

Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course Reflects Crisis

By Harry Ring

JULY 17 — A series of obviously improvised and contradictory moves during the past week marked the drive of Nikita Khrushchev to consolidate his victory

over the four bureaucrats whose downfall was announced July 3. The present zig-zag course illuminates the powerful opposing pressures underlying the now acute crisis of the ruling bureaucracy.

After the death of the "supreme arbiter," Stalin, the bureaucracy had to rule through the vehicle of "collective leadership." But wracked by the inner conflict of special privileges and material interests, the ruling caste is driven along the road of throwing up a single new supreme authority. This process is expressed in the uninterrupted power struggles of the rival cliques within the bureaucracy.

A NEW STAGE

The unique feature of this internecine warfare is the context in which it takes place—the new stage of the Russian revolution. During Stalin's bloody reign conflicts within the bureaucracy were settled swiftly and brutally. The Soviet working class had been crushed by the bureaucratic tyrants. Workers' democracy was destroyed and the workers felt politically weak and isolated. Today the bureaucracy confronts a huge, culturally advanced and politically recuperated working class. It is a working class that feels the impulses of world revolutionary trends. This working class is seething with discontent and hatred for the bureaucracy.

Each new split in the bureaucracy gives further elbow room to the masses in their demand for greater democracy and improved living standards. As the rival bureaucrats contend for the post of top-dog they face the stark fact that victory is empty

unless they can achieve a measure of popular support. Therefore concessions must be promised and even granted. The vanquished bureaucrats must be made the scapegoats for the crimes committed against the people by the entire bureaucracy. The winner is driven to try to play both "hard cop" and "soft cop" at the very same time.

TWISTS AND TURNS

Last week they were trying to execute the twists and turns demanded by this situation. On July 10 the Moscow radio informed the world that Malenkov, who had been ousted from the Party Presidium for "anti-party activity," had been made manager of a hydroelectric plant in remote East Kazakhstan and that the other ousted chieftains, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov, had been assigned to other unspecified jobs. This was followed up the next day by a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Prague who broadly hinted to Western correspondents that the deposed four would not be arrested or tried. An obvious expert in the art of double talk, he explained vaguely: "They were anti-party, not hostile. There's a difference."

During the very same interview, however, it was revealed that while the announcement had been beamed to the outer world, it was not made to the Soviet people. Queried on this, the Prague spokesman cynically replied, "It is not the custom in the Soviet Union to announce the appointment of technicians in the press."

The real reason for not informing the people of the action on Malenkov is that the public campaign against the deposed group is still being carried on at full pace in the Soviet press, at meetings and over the radio. This campaign was given significant new impetus July 16 with a speech in Leningrad by Marshal Zhukov who looms as an increasingly powerful ally of the Khrushchev clique. He charged that the four "were opposed to the exposure of the lawless acts committed. They feared responsibility before the party, before the people for exceeding their power and committing unlawful actions."

MEAT AND BUTTER

Meanwhile Khrushchev was busily making meat and butter promises during his visit, along with Bulgakov, to Czechoslovakia. On July 13 he told Czech workers, "It is not bad if, in improving the theory of Marx, one throws in also a piece of bacon and a piece of butter." He then explained: "When you have a hungry stomach it is sometimes very difficult to under-

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A Soviet worker. This woman is a member of an industrial working class — the second largest in the world and growing more and more conscious of its strength. Widespread demands for workers' democracy and a better life are the source of the Kremlin crisis.

Nazis' Victim Defies French "Justice"

[The recently concluded trial of the editor and writers for La Verite, newspaper of the French Trotskyists, has been a trial of freedom of the press in France as well as of the right of Algerians to independence. In previous issues we printed excerpts from the testimony of Pierre Lambert and Daniel Renard. Here are excerpts from the closing speeches of the two other defendants, Gerard Bloch and Stephane Just. — Ed.]

(Speech of Gerald Bloch)

Your Honor: I am being prosecuted particularly for articles denouncing torture and concentration camps in Algeria. And if the prosecutor has been able to criticize the perhaps vehement tone of some of those articles, I in no way apologize for it. I myself am an old concentration camp prisoner. I have resolved to denounce without moderation concentration camps whether they bear the names of Dachau or Auschwitz [Germany], Vorkuta or Karaganda [USSR], Berrouaghia or Lodi [Algeria].

The Judge: There has been no objection to your having spoken of tortures or of camps. Bloch: But one of my articles which is specially objected to is entitled "Stop the Executioner!" It calls for protests of public opinion to stop the execution of Ben Boulaid who had just been condemned to death. The prosecutor has said that Ben Boulaid directed the November 1, 1954 attack on the barracks in Bona [Algeria]. In fact this was the theme of the accusation at the trial where he was sentenced to death. But this was proven — and was what my article was about — only by confessions of other prisoners, confessions

torn from them by torture and repudiated by them in the courtroom. Ben Boulaid, himself, despite torture did not confess.

TRIED TWICE

Your Honor, this morning I re-read the verdict with which the special section of the military tribunal of Lyons condemned me on Sept. 9, 1942, to 12 years of hard labor, 20 years' loss of the right of residence and loss of citizenship rights. I also read the indictment brought against me on that occasion. I was surprised to discover that the articles of the legal code invoked against me were the very same as those being used today — articles 80 and 83. I hasten to add, however, that the opportunities for a defense allowed me now are infinitely greater than before the court in 1942. That one found me guilty of "endangering the external security of the state by undertaking by whatsoever means to commit an act against the integrity of French territory, and specifically in possessing and making propaganda use of pamphlets and documents originating with the Fourth International, and further in participating in the building of the Trotskyist movement in the

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Eisenhower Seen Cooking Up Rights Bill Deal with Racists

Putting the Pressure On Congress



A major reason why, for the first time in 80 years, a civil rights bill — though only a token one — has a chance in the U.S. Senate this session. These are part of the estimated 25,000 persons who last May 17 conducted the first historic march on Washington in behalf of civil rights.

An End to Rule by Purge - Let Soviet People Speak!

An Editorial

Rank and file members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the U.S. are once more confronted with the gravest questions about what is happening in the Soviet Union.

The dominant Khrushchev faction in the "collective leadership" that inherited Stalin's dictatorial power has accused three of the top-ranking officials of the Soviet government and Communist Party, Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, of a whole series of "mistakes" and crimes, expelled them from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, removed them from their government posts and sent the purged leaders into exile and disgraced obscurity.

Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov have been accused by the Khrushchev group of complicity in Stalin's mass-murder crimes. If there is indeed evidence that just these former partners of Stalin, and none others, are guilty as charged, why isn't this evidence presented? Why the blanket charges without evidence? Why aren't the accused heard from? Is it because a full and free discussion would reveal that the entire "collective leadership" shared in Stalin's crimes and continue to cling to the methods of Stalinism? If so, shouldn't the truth about this be known to the Soviet workers and the world working class?

The purged officials are accused of opposing the post-Stalin "democratization" of opposing improvements in the workers' standard of living, of obstructing the resumption of relations with Yugoslavia and opposing the lessening of world tension.

But how can Communist workers who are seeking the truth judge the validity of these charges when all they hear is Khrushchev's version of what the purged and silenced opponents proposed?

We know that one of the techniques of the Stalin system of rule was to take over the program of an opposition, and then denounce the opposition for being opposed to precisely this program.

This was the case when Stalin denounced the Trotskyists as "super-industrializers" because they proposed the first five-year plan. Then Stalin took over the program of the Trotskyist opposition, applied it in bureaucratic fashion — and charged the

Trotskyists with being opposed to industrialization!

Isn't it possible that this method, perfected during the struggle to crush workers' democracy, is a factor in the present complex power struggles among the bureaucratic chiefs in the Kremlin?

The issue boils down to a very simple choice: do we believe that the broad membership of the Communist parties and the working class as a whole should play the decisive role in deciding questions of fundamental policy in a workers state? Or do we believe that basic policy should be determined by bureaucrats at the top and then handed down to the party ranks and the working class?

We must make a choice between these two concepts. It is a choice between workers' democracy and bureaucratic tyranny; between Leninism and Stalinism.

We read in the Daily Worker that it is deplorable that a full and free discussion involving the whole working class of the Soviet Union did not take place. Quite right! But the Daily Worker also says that this deplorable fact should not obscure the progressive significance of what was decided by the Khrushchev victory over his opponents.

This smacks of the same kind of reasoning that was used to justify all of Stalin's crimes for so many years. Since progressive developments are taking place in the Soviet Union, we were told, why bother to examine the methods used to achieve them?

Later it was discovered that the progressive developments took place despite the bureaucratic rule of Stalin and not because of it.

In our opinion, it is the urgent duty of all who stand for workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and everywhere, to demand in a clear and unambiguous way that all viewpoints be heard.

