal aberrations be of any aid. What is required is a Marxist analysis of the reactionary politics pursued under Stalin as well as his successors.

These politics flow from the privilege seeking of a ruling bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, and the need to defend the usurped power and privileges from the Soviet masses. The bureaucratic regime destroyed the workers' democracy of Lenin's time as well as the internationalist outlook of the Bolshevik party. Under the slogan of "building socialism in one country" it revived great-Russian chauvinism. And in direct proportion to such chauvinism the bureaucracy instituted oppression of national minorities. The Jews—as always under this form of reaction—were among the worst sufferers. This is the key to understanding the plight of the Jewish masses in the Soviet Union.

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I. F. Stone Flays Soviet CP on Stalin Cult

[We reprint herewith an article entitled "Still Speaking Stalin's Language" from the July 9 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly. (Boldfacing has been supplied.) The Weekly is published at Room 205, 301 E. Capitol St., S. E., Washington 3, D. C. The subscription rate is \$5 per year. I. F. Stone, a noted liberal journalist, visited the Soviet Union and Poland in May and has reported his findings in recent issues of the Weekly. — Ed.]

By I. F. Stone

The easiest way for an American to visualize the ruling group in Russia today is to picture George Meany, David Dubinsky, and Carmine de Sapio governing a country where there was State ownership of all the means of production and communication, with no opposition allowed. The men at the top in Moscow are much like the trade union bureaucrats and machine politicians we know so well: shrewd and resourceful but of limited mentality, not without devotion to the institutions they serve but easily identifying loyalty to themselves with loyalty to the system. Like our trade union leaders, they are accustomed cynically to manipulate the election machinery on which their jobs supposedly depend. Once they get into office, they expect to stay on until they die; they live among flunkies and their first concern is with power, and with the intrigue and fear that go to maintain it.

With this picture in mind, one is less likely to be surprised by the low intellectual level and indeed the turpitude of the reply broadcast from Moscow by their Central Committee to criticisms from abroad. This is about what one would expect in a crisis from an A.F. of L. Council: a stubborn repetition of clichés by bureaucrats so accustomed to be obeyed that they have long lost or failed to develop any capacity to persuade or inspire.

The thoughtful Soviet citizen — and there are many, despite the stifling atmosphere — will read the statement with glee, nausea and hope: glee, that the Khrushchev crowd has been put on the defensive; nausea, at having to read for the umpteenth time this same imbecile litany about "the Beria gang" and the "Trotskyites, right wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists"; and hope, that maybe this crowd is so clumsy it will lose power. The intelligent Russian will watch first for the reaction from abroad, particularly in Italy, where Togliatti must compete with the Left Socialist Nemi. For this statement is a challenge which says that the Khrushchev regime has no intention of making fundamental reforms in the direction of greater freedom of expression and greater security against the State apparatus.

Here it is in black and white, from the Central Committee, that "collective leadership" from

which, miraculously, "correct" decisions infallibly flow. The heart of the statement is its warning that it would be "a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of changes in the social order in the USSR or to look for the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order. Both alternatives are absolutely wrong. . . ." Thus we are led to believe that the cult of Stalin was a kind of anomalous evil apparition unrelated to the conditions of Soviet life and Communist dictatorship. And now that the evil man has been removed, no changes need to be made to prevent recurrence.

This supernatural causation parades as Marxism. To blame it all on some vague emanation called Stalinism is to avoid changes which would reduce one's own power.

There is no evidence in the Central Committee statement of any fresh thinking whatsoever. These are men who have hot or will not learn the ABC's of free government, whether under capitalism or communism. They still talk vaguely of "the cult of personality" when they should be talking of the means to check it — of independent courts, a free press, a parliament or Soviet in which delegates speak up for the grievances of those who elected them, freedom to demonstrate in the streets, trade unions which can voice worker grievances. Theoretically, all these exist in the Soviet Union. Had they existed in practice, the evils of Stalinism would never have grown so enormous; criticism, exposure and protest would have kept them within bounds.

All these issues were understood and argued out in the early days of the Revolution, when there were still opposition parties with their own papers. Some of the bitterest battles within the ranks of Bolshevism were fought over the issue of a free press, i.e. a press which would not be the monopoly of one party or one point of view. Originally, after the Revolution, Lenin projected the re-allocation of nationalized printing resources among various parties in proportion to their strength.

