

LAUNCH BUS BOYCOTT IN CAPETOWN, S. AFRICA

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STALIN'S ANTI-SEMITIC BLOOD PURGES ADMITTED BY JEWISH PAPER IN POLAND

The Whole Kremlin Bureaucracy Stands Guilty Before History

An Editorial

We address the following lines to the masses of Jewish and class conscious workers who are devoted partisans of the Soviet Union and thought that Stalinism was the true expression of Communism:

We know you are stunned and sickened by the news contained in the Polish Jewish paper, *Folksstimme*, entitled "Our Anguish and Our Consolation."

Many of you must be asking: "Can it be that everything we have lived by for over three decades is nothing but a pack of perfidious lies? Can it be that Stalin, who was represented to us as the personification of the revolution and socialism itself, was not merely guilty of 'incorrect methods of work' and building the 'cult of the individual' as Foster said recently in the *Daily Worker*, but was rather the organizer of monstrous frame-ups, the extractor of 'confessions' through torture, the murderer of countless devoted revolutionists and a blood-stained anti-semitic butcher?"

Surely none of you believe the astonishing "explanation" repeated in the *Folksstimme*, *Freiheit* and *Daily Worker* that all this was the work of Beria! It is enough to point out that Beria had not yet been brought in by Stalin during the decimation of the leaders of Soviet Jewry in the Thirties for this "explanation" to fall apart. Who was responsible for the anti-semitic purges of the Thirties? The secret police chiefs who preceded Beria? Yezhov? Yagoda?

But Stalin with his dictatorial power handpicked all three of these police chiefs. There is no escaping the fact that Stalin was chief organizer of the historic crimes against the working class.

Who Was Stalin?

For revolutionary workers, however, this does not close the question; it only opens the way to consideration of the real problem: Who was Stalin?

Isn't it clear that in disclaiming full responsibility for partnership with Stalin in all his crimes the present Kremlin leadership is following the very method of individual cultism it is supposed to be discarding? They are depicting Stalin as a super-human power who was capable of single-handedly terrorizing a nation born in a great socialist revolution.

No, comrades, it doesn't make sense. Not from the point of view of Marxism. Obviously Stalin was the hideous product of an entire social strata, the bureaucratic caste which lifted him to power and entrusted its drive for privilege, power, prestige and revenue to one super-bureaucrat.

Stalin was the Russian equivalent of a Dave Beck or a George Meany — with state power in his hands. He arose out of the bureaucracy of a workers' state, isolated for long decades by the delay of the world socialist revolution. This Soviet bureaucracy, like all labor bureaucracies, is the expression of world capitalist pressure on the first workers' state in history. It usurped power by destroying Lenin's Bolshevik party and slaughtering the vanguard of the Russian revolutionary working class.

The *Folksstimme* editors explain why they "kept silent despite the fact that we saw and painfully felt the tragic results of Beria's rule." They say, "We were convinced that the Leninist party would sooner or later uncover the whole truth and would determinedly and energetically reveal it to all the people." This is not the answer of revolutionists, but of frightened bureaucrats.

What was this party that would "sooner or later" uncover the truth, while in the meantime the best representatives of the working class and the flower of Soviet Jewish culture was drowned in blood? Were they not a part of this party? Wasn't it their duty to fight within the party against the bureaucratic marauders?

Trotsky Was Not Silent

Remember, comrades, that's what Leon Trotsky did! Together with Lenin, as proven in Lenin's last testament, he fought Stalinism from its inception as a mortal danger to the defense of the Soviet Union and the world socialist revolution. For this he was expelled, exiled and then murdered by a Stalinist pick-axe assassin. And for this struggle against Stalinism tens of thousands of Bolshevik-Leninist workers and youth perished in Stalin's dungeons.

You have been taught to revile Trotsky and Trotskyism. But who taught you this? Isn't the author of the struggle against Trotskyism the master executioner of revolutionists — Joseph Stalin?