Let the purged speak. Let them present their position before the bar of world working-class opinion. Let Khrushchev and his supporters attempt to prove their charges in the light of day. And above all, let the Soviet workers be heard; they have been forced to remain silent too long.

Liberals in Senate Seek to Patch Up Rotten Compromise with Southerners

By George Lavan

JULY 18 — The self-proclaimed pro-civil rights Democrats and Republicans are falling over one another in their eagerness to whittle down the civil rights bill even before the expected Dixiecrat filibuster has begun.

The surrender by Northern politicians in both Big Business parties of sections of the bill explains the "good behavior" of the Southern Democrats who allowed the bill to reach the Senate floor on July 16. They could have prevented this by a filibuster then but they found it more advantageous to accept the concessions offered. Their strategy is to weaken the bill even further by accepting more "compromises" and then, if anything remains that would hamper Jim Crow rule in the South, to begin the filibuster.

U. S. Tries to Evade Permanent A-Test Ban

By Herman Chauka

JULY 15 — A proposal to limit any suspension of nuclear tests to a ten-month period is now being pressed by United States representatives to the London disarmament conference. U.S. spokesmen emphasize that they will not "negotiate" the ten-month proviso, which is offered as a substitute for the Soviet offer of a two to three-year test suspension. Meanwhile the Atomic Energy Commission announced July 13 that it is planning a five-year period of research to try to determine more fully the effect of atomic radiation on man.

U.S. delegates to the London conference are expressing "optimism" about the possibility of forcing the Soviet Union to "water down" its proposal for a longer suspension period for the tests. In standing hard on the ten-month limit, administration spokesmen have conceded they are flying in the face of powerful world sentiment to halt the deadly tests. They are apparently determined to make every effort to resist this popular demand or to make only the necessary minimum concessions to it.

In this country on July 7 a ban-the-test petition signed by 82 prominent individuals, including some top union officials, was sent to Eisenhower. Among the unionists who joined the demand were Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers and Josepa E. Berne, president of the Communications workers. The present wide opposition to the deadly explosions was also reflected last week in the introduction into Congress of a bill to halt the tests by Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.).

The deal for the first big surrender was heralded by a speech of Georgia Senator Richard Russell, who pretended to discover a sinister wording in the bill enabling the President to enforce the anti-segregation section of the law with federal troops if necessary. Actually such power for enforcing the "law of the land" has been on U.S. lawbooks since 1795. In a number of laws this power is set forth — for example in the civil-rights legislation passed after the Civil War.

Consistently parroting the U.S. line, British disarmament representatives have endorsed the ten-month plan. They certainly do not speak for the British people on this issue. On July 11 The Transport and General Workers' Union, the largest union in Britain added its voice to those demanding an end to the tests and abolition of the hell-bombs.

Russell's "horrible revelation" that the President could enforce the country's law with federal police and Marshal, and, if they were successfully defied, with federal troops, was received by Eisenhower and by the Northern press with pretended shock. Eisenhower declared it was unimaginable that he would ever enforce Negroes' civil rights with troops. The N. Y. Times and other liberal papers called for the elimination of that whole section of the bill.

This section — Section III — is the only part of the bill dealing with civil rights in general, that is with "equal protection of the law" against segregation practices declared illegal by the Constitution. To wipe out Section III thus means wiping out what small measure of anti-segregation protection the bill promised. Violations of rights in schooling, transportation, use of public recreation facilities, etc., thus would no longer fall within the scope of the bill.

No sooner had the Senate voted — over the objections of liberal Democrat Wayne Morse who wanted to send the bill to Eastland's committee for "study" and butchery — to take up the civil rights bill, than liberal Democrat Anderson (N.M.) and liberal Republican Aiken (V.) introduced an amendment to delete Section III from the bill.

The next day Senators Knowland (R-Cal.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) introduced an amendment to strike from the lawbooks the Reconstruction era act empowering the president to enforce civil rights laws with troops if necessary.

A further demonstration of the treachery of liberal Democrats on civil rights is the amendment being prepared by O'Mahoney of Wyoming. O'Mahoney is for cutting the heart out of the bill's vote-protection section by giving the Dixiecrats their phony "trial-by-jury" demand. His amendment, however, may be a "compromise" limiting federal judges to ordering fines or imprisonment only where an official has openly and indisputably refused a qualified Negro the right to vote. Where deprivations of the right to vote involve more than one person or where interpretation of the state election laws is involved, a jury trial, i.e., an automatic acquittal, would be mandatory.

Since the only meaningful part of the civil rights bill left is the voting section, passage of any such amendment would make it unnecessary for the white-supremacist Senators to stage a filibuster. They would have won the battle beforehand. The civil rights bill would be but an empty mockery of the Negro people.

Tuskegee Negroes' Right To Vote Gerrymandered

By Fred Halstead

JULY 12 — Tuskegee Negroes remain virtually 100% solid in their boycott of white-owned stores this week as the bill which precipitated their mass protest becomes law today for lack of a governor's veto.

Their central demand has now transcended the immediate issue—the bill passed unanimously by the Alabama State legislature re-drawing the map of Tuskegee to exclude all but about 12 of the 400 registered Negro voters. There are 600 white voters in the city.

The Negroes are demanding, in addition to an end to the gerrymandering, a new board of registrars which will not discriminate against Negroes attempting to register.

THREAT TO COLLEGE

Racist State Senator Sam Egglehart, head of the Alabama White Citizens Councils and the sponsor of the city-limits bill, has threatened to have the legislature cut off all appropriations to Tuskegee Institute. The dean of students at the world-famed Negro educational institution is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which is leading the mass protest movement.

Many of its faculty members and students are active participants in the struggle. The school, which together with a Veteran's Administration Hos-

'Global Conspiracy' Against SP-SDF?

By Murry Weiss

If you want to get some insight into the fantastic workings of the right-wing social-democratic mind, read the June issue of the Socialist Call, the official organ of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

The whole world political situation is being shaken to its foundations by the turbulent events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are on the move in an independent struggle for workers democracy; the Soviet bureaucracy is in the throes of an insoluble crisis; and every Communist party in the world is gripped by a seething discussion in which the entire structure of Stalinist ideology is being ripped to pieces.

One would think that these somewhat important developments would have by this time shaken even the leaders of this SP-SDF from their customary Stalinophobic torpor. But no! The Call editors can see only one pattern to these world developments—there is a vast global conspiracy afoot, masterminded by Khrushchev himself, to steal the pure and unadulterated little pillow of "socialist integrity" from under their heads through the revival of the diabolical Leninist tactic of the united front.

THE AMERICAN FORUM

The keen-witted editors of the Call see as the instrument of this global conspiracy the American Forum—For Socialist Education, the institution set up by many representative radical tendencies and individuals to promote a free and untrammelled discussion on the problems of American socialism.

The sinister purpose of the AF-SE, according to the Call, is to lure the SP-SDF onto the same platform with the Communist Party in order to engage in open debate. By this device, the editors argue, the Communist Party hopes to rehabilitate itself as a legitimate organization and eventually ensnare the SP-SDF into united activities.

Does it enter the minds of these strategists that perhaps in the course of these debates they may influence the thinking of thousands of workers in and around the CP who are desperately looking for answers to the crucial questions posed by the crisis of Stalinism?

After all, the SP-SDF is not a very large organization. In view of its tiny numbers and weakness, shouldn't this organization, which professes to dispense the only true brand of socialism, be eager to reach the minds of the overwhelming majority of the radical workers? Don't they feel they can win in such debates?

Not in the least! The SP-SDF peddles of "socialist integrity" are standing pat. They boast that they never supported the Soviet Union from October 1917 on. That's enough proof that they're the genuine article, isn't it?

As if to demonstrate their utter lack of contact with political reality, the Call editors have dreamed up a role for the Socialist Workers Party in this devious plot: "The Trotskyite groups," they say, "are willing cooperators in the new CP line. The Trotskyite groups, particularly the SWP, are somewhat reluctant followers of the CP view that the SP-SDF should be a primary area of operation."

NOT SO

This story hasn't even a remote relationship to the truth. The SWP has vigorously opposed all talk about the SP-SDF as the "center of regroupment." The SWP sees no merit whatever in the attempt of some CP leaders, like John Gates, to resolve the crisis of Stalinism by convincing the SP-SDF that the CP is more reformist and more social-democratic than the SP-SDF itself. The SWP has proposed a revolutionary socialist regroupment of the radical workers. And that means a regroupment that is politically opposed, not only to Stalinism, but to state-department "socialism."

Of course the SWP is in favor of united fronts on specific questions like the struggle for civil liberties confronting all working class organizations. And of course the SWP also favors full, free and open debate among all radical tendencies to clarify differences and enable workers to choose their political party on the basis of their own judgment and experience. What self-respecting political organization can oppose either unity in action or the public clarification of differences, however deep?