ECHOES OF AN OLD HOAX

Fascism, foreign intervention, civil war, and old habits — Russian habits — soon swept all this into the discard. But it is in these first years that study must

begin, that lessons may be learned, from which a new Russia can find its way again. How much is the de-Stalinization campaign worth when his successors and traducers talk exactly as he did? The conclusions of the Central Committee sound extraordinarily like those statements of the 30's which accompanied the adoption of Stalin's Constitution, statements which read so painfully today in the pages of friendly observers like Beatrice and Sidney Webb because it was all so enormous a hoax.

The very words might be Stalin's. He too if he were alive and felt it necessary to defend himself would be saying that the Soviets "were and remain organs of genuine popular authority," though they ceased being organs of popular authority very soon after the Bolsheviks took power. Today they are the verminiform appendices of the Russian Revolution, vestiges of spontaneous uprising in 1905 and 1917. Today the Supreme Soviet neither legislates nor debates; it only applauds. Stalin, too, boasted in the 30's exactly as this Central Committee does now that "Soviet democracy" is superior to "bourgeois democracy" because it not only "proclaims freedom of speech and of the press . . . but also insures them materially."

The reference is to Article 125 of Stalin's Constitution which says that the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and demonstrations "are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing shops, supplies of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication and the other material requisites for the exercise of these rights." There is no record that anybody was ever foolish enough to take this seriously and ask, please, could he print up some leaflets for a protest demonstration on Sverdlov square next Tuesday? This provision alone puts the Stalin Constitution among the masterworks of Russian humor. But is this the time to retell old jokes?

OUT COME THE PET BUGABOOS

The Central Committee statement, on the heels of the Poznan uprising, must shake confidence not only in the sincerity of the Khrushchev leadership but in its competence. Its content and Moscow's reaction to Poznan will add to the disillusion engulfing the Communist parties abroad. The aroma of regimes doped by their own incense-burners is evident in the reactions from both Moscow and Belgrade; the Russians blamed worker discontent in Poznan on "imperialists," the Yugoslavs on "Stalinists." Both trotted out their pet bugaboos. Only in the reactions of the more

intelligent Polish regime is there a recognition of real grievances.

Where but in Moscow would a regime give out such implausible and stereotyped drivel as Tass's description from Poznan, "Workers expressed their deep disgust at the diversionist actions directed against the peoples' power?" What folly from Moscow's point of view, to give Washington credit for the uprising, to exaggerate Allen Dulles's importance, to picture the conventional minds and sedentary spirits of our State Department and CIA as global Robespierres? Even the densest Communist must begin to see that this is the familiar tactic of blaming every strike on sinister foreign influence.

The Poznan demonstrations, like strikes under other despotic regimes, quickly took on a political character. The whole affair had a quaint Nineteenth Century flavor. A young girl, militantly striding ahead, was photographed leading one band of workers; they carried a flag dipped in blood. There were barricades in the streets. This was like 1848, and even at a distance had that genuine Polish romantic air; one could almost hear someone playing Chopin from a balcony as the battles in the streets mounted in intensity. Soldiers fraternized with demonstrators; there were cries of "down with the Russians." The main grievance was underscored by the attack on the secret police headquarters.

The workers of Poznan deserve the widest support from abroad; this uprising is the test of the

Polish regime. How it reacts will determine its right to survive. If the emphasis is on suppression, all its bright hope will be destroyed. If the emphasis is on correcting grievances and if it has the magnanimity to treat the arrested demonstrators fairly, it will win confidence at home and abroad.

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

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

... EASTERN EUROPE

(Continued from page 1)

vited is Wladislaw Gomulka. Gomulka was purged as a Titoist from the leadership of the party in 1949. He was released from prison last year. According to the reports Gomulka lines up with the "liberal" wing of the party leadership which professes a "softer" policy, greater concessions to the masses, more democracy and increased independence from the Kremlin as against the "old line" Stalinist faction. The hopes of a fair trial in Poznan are pinned to speculations on the victory of this "liberal" faction.

It is possible that the Polish regime can be forced to abandon its efforts to push through a frame-up. This would be an enormous victory for the world socialist movement. But such an outcome depends entirely on the amount of pressure the workers of Poland, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union can bring to bear, plus the amount of effective intervention of world working class public opinion.