As revelation after revelation brings to light the criminal course of the entire bureaucratic gang that was headed by Stalin, we are confident that you will ask yourselves the most important question of all: Wasn't Trotsky right in fighting the bureaucratic caste throughout the dark years of Stalinist reaction?

Khrushchev Tells How Stalin Got "Confessions" for Moscow Trials

Guilty of Frame-Ups, Murder and Pogroms



Strike Wave in Spain Tells Franco's Doom

By John Black

Spanish workers, showing utter disregard for the oppressive laws and the dire threats of Franco's fascist regime, have succeeded in winning wage increases by a wave of massive strikes in the north of Spain.

Starting in the backward and generally conservative province of Navarra, where they tied up the capital city of Pamplona in a general strike, workers' insurgency spread throughout the traditionally anti-fascist Basque province, affecting among many others the Babcock & Wilcox Company steel plant in Bilbao, and then leaped over to Barcelona.

These strikes are by their very nature directed against the Franco regime. All economic decisions are made by the Cabinet in Madrid, and workers are fully aware that they can win no permanent concessions except through a struggle vigorous enough to force the men around Franco to accede to their demands.

The workers of Pamplona who organized picnics on the banks of the river Arga during working hours were moved to act by economic motives. Raging inflation has driven them to desperate action. Living costs in Spain have risen three-and-one-half times over the 1940 index. When even the government-sponsored National Syndicate Organization — Franco's fake trade unions — demanded wage increases, the Madrid Cabinet decreed a 16% wage increase designed to offset the spiraling cost of living. What really infuriated the workers were the sudden price increases

in basic commodities immediately following the April 1 wage adjustment.

The fascist regime, which has boasted of being the most stable capitalist government in Europe, has now suffered its second social eruption within the short span of three months.

The re-emergence of the Spanish working class on the European scene as a powerful, militant factor was ushered in by student demonstrations on the campus of the large University of Madrid and street fighting between stu-

dents and the Falangist shock-troops of Franco. The student unrest revealed that a wide gap had developed between the narrow circle of immediate beneficiaries of continued fascist rule and almost all other strata of society.

Student unrest receded with the wave of arrests and repression that followed the outbreaks. But although the Madrid newspapers carried no reports on the strike wave which enveloped northern Spain, Madrid students showed their growing political

awareness by promptly issuing a neatly printed leaflet which demanded among other reforms, "freedom for national bodies such as trade unions and universities."

It is clear that the Fascist authorities were taken by surprise when the strikes broke out. This is indicated by the difference in the reaction of provincial governors. In some cities, authorities declared a lockout in all struck plants. In others, substantial wage increases were

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Daily Worker Hastens To Whitewash Stalin's Partners-In-Crime

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Stalinist sources in Poland and New York have now confirmed Leon Trotsky's charge that Stalin's murder-machine in the Soviet Union systematically committed the

most monstrous anti-Semitic outrages. The Jewish paper, *Folksstimme*, published in Warsaw, Poland, on April 4 revealed the tragic facts of the mass slaughter of the leaders of Jewish cultural and political activity in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist purge of Jews occurred in two waves: in the Thirties during the infamous Moscow Trials and in the period following World War II up to 1953.

In another development, the Moscow trials of 1934-38, in which all the old leaders of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin were liquidated with Leon Trotsky as the principal accused, were admitted to have been frame-ups with Stalin as the master architect. This admission comes from Khrushchev in his speech at the closed session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last February. Borba, a government paper in Yugoslavia, published extensive excerpts from the Khrushchev report in which it was admitted that Stalin personally directed the purge of old Bolsheviks in the Thirties, fabricated the confessions, obtained "through the crudest kind of pressure . . . by physical means," and instructed the police how to deal with the accused.