The blunt fact is that the SP-SDF leaders are not really opposed to united fronts with the Stalinists—when and if these united fronts don't contradict the foreign policy of U.S. im-

perialism. During the Thirties, when diplomatic relations between the U.S. State Department and Stalin were cordial, the social-democrats and the labor bureaucrats worked closely with Stalinists in united fronts, peoples' fronts and in the unions. In this period Stalinists and social-democrats often combined against left wingers and revolutionists. Only when the interests of American imperialism dictate a witch hunt against the Communist Party, do these state-department "socialists" discover they can have nothing to do with united fronts.

The role of the SP-SDF leaders in the case of the American Forum has been the best evidence of their complete incapacity to offer any progressive contribution to the regroupment process. When the Forum was under attack by the capitalist press and the Congressional inquirers, they acted within the socialist movement like the Uncle Toms get within the Negro movement. They rushed into print when the witch-hunt heat was on, not to defend the Forum, but to try to knife it. They whined and whimpered about how the N.Y. Times was giving too much space to the Forum. They opened an expulsion drive against SP-SDF members who had the courage and integrity to join the Forum and stand by it when it came under witch-hunt attack.

NORMAN THOMAS

Even Norman Thomas is regarded as a "left" extremist by the clique that runs the SP-SDF because he takes a consistent stand in behalf of the civil liberties of all, including the CP leaders. And were it not for Thomas' public stature he would doubtlessly be disciplined by these petty bureaucrats for participating in debates with the CP and the SWP.

How can anyone who professes to be a revolutionary socialist see in this SP-SDF a progressive force in the regroupment process, let alone the center of a radical regroupment?

But apparently anything is possible, for we have seen Max Shachtman waiting at the gates of the SP-SDF for over a year—half, growing old and tired, but not despairing, and crying to the entire radical movement as it passes by: "Here is the gateway to a mass socialist party! Here and here alone we find the path to a broad socialist movement!"

It is beyond our power to do justice to this bizarre spectacle. Let us yield the floor to the editor of Labor Action, Hal Draper. Labor Action has supported Shachtman's politics for 17 years. Draper is opposed to the kind of SP-SDF orientation that is supported by a majority of the Political Committee of Shachtman's organization. Draper regards the SP-SDF orientation of the PC majority as a "systematic adaptation to social democracy." He also regards it as a pipe dream. In the July 8 issue of Labor Action, Draper says:

"If only the SP rose to its opportunities, signs the PC majority, what a wonderful movement we could build! No doubt: if only the girl were beautiful, rich, intelligent and sweet-tempered, she would make an excellent wife. But under the circumstances we are not well advised to rush into matrimony."

The following joke is reportedly making the rounds in the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.:

Question: What is a "clean" H-bomb?

Answer: It's a bomb that kills you but leaves a few people around to act as pallbearers.

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New Phase of the Stalinist Crisis

(The following article appeared in the July-August issue of Labour Review, British Marxist journal.—Ed.)

Not since the world's communists woke up one fine morning in 1929 to discover that three eminent members of the Soviet Communist Party's Political Bureau, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, were engaged in "anti-party activities" has there been a crisis in the Kremlin so severe as that announced on July 3. The removal of Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov from the Central Committee and from their Government posts eclipses even the Twentieth Congress revelations in the light it sheds on the internal stresses that rack the Soviet bureaucracy, and in its potentially unsettling effects on Eastern Europe and on Communist Parties.

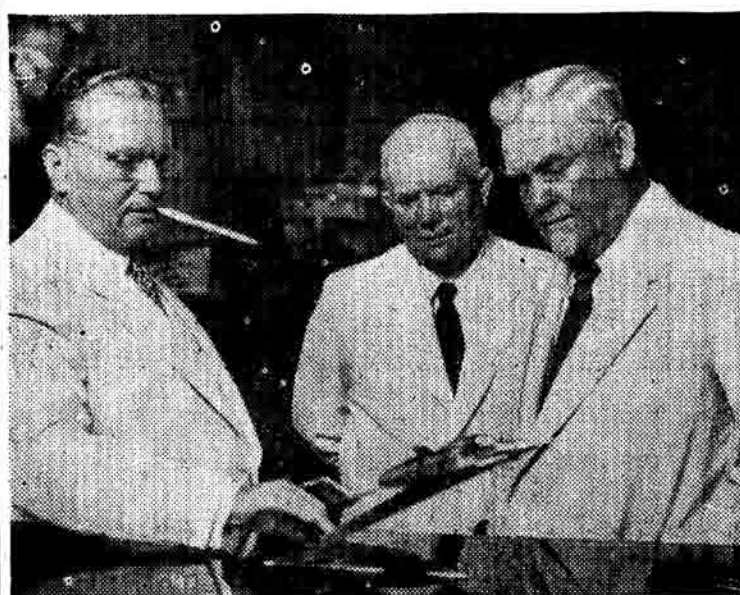
Molotov, Lenin's "best filling-stick of the revolution," Stalin's "comrade-in-arms"—and accomplice in the murder of Lenin's colleagues—the man to whom any dirty job could be safely entrusted, at last falls victim to a veritable coup d'état. A generation's faithful service to the bureaucracy is rewarded with a pitiless indictment of its narrow-mindedness, conservatism—and "anti-party" activities. In the whole voluminous compass of Molotov's speeches there occurs but one striking and memorable phrase: "All roads lead to communism." Perfectly true; but with a little foresight he might have added that for the major obstacle on the Russian path to communism, the Soviet bureaucracy, all roads lead to convulsions, intrigues, shocks and tumbles.

This is the destiny which the

bureaucracy cannot escape. Those who try to hold back historical progress always find their most cherished dreams and illusions turn into their opposites; and the more these men who cling to the power that by right belongs to the Russian workers shout about a "collective leadership" and "party unity" the faster does the monolith crumble into warring factions. Stalin was able to hold the privileged upper stratum together, not because of any exceptional personal powers he possessed, but because the period of his dominance was the period of the Russian workers' weariness and apathy, reinforced by the defeat of the revolution in the West and the terrible sufferings of the Second World War. But this is a new historical epoch. The old incantations and formulas no longer work. The cracks are widening rapidly as the whole structure is shaken from below by the still inarticulate, but immensely strong, Soviet proletarian. July 1957 is the outward and visible sign that the crisis of the whole Stalinist regime has entered a new stage. The face of the waters has suddenly become troubled; massive and irresistible currents are stirring in the depths.

The bureaucracy is now acting as an unbearable fetter on Soviet life. Its chains bite into the living flesh of Soviet society at a hundred and one points. In industry and agriculture the tail ends of a series of unfulfilled plans litter the planners' desks. In literature, music and historiography administrative methods designed to compel uniformity and stifle creativeness succeed only in revealing the bureaucracy's philis-

Still Not Close Buddies



Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin in Yugoslavia in 1955. Yugoslav officials were jubilant over the recent Kremlin purge of old-line Stalinists until Khrushchev's Prague speech July 11 attacking Yugoslav workers councils. The Belgrade reaction was "shocked silence."

listinism and fear of the truth. Not least of all, in the sphere of ideology, the ruling caste can only mutter that it has nothing to learn from Mao Tse-tung.

The bureaucracy is actuated by two economic impulses. It must protect the nationalized property relations; it does so in its own way, of course, but so it must, since these are the soil that gives it life. And it must safeguard its own privileged position. As with every parasite, this latter is its primary consideration. The discussions in the Kremlin have not

been about improving the condition of the Soviet workers, but about how best the bureaucracy can defend its positions: whether to give concessions, what concessions to give, to whom to give them, and so on.

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

This was a fight behind closed doors, at which the contestants could hear the first premonitory tappings of the giant outside. They did not take the discussion outside the Central Committee—not even into the ranks of their heavily bu-

resuscitated party, for that would have exposed their real motives. The views of those expelled have nowhere appeared in documents from their own hands. After one preparatory article in Pravda a fait accompli is presented to the Soviet people. Yet this is supposed to be "inner-party democracy," and these men have the audacity to refer to the Tenth Congress to support their strictures on factional activity.

Lenin, however, never intended the proscription of factional platforms as anything more than an extraordinary and temporary measure during a critical period. Open groupings and open discussion had been the tradition of the Bolshevik Party from its inception; the Stalinist parties cannot tolerate them because they cannot tolerate the clash of opinion. The crisis of 1957 is fundamentally different from the crisis of 1921: then an infant workers' State was menaced by foreign intervention; now a bureaucracy is menaced by an awakening people thirsting for knowledge about the past of the movement. The reference to the Tenth Congress may therefore boomerang back at its authors.