The London Times July 14 reported in a dispatch from Stalinograd, in the Polish Silesian coal fields, that "in trying to increase output, the Government is up against various chronic ills connected mostly with labor shortages. At the same time, Po Prostu, a student newspaper in Warsaw, complained of "huge mass unemployment, land waste and food and housing shortage throughout Poland." This same paper, two weeks before the Poznan uprising, deplored the "tragic situation" of unemployment and declared it was "made worse by the fact that our legislature has failed to provide benefits or medical help for the unemployed on the ground that unemployment does not exist."

In its recent article, reported in a July 14 Reuters dispatch, Po Prostu said, "Our agriculture has made no progress for the last ten years. The high agricultural production in territories taken over by us from Germany has been allowed to drop in many times. . . . Disparities between agriculture and industry" have increased during the last six-year plan. Po Prostu says that there were 500,000 unemployed in Poland, and 2,000,000 "superfluously employed."

The student paper gave as the reason for these economic difficulties "a disparity between the social character of production and the excessively centralized and bureaucratic system of management of the Socialist national economy." This would appear to reflect an official government campaign to reform the state structure in order to eliminate

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

The previously mentioned London Times article also reported that "pro-regime intelligentsia" in the upper-Silesia mining region are in a state of "mental ferment." Satirical inscriptions adorn the walls of the local writers club. "It is difficult to write the truth," says one sign, "so just copy straight out of Pravda." Another was a tombstone inscribed: "Here Lies Creative Man." The club was opened last January as "a product of the new political atmosphere, which everyone refers to here as 'the thaw.'"

Coal is Poland's major export, and almost half of its export quota goes to the Soviet Union. Even official Stalinist sources report that there is widespread resentment in Poland against the secret terms of the export agreement with the Kremlin, which are believed to be very unfavorable to Poland.

In East Germany, Stalinist sources reveal that workers, "in a number of enterprises and industrial branches," went over the heads of their trade union officials and successfully combated speed-up attempts. Otto Lehman, a Stalinist trade union leader reported in an article that workers made "corrections" on their own wage slips balancing the loss of pay resulting from increased norms (speed-up).

Following the appearance of Lehman's article in the trade union paper Tribune, Labor Minister Friedrich Macher ordered state-owned factories to drop new production quotas calling for more work at less pay.

The June 17, 1953 East German general strike was precipitated by bureaucratically decreed increases in work norms.

Reports in the East German press on the current Moscow conference of government and party officials with the Kremlin, stress promises of economic aid from the Soviet Union to East German economy.

POLITICAL-CULTURAL WEEKEND ENCAMPMENT

N. Y. Local, Socialist Workers Party invites you to Mountain Spring Camp for Week-End of July 27-29.

Discussion by: David Weiss — "Socialism and the State"

Sat., July 28 Dan Roberts — "Culture and Revolution"

Murry Weiss — "Stalinism and Bolshevism Today"

Sun., July 29 SWIMMING — CAMPFIRE

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A New Witch-Hunt Measure

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

This reactionary new bill was slipped through Congress so unobtrusively that it virtually escaped public notice. There were no public hearings on the measure and there has been no indication that Eisenhower will hold any before signing it.

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

The U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and assembly. The Smith Act penalizes those who exercise these rights. The law is not aimed against actions. It punishes the advocacy of ideas and even "conspiracy" to advocate ideas.

The meaning of the Smith Act, which was originally adopted over the protest of the labor and liberal movement, was clear

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

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

Unless strong popular pressure is brought to bear, there is little chance that Eisenhower will veto this bill. It was put through Congress as part of his legislative program. In his last annual message to Congress Eisenhower called for the enactment of stiffened penalties for "subversives."

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

They Flunked the First Test

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But in any case, without having at hand a single shred of proof to support the charge, the Daily Worker repeated it as good coin. On whose authority? On the authority of the same regime that framed the leader of the Polish party, Wladislaw Gomulka, as a "Titoist diversionary" in 1949 and only a year ago was forced to release him from jail. Why accept the unsupported charges of this regime against the workers of Poznan?

We submit that the American CP leaders who direct the policy of the Daily Worker, flunked on the first test of their promise to maintain an independent revolutionary position. This opens the question before the ranks of the Communist workers as to why this happened. We think such an inquiry will lead to the basic attachment of the CP leaders to the politics of Stalinism, which is the politics of the bureaucratic caste presently in power in the Soviet Union. In order to act as revolutionary leaders it is necessary to break with the politics and interests of a bureaucracy and identify oneself completely with the class interests of the workers, internationally. The bitter truth that must be faced is that the American CP leaders have thus far shown no tendency to take this fundamental step.

