

A Socialist Talks to The Unions

Text of talk by Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, to General Council of Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers, on Aug. 12.

Brother Chairman, Brothers and Sisters: I enjoy talking at union meetings. I am not a millionaire or would-be millionaire, like my opponents. I am not a so-called "friend of labor," I am part of the labor movement itself. I am and have been a union member ever since I went to work for a living because I know that without unions we would be little better than slaves and that our future and our country's future depend on the militancy and strength of organized labor.

I want to thank you for letting me speak here about the program of the Socialist Workers Party, as you previously have permitted Democratic and Republican spokesmen to do for their parties. This shows that Local 600 is animated by a spirit of fair play.

FOUR MAIN ISSUES

The four main issues in this campaign, as we Socialists see it, are the fight against unemployment, the struggle against the danger of war, the winning of civil rights, and the ending of the witch hunt. The question is: How can these problems be solved? Our answer is that they can't be solved through either of the two major parties; that they can be solved only through the formation of an independent labor party equipped with a fighting anti-capitalist program; and that it's the duty of the labor movement to break with both old parties and form a party of their own that can deserve the support of working farmers, minority groups, housewives and sections of the middle class.

It's not hard to convince good union men and women that the Republican Party is their enemy. It is harder to see that the Democratic Party is also our enemy and that we will never be able to win real progress through reliance on the Democrats. One reason for this is that the top union leaders are tailing along behind the Democrats, supplying alibis for them and covering up for them.

In the time I have here, I want to show that on the four main issues of 1956 the Democrats are no better than the Republicans, and that where there are minor differences between them, the Democrats are sometimes worse. First, on unemployment, Eis-



RITA SHAW

enhower's assistant traveled all the way from Washington to Detroit to tell us that "the right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy." That shows how callous the Republicans are. But the Democrats don't lose much sleep about unemployment either. In 1950, before the Korean war, when unemployment was even greater than now, Truman was pretty nonchalant about it too. He said: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times. This is healthy for the economic body."

Last month Local 600 sponsored a Democratic-Republican debate on unemployment. They both know that you advocate the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to fight unemployment. They want your votes, but they just couldn't bring themselves to pretend that their parties favor 30-for-40. As a matter of fact, you know very well that they are both opposed to this necessary and progressive measure.

Your president, Carl Stellato, has suggested that every candidate and party should be made to state where they stand on a bill to make the 30-hour week the law of the land. Since my party favors such a bill, I think that's an excellent idea. But if you do it, you'll have to oppose both old parties.

BOSSSES SHOULD PAY

A lot of heat has been generated in Lansing about the amount and length of unemployment benefits. But both the capitalist parties agree on one thing — that workers should be penalized economically when they are laid off. They both think Socialists are crazy when we say that no worker should be punished by having his family's income lowered when he's laid off through no fault of his own, and that in such cases, laid-off workers should receive compensation equal to trade union wages for the full period of unemployment.

If the employers can't provide full employment, if they can't keep the plants running, then we say let's get rid of them, take the plants and put them under government ownership, and run industry efficiently and democratically through the control and management of workers' and technicians' committees.

That's the real answer to the threat of depression. But Democrats (Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX — No. 34

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 20, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cents

Democrat Party Convention Sells Out on Civil Rights

Labor and the Democratic Party

An Editorial

With the motley chorus of labor bureaucrats, liberals, social-democrats and the Communist Party urging the working class to support the Democrats, union militants and socialist minded workers should pause and examine the history of labor's relationship to the Democratic Party.

The present-day alliance of the trade union movement with the Dixiecrats and the corrupt big-city machines, which comprise the Democratic Party, was cemented in Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term. In the midst of complete economic collapse, with millions of unemployed fast losing all illusions in capitalism, it fell to the lot of Big Business' alternate party to make that minimum of social concessions necessary to stave off emergence on a mass scale of an independent party of the working class.

The danger was all the greater since the workers upon recovery from the early shock of the depression, began forging the industrial unions of the CIO. These forced the giant corporations to their knees in economic combat. The class-struggle lessons learned in sit-downs and on picket lines threatened to be applied to politics. The country was ready for a labor party and definite moves from the union ranks were made to build it. These were squelched by the labor bureaucrats and their then powerful allies — the American Stalinists.

Thus Big Business survived the great depression and the upsurge of the CIO without losing its Democratic-Republican monopoly of political power in the U.S.

Needless to say, as the economic crisis eased with World War II the concessions to labor became less and less. By the end of Truman's first term the Democratic record on labor and social legislation had practically reached the vanishing point. Facing defeat in the 1948 election, Truman desperately revived the pro-labor, pro-Negro demagoguery used in earlier periods of the New Deal. Workers, Negroes and poor farmers, who had become disgusted with the conservatism and corruption of the Democratic Party, responded to the "Fair Deal" promises. Reversing their prior trend and upsetting all predictions, they voted Truman and his party back into the White House and Congress.

The demagogic campaign pledges were not carried out. When finally the Republicans won the presidency, the Democrats as an opposition party — even when in control of the 84th Congress — failed to fight for labor or civil rights. A great lack of faith in the Democrats has spread among the mass of workers. They support the Democratic Party, as the labor leaders urge them to, only because they see no alternative except the Republicans.

Keeping labor in the Democratic Party means binding the potentially greatest political power in this country hand and foot — making it a captive of Big Business, the Dixiecrats and the ward-healers. Class-conscious workers should strive to end this captivity. A first step can be voting the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The next step should be year-round effort to help the SWP build labor party sentiment in the unions and Negro organizations.

Egyptians Hail Suez Nationalization



Huge cheering throngs in Cairo hail President Nasser as they demonstrate their solid support of the Egyptian government's action in nationalizing the Suez Canal. The scene was duplicated throughout the Middle East. "Crowds danced in the streets of Arab capitals," reported the July 30 Christian Science Monitor.

All-Arab Strike Called To Back Egypt on Suez

By William Bundy

AUG. 15 — As we go to press, ten to 15 million Arab workers are preparing a general strike in ten Middle Eastern nations to protest the London Conference opening tomorrow. The conference was called by Britain, France and the U.S. to devise a method of reimposing imperialist control over the Suez Canal.

The strike was called at a mass meeting in Cairo last week held by the Organization of Struggle for Liberation of Moslem Peoples. "A crowd of several thousand... cheered the speakers wildly," as the strike was projected, reports the Aug. 11 Christian Science Monitor.

ANSWER TO THREATS

The enthusiasm for the general-strike call registers the flaming desire of the Arab peoples for

an end to imperialist domination of their homelands. It is the latest instance of ever growing Arab support for Egypt against the threats of a Korea-type "police action" by the Western "Big Three." It also expresses the justified anger of the Arab masses over a conference called by foreign capitalist governments to control the Suez canal, which is Egyptian property and which lies entirely on Egyptian soil.

A new Egyptian National Liberation Army has been proclaimed. It will include the national guard, volunteers of both sexes between the ages of 18 and 50, and youth battalions composed of all Egyptian university students (now on summer vacation).

"The purpose," says the Aug. 14 Christian Science Monitor, "is apparently the formation of a people's army to act as a guerilla

force in the event of an invasion." Such an invasion is threatened with new British concentration of troops in the Middle East and the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

"Women were among the first to be brought into the new liberation army," reports the Aug. 7 New York Times. Syria has also formed a Public Resistance Organization composed of men and women civilians who will be given emergency military training.

In lands where polygamy is still common, where marriages arranged without the consent of the espoused is still the rule, where women have not been allowed by Moslem religious law to show their faces in public, the formation of a popular militia including women indicates that

(Continued on page 4)

Stevenson In; Labor Captive Of Dixiecrats

By George Lavan

AUG. 16 — Adlai Stevenson won the Democratic presidential nomination late tonight by an overwhelming majority on the first ballot. Crowded on the Stevenson bandwagon were labor-baiters and labor leaders, members of the White Citizens Councils and Negro leaders, reactionaries and liberals.

Stevenson had the upper hand throughout the convention and no serious challenge for the nomination was offered him. This was brought by the deal in which Kefauver, his leading opponent, withdrew from the race before the convention and threw his support to Stevenson. That Kefauver had for months been exposing Stevenson for selling out on civil rights and labor was no hindrance to the deal. This is how the "game" of capitalist politics is played.

Consequently Harriman's campaign, despite ex-President Truman's backing, was a pitiable failure. Harriman's only hope was to split the Southern white-supremacists from Stevenson. But Stevenson's Southern delegations stood solid.

Stevenson's "moderation" line — designed to keep pro and anti-labor, racist and Negro, reactionary and liberal elements in his camp by not coming out four-square on any controversial issue — dominated the running of the convention and the writing of the platform.

EASTLAND NOT UNSEATED

Early evidence that the Northern liberals would back down on their promises of a battle to wrest control of the Democratic Party from the Dixiecrats was given on the first day of the convention. This occurred when the Mississippi delegation was seated. Following the Emmett Till and other lynchings in that state, Democratic liberals had promised a fight in Congress to unseat Senator Eastland and other Mississippi representatives. Nothing came of the promises and the excuse was the Senate rules. A fight was then promised to unseat Eastland and the Mississippi delegation at the Convention.