The gravity of the crisis is shown above all by the tone of the document issued on July 3. This is no product of a calm academic dispute between "liberalizers" and "anti-liberalizers." The dominant faction is speaking not only to its ousted enemies, but also to the masses of the people. There is a threat between every two lines.

Can the struggle be seen as one between "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists"? By no means. The lines are not drawn so sim-

ply and neatly as that. Neither the Khrushchev faction nor the Molotov faction nor the Malenkov faction is homogeneous. It may well be that each of these factions has chosen to adopt as its own various popular demands. We should beware of over-simplified interpretations of a conflict whose outlines are in many ways still misty. The important thing is that the motive force of this cat-clysm, and of those which will certainly follow it, is the resuscitation of the Russian working class.

For this class, new magnificent opportunities are opening out. The essential feature of this new stage of the crisis is that the workers will more and more come on to the arena. It is not ruled out that they may temporarily use reactionary members of the bureaucracy as instruments, before they reach the stage of building their own new, revolutionary leadership. But no threats, no terror, no concessions, no maneuvers can prevent the discussion coming into the factories, can prevent the emergence of political trends, can prevent the Russian workers from organizing, can prevent the rise of a rejuvenated Marxist movement in the USSR. The Labor movement of the West must rebuff all attempts by imperialism to take advantage of the crisis, and must rally to the support of the Russian workers.

The night has lasted for a generation, for three long, dark decades. Now it is ending. The bankruptcy and impotence of a leadership torn by internecine strife are the clear signs of an approaching dawn.

British Armaments Boom Living Costs

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

Every issue of every serious newspaper published in Britain this past week had the word "inflation" in a headline somewhere. The Tory Government is doing its damndest to whip up public feeling against the growing movement for higher wages.

It is doing this at a time when the new and iniquitous Rent Act has just come into force, giving landlords of private houses the go-ahead for terrific rent increases.

And at a time when British MPs [members of parliament] are voting themselves a pay increase of 470 pounds a year; when members of that most useless body of emined legislators in the world, the House of Lords, are to get three guineas a day for each day they attend; when members of the boards of nationalized industries are to get higher salaries (up to 10,000 pounds a year for chairman).

No wonder trade union after trade union is expressing firm opposition to the Government plan for a national "impartial and authoritative" body to consider wages policy "in an inflationary setting"—i.e., to keep wages down.

A body-blow for the Government was the opposition to this scheme expressed this week by

one Frank Cousins, who is a leading member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and the general secretary of Britain's biggest trade union, the Transport and General Workers'.

Under Cousins' predecessor, the late Arthur Deakin, this large, rich, powerful and influential union was a bastion of Right-wing views. Its enormous (1,277,000) block vote at the annual TUC and Labor Party conferences could always be relied on to support wage freezes and the like.

Now a big change is taking place in the TGWU. Its biennial conference, which has just finished, while it did not show any loosening of the bureaucratic domination of this union, did show that the Cousins' "new look" means more responsiveness to the feelings and needs of the rank and file.

(One thoroughly reactionary decision must be mentioned, however. The conference set an exceedingly bad example when it demanded "strict and orderly" Government controls on the immigration of West Indians, urged the TUC to adopt immigration control as a national policy. Not one of the 800 delegates voted against this resolution, which is a shocking commentary on the chauvinism all too prevalent among British workers.)

In the name of his members Cousins delivered this warning to the Macmillan Government: "While the Government or industry, or both, collectively pursue a policy which worsens the standards of the people we represent, we shall do everything in our power to protect our members."

An editorial in the Journal of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which with 853,000 members is another very powerful body, has also turned down the Government's scheme for an "impartial" body, branding the project as "unnecessary." The miners, too, through the mouth of their secretary Ernest Jones, have expressed disapproval.

With 100,000 out-of-London busmen threatening to strike for more pay on July 26; with the doctors still up in arms about the inadequacy of their pay; with a pay rise of five per cent just announced for 600,000 civil servants ("to encourage the others," someone said unkindly) the Government has scarcely chosen the best time to halt the wages movement.

It would be far better occupied in trying to halt price increases by cutting arms expenditure (twice as much per head of the population than that of any other European country) and repealing the Rent Act.

But then it would no longer be a Tory Government!

Credit Expansion Increases Inflation Menace in U.S.

By Vincent Copeland

Inflation is now the top concern of the U.S. Treasury, the Federal Reserve Bank, the editorial writers of the nation and in fact a tremendous assortment of powerful individuals none of whom have

ever shown much concern for the working-classes of the country in the past. This is because a "cheaper dollar" cuts millions of dollars of real wealth off the income of lenders of capital (bank mortgages, bonds, etc.).

The prevailing power of the dollar, measured by the consumer price index, fell 2.9 percent last year.

This is no greater than the average constant decline (inflation) since 1946. But it comes on top of the most strenuous government attempts to combat it. Suppose the water in a leaking boat were rising at the rate of three inches per hour for several hours, and then a crew of men vigorously began to bail the water out for an hour or so. If they discovered that the water still rose three inches per hour in spite of their battle against it, they would have some cause for alarm.

BLAMED ON WORKERS

Naturally every Big Business editorial writer blames this situation on the "greedy" demands of labor for wage increases.

Gives New Evidence in Trotsky Murder

By Fred Hart

New evidence in the murder of Leon Trotsky, definitively linking up Stalin's secret political police in the planning of the assassination, has been made public by a former top officer of the dread organization. The Soviet Consulate-General in New York was named as the place from which the cold-blooded killing of one of the founders of the Soviet Union was plotted.

In August 1940, when the exiled socialist leader was killed by a blow from a pick-axe, it was proved circumstantially that the murderer was an agent of Stalin. This is now confirmed by

an eyewitness report of what is in the top-secret files in Moscow.

The revelations were made by Vladimir Petrov, Third Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Canberra, Australia, whose departure from Moscow in 1954 created an international sensation. They are contained in a book which he and his wife Evdokia wrote and published recently in London. The facts were made public in this country for the first time by the International Socialist Review.

Petrov reports that as an official of Stalin's police charged with the supervision of Soviet merchant seamen on the lower Danube, he often consulted the secret files of the Intelligence department. One day, by mistake, he was handed the file on Trotsky.

Petrov declares that what he read proves that Trotsky's murder was planned in Moscow. He also confirms the fact that there was not a single item in the voluminous file that would support the false charges leveled by Stalin in the infamous frame-up trials in which Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov were named as principal defendants.

The file on Trotsky had to be skimmed hurriedly, for Petrov risked arousing suspicion if he kept the incriminating evidence too long. However, Petrov declares that he can confirm the suspicions of Moscow's conspiracy in the killing of Trotsky



LEON TROTSKY

"from the evidence of my own eyes." The file "contained the detailed planning by the N. K. V. D. experts over a period of years, which led up to the successful assassination."

Petrov says that "Though I read the file quickly, with a certain apprehensive speed, I remember clearly these planning papers. One of them had a footnote comment by a senior N. K. V. D. officer that Trotsky should never have been allowed to leave the U.S.S.R."

Other items seen by Petrov in the file tend to corroborate the revelation made by another former agent of Moscow's secret police that the "direction of Trotsky's assassination" and the

training of the assassin who is still serving his sentence in Mexico for the crime, were carried out by a deputy of the NKVD named Blitnikov.

The full details made public by the Petrovs are reported in the summer issue of the International Socialist Review. The magazine also carries the Petrov's revelations about the fate of Karl Radek and some of their eyewitness reports as former government officials on what is really going on inside the Soviet Union.

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Summer Issue Of Labor Review Now Available

By Bert Deck

Perhaps the most exciting literary result thus far in the international regroupment discussion among socialists has been the appearance of the new British bi-monthly *Labor Review*.

As one of its readers writes in the July-August issue, "I have read *Labor Review* from its inception and am of the opinion that each issue has been a great improvement on its predecessor. . . ."

It need only be added that the current issue is no exception.

The featured editorial on the fall of Molotov is a brilliantly succinct statement of the new phase of the crisis of Stalinism. (See reprint of this editorial on this page.)

Of special interest is the criticism of Russian Trotskyism by Communist theoretician, R. W. Davies. An answer to this article by Leonard Hussey begins, "The article by R. W. Davies is on an altogether different plane from the traditional type of Stalinist critique of Trotskyism. Instead of the counter-posing of 'Trotskyism' to Leninism, we have a frank bracketing of Lenin and Trotsky as 'those politicians of a past era.'"

Instead of the familiar bogey-image of Trotsky as arch-militarist and would-be-dictator, we have Trotsky judged as a man who wanted to carry democracy beyond the bounds of "realism."