Tito -- 'Coexistence' Broker

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since then Tito has made his peace with the new rulers in the Kremlin and has attempted to play the role of broker between East and West. In the pursuit of that goal, he has not hesitated to praise the Mollet government of France for its "liberal" policy towards Algeria. He did this at a time when "Socialist" Mollet was sending additional troops to the North African colony to drown the Algerian national independence revolution in blood. Now he covers up for the Kremlin in Poznan.

Tito advocates "active coexistence" between the East and West. He can see all sides of the problems. The only thing he cannot view sympathetically is the independent activity of the colonial masses struggling for national liberation and the heroic actions of the Polish workers fighting for workers' democracy against the Soviet bureaucrats. Such independent actions of the masses upset the status quo which is indispensable for "peaceful coexistence."

Latin American Events

By Jose Gomez

Guatemala:

The unpopular and anti-democratic regime of Castillo Armas — which came into power two years ago with the moral blessings and material resources of the U.S. State Department — was again faced with wide-spread and deeply-rooted popular opposition. The Armas government was thrown into such a state of panic that on June 26 Guatemalan police shot into a group of demonstrating students, killing five.

The students, about half of them girls, were singing the national anthem as they advanced toward the sub-machine guns of the police. Armas' alibi for the killings was that the peaceful demonstration was a "communist plot."

Hundreds of oppositionists were arrested, mostly students and workers. A considerable number of the leading elements were exiled to Honduras. But the Honduran government, which is also faced with opposition and antagonism, re-exiled them to Costa Rica. [In fact, the de facto regime of Lozano Diaz in Honduras exiled to Guatemala three of the top leaders of the Honduran Liberal Party.]

Castillo Armas once again, as he has done repeatedly since U.S. imperialism put him in power by overthrowing the democratically elected Arbenz government, made another promise that he would "wipe out the reds."

He is going to be badly disappointed again, and there is very little he can do about it. For, as the representative of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial interests, he is in no position to wipe out the horrible misery under which 90% of the Guatemalan population is desperately struggling for survival.

As the representative of an inhuman and anti-social system, he can find only one "solution" to the burning aspirations of the masses — to throw in jail anyone who dares, in whatever way, to

demand his rights. And precisely because he is in no position to wipe out the deeply-rooted economic and social contradictions in the national life of Guatemala, all his efforts to "wipe out the reds" is doomed to total failure.

Peru:

In the last couple of months we have witnessed ballots and bullets in Peru, another typical expression of the ceaseless struggle between a semi-feudal, semi-colonial ruling group run by the military and the mass of people struggling for survival.

The ballots were forced down the throat of the military dictatorship of Manuel A. Odría by the popular masses. This upset the dictator's plans for suppressing any expression of the will of the productive classes of the country — the workers and peasants.

The election of President-elect Manuel Prado Ugarteche, however, cannot be considered a victory for the masses. It was a protest movement. He won only because in the last minute the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), which wasn't allowed to participate in the elections with its own candidates, switched its support to Prado, since he was the only one who made a definite promise to legalize the party if he wins. Otherwise, politically, Prado represents the same basic interests of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial forces and not of the needs and aspirations of the toiling masses.

And the very same toiling masses who deposited their protest ballots against the inhuman conditions of their existence were the victims of free bullets when they went a step further than the ballots in their struggle for the right to live.

The internal contradictions are so unbearable that the masses are forced to give expression to their desperation at the slightest provocation from the ruling

interests. The June 26 New York Times reports these two examples: The raising of bus fares in Lima resulted in mass demonstrations. A strike of 400 employees of a United States oil company spread like a petroleum fire into a nation-wide general, solidarity strike involving over 100,000.

The military dictatorship of Odría, again found a "solution" to the problem by imposing a state of emergency and arresting numerous leaders of the APRA. But all his efforts in this direction, as it has been proven by the experience of the past, whether in Guatemala or Peru, is doomed to failure.

Argentina:

The latest favorite puppet of the U. S. State Department in Latin America — the Argentine government — is also faced with more contradictions than it expected. The military elements that rule the country today under President Aramburu are forced, in order to maintain themselves in power, to conduct systematic daily arrests of what they call ex-Peronist. In the most savage and barbaric manner they have also put the leaders of the June 10 revolt before a summary firing squad.

We don't know the details yet as to who they were, but one thing we do know is that quite a few of the "ex-Peronists" are militant workers. Indeed, in the guise of an attack on "Peronism," the Aramburu government is attacking the union movement, which was closely tied to Peron when he was in power. The shooting of militant workers is, of course, conducted in the name of "democracy."