Despite slogans that keeping Eastland out would add a million votes to the Democratic ticket, only two members of the 54-man Credentials Committee voted against the lily-white Mississippi delegation. A total of six votes was needed to bring the issue to the floor, but the liberals wanted no such fight and the six votes could not be found. Thus UAW President Walter Reuther's promise of a few weeks ago — "You can't have me and Eastland too" — is already disproved. Reuther stayed and now both he and Eastland are on the Stevenson bandwagon.

The big "fight" of the convention — aside from the struggle of Stevenson and Harriman — was supposed to take place over the civil rights plank. Platforms are campaign promises and the campaign promises of the Democratic and Republican parties have long been proverbial for their worthlessness. As the New York Times editorial of Aug. 8 delicately put it: "This is not to say the platform is without meaning... But once the platform is safely glued together the party leaders are often prone to drink deep of the waters of Lethe and forget" (Continued on page 3)

Support the Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party
FARRELL DOBBS
 for President
MYRA TANNER WEISS
 for Vice-President

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE
 on
Radio and TV
 FROM COAST TO COAST
 We have just received word from
CBS
 that acceptance speech of
Farrell Dobbs
 Candidate for President
 will be broadcast and televised sometime in September. Full particulars next week.

A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.



The Militant

116 University Place
 New York 3, N. Y.

Name
 Street Zone
 City State

By Harry Ring

While the Kremlin continues to dodge an open discussion of the burning issue of Soviet anti-Semitism, confining itself to further "rehabilitation" of Jewish cultural figures and plans for the revival of Yiddish Cultural institutions, ugly anti-Semitic trends have erupted in Poland.

"We are being disgraced by anti-Semitism which is being demonstrated in various forms," declares an article in the current issue of Nowe Drogi, principal ideological organ of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party.

The article charges that "anti-Semitism still finds a favorable ground in our country in spite of the fact that we have witnessed the tragedy of millions of Polish Jews murdered by Hitler and that we already have had eleven years of the peoples' authority."

The former German territory of Silesia appears to be one of the acute trouble spots in this regard, according to a report in the Aug. 9 New York Times from its Warsaw correspondent, Sidney Gruson. Anti-Jewish slogans have re-appeared in that area and a Jewish cemetery has been desecrated. A group of Poles forcibly prevented a Jewish family from moving into a new home in Wroclaw (Breslau).

Failure of government and Party officials to deal firmly with such ugly outbreaks is revealed in the report of the official censure of the Wroclaw party secretary for opposing the use of the police to defend the victimized Jewish family.

PREJUDICE AT THE TOP

That the conduct of the Wroclaw functionary was not an isolated case is indicated by the previously quoted Nowe Drogi article. "A party member who is enslaved by anti-Semitic prejudice or shows lenience to the adherents of anti-Semitism disgraces the banner of the party and betrays the humanist ideals of socialism," the article declares. "The awareness of this must prevail among all party members in all party organizations and agencies."

Publication of this article coincides with the report that the Party's Central Committee has decided to wage a public campaign against the rising anti-Semitic tendencies against the will of those who would conciliate with anti-Semitic prejudice rather than meet it head on. Proposals conciliatory to anti-Semitism have been put forward in the Central Committee itself.

The principal spokesman for this position, according to Gru-

son, is Deputy Prime Minister Zenon Nowak who is said to echo the Khrushchev view that the Polish regime has gone too far in the liberalization process, particularly in regard to freedom of the press. Many of the articles advocating increased democracy, Nowak asserted to the committee, have been written by Jewish intellectuals.

Nowak contended that a primary factor in the rising anti-Semitism is the belief among Polish citizens that Jews hold an undue share of top government and party position. To bolster this claim, he is said to have read off a list of the number of Jews in various ministries.

Nowak's stand, which was rejected by a majority of the committee, is similar to the one presented by Khrushchev last May to a French socialist delegation. Khrushchev told the delegation that the Soviet government had instituted a quota system for Jews in government jobs because complaints had been received from various Soviet Republics that too many Jews held desirable positions. This reactionary practice was also defended by Soviet functionary Ekaterina Furtseva in her interview last month with Tabitha Petran of the National Guardian.

Equally shameful is the manner in which the Kremlin is pro-

ceeding with the "rehabilitation" of the victims of the "anti-cosmopolitan" repressions. This is again underscored in the case of the Yiddish-language poet and dramatist, Moishe Broderzon, who was repatriated to Poland last week after five and a half years in Soviet prisons.

Broderzon who had fled to the Soviet Union in 1939 to escape the Nazis was sentenced to a ten-year prison-term by Soviet officials on the charge of "Jewish nationalism." He returned to Poland last week with a curt notice from the Soviet Prosecutor General that the "proceedings against you have been terminated and in this matter you are now considered rehabilitated."

Broderzon said that for the first eight months of his imprisonment he was grilled nightly, with his interrogators accusing him of having said anti-Semitism existed in the Soviet Union. He said that he had told

IN THIS ISSUE

"To the Memory of the Old Man"

By James P. Cannon

See page 2

'Trotsky Left Us a Great Heritage of Ideas'

By James P. Cannon

[To observe the 16th Anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky (Aug. 21, 1940), we reprint the speech, "To the Memory of the Old Man" delivered by Comrade Cannon at the first Trotsky Memorial Meeting in New York on Aug. 28, 1940. — Ed.]

Comrade Trotsky's entire conscious life, from the time he entered the workers' movement in the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev at the age of 18, up till the moment of his death in Mexico City 42 years later, was completely dedicated to work and struggle for one central idea. He stood for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of a social revolution. In his conception this liberating social revolution requires for success the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers' vanguard.

In his entire conscious life Comrade Trotsky never once diverged from that idea. He never doubted it, and never ceased to struggle for its realization. On his death bed in his last message to us, his disciples—his last testament—he proclaimed his confidence in his life-idea. "Tell our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International—Go Forward!"

The Whole Trotsky is Preserved

Trotsky, a disciple of Marx, believed with Marx, that "an idea, when it permeates the mass, becomes a material force." Believing that, Comrade Trotsky never doubted that his work would live after him. Believing that, he could proclaim on his death bed his confidence in the future victory of the Fourth International which embodies his ideas. Those who doubt it, do not know Trotsky.

Trotsky himself believed that his greatest significance, his greatest value, consisted not in his physical life, not in his epic deeds which overshadow those of all heroic figures in history in their sweep and their grandeur—but in what he would leave behind him after the assassins had done their work. He knew that his doom was sealed, and he worked against time in order to leave everything possible to us, and through us to mankind. Throughout the eleven years of his last exile he chained himself to his desk like a galley slave, and labored, as none of us knows how to labor; with such energy, such persistence and self-discipline, as only men of genius can labor. He worked against time, to pour out through his pen the whole rich content of his mighty brain and preserve it in permanent, written form for us, and for those who will come after us.

The whole Trotsky, like the whole Marx, is preserved in his books, his articles and his letters. His voluminous correspondence, which contains some of his brightest thoughts and his most intimate personal feelings and sentiments, must now be collected and published. When that is done, when his letters are published alongside his books, his pamphlets and his articles, we, and all those who join us in the liberation struggle of humanity, will still have our Old Man to help us.

He knew that the super-Borgia in the Kremlin, Cain-Stalin, who has destroyed the whole generation of the October revolution, had marked him for assassination and that he would succeed sooner or later. That is why he worked so urgently. That is why he hastened to write out everything that was in his mind and get it down on paper in permanent form where nobody could destroy it.

A Man of Action and Ideas

Just the other night I talked at the dinner table with one of the Old Man's faithful secretaries—a young comrade who had served him a long time and knew his personal life, as he lived it in his last years of exile, most intimately. I urged him to write his reminiscences without delay. I said: "We must all write everything we know about Trotsky. Everyone must record his recollections and his impressions. We must not forget that we moved in the orbit of the greatest figure of our time. Millions of people, generations yet to come, will be hungry for every scrap of information, every word, every impression that throws light on him, his ideas, his aims and his personal life."

He answered: "I can write only about his personal qualities as I observed them; his methods of work, his humanness, his generosity. But I can't write anything new about his ideas. They are already written. Everything he had to say, everything he had in his brain is down on paper. He seemed to be determined to scoop down to the bottom

How Stalin Came to Power

By John Thayer

Sixteen years ago — on August 21, 1940 — Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, died at the hands of a Stalinist assassin.

Trotsky was murdered on Stalin's orders because he had remained true to the principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. Remaining true to these principles did not consist merely of holding inwardly to the great ideals of world socialism but of resisting to the utmost the terrible degeneration which had taken place in the Soviet Union and which spread its blight to the workers' movement in every other country.