This exchange between R. W. Davies and Leonard Hussey demonstrates that a fruitful and objective discussion on the historical differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism is possible. The British Marxists do not underestimate the importance of such a discussion. They welcome it for the rich understanding it can yield.

American readers will find Tom Kemp's series (concluded in this issue) on the prospects of British capitalism most useful. Although Kemp deals specifically with British economic developments, trends similar to those in the U.S. are easily discernible. Also included in this issue is an analysis of a new shift in policy by the Chinese Communist Party by Michael Banda, Joseph Redman's study of the British CP from 1925-29, and a discussion on Dialectics.

Copies of *Labor Review*, the British theoretical magazine may be obtained for 50 cents. A subscription for one year (six issues) sells for \$2.50. Write to Militant Business Office, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

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More Gains for Civil Liberties

The effect of the gains registered by defenders of civil liberties in the Jencks and Watkins cases is just beginning to be seen in the form of lower court decisions. What is revealed at the same time is the magnitude of the lawlessness of the Congressional witch hunters and the Department of Justice.

There are at this moment no less than 23 cases pending in the federal courts of witch-hunt victims sentenced for contempt of Congress on the same grounds that were proven illegal in the Watkins case. In addition there is an untold number of other cases which were lost or dropped by the weary victims during the depths of the smear orgy.

Already two cases similar to that of Watkins have been adjudged in favor of the defendants by lower courts acting on the basis of the high court's decision. One of these — the Singer case — concerned academic freedom and the right of a professor to refuse to become a stool pigeon informing on the political beliefs of fellow faculty members.

The other was that of Seymour Peck, a newspaperman who similarly had refused to become an informer tool of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its designs against freedom of the press. In an important decision in this case, Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl specifically recognized the witch-hunters' attempts on the freedom of the press. "To inhibit the freedom of thought and association of newspapermen is to infringe upon freedom of the press," he ruled. "It is also a temptation to those investigating newspapermen to wander into the field of press content and at times during these hearings the subcommittee was unable to resist even this direct invasion."

Thus the high court's Watkins decision

which declared that Congressional committees could not act as unrestrained persecutors of all those holding "forbidden" social and political views, "exposing" for the sake of exposing" and unleashing persecution on those it "investigated," has been strengthened by Youngdahl's decision in the specific field of freedom of the press.

The Jencks decision said in essence that FBI informers were not above the law but that their testimony was open to examination by defendants just as is the testimony of ordinary witnesses. This threatens the whole dirty FBI paid-informer system which depends on protected secret testimony.

Already James Matles, a leader of the independent United Electrical Workers union, who was deprived of his U.S. citizenship by methods declared unconstitutional in the Jencks case, has won a reopening of his case. The Department of Justice must now either give back Matles' citizenship or see its paid informers subjected to effective cross-examination. The Department of Justice will be faced with the same heart-rending decision in many more cases, unless the Congressional witch hunters and the FBI lobby soon succeed in their plan to override the Jencks decision with a new law "protecting" the "holy" FBI files and its unholy stable of informers.

The recent civil liberties victories are important, but no one should be misled into the belief that they mean the end of the witch hunt. A few stones have been pried loose from the Bastille that the witch hunters began to erect in this country, but unfortunately the grim structure still stands. Unremitting struggle and education is required before it will be leveled and the Bill of Rights restored as the law of the land.

Servility Doesn't Pay

The basic strategy of Walter Reuther, president of the powerful auto union, to meet the attack of Senate probers on the labor movement has been to accept the government's intervention — even hail it — but to demand that corrupt bosses also be hauled into the limelight. There are plenty of corrupt bosses — many that make a piker out of Dave Beck. But none of them so far have been treated to the notoriety of the Teamster's boss, despite Reuther's plea for equality of exposure.

As we have pointed out, however, "exposure of corruption" is not the real intent of the Senate "rackets" committee. Its objective is to create an atmosphere for passing anti-labor legislation.

Reuther's "cooperation" with the Senate committee's efforts even went so far as an edict to UAW officers to "talk" or else. Anyone invoking the Fifth Amendment would automatically be removed from office.

But all this subservience to a committee obviously engaged in a smear attack on labor has not kept the probe away from the UAW's door. The Senate "rackets" committee has adopted a

schedule for future investigations. On this eleven-point list are two items that, as the N. Y. Times reported July 16, "will assure an inquiry into certain activities of Walter P. Reuther and his United Automobile Workers. . ."

These two areas for the "corrupt practices" probe are political expenditures and the secondary boycott. The UAW is already fighting a charge of violating the Corrupt Practices Act in the federal courts for its political activity. The secondary boycott investigation is undoubtedly aimed at the UAW's long struggle against the union-busting Kohler Company in Wisconsin.

Aren't the anti-labor objectives of the "rackets" committee clear enough? Isn't it obvious that, at the very least, these investigations have the effect of distracting the unions from what should be their main function — fighting the bosses for shorter hours and better pay?

There are many things wrong with the labor movement today. But these evils will not be eliminated by a Senate committee. There is still only one answer to Senate interference in the labor movement: Hands off.

West German Election Fight

By John Black

The Social Democratic Party is campaigning for the September West German elections on only the shadow of a program for the allegiance of the voters. Erich Ollenhauer, SPD Chairman, banks on the multitude of vent-up grievances against the Bonn regime and keeps one eye towards the non-clerical, liberal middle-class Free Democratic Party with an election coalition clearly in mind. At the opening election rally in Dortmund, a ten plank platform was unfurled which revealed the not too subtle hand of the executive committee's right wingers, Erler and Carlo Schmidt.

On the overshadowing issue of reunification, the point of the platform calls for "Reunification in Freedom—An end to the do-nothing policy." In view of the discussion raging over reunification in Germany it is hard to imagine a formulation with less content. In his speech, a methodical elaboration of the platform, Ollenhauer added no additional clarification on his party's stand.

CLEAR POSITION

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, representing the conservatives on the other hand takes a clear position. He refuses to negotiate with the East German Pankow regime. Starting with the premise that Ulbricht and Grotewohl are only puppets, he says that unity must be negotiated with the boss in Moscow. Moscow refers him to the East German government and Adenauer is back where he wants to be—a deadlock. He does not want unity at this time. The German capitalists whom Adenauer represents want much more out of reunification than any negotiated agreement is likely to bring them. They want the complete capitalist restoration in the Eastern zone and are content to wait for the opportune military and political situation.

In the past SPD leaders have castigated Adenauer for his refusal to deal with the East Germans; now Ollenhauer says that in the event of SPD victory he would submit new proposals to the Big Four powers and attempt to bring about a conference on the matter. But the debate in Germany has focused on the nature of reunification. What is to happen to the social gains made in East Germany since the end of the war? For example the deep-going agrarian reforms, which broke up the landed estates and destroyed the



ADENAUER

economic basis of the militaristic, Junker, landed aristocracy, have found broad support and approval in West Germany. Is reunification going to mean the restoration of the expropriated estates to the Junkers? The platform and Ollenhauer fail to take a stand.

The nationalization of the key industries—probably the most deep-going change in East Germany—would the SPD "reunify" these national assets with their former West German capitalist monopoly owners? This would be inconceivable to the West German workers as well as to their brothers in the Eastern zone. It has been the deep desire of the West German workers to nationalize the basic industries in their sector too. Plebiscites in West German states conducted in the period of military occupation and before the consolidation of the Adenauer regime, registered majorities for nationalization of the basic industries. It was the veto of the U.S. military occupation army that prevented the fulfillment of that wish.

On this question the Adenauer program is clear too. Only last May German Foreign Minister Brentano, in an interview with the German American weekly, Aufbau, explained that even concerns that had never known private ownership, that is, new industries and concerns that have been created in East Germany under the new property forms, would be given to the monopoly capitalists if he and Adenauer have their way. That is at any rate a clear stand. But the Social Democrats say no more on the social character of "their" unified Germany than

they do on the question of direct negotiations with the East Germans.

Perhaps one should not expect the SPD to project too detailed a social program for the Eastern zone in a reunified Germany. Does the platform do any better for West Germany?

Here the omissions in the party program speak louder than Ollenhauer does. There has never been any doubt in the minds of the German workers that the political future of the country evolves around the question of the ownership and control of the industrial apparatus. Only the intervention of the U.S. military high command prevented the expropriations of the West German industrial fortunes and thus permitted the reconcentration of economic power in the hands of the same group which had led Germany into two predatory imperialist wars for their aggrandizement. Thus it came about that the same men who backed both the Kaiser and Hitler (the Krupps, Flicks, Ahs and such), Ruhrbarons and finance magnates, succeeded once again in reconstituting their economic and political power in West Germany. The occupation forces of the Soviets forced the social extinction of that class in East Germany.