In the U.S., liberals who used to cry out indignantly whenever Peron arrested one of his opponents, remain silent about the blood spilled by the present military dictatorship.

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Shop Talk on Prejudice

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

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

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

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

Rose, the loud-mouthed one, was haranguing the others with the details about a colored family that had been sent back to a Southern state by relief authorities. "It's getting terrible!" she exclaimed. "Wherever you look, it's black. I don't know what's going to happen to this city. They ought to ship them all back to the South, where they belong!"

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

"What kind of nonsense are you talking, Rose? Who said colored people belong in

the South? Don't you know they have just as much right here as you have?"

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

"But they're niggers!" Rose protested, as though Anna didn't understand. "They're Africans. That's where they belong."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

CENSORSHIP BY PRESSURE GROUPS is "a very real and serious menace" in the U.S., playwright-novelist Elmer Rice told an international writers congress in London July 10. He also expressed concern about the tycoons who manipulate writers and who have reduced the writer to "a cog in a vast industrial machine." The "new and dangerous and insidious form of censorship" by reactionary pressure groups, Rice declared, must be fought by the counterpressure and agitation of those insisting on complete freedom of expression.

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

a hearing of the VA Appeals Board. The lawyer declared that Thompson had been denied due process of law when the VA refused to confront him with his accusers. Thompson, who contracted pulmonary tuberculosis after being wounded in World War II, is now serving a prison term on the Smith Act conviction. His wife and two children now receive \$21.77 a month instead of the \$150 pension he is entitled to.

NAZI WAR CRIMINALS GO FREE. Of the 3,700 convicted Nazi war criminals in prison in January 1950, only 119 are still serving their sentences, reports the N. Y. Times July 19. The release of the other 95 percent was effected largely by the U.S. government which jails people at home for the expression of left-wing political views.

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

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

On the Soviet Union and Stalinism

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

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

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY — Documents and speeches of the first five congresses of the Communist International before its Stalinist degeneration. 2 vols. Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50 Vol. II (paper only) 3.00 Both for 6.00

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THE MILITANT

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... Steel Shutdown Provoked

(Continued from page 1)

happy! That is, everyone — except the workers who are the victimized pawns in this callous and cold-blooded shell game, which goes by the name of the "free enterprise system." To add insult to injury, the whole rotten mess is larded over with a thick coating of hypocrisy.

Motivated by insatiable greed, the corporations went through the pretense of collective bargaining knowing all the while that their take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum to the union would inevitably lead to shutdown. Then they filled the newspapers of the country with full page advertisements designed to picture the bloated money-grubbers as patriotic citizens actuated only by the most noble sentiment of concern for the welfare of the workers and the general public. Thanks to the tax laws rigged in favor of corporate wealth this nauseating tripe is paid for largely by the public treasury.

THE COMPANIES' OFFER

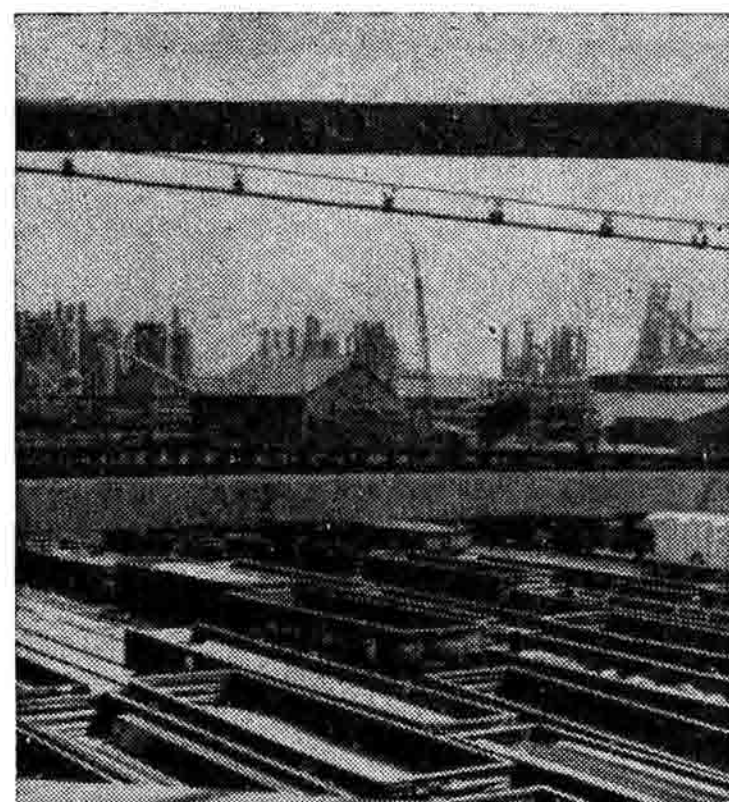
An examination of the steel corporations' ads disclose that they are compounded of half-truths and outright distortions that falsify the issues in dispute.