Gone are the days when Communist Party members justify either the "confession" trials or Trotsky's assassination on the grounds that the victims were "fascists, spies and wreckers." The revelations by Stalin's own henchmen in the Kremlin have made the former regime synonymous with mass-murder and falsification for any honest CP member.

Nonetheless the Soviet rulers and the leaders of the various Communist Parties in the rest of the world are laboring with might and main to prevent the aroused rank and file from including in their reappraisal of the history of Stalinism a study of what Trotsky really stood for and how or why the Left Opposition was defeated. For example, The Worker of July 22

testament to humanity while he still had time. He gathered it all together — every thought, every idea, every lesson from his past experience — to lay up a literary treasure for us, a treasure that the moths and the rust cannot eat.

There was a profound difference between Trotsky and other great men of action and transitional political leaders who influenced great masses in their life time. The power of such people, almost all of them, was something personal, something incommunicable to others. Their influence did not survive their deaths.

Just recall for a moment the great men of our generation, or the generation just passed. Clemenceau, Hindenburg, Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, Bryan. They had great masses following them and leaning upon them. But now they are dead and all their influence died with them. Nothing remains but monuments and funeral eulogies. Nothing was distinctive about them but their personalities. They were opportunists, leaders for a day. They left no ideas to guide and inspire men when their bodies became dust, and their personalities became a memory.

Not so with Trotsky. Not so with him. He was different. He was also a great man of action, but he was also a great man of ideas. His deeds are incorporated in the history of mankind. But, unlike the opportunists and leaders of a day, his deeds were inspired by great ideas and these ideas still live. He not only made a revolution; he wrote its history and explained the basic laws

His Place in History is Established

Do you want a concrete illustration of the power of Marxist ideas? — Just consider this: When Marx died in 1883, Trotsky was but four years old. Lenin was only fourteen. Neither could have known Marx, or anything about him. Yet both became great historical figures because of Marx, because Marx had circulated ideas in the world before they were born. Those ideas were living their own life. They shaped the lives of Lenin and Trotsky. Marx's ideas were with them and guided their every step when they made the greatest revolution in history.

So will the ideas of Trotsky, which are a development of the ideas of Marx, influence us, his disciples who survive him today. They will shape the lives of far greater disciples who are yet to come, who do not yet know Trotsky's name. Some who are destined to be the greatest Trotskyists are playing in the school yards today. They will be nourished on Trotsky's ideas as he and Lenin were nourished on the ideas of Marx and Engels.

Indeed, our movement in the United States took shape and grew up on his ideas without his physical presence, without even any communication in the first period. Trotsky was exiled and isolated in Alma Ata when we began our struggle for Trotskyism in this country in 1928. We had no contact with him, and for a long time did not know whether he was dead or alive. We didn't even have a collection of his writings.

All we had was one single current document—his "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern." That was enough. By the

carries an article by the well-known Communist Party writer, A. B. Magil, on ways and means of democratizing the party. Magil cites as an example to be copied the allegedly democratic way in which the Left Opposition was defeated in the Soviet Party in 1927. Magil's example is a falsification worthy of Stalin.

By 1927 the bureaucracy's campaign against Bolshevism — which for propaganda purposes it had dubbed Trotskyism — had reached a point where no vestige of inner party democracy remained. Supporters of Trotsky were persecuted in the party, were fired from their jobs, evicted from their apartments, expelled from universities, etc. A foretaste of the frame-up trials appeared with the accusation that white guards were participating in the Left Opposition.

Truth is on the march and the whole history of the Stalin cult and its origin in the fight against Trotskyism will have to be studied by all those concerned with the past and future of the Soviet Union and of the fight for socialism. This will be part of Trotsky's vindication and it will be an important step for the remainder — the cleansing of the bureaucratic distortions from the Soviet Union and the revival of the world socialist movement.

which govern all revolutions. In his History of the Russian Revolution, which he considered his masterpiece, he gave us a guide for the making of new revolutions, or rather, for extending throughout the world the revolution that began in October, 1917.

Trotsky, the great man of ideas, was himself the disciple of a still greater one—Marx. Trotsky did not originate, or claim to originate, the most fundamental ideas which he expounded. He built on the foundations laid by the great masters of the 19th Century—Marx and Engels. In addition, he went through the great school of Lenin and learned from him. Trotsky's genius consisted in his complete assimilation of the ideas bequeathed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. He mastered their method. He developed their ideas in modern conditions, and applied them in masterful fashion in the contemporary struggle of the proletariat.

If you would understand Trotsky, you must know that he was a disciple of Marx, an orthodox Marxist. He fought under the banner of Marxism for 42 years! During the last year of his life he laid everything else aside to fight a great political and theoretical battle in defense of Marxism in the ranks of the Fourth International! His very last article, which was left on his desk in unpolished form, the last article with which he occupied himself, was a defense of Marxism against contemporary revisionists and sceptics. The power of Trotsky, first of all and above all, was the power of Marxism.

light of that single document we saw our way, began our struggle with supreme confidence, went through the split without faltering, built the framework of a national organization and established our weekly Trotskyist press. Our movement was built firmly from the very beginning and has remained firm because it was built on Trotsky's ideas. It was nearly a year before we were able to establish direct communication with the Old Man.

So with the sections of the Fourth International throughout the world. Only a very few individual comrades have ever met Trotsky face to face. Yet everywhere they knew him. In China, and across the broad oceans to Chile, Argentina, Brazil, in Australia, in practically every country of Europe, in the United States, Canada, Indo-China, South Africa. They never saw him, but the ideas of Trotsky welded them all together in one uniform and firm world movement. So it will continue after his physical death. There is no room for doubt.

Trotsky's place in history is already established. He will stand forever on a historical eminence beside the other three great giants of the proletariat: Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is possible, indeed it is quite probable, that in the historic memory of mankind, his name will evoke the warmest affection, the most heartfelt gratitude of all. Because he fought so long, against such a world of enemies, so honestly, so heroically, and with such selfless devotion!

Future generations of free humanity will look back with insatiable interest on this mad epoch of reaction and bloody vi-

plained things to us, he alone gave us light in the darkness. His brain alone unravelled the mysteries and complexities of our epoch. The great brain of Trotsky was what was feared by all his enemies. They couldn't cope with it. They couldn't answer it. In the incredibly horrible method by which they destroyed him there was hidden a deep symbol. They struck at his brain! But the richest products of that brain are still alive: They had already escaped and can never be recaptured and destroyed.

We do not minimize the blow that has been dealt to us, to our movement and to the world. It is the worst calamity. We have lost something of immeasurable value that can never be regained. We have lost the inspiration of his physical presence, his wise counsel. All that is lost forever. The Russian people have suffered the most terrible blow of all.

But by the very fact that the Stalinist Camarilla had to kill Trotsky after eleven years, that they had to reach out from Moscow, exert all their energies and plans to destroy the life of Trotsky—that is the greatest testimony that Trotsky still lived in the hearts of the Russian people. They didn't believe the lies. They waited and hoped for his return. His words are still there. His memory is alive in their hearts.

Just a few days before the death of Comrade Trotsky the editors of the Russian Bulletin received a letter from Riga. It had been mailed before the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union. It stated in simple words that Trotsky's Open Letter to the Workers of the USSR had reached them, and had lifted up their hearts with courage and shown them the way. The letter stated that the message of Trotsky had been memorized, word by word, and would be passed along by word of mouth no matter what might happen. We truly believe that the words of Trotsky will live longer in the Soviet Union than the bloody regime of Stalin. In the coming great day of liberation the message of Trotsky will be the banner of the Russian people.

Why Stalin Killed Trotsky

The whole world knows who killed Comrade Trotsky. The world knows that on his death bed he accused Stalin and his GPU of the murder. The assassin's statement, prepared in advance of the crime, is the final proof, if more proof is needed, that the murder was a GPU job. It is a mere reiteration of the lies of the Moscow Trials; a stupid police-minded attempt, at this late date, to rehabilitate the frame-ups which have been discredited in the eyes of the whole world.

The motives for the assassination arose from the world reaction, the fear of revolution, and the traitors' sentiments of hatred and revenge. The English historian, Macaulay, remarked that apostates in all ages have manifested an exceptional malignity toward those whom they have betrayed.

Stalin and his traitor gang were consumed by a mad hatred of the man who reminded them of their yesterday. Trotsky, the symbol of the great revolution, reminded them constantly of the cause they had deserted and betrayed, and they hated him for that. They hated him for all the great and good human qualities which he personified and to which they were completely alien. They were determined, at all cost, to do away with him.

Hated and Feared by the Capitalists

If you reproach yourself or us because this murder machine finally reached Trotsky and struck him down, you must remember that it is very hard to protect anyone from assassins. The assassin who stalks his victim night and day very often breaks through the greatest protections. Even Russian Czars and other rulers, surrounded by all the police powers of great states, could not always escape assassination by small bands of determined terrorists equipped with the most meager resources.