The SPD of the immediate post-war period, reconstituted under the leadership of its now deceased Chairman Dr. Kurt Schumacher, was well aware that the return of the capitalist monopolies to their old power would mean the revival of an authoritarian capitalist political dictatorship as well. At the 1947 convention the party program was laid down. "The nationalization of big industry is an absolute necessity." Schumacher explained that economic restoration of big business meant the political restoration of militarism and regimentation for the German workers.

The obvious truth of this made it impossible at that time for the capitalist politicians to counter the argument head on. Public sentiment on this question is reflected in the postwar Federal Constitution of West Germany in article 15. "Real estate and land, natural resources and means of production, can be transformed into public property or into other forms of common ownership by law. . . ." The Constitution states also explicitly in article 14 that the expropriation of private property in the interest of the common good is permissible. At that time Social Democrats

Back at the Old Stand



German munitions king Alfred Krupp and his wife at time of his release after serving six years of a 12-year prison term as a Nazi war criminal. His vast industries were then restored to him. With West Germany now in a key NATO role, Krupp and his fellow German capitalists are amassing huge new profits.

Menzel who helped to draft the Constitution promised: "We know that this demand is an important and perhaps the crucial aim of our political struggle for the liberation of labor from the injustices of this social system. . ."

The Adenauer coalition fearing defeat in the coming elections, wants to eliminate this article of the constitution while it can still muster the necessary votes in Parliament. Where the article says that property "can" be socialized by law, they want to add the word "not."

The capitalist class wants to make it unconstitutional to place the great economic concentrations with their vital political power into the hands of the workers. But an examination of the SPD 1957 election platform, only ten years after the Schumacher public declaration, shows that the capitalists need not fear at any rate the drafters of the platform. There is no mention of nationalization, socialization or expropriation of either industrial or agrarian resources.

The relevant plank in the platform calls for "property accumulation for everyone" and "an end to preferential treatment for Big Business." Ollenhauer elaborates by urging anti-cartel legislation and—how radical can he get—democratic control of nuclear and mining industries. Those who thought that the

never-revoked 1947 demand is still valid and taken for granted were brought back to reality. SPD style, by the economic expert of the party, Deist (He took over the positions held by Agartz) who said: "The nationalization of any branch of the economy is not in the Social Democratic Program."

The last four years brought bankruptcy to over 100,000 small farmers in West Germany. Capital requirements brought about by the technological revolution on the land and government subsidies which go to the large-scale farmers, wiped them out. The original SPD program called for the expropriation of farms larger than 100 hectares. The SPD farm specialist Kriedemann says on this question: "Land reform is no longer on the agenda for us."

The method to all this SPD madness, the grand election strategy of the SPD right wingers is the desire to "appeal" to the FDP (Free Democrats). The outlawing of the Communist Party of Germany by the Supreme Court's decision of last year, coupled with the new discriminatory election law which makes the appearance of any other left rival for the SPD virtually impossible at this time, leave the SPD free to maneuver toward the liberal bourgeois party without having to fear any outflanking on the left.

... Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course

(Continued from page 1)

stand the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

In the grotesque language of the well-larded bureaucrat, Khrushchev was reflecting here the fact that the Soviet workers are finding it "difficult to understand" why they must tolerate the parasitic bureaucracy that grows fatter while they remain on desperately meager rations.

In an apparent sop to the Czech bureaucrats who have remained steadfast in their servility to the Kremlin, Khrushchev took time to lash out at the Yugoslavs who he declared would not get back into the "socialist front" except on the condition that there were no arguments about "who is smarter and who is more stupid."

Linking the existence of Yugoslav workers councils with aid received from the capitalist world, he declared that such councils "may be all right provided you get American meat and American wheat." The next morning the Soviet government paper, Izvestia, declared editorially that the ouster of Molotov would lead to improved relations with Yugoslavia.

INCONSISTENCY OF PURGE

This same contradictory process accompanies the first extensions of the Kremlin shakeup into the East European satellite governments. In Rumania two officials associated with old-line Stalinism were booted out for "anti-party activity." In Bulgaria, two others were deposed

on the identical charge; but these two were known for their pro-Titoist sympathies.

These almost frantic efforts to achieve a new equilibrium mark the beginning of the end of the Soviet and East European bureaucracy. The final outcome of its crisis was foreshadowed by the Polish and Hungarian events. In Poland the swings between repressions and concessions were the spark for Poznan and Warsaw. In Hungary the same course paved the road for the great revolutionary uprising. The present ferment among the Soviet workers, students and intellectuals will be further fanned by the bureaucratic crisis. When the inevitable mass eruption takes place the despotic bureaucratic caste will be finished.

Letters from Readers

Encouragement

Mr. Dobbs:

I am writing in regard to your radio broadcasts of last autumn during the Presidential election campaign of your views with which I agree 100%. Your radio broadcasts certainly had a lot of good common sense and it is too bad that millions of other voters couldn't have realized it and voted for you instead of voting for the rich man's figurehead, Eisenhower, and the Republican politicians who fight to keep the little people, the working people, down both in this country and the rest of the world wherever they can do so. Thank God for you and every man and woman who has brains enough to realize that the rich man's politicians, the Republicans and Southern Republicans who call themselves Democrats, aren't for them, never were and never will be!

Keep up the good work and never become discouraged. Remember, there are thousands, and there will be more thousands as time goes on and more people wake up, who are counting on you and others like you to be their spokesman.

Pittsburgh

Russian Revolution

Editor:

In your editorial on the anniversary of the Poznan uprising, you state that the frame-up system "can flourish only on the corpse of a defeated revolution and a terrorized working class." Perhaps you were not aware that you were making a generalization that could be applied to other places besides Poznan. For instance, the USSR. Does your statement mean that the revolution of 1917 was defeated, since the frame-up system did flourish under Stalin? I agree that the Russian working class was probably terrorized, but you said that frame-ups can occur only over a defeated revolution and a terrorized working class. Please clarify.

Also, there is no letter to the editor column in this (June 24th) issue of the Militant. I

hope this is only because there were no letters to the editor. I think that the popularity and vitality of a newspaper depend, for one thing, on the size of such a column.

CONCRETE ADVICE

At the end of many articles in the Militant, there is a short conclusion which shows in a few words how one can do something about what he has read if he agrees with the article. It's good to suggest to people how to do things, but the conclusions are too short; for instance, "so organize a rank-and-file caucus," or "only Negro and white labor together can win," etc. In the San Francisco general strike, there was an internal struggle over leadership and strategy in the unions involved. Perhaps a history of events like these can show more on how to do, as well as what to do, in getting the rank and file sentiment organized.

How should workers go about building a labor party? Just talk it up? Push resolutions? My examples may be poor, but I hope you see my point. Perhaps at the end of an article about the steel union, dues-protest movement, you could write: "Steel workers interested in this problem of union democracy, etc., come to 116 University Place, and let's talk it over," or something like that, so that the advice of what to do that is given in the Militant can be more than words to an interested party.

Detroit
R.F.

... Victim of Nazis Defies French "Justice"

(Continued from page 1)

unoccupied zone, particularly in the region of Lyons."

Very well, I must admit that the court was right. Not about "acts against the integrity of French territory" — frankly it seemed to me in that epoch that it was the Nazis and their [Vichy government] allies who had committed such acts. But the court was right about "Trotskyist propaganda."

At the age of 18 I reached the conclusion that revolutionary Marxism of which Trotskyism is but the present-day expression, is the only political philosophy corresponding to the needs of humanity, the only one that can enable us to escape the barbarism threatening civilization — the barbarism which first took form in the Hitlerian concentration camps, then in atomic war. The events of the past 20 years have but strengthened my reasoned conviction. And for me Trotskyism has been the very source of my moral life. After I was condemned [by the Vichy government] I did two years in prison in France, then one year in the camps of the Nazi SS. Upon my return in 1945 I immediately began again to engage in "Trotskyist propaganda." I have continued since, and I shall continue. I cannot do otherwise.

Your honor, several times

there has been a mention in the prosecutor's speech of a distinction between theory, which is considered legal, and practice, propaganda, action, which is to be prosecuted and falls under the penalty of Article 80. My co-defendants have already replied before me that Marxism in particular does not separate theory from practice, philosophy from action. But this is true not only of Marxism. Permit me to cite you a text which is less familiar to me than the Marxist classics. It is certainly a long time since I have read the Gospels. I seem to remember, however, that Jesus is represented as emphasizing on several occasions that it is much more important to testify to one's faith by one's life and one's deeds than by verbal statements of loyalty to that faith.

The Judge: One could reply to you that there are grounds for distinguishing between the Gospels and gospel preaching.

The Prosecutor: All that is in

the realm of religion. That is another matter.

Block: Whatever it may be, the impossibility of separating theory from practice is not a religious or abstract viewpoint. It is a fact. All those who wish to intervene, in any way in the life of society, know that.