When they advertise that the workers would receive a 7.3 cents per hour yearly wage increase under the employers' proposed five-year pact, they conveniently neglect to mention that this figure is the gross amount and that the take-home increase would amount to approximately five cents.

When the corporations advertise their offer of an alleged Guaranteed Annual Wage plan for 52 weeks, more commonly known as a Supplementary Unemployment Benefit scheme, they do not bother to go into detail — it sounds better in general terms. In effect the proposal amounts to very little as it is based on earnings calculated for the few weeks before a layoff and then only on a percentage of a 32-hour week.

When they talk about increased benefits in the form of pensions, holidays and vacations, they deliberately forget to mention that these amount to practically zero.

But what the ads do not talk about is most important to the steel workers. They do not say that vacations will be granted, under their proposal, only if the companies decide that their production schedules permit. Of course they agree to payment in lieu of vacations but the workers want the right to decide and not to be placed in the position of



Idle steel mills on Chicago's south side.

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

Nor do they advertise that they propose to butcher the contract so as to take the rights of the union to participate in the setting of rates on incentive (speed-up) plans on the job.

Nor do they disclose their proposal of punitive action against workers involved in work stoppages any time during the period of the proposed five-year pact. Under their proposal workers protesting corporation violation of the contract would be penalized by being deprived of one day of their vacation time for each day of any stoppage provoked by the corporations.

These are only some of the booby-traps hidden in the corporation proposal. But the biggest one of all is the provision which reserves the right to the corporations to cancel pay increases and benefits not yet effective during the term of the proposed five-year pact "in the event of a national emergency." That is, in the event of a depression all bets are called off as far as increases and benefits are concerned except that the union is securely tied in a no-strike five-year strait jacket.

What about the labor leaders? What are they doing to counter the propaganda of the bosses? From George Meany, president of

the AFL-CIO down to the local steel union presidents, all are saying the same thing. They all agree that the shutdown was provoked by the corporations. "Obviously," says Meany, "the steel industry anticipates that a strike will reduce heavy inventories of automobile steel, create an emergency demand for their products and enable them to exact a wage increase far above the additional costs of a new wage contract."

THE ANSWER

"Warehouses are bulging with steel," says steel union president David J. McDonald, "and this shutdown means that the steelworkers are out of work now instead of short work weeks or being unemployed altogether in the next few months. When work is resumed, the industry will make up production by raising the rates of output, etc."

What is the answer? The labor leaders have none and can have none so long as they support and defend the so-called "free enterprise system." Only a system of production for use, in which the producers of wealth are able to enjoy the fruits of their labor, can put an end to the insanity of production for profit under the capitalist system which benefits the parasitic few at the expense of the many.

Racist Cops Told To Jail Negroes In Fla. Boycott

By Fred Hart

JULY 18 — Racist officials in Tallahassee, Fla. have begun a crackdown on the Negro bus boycott movement there. The City Commission yesterday ordered police

to arrest drivers in the car pool which has been providing transportation to the city's Negroes since May 28, two days after the boycott began.

The drivers are to be charged with operating public carriers without licenses. The racist City Attorney reported to the Commission that the police have been spying for the past two weeks and have compiled lists of cars, drivers, pick-up points, destinations and passengers.

Meanwhile, a local capitalist, Tom Brownlee, has been released from his duties as head of the Chamber of Commerce to work full time on a "ride the bus" campaign. He said he plans to have bus service resumed, in white areas only, within 10 days.

The bus company had suspended operations July 1 because it was losing money as a result of the 100% effective boycott by the city's Negroes in their demand for full integration on the buses.

The Inter Civic Council, Tallahassee's counterpart of the Montgomery Improvement Association, has asked all Negro women to meet at 5 p. m. to begin a prayer meeting, with the men to join them at 7. A business meeting will follow.