This was the case more than once in Russia in the pre-revolutionary days. And here, in the case of Trotsky, you had all that in reverse. All the resources were on the side of the assassins. A great state apparatus, converted into a murder machine, against one man and a few devoted disciples. So, if they finally broke through we have only to ask ourselves, did we do all we could to prevent it or postpone it? Yes, we did our best. In all conscience, we must say we did our best.

In the last weeks after the assault of May 24th, we once again put on the agenda of our leading committee the question of the

planned things to us, he alone gave us light in the darkness. His brain alone unravelled the mysteries and complexities of our epoch. The great brain of Trotsky was what was feared by all his enemies. They couldn't cope with it. They couldn't answer it. In the incredibly horrible method by which they destroyed him there was hidden a deep symbol. They struck at his brain! But the richest products of that brain are still alive: They had already escaped and can never be recaptured and destroyed.

Then, as the train passed through Pennsylvania, about four o'clock in the morning, they brought the early papers with the news that the assassin had broken through the defenses and driven a pick-axe into the brain of Comrade Trotsky. That was the beginning of a terrible day, the saddest day of our lives, when we waited, hour by hour, while the Old Man fought his last fight and struggled vainly with death.

But even then, in that hour of terrible grief when we received the fatal message over the long-distance telephone: "The Old Man is dead"—even then we didn't permit ourselves to stop for weeping. We plunged immediately into the work to defend his memory and carry out his testament. And we worked harder than ever before, because for the first time we realized with full consciousness that we have to do it all now. We can't lean on the Old Man any more. What is done now, we must do. That is the spirit in which we have got to work from now on.

The capitalist masters of the world instinctively understood the meaning of the name of Trotsky. The friend of the oppressed, the maker of revolutions, was the incarnation of all that they hated and feared! Even in death they

A Citizen of the Communist Future

The class society we live in exalts the rascals, cheats, self-seekers, liars and oppressors of the people. You can hardly name an intellectual representative of the decaying class society, of high or low degree, who is not a miserable hypocrite and contemptible coward, concerned first of all with his own inconsequential personal affairs and saving his own worthless skin. What a wretched tribe they are. There is no honesty, no inspiration, nothing in the whole of them. They have not a single man that can strike a spark in the heart of youth. Our Old Man was made of entirely different stuff. He towered above these pygmies in his moral grandeur.

Comrade Trotsky not only struggled for a new social order based on human solidarity as a future goal; he lived every day of his life according to its higher and nobler standards. They wouldn't let him be a citizen of any country. But, in truth, he was much more than that. He was already, in his mind and in his conduct, a citizen of the Communist future of humanity. That memory of him as a man, as a comrade, is more precious than gold and rubies. We can hardly understand a man of that type living among us.

We are all caught in the steel net of the class society, with its inequalities, its contradictions, its conventionalities, its false values, its lies. The class society poisons and corrupts everything. We are all dwarfed and twisted and blinded by it. We can hardly visualize what human relations will be, we can hardly comprehend what the personality of man will be, in a free society.

Comrade Trotsky gave us an anticipatory picture. In him, in his personality as a man, as a human being, we caught a glimpse of the Communist man that is to be. This memory of him as a man, as a comrade, is our greatest assurance that the spirit of man, striving for human solidarity, is unconquerable. In our terrible epoch many things will pass away. Capitalism and all its heroes will pass away. Stalin and Hitler and Roosevelt and Churchill, and all the lies and injustices and hypocrisy they signify, will pass away in blood and fire. But the spirit of the Communist man which Comrade Trotsky represented will not pass away.

Destiny has made us, men of

revile him. Their newspapers splash their filth over his name. He was the world's exile in the time of reaction. No door was open to him anywhere except that of the Republic of Mexico.

The fact that Trotsky was barred from all capitalist countries is in itself the clearest refutation of all the slanders of the Stalinists, of all their foul accusations that he betrayed the revolution, that he had turned against the workers. They never convinced the capitalist world of that. Not for a moment.

The capitalists—all kinds—fear and hate even his dead body! The doors of our great democracy are open to many political refugees, of course. All sorts of reactionaries; democratic scoundrels who betrayed and deserted their people; monarchists and even fascists—they have all been welcomed in New York harbor. But not even the dead body of the friend of the oppressed could find asylum here! We shall not forget that! We shall nourish that grievance close to our hearts and in good time we shall take our revenge.

The great and powerful democracy of Roosevelt and Hull wouldn't let us bring his body here for the funeral. But he is here just the same. All of us feel that he is here in this hall tonight—not only in his great ideas, but also, especially tonight, in our memory of him as a man. We have a right to be proud that the best man of our time belonged to us, the greatest brain and strongest and most loyal heart.

common clay, the most immediate disciples of Comrade Trotsky. We now become his heirs, and we are charged with the mission to carry out his testament. He had confidence in us. He assured us with his last words that we are right and that we will prevail. We need only have confidence in ourselves and in the ideas, the tradition and the memory which he left us as our heritage.

We owe everything to him. We owe to him our political existence, our understanding, our faith in the future. We are not alone. There are others like us in all parts of the world. Always remember that. We are not alone. Trotsky has educated cadres of disciples in more than thirty countries. They are convinced to the marrow of their bones of their right to victory. They will not falter. Neither shall we falter. "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International!"—so said Comrade Trotsky in the last moment of his life. So are we sure.

Trotsky never doubted, and we shall never doubt, that armed with his weapons, with his ideas, we shall lead the oppressed masses of the world out of the bloody welter of the war into the new socialist society. That is our testimony here tonight at the grave of Comrade Trotsky.

And here at his grave we testify also that we shall never forget his parting injunction—That we shield and cherish his warrior-wife, the faithful companion of all his struggles and wanderings. "Take care of her," he said, "she has been with me many years." Yes, we shall take care of her. Before everything else, we shall take care of Natalia.

We come now to the last word of farewell to our greatest comrade and teacher, who has now become our most glorious martyr. We do not deny the grief that constricts all our hearts. But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the Old Man's fight. Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of Trotsky's army. Not crouching in weakness and despair, but standing upright with dry eyes and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Party that shall be the human race!

Labor Day Encampment

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party has reserved the facilities of

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

RD 1 — Washington, N. J.

From Aug. 31 to Sept. 3

HEAR:

| | |
|---|--|
| Joyce Cowley | Tom Kerry |
| SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator from New York | Staff Writer, the Militant |
| "Women's Rights: From Suffrage to Socialism" Sun., Sept. 2 — 2:00 P. M. | "Communism in America: Its Past and Future" Mon., Sept. 3 — 2:00 P. M. |

For Reservations write: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Or Call: AL 5-7852

Subscription \$3 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single Copies: 15c. Bundle Orders: 4 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7408 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Revised articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials. Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XX — No. 34

Monday, August 20, 1956

The Thompson Pension Case

It is hard to conceive of a lower form of political persecution than taking away the pension of a disabled war veteran. Yet this is precisely what the witch-hunters of the Veterans Administration are persisting in doing in the case of Robert Thompson, an official of the Communist Party.

Thompson served in the army during the last war. In the fighting in the Pacific he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. After being wounded, he contracted tuberculosis and upon discharge was classified as 100% disabled and accordingly was given a \$150 monthly pension. The government asserts that his tuberculosis has since been arrested and that therefore the pension would be only \$67. However, the government is not paying him even this. The Veterans Administration has wiped the slate clean of his war service and his physical disability and instead announces that he has rendered assistance to an enemy of the United States.

The alleged assistance consists of "public utterances" made by Thompson during and against the "police action" in Korea.

Thompson has already been imprisoned under the thought-control Smith Act for his Communist Party views and utterances. Now the witch hunters of the VA have held what amounts to a treason trial, without judge, jury or constitutional guarantees, and have deprived him of his pension.

The Korean War was an imperialist intervention by U.S. imperialism against the

Asian revolution and was justly the most unpopular war the U.S. has ever engaged in. Public criticism of it was widespread. If words uttered by Thompson or anyone else against this undeclared war can be punished by a bunch of bureaucrats in an administrative hearing as treasonous or as aiding the enemy, then free speech has suffered a mortal blow in America. By the VA logic any criticism of a war, or the government, or the politicians and generals running it, or the economic system they serve, "hurts" the war effort and therefore "aids" the enemy. The precedent being established today in Thompson's case can be used tomorrow or the day after against other — and non-Communist Party — critics of U.S. war policies or the threatened "police action" in Egypt.

The attack on Thompson's pension was preceded by a similar attempt against James Kutcher, the legless veteran persecuted for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Public opinion forced the VA witch-hunters last spring to restore Kutcher's pension. At the time we pointed out that the victory was partial because the VA witch-hunters, though returning the pension, stuck to their premise that they had the right to take away pensions on political grounds.

It is now the duty of the labor and civil liberties movement to destroy that premise by forcing the restoration of Thompson's pension and an official retraction of the vindictive policy that men disabled in war can be deprived of their pensions for their political thoughts or statements.