LIST OF CRIMES GROWS

These two new revelations confirm to the hilt the criminal character of the police dictatorship in the Soviet Union, that Trotsky combated since its inception after the death of Lenin. They follow admissions made almost a year ago that the post-war "Titoist-Trotskyist" trials were frame-ups in which Communist leaders of East Europe were liquidated; the revelations this year of the frame-up of Red Army leaders in the purges that prepared the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939; and the admission that the alleged plot of Soviet Jewish doctors in 1953 was a frame-up and part of the anti-Semitic campaign.

An editorial in the *Freiheit*, Yiddish-language newspaper of the Stalinists in New York, com-



LEON TROTSKY

menting on the *Folksstimme* revelation of anti-Semitic purges, described how Jewish culture had flourished in the early years after the Russian Revolution and then "was crushed in a veritable vandalistic manner, almost wiped out as a result of the monstrous crippling and horrible deeds of the conspirators — all of which was made possible . . . under the 'harmful influence' of the personality cult." (English translation of the *Folksstimme* article appears on this page.)

The list of artists, scientists and anti-fascist fighters who were annihilated in these purges exceeds even the worst fears of class-conscious workers throughout the world. The extermination of Jews included the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow which provided leadership to the Jewish people in their heroic contribution to the defense of the Soviet Union against the Nazi invasion. *Folksstimme* reported that this Committee had "suddenly without why or where-

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English Text of Folksstimme Article

[We publish herewith a translation of the full available text of an article, "Our Anguish and Our Consolation," printed in the April 4 Warsaw (Poland) *Folksstimme* — a Stalinist Jewish-language newspaper. The text first appeared in the U.S. in the April 10 *Morning Freiheit*, a New York Stalinist newspaper as an "authoritative declaration on the very important matter: Jewish culture and Jewish social life in the Soviet Union and the fate of a number of writers and personages." — Ed.]

TUMOR ON HEALTHY BODY

The historic meaning of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consists among other things in this, that it condemned in a decisive and irreversible manner the cult of the individual which caused much crippling of the party and social life of the So-

viet Union for almost two decades.

The tumor which had grown up during these years on the healthy body of the first land of socialism, interfered in manifold ways with a natural development of its generally healthy organism, resulting in much suffering and sacrificing of the innocent.

In the situation created by the cult of the individual, a certain crippling of the national policy of the Soviet Union occurred. This enabled the Beria clique to provoke friction between nationalities and cause a certain growth of nationalism and anti-Semitism.

In the atmosphere of the cult of the individual, alien to Marxism-Leninism, it was possible among other things for the fatal decision to be made to dissolve our heroic combative and self-sacrificing party — the Commu-

nist Party of Poland. In the atmosphere in which the Leninist principles of Socialist democracy were not safeguarded, it was possible for a period to arise, particularly painful for us Jews, in which the results of the Leninist national policy towards the Jewish masses was upsets.

JEWISH CULTURE FLOURISHED UNDER LENIN'S REGIME

The Leninist national policy in its concrete application to the Jewish people oppressed and persecuted by Czarism, was always an inexhaustible source of inspiration for millions of Jewish people throughout the entire world.

Not only documents of the highest principled importance, but daily practice of the Leninist party of the Soviet government was directed towards uprooting to the end every sign of

national discrimination. For the Jewish people of the Soviet Union doors and gates were widely opened to places in governmental and public life. In these openings, their representatives brought with them all the passion of a people who have been fenced off from the world by the ghetto wall.

With all the passion of people who guarded their acquisitions as the apple of their eye, Jewish workers and toilers entered the armed ranks of the Red Guard and the Red Army in order to defend the socialist revolution.

Legendary heroes appeared in their ranks; military leaders, who reached the highest ranks in the Red Army. Never to be forgotten is the epic heroism which in the history of the revolution came to be known as the "Tripoli Tragedy" studied with the immortal names of many Jewish upsons from Kiev Podol, with

Misha Rotmansky at their head! The limitless suffering at the time the bands of Petlurya Boulak-Balakovitch terrorized the Ukraine and White Russia, the help and the defense they brought to the Soviet power, fused even closer the fate of the Jewish masses with the fate of the great October revolution.