A "PLOT"

One point more needs to be clarified. The prosecutor has spoken in connection with me and my co-defendants of a project, a plan. While he did not actually pronounce the word, there was obviously in his mind the idea of a "plot." Rather as if all four of us had met on November 1, 1954 and had drawn up a plan for the 27 subsequent issues of La Verite.

That is an error of perspective. If you wanted to link our acts positively to some plan, you would have had to trace the origin of that plan back to two young men, then completely unknown to the great public, who at the end of 1847 were drawing up a pamphlet — a pamphlet which for a long time remained unknown to the masses — the Communist Manifesto.

As to the project, it had already begun before them. Millions of men participated in it, then hundreds of millions. It deals with an irresistible historic movement, which goes far

beyond all of us. Our pride is that we participate in it with our eyes open and in full consciousness.

If you will permit me, your honor, I should like to add a last word. It seems to me unthinkable after the testimony before this court, that we should be found guilty. If, however, it should turn out otherwise, then I am convinced that history will subsequently write on the margin of that verdict what it wrote on the verdict condemning me in 1942 — overruled.

(Excerpts from speech of Stephane Just)

My comrades and I wrote these articles in 1955, two years ago. While the Attorney General was speaking I asked myself: "With the experience of the two past years is there anything in these articles we now would write differently?" And despite Article 80, it is obvious to me that we would not.

Just a little while ago Messieurs Dehezelles and Juffa (defense attorneys) piled quotation upon quotation from politicians, some of whom yesterday occupied high office, others of whom occupy such office today.

WISHES OF THE PEOPLE

It is noteworthy that all of them, and especially during the campaign preceding the Jan. 2,

1956 elections, gave it to be understood and even said clearly that the Algerian people had rights and that the war should be ended. Why? Simply because they knew as we do, what the wishes of the Algerian and the French people are. The Algerian people want to decide their own destiny; the French people are against the Algerian war.

The political regime under which we live pretends to base itself on the principles of democracy. In that case the wishes of the French and the Algerian people should be respected. The men who are running the government, on the contrary, persist in the war, and we, by opposing the war in

Algeria, are defending the principles of democracy: that is respect for the will of the people. And after two years, rather than abandon those principles we shall more than ever continue to uphold them.

I am going to speak some words that perhaps are unaccustomed in this chamber. Excuse me, Mr. Attorney General, but while you were talking I was wondering if you could produce one argument that would justify in the eyes of the hundreds and thousands of men and women in the plant where I work, the prosecution of the war in Algeria in the name of Article 80. And I got no answer from you.

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Bosses I Have Known

By Ben Stone

I suppose every worker could write about the bosses he or she has known for the class struggle contains within it an inexhaustible wealth of material. But there is no market in the bourgeois press for class struggle stories. Perhaps these articles will encourage others to write for the Militant.

Some of the bosses I have known were beaux. But I think one of the prize winners was a hotel owner who shall be nameless only because I don't remember his name. The story happened a long time ago but present day conditions are hardly improved although unionization has begun to make a dent in the summer resort hotel field.

It was during the Great Depression.

The summer resorts still offered some employment especially in the height of the season. I was used to the slave conditions, having worked as a bus boy and waiter for several seasons. It was a way to get a few bucks together to tide you over for a little while. All you had to do was put in a 14 hour working day seven days a week and help entertain the guests at night. You also had to overlook the slop they served for meals and don't get too fussy about sleeping quarters.

One fine day in the late thirties (I believe it was a Labor Day weekend) I got a hurry call to get up to a hotel at once.

I arrived late at night and the proprietor showed me to my quarters. He descended a narrow stairway leading to a cellar and I braced myself for the worst. But I didn't brace myself enough. As we clambered over some debris the owner led me to an army cot with no mattress on it. In the dim light I noticed some piles of coal nearby.

"We start to work at 6 o'clock in the morning," the owner said as he left.

I put my bag down and sat on the cot, debating what to do. It was late. I was tired. I lay down to sleep.

In a few minutes I was itching and scratching like mad. I could feel the bugs crawling over me. I jumped up and put on the light. The cot was literally swarming with the bugs.

I never got out of a place so fast in my life. It was pitch black outside but I felt as though I had just been released from a cell. Since I am here to tell the story I suppose I reached the main highway and made my way back to "civilization." After all these years I might think it was a nightmare except that every detail is still in my memory.

I'm not sure if this story belongs in a series entitled "Bosses I Have Known." This was one boss I never did get to know.

Striking So. California Plumbers Hold Firm

By Don Phoenix

LOS ANGELES — On July 1 throughout Southern California fifteen thousand members of the Pipe Trades District Council 16 went out on strike. Work of the Pipe Trades has stopped on every union job that has not signed a "short form" contract.

The Plumbing, Heating and Piping Employers Council of Southern California which represents less than a third of the contractors in this area not only refused to sign the agreements proposed by the union but, in an attempt to coerce the independent contractors from signing the "short form" contracts with the union, had its lawyer July 2 present a "restraining order" upon all the contractors in this area from signing the "short form" contract. On July 5 a judge ruled that the restraining order only applied to members of the Employers Council.

With the clarification of the restraining order many of the independent contractors who were reluctant to sign the "short form" contract from fear of harassment from the Employ-

California Court Rules 'Right to Work' Law Illegal

HOLLISTER, CALIF., July 6

— Superior Judge Stanley Lawson ruled San Benito county's "right to work" ordinance unconstitutional here yesterday. The ruling was handed down just 48 hours after the ordinance went into effect. Judge Lawson granted an injunction against the ordinance to a paint contractor who complained that painters would not work on jobs where non-union painters were employed.

This is the second time in recent weeks that California courts have struck down employer attempts to get their anti-union bills passed on a local level. Right-to-work ordinances have been passed in San Benito and Tehama counties and in Palm Springs, the playground of movie actors and oil moguls. The Palm Springs ordinance has already been declared unconstitutional and a court test is under way in Tehama county.

Jim Crow Stopped In Church

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, July 7 — Almost 1,000 people, including a sizeable number of whites, turned out Sunday morning to hear a Negro minister preach his first sermon at a church whose white leaders had resigned when they learned of his appointment.

They had never met the new pastor, but opposed him because he is a Negro.

The old frame church, the Normandie Avenue Methodist Church, hadn't seen such a turnout for many years, since, in fact, Negroes began moving into the area and whites started moving away.

Every seat in the church, which has a capacity of about 250, was occupied. People lined the walls, two and three deep. Others filled the adjoining Fellowship Hall, while still others, several hundred, sat or stood in the church yard, listening to the services over a public address system.

In the past 20 years, total membership of the church had shrunk to 46 from a high of some 250. The dwindling band of white members could no longer provide adequate financial support for the church, but at the same time refused to accept their Negro neighbors into the congregation.

Last year the church was operating in the red. The Methodist Conference had to subsidize the minister's salary by \$2,224.

END BIAS OR CLOSE DOORS

Early in June, Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy decided that the Normandie Avenue Church faced the alternative of closing its doors because it could not support itself, or of admitting Negroes. He chose the latter course, and selected the Reverend Nelson R. Higgins as the church's new pastor.

The decision stemmed from a recognition of the changing pattern of the neighborhood, and in no way indicated a new race policy for local Methodism, almost all of whose churches continue to be segregated.

The action, however, brought forth an angry response from most of the church's members. All nine trustees and about 30 lay members resigned in protest. They stripped the church of its altar furnishings, and demonstrably turned their backs on Methodism.

Their spokesman, 77-year-old J. H. Seal, accused the local Methodist hierarchy of being honeycombed with subversives.

The large turnout Sunday was, in effect, an expression of sympathy toward the Rev. Higgins in his uphill struggle to rebuild the dying church, and, still more, a humiliating rebuke to the racist policies of the small group of whites who refused to admit Negroes into their congregation.



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York. She writes regularly for the Militant and is author of the pamphlet, "The Santana Case" dealing with the tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth who, without a trial, was railroaded to prison in 1955 by callous and prejudiced city officials.

Ten Thousand Aircraft Workers Laid Off in L.A.

LOS ANGELES — The aircraft industry in Southern California was jolted July 12 by the announcement that 10,000 North American aviation workers are to be laid off because of the Air Force's cancellation of its Navaho guided missile contract.

North American employs 51,000 persons in this state, so the layoffs will slice one-fifth of its working force. This represents over a million-dollar loss in the weekly payroll of the Los Angeles area.

BEHIND LAYOFFS

Behind the cancellation and the layoffs is a massive change in the pattern of arms production. Without reducing its seven-billion dollar budget in this field, the Pentagon is shifting from airplanes to guided missiles at an accelerated pace.