Polish Justice on Trial in Poznan

Twelve prominent American labor and liberal lawyers at the initiative of the Workers Defense League in this country have requested of the Polish government the right to send observers to the scheduled trial of workers arrested in the Poznan general strike and demonstration last June.

Spokesman for the legal group is John Finerty, who first won world acclaim as attorney for Tom Mooney then for Sacco and Vanzetti. In 1937 he distinguished himself as counsel for the Dewey Commission of Inquiry which exposed the frame-up character of the Moscow Trials. Finerty's request of the Polish government comes on the heels of similar requests by U.S. and European labor and liberal bodies. As of this writing, the Polish government has not answered any of these requests.

It has confined permission to attend the trials to representatives of the British embassy and Western press correspondents. But labor and civil liberties defenders cannot be satisfied with the reports of capitalist governments or the capitalist press. They correctly insist on having their own representatives at the trials.

On the eve of the Poznan trials the Polish regime stands before world labor opinion as suspect on three counts of staging a frame-up.

(1) There is the whole record of Kremlin-launched frame-ups against "Titoites" throughout Eastern Europe and before that against the victims in Moscow Frame-up Trials of the 1930's. The odium for these atrocities still falls upon all regimes dominated by the Kremlin.

(2) There is the charge the Polish

government initially leveled against those arrested in the Poznan demonstration of being "agents of imperialism." That slanderous accusation came straight out of Stalin's recipe book for concocting frame-ups.

(3) It is true that the Polish regime has since retreated from the malicious charge. It has even admitted that the demonstration resulted from legitimate grievances of the workers and "callousness" on the part of officials. But the government still proposes to punish workers for using the only method that was available to them to win a redress of grievances.

There is a strong precedent for allowing labor and liberal representation at the Poznan trial. In 1921, the Soviet government headed by Lenin allowed representatives of the hostile Second International to defend Social Revolutionaries charged with committing terrorist acts against Soviet officials, including Lenin himself.

The trials were conducted strictly in accordance with principles of working class justice, and the results were never successfully challenged. On the other hand, under Stalin, the Moscow Frame-Up Trials were staged with none but hand-picked observers plus capitalist diplomats and newspapermen allowed to attend.

The Polish government is far from having the record for honesty that Lenin's regime enjoyed. Despite recent reforms, it is still besmirched with Stalin's crimes. All the more reason why it owes to international labor public opinion the right to the most complete scrutiny of the forthcoming trials.

Democratic Party Convention

(Continued from page 1) all about it—or forget any part of it that may cause them inconvenience.

However, the Northern liberals and labor leaders hoped that by making a lot of noise about a fight for civil rights in the platform they could retrieve some of the losses incurred by the complete sellout of civil rights by the Democratic Congress.

That the "fight" was fixed was evident from the composition of the subcommittee chosen to draft the civil rights plank. It was heavily loaded with white-supremacists—including the Governor of Mississippi—and Northern politicians known to favor watering down the civil rights promises of past campaigns.

The resolution brought in by this committee was a victory for the Dixiecrats. On the key question of supporting the Supreme Court decision against Jim Crow schools it was silent. In its mention of the decision it merely said it was "of vast importance." No Dixiecrat would argue with this for it fails to describe the decision as good or bad or to say whether the Democratic Party was for it or against it.

It is interesting to note that liberals, who later brought forth

a minority report against the plank as being too weak, voted for it in the Platform Committee. The only votes against it in the subcommittee were from five Southern racists. But this was not because they were against it—they had won a victory—but because, as Walter Reuther explained, "they felt if they voted for it, then people would say, if they're for it it can't be good." (New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 16.)

LIBERALS KEEP UP POSE

The decision of the Northern liberals to make a minority report had nothing to do with the Stevenson-Harriman fight. By that time it was apparent to all that Stevenson had the nomination sewed up. Apparently a group of liberals, particularly those up for election this fall in districts with an important Negro vote, felt they had to do something to enable them to continue to pose as supporters of civil rights despite the sellout plank their party was adopting.

For this reason they staged their "fight." After the newspaper and TV audience's interest had been whetted by big advance stories of the approaching showdown, the great moment

came. A brief amendment to the platform was offered. Its main point was mention of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and a pledge "to carry it out." How or when, was not indicated.

The amendment hastened to reject all proposals for the use of "force" in carrying it out. Every other court ruling and law of the land, down to those against spitting on the sidewalk or parking in a no-parking zone, carry the threat of "force" i.e. arrest except those "guaranteeing" the Negro people their Constitutional rights.

Ten minutes speaking time was allotted to the proponents of the minority report. In order to involve as many as possible of the liberals, who will be courting Negro and labor votes from now till election day, in the "battle," there were five speakers, each taking two minutes.

WELL, DO THEY?

First speaker was D. Robert Short of Minnesota, who introduced the minority report. Then came Sen. Lehman of New York. Then Gov. Williams of Michigan, "the extreme left of the Democratic Party," who said that the majority plank "fell somewhat

Southerner Tells of Labor-Negro Unity

By Ed Snow CHICAGO, Aug. 2 — The newspaper, the New Southerner, was the rallying point for a meeting held here by white and Negro workers concerned with developments in the South. Donald West, known to Militant readers as the courageous editor from Dalton, Georgia, was the main speaker.

He described an old Southern tradition little known to his audience. This was the tradition of opposition by the poor white workers and farmers, to the slave owners and to the Confederacy. He described how thousands of Georgia farmers refused to join the Confederate army in protest against slavery and how in one Georgia county the Union flag had been kept flying over the courthouse throughout the Civil War.

This, said West, was the proud tradition that will yet prevail despite the forces attempting to retard progress. The "blood-curdling" demagoguery of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan will not succeed in turning back the historically upward march of struggle in the South for any length of time. He showed that the WCC and KKK were not only anti-Negro, as everyone knows, but anti-labor also.

West cited the unpublished results of polls in several Southern high schools where white students overwhelming voted for racial integration. He also told of racist violence against an interracial cooperative farm in Georgia. At this particular farm, where some 60 Negro and white Baptist farmers have pooled their resources and work about 1,000 acres in common, the hard-earned dairy and freezer installations were bombed.

The costly equipment is a dead loss because the insurance companies had cancelled the policies beforehand. Speaking of insurance, West mentioned that he could not even get a life insurance policy in the South because the companies considered him a "poor risk" despite his excellent health. He is similarly refused insurance on his farm, auto, etc.

UNION PROGRESS

As a foretaste of things to come in the South, West reported the progress being made by the International Association of Machinists in the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, where 15% of the labor force are Negroes. News of such united struggles, as well as those of the Negro people in Montgomery and Tallahassee, is the message that the New Southerner will give in the South, West promised. A collection was taken to help further the work.

Other speakers included Rev. Shantz and Rev. Richardson. A group of young people entertained with Southern folk songs.

Why Thorez and Togliatti Differ on Stalin

By Morris Stein

Since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party differing appraisals of the Stalin cult have been made by Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party and Palmiro Togliatti of the Italian party.

In viewing the conflicting estimates of Thorez and Togliatti on the origin of the Stalin cult, and its effect on the Soviet system, are we witnessing a process where two self-sufficient leaders, in the course of making independent analyses, have thought the problem through to different conclusions?

An affirmative answer would not be consistent with the evidence. Both Togliatti and Thorez represent the bureaucratic type molded over the years by Stalin. They are functionaries,

with the functionary's special contempt for theory. For them, theory has consisted of a juggling of phrases to justify every twist in Kremlin policy. They are conditioned to absolute obedience to the authority of the next higher in command in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

THE STALIN MEN

They hold their present positions only on the basis of their capacity to prostrate themselves before the Kremlin rulers. Every independent leader, with a concern for truth and integrity in questions of theory, had long ago been eliminated, leaving the field open only for spineless bureaucrats hand-picked by Stalin.

Do the differences expressed by Thorez and Togliatti then indicate that these two have been transformed since the 20th Con-

gress? After all they have expressed deep-going differences. Thorez, for example, sees the Stalin cult as an individual aberration which in no way affected the nature of the regime or fundamentally impaired the democratic process. Togliatti, on the other hand, charges that the Stalin cult reflected a degeneration of the regime which did violate the democratic process in the Soviet Union.

How are these differences to be resolved? If they truly represent fundamental conclusions derived from a Marxist analysis of the objective reality in the Soviet Union, they can be resolved only by a free and open discussion and vote of the ranks. This is certainly how such differences were resolved in the early days of the Communist movement before Stalin destroyed its internal democracy.

Instead we witness a strange procedure. The differences between Togliatti and Thorez are nowhere counterposed to each other. No effort has been made to justify one thesis as against the other or to convince the ranks to accept one position or the other. The initial statements are made and then the entire matter is hushed over.

NO BASIC CHANGE

The bureaucratic nature of this whole procedure, and the content it expresses for the right of the ranks to settle important differences in the movement, refutes the idea that any genuine reform has overtaken Togliatti or Thorez. There is no evidence that these men, dedicated to the service of the criminal Stalin, have now been transformed into dedicated searchers for truth.