JEWISH PROBLEM WAS SOLVED

In the hearts of the Soviet Jews was born feelings of the purest patriotism, of love and friendship for the Soviet land. The word of the immortal Lenin who came out in the most decisive manner against every expression of Great Russian chauvinism towards the small and formerly oppressed nationalities, against every expression of anti-Semitism, strengthened among the Jewish masses the assurance

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The Debate In Daily Worker

By Tom Kerry

Mankind stands aghast at the enormity of the crimes attributed to the "Stalin cult" by his side-by-side collaborators, co-workers and partners. As yet only a small corner of the veil has been lifted.

Enough, however, has already been disclosed to send waves of revulsion throughout the world. Stunned by the revelation coming out of Moscow and the East European countries, members and supporters of the American Communist Party are demanding an explanation. But no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming from that source.

Instead of an explanation the confusion emanating from top circles of the American CP grows worse. The conflict between the leaders came out into the open in the April 12 issue of the Daily Worker with an exchange between former Foreign Editor James S. Allen and editor John Gates. Each charges the other with sowing confusion and Gates accuses Allen of being "sectarian" to boot.

The sharp exchange came as an aftermath of the publication in the April 2 Daily Worker of an editorial stigmatizing the 1949 frame-up execution of Hungarian Foreign Minister, László Rajk, as a "betrayal of the socialist revolution." The editorial objected to blaming the frame-up atrocity "on just one or two individuals," and concluded by asserting: "No explanation has been given; but the public is entitled to know how so-called 'confessions' in open court were rigged. Not one, not some, but all those responsible should be brought before the bar of justice." The editorial demanded a full and complete investigation in Hungary and the Soviet Union that, "shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is."

Only the day before, in his refutation of Allen's criticism of the Rajk editorial, Gates retorted: "Allen thinks it was right for us to protest but not to demand that all those guilty be punished because this could be misinterpreted as interventionism. The logic of this escapes me. To protest is okay and non-interventionist, to ask for punishment of the guilty is wrong and interventionist. It seems to me that any protest against injustice must be accompanied with demand for justice." Why, then didn't Gates demand that all those guilty of perpetrating the anti-semitic atrocity in the Soviet Union be punished?

Why? Instead, he did exactly the opposite. In the Rajk editorial he objected to blaming "one or two individuals" for the frame-up purge. In the editorial deploring the anti-semitic outrage he pointed the finger — at Stalin and Beria. Then he proceeded to compound his felony, by tendering a vote of confidence to the "Soviet leaders who are taking steps to prevent a recurrence." The James-headed Gates also proclaims his faith that "they" will "take the necessary measures," and winds up cheek and jowl with Foster-Allen.

Why? Furthermore, his modesty was offended!

SWP PROPOSAL

"Is it not utterly immodest," asks Allen of Gates, "to point the finger at other parties when the American Marxists still have to face up to a self-critical, basic re-examination of their program, policies and organizational principles, in a thorough-going democratic manner?" And most unpardonable of all, Allen heatedly reproaches the Daily Worker editor for publishing an editorial "which encouraged a Trotskyite group in this country to invite the Communist Party of the United States to join it in setting up a commission to investigate the Socialist countries."

Allen remains true to his Stalinist heritage. The "invitation" Allen refers to was incorporated in a letter to the Communist Party by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The letter said nothing about investigating "Socialist countries." It did take cognizance of the DW editorial demand for a "full and complete" investigation of the frame-up purge trials and invited the CP to join "in initiating a demand for the constitution of an impartial International Commission of Inquiry into Stalin's purge trials within the Soviet Union and elsewhere."