"It's kind of a shocking experience," said Rev. K. S. Dupont, Inter Civic Council Vice-President, according to today's N. Y. Post, "but I guess we'll have to pass through it," he said. Car pool drivers have been told to "be careful" and not to resist the police.

BIRMINGHAM NEXT

Meanwhile, the protest movement against Jim Crow buses which began in Montgomery seven months ago has spread to Birmingham, Alabama, the "Pittsburgh of the South." A newly formed organization, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, has petitioned the Birmingham Transit Company for a "first come, first seated" policy.

Bus company officials have

refused comment, but Birmingham Negro leaders are awaiting a conference with the company after a 30-day "consideration" period. "Head of the new movement, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth... has indicated a boycott is possible," reports the July 16 Christian Science Monitor.

The boycotts in Montgomery and Tallahassee, small cities with little industry and tiny unions, gave rise to effective Negro mass movements. The same development in Birmingham, a major steel center with half million population and a stronghold of industrial unionism, would put the movement on a qualitatively new level.

Other developments in Alabama include open support for the White Citizens' Councils by the state's top Democratic Party politicians, White Citizens activity in Birmingham unions, and a continuing fight by Macon County Negroes to secure their right to vote.

Senator John J. Sparkman — Adlai Stevenson's running mate in 1952, Senator Lester Hill and all of Alabama's nine Representatives to the U.S. Congress recently told the Montgomery Advertiser that they would be willing to appear on a White Citizens' Council platform. All are influential members of the Democratic party.

RACIST "UNIONS"

In Birmingham, a racist dual union, the newly formed Southern Aircraft Workers is sponsoring a July 21 Southwide rally of White Citizens Council supporters. The phony union is challenging United Auto Workers jurisdiction at the large Hayes Aircraft plant in Birmingham.

Another racist dual union, the Southern Fabricating and Steelworkers was defeated 109 to 42 in a National Labor Relations Board election recently in Birmingham. The AFL-CIO Iron Workers retained jurisdiction.

A Collaborator's Tribute to John G. Wright

By Morris Stein

(Text of address at memorial meeting for John G. Wright, noted Marxist scholar and teacher, who died June 21. The meeting was held June 27, in New York.)

Comrades and friends: The messages from Comrade Wright's numerous friends throughout the country read here by chairman Farrell Dobbs as well as the chairman's introductory remarks have pretty well captured the main features of the man's character, the basic outlines of his great contributions to the socialist movement. I can only add more of the same.

Usick and I have been intimate friends and close collaborators for many years. In addition to the regular consultations which take place among leading comrades in the course of the day to day work, Usick and I often collaborated on various writing projects for the movement, primarily documents and resolutions. In the recent years the two of us teamed up on a more permanent basis.

HIS LAST WORK

We pooled our political experience, theoretical knowledge, technical skills for joint work in behalf of the movement. How little did he or I suspect that this "permanent" team work would come to such an abrupt end, just when there was so much we had planned to do.

The last thing we worked on together was a series of articles for the Militant on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the S. U. We finished two articles and blocked out a third early in March when his failing heart confined him to the house for the second time within six months. At the very moment when Trotskyism was receiving its most far reaching vindications, Usick was unable to continue the work to which he had devoted the best part of his life — the work of analyzing developments in the Soviet Union.

It is a cruel irony that the mortal crisis of Stalinism should

coincide with a crisis in Usick's health. While his heart demanded rest and calm, he was in a state of great excitement at the new forward surge of the Russian Revolution. Though very ill, his mind was active, thinking of the best way to present the Trotskyist truth to the cruelly deceived Stalinist rank and file.

At times I hesitated to visit him for fear that the strain of the political discussions he insisted upon, would sap his declining energy and have an adverse effect on his heart. But I also knew that if I failed to discuss politics with him it could have an even worse effect on his recovery.

WRIGHT LIVED IDEAS

Once when he persisted in discussing heatedly, as was his manner, the developments in the Soviet Union, I pleaded with him to forget politics for a while and to conserve his meager energy. He looked at me with an expression of great hurt and said, "I am disappointed in you. I thought you knew that if I cannot talk politics, I cannot live."

Last Wednesday, 24 hours before he died, his main complaint to the doctor was at the cruelty of fate which immobilized him at a time when there was so much to do.

While all of us Trotskyists have abhorred Stalinism, I don't believe anyone, except Stalin's direct victims, suffered as much as Usick during the dark years of Stalin's rule. Stalinism offended not only his political beliefs, but his very qualities as a man.