What then is the source of difference between Thorez and Togliatti? The difference boils down to the question of how much to admit of the meaning of Stalin's crimes and how much to conceal. The factor that determines the line of Thorez and Togliatti, as well as that of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, are the specific pressures to which they are each subjected. These pressures vary for each, and each therefore adapts himself differently to the particular exigencies, but all are governed by the same principle — the preservation of their bureaucratic power and privileges.

In the Soviet Union the pressure of the workers compelled

Khrushchev and his associates to confess Stalin's crimes in order to save themselves. In the capitalist countries, the pressures on the CP leaders are of a somewhat different nature and vary from country to country.

In France, for example, the Communist Party enjoys a virtual monopoly in working class politics. The workers, long anti-capitalist, have traditionally given their support to the party which is the furthest left. The Socialist Party, which might have been the CP's serious rival, is now in reality a party of the radical middle class. In addition, it is the governing party with full responsibility for the maintenance of a decrepit capitalist system and with responsibility for dispatching the French youth to die in the hated war against the Algerian freedom fighters.

CP MONOPOLY

Such a party cannot win the adherence of the revolutionary French workers. This gives Thorez a free hand on the Stalin revelations. He feels the French workers have no other place to go and therefore they require no accounting of the 30 years of Stalin's criminal rule which Thorez and company abetted and copied for France.

The situation of Thorez must be the subject of Togliatti's envy. For while the Italian Communist Party has even greater membership than the French, it does not enjoy the same monopoly in relation to the workers. For years the Italian CP has been in a coalition with the Socialist Party of Nenni, and in public policy they have been virtually indistinguishable. But in such a coalition, rivalry and subterranean struggle for hegemony of the workers is inevitable.

While the CP has been stronger so far, the recent municipal elections showed Nenni's party edging ahead at the expense of the CP. Following the 20th Congress, the rivalry between the two parties was asserted in the pronouncements on the Stalin cult by Nenni and Togliatti. Nenni seemed to view the development as an opportunity to make gains by going the furthest in denouncing Stalin's crimes and the authoritarian regime in the USSR. Togliatti has been compelled to limp along.

So long as Nenni does not go to the right of the CP, and revolutionary workers see no dif-

ference between the two parties exist that the SP seems more consistent in its denunciation of Stalin's crimes, then Togliatti's position remains insecure.

NENNI SHIFT

However there is evidence that Nenni is prepared to distinguish himself from the CP not on the issue of the Stalin cult alone. According to the Aug. 7 N. Y. Times, Avanti, newspaper of the Italian SP, has taken the occasion of the Suez crisis to side with Western imperialism, expressing "open repugnance and decided aversion as socialists and as democrats to Nasser's Pan-Arabian program."

A continuation of this rightward trend can only serve to repel the revolutionary workers, push them back towards the CP and thus aid Togliatti to regain his bureaucratic equilibrium.

Stalinism has never feared social democracy, even of the "left" Nenni variety. They know how to bribe its leaders, (Nenni is the recipient of a 100,000 ruble Stalin Peace prize), tie them up in coalition or, if need be, to discredit them as the servants of imperialism that they are.

That is why the Social Democracy cannot destroy Stalinist bureaucratism. The destruction of Stalinism can be accomplished only from the left, by parties of authentic revolutionary socialism, which have consistently fought both capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic oppression with its tragically costly crimes.

NO HEROES

Stalinism will be destroyed root and branch in France and Italy only when the revolutionary forces in these countries will prove capable of mobilizing their full weight for a concerted assault on the bureaucratic machines of Thorez and Togliatti.

The workers do not extend their present support to these machines blindly. They follow a Thorez or a Togliatti because they see no plausible alternative before them. But they do not regard their present leaders as heroes. The CP chiefs are, in fact, thoroughly discredited. Stalin's crimes weigh heavily on Thorez and Togliatti, who had long been members in good standing of his gang. The time of their inevitable downfall will be determined in the course of the coming struggles.

(Next Week: Reasons for divisions in the American CP.)

FUND EXTENDED -- 6 CITIES AT 100%

AUG. 15 — Six cities have met their quota in the Socialist Publications Fund in full as of today, Aug. 15, the scheduled date for the completion of the drive.

The six are Cleveland, Allentown, Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle, and the Twin Cities. The total quota of \$16,175 is now within striking distance, 80% having been paid in as of today.

A two weeks extension of the drive to Sept. 1 should see all cities paid-up in full. A number of them, however, will have to drastically step up the pace of collections to meet even the new deadline.

The publication plans cannot begin to be implemented until the full amount of the fund is paid. To fall short of 100% of collections endangers the character of the publications program, which aims to present a rounded catalogue of Marxist books and pamphlets covering all the main questions being discussed in the radical movement today.

Democratic Convention Note

The following story, reported by Murray Kempton, N. Y. Post correspondent at the convention, well illustrates the cynicism as well as the contempt of the capitalist politicians for the Negro people and labor. Kempton writes (Aug. 15): "[Senator] Lyndon Johnson went to see the President of the U.S. on Sunday. He told some friends when he came back that he had run into (Vice-President) Richard Nixon and that he had asked Nixon whether the Republicans proposed to 'nigger it' at their convention next week. He said that Nixon smiled and said, go ahead and write your [civil rights] plank, and we'll raise it."

A Three-Month Subscription To THE MILITANT Only 50 Cents

116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Fund Scoreboard table with columns: City, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists cities like Cleveland, Allentown, Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle, Twin Cities, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Youngstown, Philadelphia, New York, San Francisco, St. Louis, Oakland, Newark, Milwaukee, Akron, General, and Totals.

Just Out — Summer Issue Of the Marxist Quarterly INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW (Formerly Fourth International) CONTENTS Editorials: The Poznan Uprising, An Appeal to Radical Workers, The Vindication of Trotskyism, Developments in the Soviet Union, Early Years of the American Communist Movement, The Soviet Union Today. Books: "But Why Did They Confess?" 35 cents a copy, \$1.25 a year. Order from INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

By Jean Blake

Southern Opinion

The capitalist press of all degrees of reactionary and liberal opinion has given more space to the struggle against Jim Crow in the past two years than ever before. They have reported, surveyed, analyzed and evaluated the economic, social and political aspects of the new stage in the fight against segregation. But the one thing they have not done is understand it.

One of the most consistent ways in which they demonstrate this is by their almost unanimous identification of the South with the ruling class of the South. The liberal writers and the politicians do the same thing. They constantly refer to "Southern opinion" as being unwilling to accept integration, and they quote everyone from the rabid Senator Eastland to the soul-searching novelist Faulkner to prove their point.

But the South is not only the oppressors. It is also the oppressed, whose opinions are either ignored as of no account, distorted or misrepresented by white capitalist publications and politicians.

A very different kind of reporting and analysis appeared last week in a special article in the Cleveland Call and Post, a Negro weekly. In a fresh and informative report of on-the-spot interviews with Southern Negroes, Marty Richardson, an experienced newspaperman, gave an account of Southern views that is new even for the Negro press.

The old-line Negro leadership, "almost without exception . . . voiced the hope that outsiders would 'take it easy' on this civil rights thing," Richardson reported.

"Never oppressed quite as badly as the rank and file of Negroes, they see the possible loss of their school jobs, their fringe benefits from the white folks, their good homes and 1956 cars.

"They are all for 'taking it slow and

easy,' and even advocate letting things alone; 'white people will bring about these changes themselves if you let them alone.'

"The mass of Negroes, however, are not so patient. They repeat over and over that 'The white folks had a hundred years to do it in, and they didn't make things any better in all that time. In fact, they have been making it worse. What's going to make them change now?'"

"They back up their point of view with a new technique: they pick their leadership 'from the bottom.'"

"It is well known that in the famous Montgomery bus strike the ministers did not INAUGURATE the leadership of the strike; it started from the people, and the ministers were given the choice of providing it leadership, 'or else!'"

"The same is true of the strike which caused the Tallahassee, Fla. bus lines to go out of business. Students and ordinary citizens started the strike, and the old leadership belatedly was 'let in on it.'"

"The Southern whites know that they are dealing with a new type of Negro; that the old handkerchief headed leaders are on their way out, sharply accelerated by the refusal of younger Negroes any longer to follow them."

"The old race-haters are fighting a losing battle, and they know it, Richardson reports. 'They don't even have the consolation of having a solid white front of opposition to the rushing tide; the minority of Klansmen and Citizens Council members have to sadly face the truth that the better element of white people — and in most sections this is the majority — will NOT join in a mass lynching of Negro rights any more.'"

"So the hate brigade is violent. It is frightened. It is desperate to the point that Negroes will tell you 'it will be worse before it gets better.'"

Prices Trim Wage Hike Say Ohio Steel Workers

By Mose Peterson

YOUNGSTOWN, Aug. 12 — The 1956 general strike in steel came to an end here in the Youngstown district today. Workers in the OpenHearth at the Campbell plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. set up picket lines as soon as the national contract was signed with the corporation one week ago, and 10,000 steel workers refused to go back to work.