At the same time, the Air Force is scrapping its older missile designs to make way for new intercontinental missiles. The Navaho, which reportedly cost half-a-billion dollars to develop, was one of the first postwar models of an atomic warhead carrier.

These cutbacks and changes are shaking up the whole aircraft industry, which is the nation's foremost employer of manufacturing workers. About 900,000 people are now on aircraft payrolls, almost ten percent more than are working in auto.

By 1961 the Air Force which buys 70% of the aircraft and missile output plans to cut its current expenditures for planes and engines by one-half.

Spending for missiles, by contrast, which has been rising fast,

By Max Braun

NEW YORK, July 17 — By endorsing Mayor Wagner and his running mates, Stark and Gerosa, the Liberal Party has committed a brazen sellout against labor, the Negro and Puerto Rican people

in this city. Its support to the hand-picked Tammany Hall slate ends the Liberal Party's last pretense to existence as an "independent" political force.

Chapter and verse could be cited from the Liberal Party itself to prove that the record of the Wagner administration on housing, Jim Crow, civil liberties, schools, hospitals, transportation and social services is one that demands repudiation and opposition by labor and every other progressive force in the city.

The utterly shameful nature of the Liberal's back-room deal is most glaringly evident in that organization's endorsement of John Cashmore for reelection as Brooklyn Borough President. One of the most discredited of the well-broken-in Tammany wheel horses, Cashmore will now go to the polls with the support of the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals.

The sole function that placing the Tammany nominees on the Liberal ballot line will serve is that of corralling votes of working people too disgusted to pull down the lever on the Democratic line.

So malodorous is the deal to back Wagner in return for an anticipated share of City Hall patronage by the labor bureaucrats who run the Liberal Party that 23 of the carefully selected delegates to the nominating convention voted against it. Reviewing Wagner's record, one delegate said, "We thought he would be easy picking for Tammany. Who can say we were wrong?" Another pointed out that so discredited a figure as ex-Mayor O'Dwyer had "a better record at the end of his first term" than Wagner.

The New York Post, perhaps unwittingly, but accurately, reported that this opposition was "squashed." Needless to say the ranks of the needle trades unions who are pressured on the job into coughing up the bulk of the Liberal Party cash were not even consulted as to their desires in the matter.

Just as disgraceful as the Liberal decision to provide a "labor" cover for the Tammany ticket is the decision of the Communist Party, as expressed editorially in the Daily Worker, to provide a "progressive" cover for the Liberal sellout.

The whole setup is so rotten that the Daily Worker endorsement of July 12 is couched in shamefaced double talk. It is advanced by simply repeating the arguments of the Liberal Party leadership without taking exception to them. The editors of the Daily Worker don't bluntly declare "Vote for Wagner." They simply point out that the Republican candidate deserves no consideration and wind up with an appeal to register.

The distasteful chore of explaining this stand to the many Communist Party supporters who want no part of this deal was undertaken by Max Gordon in the July 14 and 15 issues of the Daily Worker.

Gordon dutifully takes this opposition into account, reporting that some people feel that "this makes the Liberal Party a tail to the Tammany tiger." But, he replies, the Liberals are ac-

Wagner's Record On Civil Liberties

"New York City has the worst witch-hunting municipal government in the land. Its political persecutions of teachers and civil service employees continue unabated. Such have been the excesses in this persecution that the city has been slapped down by the U.S. Supreme Court . . . by the State Court of Appeals . . . by the State Commissioner of Education . . . by the Governor's Commission on Security Procedures. . ." This is an excerpt from an editorial in the Daily Worker July 17. On July 12 the Daily Worker gave its tacit but unmistakable endorsement to the Liberal Party's decision to help elect the Wagner administration which has been carrying on this witch hunt.

tually manifesting a growing independence in this campaign. How? After endorsing the entire top Democratic slate and 1 of its 5 candidates for Borough President, they very daringly named 20 candidates for the City Council. (The Council was accurately described by one Liberal Party delegate as "a rubber stamp" for the mayor.)

Gordon offers further solace when he reports that some "liberal and progressive" circles are discussing the possibility of entering an independent candidate for either Council President or comptroller, instead of supporting the Democratic-Liberal nominee. However, he gives the pitch away by pointing out that such an "independent" campaign would not be in "isolation from the general liberal-labor-Negro grouping supporting the Democratic-Liberal campaign."

To further placate critics of this "coalition" policy, Gordon lists the impressive labor and minority forces in the city available for a powerful independent political movement. "And yet," he sighs, "the channels of independent political expression. . . are limited. In the current city campaign, for instance, no such system exists as far as a city-wide slate is concerned."

Gordon further asserts that such independent working class political action "cannot, of course, be created artificially by a Left ticket." True, it cannot be done "artificially," but a genuinely independent ticket can go to the working people of this city and expose the fraud being perpetrated by those who yearly advise that "the time is ripe for a break with the capitalist parties."

The Socialist Workers Party ticket headed by its mayoralty candidate, Joyce Cowley, proposes to do exactly this in the present campaign. It will bare the record of the two capitalist parties and the Liberal tail and present a program expressing the needs of labor and the minority people. The SWP campaign will help to educate the workers to the need for a break with the labor bureaucrats who keep them tied to the capitalist parties.

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Delegation Demands Integration in N.Y. Schools

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Mayor of New York

In a two-hour conference with Mayor Wagner, a delegation of sixty parents and representatives of community organizations charged that the Board of Education has deliberately slowed down plans for school integration in New York City.

Mothers from schools in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan presented their grievances. They demanded immediate integration at the Junior High School level and a complete reevaluation of the watered-down curriculum in elementary schools that are predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican. They pointed out that the inferior academic program and teaching staff in these schools prevent Negro students from qualifying for academic high schools.

Guidance counselors, the delegation said, do not recommend an academic high school even to fully qualified Negro students, but suggest vocational training instead. They insisted that intensive remedial programs are needed for Negro boys and girls now two to three years behind

white students academically. They gave example after example of the over-crowding in minority districts and the poor physical facilities of the schools compared with those in white areas. They asked for a fair distribution of experienced teachers.

Mayor Wagner promised to check up and find out if the Board of Education has been stalling. But these parents want action, not promises. After conducting a three-year fight for the passage of the integration program, they don't want to wait another three years — or even longer — to see it carried out. After their late afternoon conference with the Mayor, they hurried home to cook dinner and put the children to bed. Then they met again at the Mid-Harlem Parish to plan an all-out drive for action on integration before the schools open next fall.

PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY

Organizations represented at this meeting were the Bronx, Brooklyn, Jamaica and Manhattan chapters of the NAACP, the Parents Committee for Better Education, the Negro Teachers Association and the 369th Vet-

erans Association. Weekly meetings were scheduled throughout the summer — a central meeting one week, followed by area meetings in all four boroughs the following week. Street meetings and a wide distribution of weekly bulletins will precede the area meetings in order to publicize the school fight and draw more parents into the work. Negro churches will be approached to devote one Sunday to school integration in New York. "By next September," said Paul Zuber of the Parents Committee for Better Education, "this issue will be on the mind of every Negro and Puerto Rican parent in New York."

Shortly after the schools open, a city-wide demonstration is planned, as a mass protest to tell the Mayor and the Board of Education just how parents feel about polite promises, half-measures and interminable delays.

Organizational plans were carefully worked out and the mothers showed remarkable militancy and determination. Spontaneous suggestions and high-spirited discussion came from the floor.

"The fathers ought to be

here," one mother said, "It's their fight, too."

Another pointed out that the fathers were baby-sitting.

"We can't have them sitting at home just because they have to mind the children. We need them here. They can bring the children down and we'll set up a nursery."

NO PARTIAL REFORM

One woman suggested they postpone plans for a mass demonstration until they found out just what the Mayor intended to do about implementing integration. No one agreed with her.

"You know he won't do everything we asked, and we don't want our schools thirty percent integrated, or forty percent. We'll keep fighting for a hundred percent. We want to see all of our demands carried out next fall."

One attractive young woman summed up the fighting spirit of the mothers. She has four children and another is expected any day. But she led the P.S. 184 delegation to the Mayor's office, and was back at the evening meeting to make plans for the summer months. The other mothers presented her with a cake inscribed, "To Baby 184,"

and said it was an expression of their thanks and appreciation for all her work.

"I haven't done you any favors," she replied. "I knocked myself out for the children. I want to give our children a better way of life."

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Friday Night Socialist Forum, Fri., July 26, 8 P.M., "Radioactive Fallout — Fact and Fiction," 3737 Woodward.

Seattle

Seattle Forum: Saturday, July 27, 8 P.M., Report on Students' Petition Drive against A-Bomb Tests. Speaker: John Severn, member of the Students Committee against Bomb Test. 655 Main St. Refreshments served.