Why does Allen find the proposal so shocking? Allen reiterates the view of William Z. Foster, head of the American CP. From the beginning of the attack on the "Stalin cult" Foster has counseled against treating Stalin too harshly. He drew a balance sheet of Stalin-the-good and Stalin-the-bad and achieved a somewhat precarious balance. It is not our task, he said, to praise or bury Stalin. We must leave it up to those who worked side-by-side with him; those who knew him best; those who were his lifelong pals and collaborators. "They" would do the investigating. "They" would provide the explanations. "They" would furnish all the answers.

The Foster-Allen line of inquiry would be like asking Al Capone's chief lieutenants to conduct an investigation of their dead chief's murder syndicate. And as one grisly disclosure followed another even Foster was compelled to take note that workers everywhere were insistently demanding to know where "they" were when Stalin was perpetrating his most fiendish crimes.

In his reply to Allen, Daily Worker editor Gates repudiated his criticism point by point with one notable exception — he made no mention of the "charge" of "encouraging" the SWP invitation to establish a Commission of Inquiry into Stalin's purge trials.

Despite Gates' brave words in defense of the Rajk editorial and its demand that the guilty be punished he was already preparing to beat a hasty retreat.

The very next day, following the Allen-Gates exchange, the Daily Worker published an editorial confirming a report, "by a Jewish Communist paper in Poland of the charge that a large number of Jewish writers and other Jewish leaders were framed up and executed and that Jewish culture was virtually wiped out," in the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime. This unspeakable atrocity, comparable only to the frightful slaughter of the Jewish people in Hitler's Germany, was infinitely more monstrous than the frame-up murder of the Hungarian Stalinist leader, László Rajk.

The Daily Worker beat its editorial breast, in anguished indignation. The editorial "denounced and protested." It registered "strong dissatisfaction that the Soviet leaders have not offered any explanation." It deplored and decried. BUT IT DID NOT DEMAND THAT THE GUILTY BE PUNISHED! It did not cry out for a "full and complete" investigation to "bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is."

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TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

Analyzing the Moscow frame-up trials as a milestone on the bloody trail which led the Stalin bureaucracy to power, Leon Trotsky wrote some 20 years ago, on September 16, 1937: "It is not Stalin, of course, who determines the road taken by history. We possess the knowledge of the objective causes which prepared the path for reaction in the USSR. But it is no accident that Stalin rode on the crest of the Thermidorian wave. He was able to invent the greedy appetites of the new caste with their most vicious expression. Stalin does not bear any responsibility for history. But he does bear responsibility for himself and for his role in history. It is a criminal role. It is so criminal that revolution is multiplied by horror."

Stalin was no demi-god. He was the product and personification of the bureaucratic caste which usurped the power in the Soviet Union. "In the harshest codices of mankind," wrote Trotsky, "no suitable punishment can be found for the ruling Moscow clique and, above all, the man who heads it. . . . The task is to strip the criminals naked before the consciousness of mankind and to cast them into the garbage heap of history. It is impossible to reconcile one-self to less!"

Punish the guilty! That is the minimum demand that must be raised. And to unearth the guilty, all of them, no matter "how high their position was or is," is the necessary task of an International Commission of Inquiry, as proposed in the April 2 SWP letter to the CP, "composed of men and women of unquestioned integrity who command the confidence and respect of the world workers' movement."

First to Merge

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, formerly AFL, will merge June 11 with the United Packinghouse Workers of America, formerly CIO, to form the first merger between two international unions since the AFL-CIO founding convention. The combined organization will total 450,000 members.

... Strikes Shake Franco Regime

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made to induce a return to work. The Government edict that all strikers be deprived of their social security benefits was applied with considerable flexibility by local authorities, varying with the mood of the strikers and their degree of organization.

The official position of the Spanish government is that underground political organizations are responsible for the strikes. There is no doubt that a powerful revival of the traditionally well-organized working class of Spain is bringing about a regrouping of political tendencies among the workers. It is of supreme importance that the revival of the Spanish working class — beaten down and crushed with the help of German and Italian Fascism in the bloody civil war of 1936-39 — is taking place at the same time as the rising pres-

sure of the Soviet working class is breaking the Stalinist stranglehold on decisive sections of the world working class.