This action was an attempt by the YST steelworkers to settle a bitter and long-standing grievance over revision of incentive pay rates at the OpenHearth. Management remained adamant on the issue, and today the workers voted to go back to work on the basis of a compromise whose terms at this writing are not yet clear.

The Campbell workers were seriously handicapped in their struggle with the corporation by a back-to-work order issued by United Steelworkers President McDonald to all other steel workers in Youngstown—including the 3,000 at the Brier Hill plant of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. Much as they might have enjoyed the five weeks out of the

mills in mid-summer, the steel workers are concerned with their personal financial problems. The realization that the new contract provides a net take-home pay of seven or eight cents per hour does not receive any cheers, and the general reaction to the cash benefits is "Well, we didn't get very much, did we?"

During the period of the strike there were marked increases in the cost of living. New federal taxes went into effect on gasoline and tires; bread jumped two cents per loaf; milk, meat and coffee went up; and potatoes skyrocketed. The bus company is raising its fares, and the electrical and gas monopolies have announced their plans for deeper price gouges.

For their part, the steel barons hastened to hike prices while the steel market is still "bullish"—an operation which will yield them a multi-million dollar bonanza. These price increases will eventually affect the steel workers, too. On top of all other increases in the cost of living, there is a strong rumor that union dues are to be raised to \$4 or \$4.50 per month.

With such rapidly increasing expenses, the average \$3 weekly increase in take-home pay will be badly deflated. Obviously, there

will not be enough left to encourage a new large-scale buying spree.

McDonald in negotiating the new contract yielded an important point on the right of all workers to enjoy a vacation. Previously, the union could and did insist in many locals that all workers must take off for the full time of their scheduled vacations. In the new contract, the employer is empowered to approach each individual worker and offer cash in lieu of vacation. This privilege can be granted or withheld at the needs of the department. It is already creating economic inequality between departments and it opens the door to an increase in personal favoritism.

The new policy on vacations sets a bad precedent of establishing individual bargaining instead of collective bargaining. It is also calculated to save the corporations large amounts in overtime pay in periods of full production when these coincide with the usual vacation season.

The social welfare measures in the new contract—supplementary unemployment benefits are not widely explained or understood. But they certainly meet with the workers' approval. Such reforms are universal in their appeal.

Canadian Socialists Greet Kutcher Victory in Job Fight

Vancouver, B. C. Canada July 30, 1956

The Militant New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades: Some Vancouver Socialists have commissioned me to write extending our congratulations to James Kutcher, yourselves, the Kutcher Defense Committee and all those who have been active in the struggle for Kutcher's civil rights.

The successful conclusion of the Kutcher struggle, the tireless efforts of Jimmy Kutcher and his associates, is bound to inspire

the workers and liberals everywhere, just as it has ourselves. It will encourage and strengthen all of us to take up and resist more vigorously every attack on civil rights. This should prove to us, if anything will, the strength of our principled position when properly conducted in struggle.

We would also, at this time, extend our condolences for the recent loss you have suffered in the death of John G. Wright. We, as part of the international Socialist movement will feel the loss of this American socialist activist.

We join with you in paying respects to his memory and in expressing our appreciation of the invaluable service he has performed. In the better days to come there may be many to perform such services, but he performed them when there were few others. This honor is uniquely his and we honor and salute his memory.

Comradely, J. Spencer

(James Kutcher, a legless veteran, was recently restored to his Veterans Administration job from which he had been fired eight years ago, solely on the grounds of membership in the Socialist Workers Party. John G. Wright, noted Marxist writer and lecturer, well-known as translator of Leon Trotsky's works died June 21. — Ed.)

America's Road to Socialism

by JAMES P. CANNON

80 pages 35 cents

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum
Fri., Aug. 24 — 8 P. M.
LEON TROTSKY
His life and work — on the 16th anniversary of his assassination
3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

TWIN CITIES "In Defense of Egypt's Rights at Suez"
Speaker: Jean Brust
Friday, Aug. 24 — 8 P. M.
10 So. Fourth St. Minneapolis

"The Assassination of Leon Trotsky"
(The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt)
BY ALBERT GOLDMAN
74 pages 25c.
Order from: PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

By Leon Trotsky "Leon Sedoff Son — Friend — Fighter"
Written on the death of his son. A moving outcry against the methods of Stalin.
31 pages 25c.
Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

... Local 600 Hears Rita Shaw

(Continued from page 1)

crats can't give that answer any more than Republicans, because both of them place profits ahead of human welfare.

BIPARTISANSHIP

The second issue is the danger of war, which in the final analysis is the only capitalist alternative to depression.

You've all heard about the "bipartisan foreign policy." That's the name the Republicans and Democrats give to their agreement not to disagree over questions of war and militarism. I defy anyone to show a single basic foreign policy issue on which the old parties really differ — the cold war, the Korean war, a huge arms budget, the Suez Canal, support of dictators like Chiang Kai-shek and Franco, or anything else.

The Republicans are continuing the cold war, but who started it? The Democrats. What's the Democratic criticism of Eisenhower? Not that he's too aggressive, but that he's "appeasing" Russia! In Washington we recently had the spectacle of the Democrats trying to force the Republican administration to accept a billion dollars more for the air force than they wanted. How can the fight against war be aided by electing such people?

HOW TO FIGHT WAR

What America needs is to stop the cold war, stop it now and stop it for good. All troops should be withdrawn from foreign soil. Military conscription should be ended. The 40 billion dollars a year now being spent on war preparations should be diverted to building schools, hospitals, low cost homes, roads and providing free medical care. All restrictions on trade with other countries should be lifted. A 100% tax on all profits from war industries should be passed by Congress.

The people should be given the right, through constitutional amendment, to vote on all questions of war or peace through a democratic referendum. Atomic energy should be developed only for peaceful and constructive purposes. And the economy should be reorganized on a planned basis to do away with the fundamental cause of war. These are the steps we must take if we are to escape war. And these are the steps that both old parties oppose — equally.

WHITES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Issue number three: civil rights. What I say here is intended more for the whites among you than the Negroes. Civil rights is not a purely "Negro issue." Racial divisions which weaken the unions, low wages in the South, runaway shops to the South, failure to unionize the South — all these jeopardize and undermine the conditions at River Rouge. Denial of the Negro right to vote in the South brings about the election of the worst anti-labor politicians, who then go to Washington to block the laws you want passed.

-An Eastland at the head of the Senate Judiciary Committee or a Barden at the head of the House Labor Committee hurts white workers in the North as much as it hurts Negro farmers in the South.

That's why it won't do for the labor movement to just pass resolutions against Jim Crow and then go and help elect the party that puts the Eastlands and Bardens in power. That's why labor must not only fight for civil rights but must assume leadership of that fight. And the best way to do it is by forming a labor party.

Mention Eastland nowadays, and Democrats wince. And rightly so. Because a vote for Democratic candidates for Congress is a vote

Seamen's Defense Committee Dance

The Seamen's Defense Committee announces a gala dance and entertainment at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41 St., New York on Saturday, Sept. 22, at 9 P.M. The affair will feature the Eric Low Orchestra. Admission is \$1.50, tax included.

The Seamen's Defense Committee founded last January, is sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. It was organized to support legal cases that challenge "security" screening of merchant seamen. It also publicizes facts about the witch hunt on the waterfront.

Tickets for the Sept. 22 affair are available at the ECLC offices, 421 Seventh Ave., New York.

SWP Candidates



Farrell Dobbs, Candidate for President of the United States, and Myra Tanner Weiss, Candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.



to keep Eastland in his chairmanship. If you helped to elect the liberal Democrat McNamara in 1954, then you also helped to put Eastland in as chairman, because that's what happens when Democrats win control of Congress. You may think you're voting for liberalism, but what you get is Eastlandism. And that's bound to happen so long as you back the Democrats.

BOTH ARE JIM CROW

Not that the Republicans are any better. Take just the last ten years: the Republicans controlled the 80th and 83rd Congresses, the Democrats controlled the 81st, 82nd and 84th. Neither of them passed a single civil rights law, and neither of them has any intention of doing so.

You helped elect the Democrats, Congressman Lesinski and Congressman Griffiths. You told them you wanted no federal funds used to finance Jim Crow schools. But they turned their

backs on you, and voted against the Powell amendment. Are you going to help elect them again this year? If you do, you won't be helping the cause of civil rights. The only way you can help that is by now turning your backs on both the old parties and putting your own party in the field. That's the Socialist Workers Party's answer on civil rights.

And finally, the fourth issue: ending the witch hunt and restoring the civil liberties of all. In a certain sense this should come first. Because if all of us are not free to meet, speak and write as we please — including members of the Communist Party and other radical organizations — then election campaigns are a farce and a mockery. You can't have really free elections when people are muzzled and jailed and fired for advocating ideas that displease J. Edgar Hoover, the untouchable idol of both the Democrats and Republicans.