Usick was an extremely gentle person. He couldn't tolerate brutality in any form. He was intensely loyal to ideas, to comrades, to friends, to his party, to the world working class. He was extremely scrupulous in questions of theory. When citing facts or quotations in polemics, he valued truth above all else.

PAINED BY LIES

As a man he was the antithesis of a Stalinist. Stalinist brutality

and tyranny pained him physically. Stalinist treachery, the endless lies and falsifications to which others might become inured, always distressed him.

Usick was steeped in the history of the Bolshevik Party and of the Russian Revolution like few other people. He had made a minute study of the personalities involved and the roles they had played. He knew them as if he had worked and lived with them. The torture and murder of the old Bolsheviks at Stalin's hands was keenly felt by him; Usick considered each one a personal friend lost.

Usick was one of those rare individuals who could not be typed. He was one of a kind.

This applied to his qualities as well as his weaknesses of which he had his share, like all of us. Because he would not fit into any stereotype, he was more difficult to understand. As so often happens, what people cannot understand, they tend to treat with prejudice.

Usick had more than his share of detractors. These were mostly among the petty bourgeois intellectuals who strutted through our movement like so many peacocks from time to time. He was so unlike them, that they despised him.

He was an intellectual of the highest quality. He was a man of great scholarship. But he was not a virtuoso type. He never sought the spotlight for himself. He did not use his vast knowledge to overwhelm worker comrades in the party. On the contrary, he always sought to impart his knowledge and his skills to others, especially worker revolutionists. He found his fulfillment in quiet unobtrusive help to others. The worker comrades in the party loved him for it.

A MARXIST TEACHER

It is because of his role as a teacher, that his contributions to the movement cannot be measured merely by the work done in his own name. To be sure he did a lot. As translator and editor of Trotsky's work, he had no

equal in the world. In addition, he enriched the movement by seeking out Marxist writings, unknown in English, translating them and making them available to the advanced workers. His most recent translation of Plekhanov's essay on Belinski, published in the Fourth International, was widely acclaimed not only as a great work of Marxist literary criticism, but also because of the high quality of the translation.

Usick accomplished much as a writer on questions of theory and political analysis and as speaker and lecturer. But there is more! There is a great part of Usick in all of us who associated with him. These contributions were below the surface and unnoticed by many.

He gave freely of his skill as political and literary editor. He helped with research, in which he was an expert, everyone who turned to him for such aid. Comrade Leon Trotsky relied heavily on his research for a number of years. But Trotsky was only the most eminent. Every comrade in the party who came to Usick for help received it unstintingly.

This readiness to selflessly help others was not due to idealism alone. And Usick's idealism, his devotion to party and friends was boundless. But there was an additional reason why he gave so much to so many. It was the result of a conscious decision as to his role in the movement. This decision did not come easy. It required a transformation on his part.

I first met him through the late Antoinette Komikow shortly before he joined the Trotskyist movement. At that time Usick had only a book knowledge of Marxism and politics. Further, he was convinced that this was all that was necessary. It was very difficult to talk to him. He did not know how to listen. That was twenty-four years ago.

A CONSCIOUS ROLE

When he joined our organization, he joined to reform it and to shape it according to some preconceived ideas. He became im-

mersed in factional struggles even before his application was accepted. But once inside the organization, he was in for some rude shocks. Without political experience and being very sensitive, he became a target for factional opponents.

He had to learn that there is no substitute for experience in the class struggle as well as party political struggles. He had to learn his own shortcomings and limitations. It was only then that he made a conscious decision to concentrate his activities in those fields of party work where his talents represented a genuine contribution.

In the role he played from then on he was governed by the concept of the alliance of the revolutionary intellectual and the worker in the construction of the proletarian party. The transformation he underwent following the first few years after he joined our movement in the early thirties was remarkable. The disciplined individualistic intellectual became a team worker, a wonderful collaborator. It was a great tribute that he could effect such a transformation. It is a tribute to the party that helped him do it.

But it was above all his own conscious effort which had set him apart from all other intellectuals who could not be assimilated in the proletarian party. He tied his fate to the Trotskyist movement because of his profound faith in its program, in its historic mission, because of his love of every fighter in it.

Usick was very happy in our party. The party afforded him the kind of life he wanted to live, and he would not trade it for the material comforts he gave up when he entered the movement. We have reason to be proud of the party which inspired Usick to give his all; and which he enriched because he lived in it.

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