What do the Democrats offer on civil liberties? Truman started the present "loyalty purge" of government employees; his Attorney General Clark, drew up the original "subversive" list; Humphrey, a liberal Democrat from Minnesota, co-sponsored with a Republican, the Communist Control Act of 1954, a thought-control measure aimed directly at the labor movement.

ROLE OF LIBERALS

Here in Michigan we had our own witch hunt law, the Trucks Act. When this unconstitutional measure was passed by the legislature in 1952, not one Democrat — liberal or conservative — had the nerve to stand up and vote against it.

The bill was sent to the governor's desk and liberals begged Williams to veto it. Instead, all his liberalism folded up like an accordion, and he signed the bill without a peep. So I ask: How can anyone logically claim that electing Democrats will end the drive to establish thought-control in the United States?

NOW IS TIME TO START

I will finish now by answering two objections often raised to what we Socialists advocate.

One objection is that while a labor party would be good, now is not the time to start one. We've been hearing that song for 20 years, and we'll be hearing it 20 years longer, if some labor leaders have their way.

Is labor stronger now, politically speaking, than it was 20 years ago? It is not. The Democrats don't take labor seriously, they feel they have your vote in their back pocket and therefore don't have to give you any real concessions. The only ones they are giving concessions to are the Southern Democrats, who at least threaten to walk out if they don't get their way.

Will a labor party win a majority of offices the first time it runs? Probably not, but that's not a real argument against starting one. After all, many unions didn't win much in wages and working conditions the first

time they organized and went on strike for recognition. They won the bigger gains later, but only because they organized first. It will be the same with a labor party.

WHAT COUNTS MOST

Maybe a labor party won't win control the first time, but from the beginning it will be creating the conditions for real victories in the future, unlike the hollow and meaningless victories when the Democrats take office. By forming their own independent political apparatus to serve their own needs, the unions will be setting the stage for victories that will lead to the abolition of war, depression, witch hunts and Jim Crow. And that's what counts — a thousand times more than which capitalist party holds office temporarily.

DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE

The second objection we often hear goes like this: "Won't I be wasting my vote if I vote for Socialists who don't stand a chance of getting elected this year?" I'll answer that by reading what the great Socialist and union leader, Eugene V. Debs, said about it:

"You argue that you are throwing your vote away. That's right — don't vote for freedom, you might not get it. Vote for slavery — you have a cinch on that. . . It is far better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want, and get it!"

And Debs was right. There is no real choice between the two old parties. Both stand for essentially the same things. If you don't like what they stand for, if you want to voice your dissatisfaction, if you agree that a labor party is needed, then you can express these sentiments at the polls by casting a protest vote for the Socialist Workers Party. We hope you will do this year. Even more, we hope you will read our literature, attend our meetings and join the Socialist struggle for a better world.

I thank you.

'What Did We Get?' Ask Buffalo Steel Workers

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, N. Y., Aug. 11 — The recent steel contract which has been so widely heralded by the McDonald machine doesn't look nearly as good from inside the blast furnaces and open hearths of the Bethlehem Steel plant in Lackawanna. A steel worker wearing a big red Bethlehem (Steel crane operator's button remarked, "Five weeks on the streets and we don't even know exactly what we got." As he moved up to ring his time card, a worker carrying a large bag of freshly laundered work clothes answered, "I know what we got. We got hogtied for three years and nothing we can do about it."

As steel workers moved to different parts of the massive Bethlehem plant to begin their jobs, it became clear that some of the gains made at the conference table were illusory. Right off the bat, the company hit the men with a new work schedule that had heads buzzing. The work week which had always run from 7 A.M. Monday through 11 P.M. Sunday was now changed to Sunday through Saturday.

A FAR CRY

This neat trick of making Sunday the first day of the week enabled the company to eliminate paying time and one-half on top of the 10 per cent premium pay for Sunday work, when Sunday ran into the overtime period. Now that Sunday starts the work week, the bosses have only to pay the time and one-tenth of an hour which amounts to about \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day for the average steel worker.

This was a far cry from the time and one-half for Saturday, double time for Sunday which McDonald said he would fight for. While workers in other unionized industries (e.g. auto) enjoy time and one half for Saturday, double time for Sunday, steel workers for the next three years will have to content themselves with straight time for Saturday, 10 per cent premium pay for Sunday for the first year, 20 per cent for the second year, and reaching the unaffordable level of time and one-quarter the third year.

What happened to MacDonald's fight to free the steel workers from being "some sort of second class, sub-normal individual who just can't live like other Americans" as he put it. Two dollars

is a pretty cheap price to pay steel workers for being away from their families for the week-end.

Uncertainty about the rest of the contract was the main talk in the plant throughout the first day back at work. How much was the wage increase? What about vacations and pensions? What are the supplementary unemployment insurance benefits?

MEMBERS IN DARK

Neither McDonald nor Joseph Molony, Regional Director in Buffalo-Lackawanna, called for any areawide meetings to keep the rank and file abreast of the strike developments. Negotiations were conducted in inaccessible New York City hotel rooms far from industrial areas where steel workers live. MacDonald's reports were scattered and evasive and the uncertainty was damaging to the morale of the workers.

After the strike pact was formally signed, picket crews were told to remain at the gates. It was hard to understand what was going on. All the next week workers in the Lackawanna area scanned the newspapers for details on what was holding up the return to work since the contract had already been signed. It looked to the membership like MacDonald had signed a blank check, and now the company was writing in the figures.

With the end of the strike, the steel bosses hailed McDonald as a great union leader and McDonald praised the bosses as fine fellows. You couldn't blame the bosses for appreciating McDonald. The five-week "lockout" was a good investment. They pushed an unprecedented three-year no strike contract on the steel workers, cut many of the original union proposals and thinned out their piled up inventories. Then they hit the consumer with an \$8.50 a ton price increase.

It is hard to swallow McDonald's praise for the steel bosses, especially since it was only a few weeks ago that he was calling them liars, selfish and greedy. Men who wanted to destroy the principles of unionism. In the July issue of Steel Labor McDonald stated, "We strike for fairness against greed" and pointed out the swollen superprofits the steel company had enjoyed. Four million dollars net

profit every 24 hours! The original company proposal for a five-year contract amounted these attacks from McDonald, but the fulsome praise for the bosses.

The rank and file in the Buffalo-Lackawanna area may be confused about many of the issues of the contract. This will be straightened out in time. But one thing is clear to them at this moment. The unprecedented three-year no-strike pledge has given the company the green light to continue their schemes to fatten up their super-swollen profits. They have announced already that the price of steel will be \$8.50 more a ton. In the face of this extortionate price hike which steel workers sooner or later will absorb, McDonald saw fit to make no comment. It remains for the ranks to answer the bosses.

No Future

There are only 4,200 Jews left in West Berlin and their average age is 60 according to Rabbi Joachim Prinz of New Jersey, an official of the World Jewish Congress. He spoke in Berlin July 21 saying that there seemed to be no future in the preservation of the Jewish community in Berlin.

... Egypt

(Continued from page 1)

change of a fundamental social character is in the offing. Of itself, the move will have revolutionary consequences.

The mass support of the Arab peoples for Egypt's nationalization of Suez has begun to create divisions in the imperialist home-front. Even right-wing leaders of the British Labor party are now criticizing the policy of the Eden government of threatening Egypt with violence and have demanded a Parliamentary debate on the results of the London Conference.

Only last week, these self-same leaders in their pro-imperialist fervor, were berating the U.S. government as "hesitant" in the fight against the Arabs.

In rejecting the "Big Three" invitation to the London conference, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt termed it an attempt at "collective colonialism." He rejected "internationalization" of the canal and proposed instead a conference convoked by Egypt which would include all 45 countries whose ships use the canal, instead of the 24 who were invited to London. The purpose of an Egypt-convoked conference would be the drawing-up of a new agreement regulating use of the Suez canal in line with Egypt's pledge to keep it open to the ships of all nations.

WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL

Sept. 1 through Sept. 9

Fun and Frolic — Delicious Food

Swimming in a lovely big pool, hiking, ball games, horseshoes, relaxation, sun bathing, campfires, barbecues, group singing

Educational Program

James P. Cannon — "Trotsky in America"
Vincent R. Dunne — "Parliamentary Tactics of the Revolutionary Party"
Arne Swaback — "Science and the Marxist Method"
Wm. F. Ward — "The Law of Uneven and Combined Development in History"

Rates are Low

For 8 nights and 25 meals

| | Weekly | Daily |
|--------------------|---------|--------|
| Adults | \$40.00 | \$6.00 |
| Juniors (12 to 15) | 28.00 | 4.00 |
| Children (5 to 11) | 20.00 | 3.00 |
| Small Fry (1 to 4) | 10.00 | 1.50 |

For Information and Reservations Write:

West Coast Vacation School
1702 East 4th Street Los Angeles 33, Calif.
Phone: ANgeles 9-4953