Both Spanish and Soviet working classes have had their revolutions cruelly betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. In the case of the Soviet workers it resulted in a monstrous bureaucratic distortion of the workers' state. In the case of the Spanish workers, Stalinism paved the way for the agony of Franco's fascist rule. They have a tale to tell about the disastrous experience they had with the Popular Front policy imposed upon them by their Stalinist leaders during the civil war.

When General Franco launched his Moorish troops from North Africa against the newly-installed Popular Front government in 1936, elected with the votes of the working class, the workers

took the initiative in their own hands. They secured arms by disarming the fascists and drove back Franco's forces in all the important industrial areas of the country within a few days. But the Stalinist leaders kept the working people from unfolding their offensive toward the seizure of power.

The Spanish Communist Party heads—re-enforced by the GPU, Stalin's international murder machine—imposed on the Spanish workers a policy of confining the struggle against the fascists to the defense of capitalist democracy. The Stalinists succeeded in propping up the crumbling bourgeois democratic government by unleashing a reign of terror against working class revolutionaries. This gave Franco the opportunity to forge ahead again.

But a struggle against fascism, limited in the interests of Stalin's collective security plans to the narrow goal of preserving democratic capitalism, could not mobilize the majority of the Spanish people for the continued sacrifices required for victory. None of the fundamental problems of the Spanish working people could be resolved within that framework. The "progressive" sections of Spanish capitalism, whom the Stalinists touted, were the workers' mortal enemies. Only by fighting for a workers' and peasants' government could the workers' vanguard rally all sections of the Spanish masses for total struggle against Hitler and Mussolini's troops and planes.

Instead, industries seized and operated by the workers in the first weeks of the civil war, were returned to their former owners by the Stalinist-backed People's Front government. The peasants who had seized and divided the large estates owned by pro-Franco landlords in some areas and collectivized large stretches of land in others, were forbidden by the Popular Front regime to proceed further. No title to the confiscated lands was granted to the peasants. The peasants

Barcelona Strike in 1951



On March 12, 1951, the workers of Barcelona defied Franco's fascist police and organized a general strike. Scene above was taken just after two strikers had been killed by police. This bitter struggle was the first since Franco began his bloody rule and involved 300,000 workers.

would have fought to the death against the return of the landlords if given any encouragement in their struggles and aspirations.

Franco who had been a general in the Spanish colony of Morocco based himself on his colonial troops. Abdel Krim, venerated and influential leader of the Moroccan people in their struggle for independence, offered to aid the struggle against Franco with a colonial uprising if the Spanish Popular Front government would only decree independence for Morocco. The Spanish democratic regime—committed to the retention of imperialist holdings—declined the offer.

It was the Stalinists, masquerading as the party of the Rus-

sian Revolution, who with their Popular Front line, suffocated and then strangled the social revolution in Spain and thereby opened the door to 17 years of fascist terror.

The workers and students of Spain are now in open struggle face to face with a dictatorship which has lost support in all sections of the population. Workers, intellectuals and students are in opposition to the small remaining strata of Franco supporters. Morocco is fighting for its independence and is not likely to give one Moorish recruit toward the suppression of the Spanish workers. The fate of Mussolini and Hitler who preceded Franco indicates the historical handwriting on the wall for him.

Franco still has a mighty ally on the world political arena, and he is right now desperately trying to assure financial and if possible military aid against the revolutionary workers of his own country. The very week that the strikes broke out in Spain, the Fascist Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo arrived as an honored guest in the United States. The U.S. State Department is Franco's major world ally today.

This fact imposes on the American labor movement a great task. Franco is the butcher of the Spanish working class. The labor movement must give vigorous support to the Spanish workers who are reorganizing their independent labor movement under the guns of the Fascist police.

French "Democracy" in Action

In its bloody drive to hold on to Algeria despite the will of the Algerian people to be independent, French imperialism has resorted to the most barbarous methods. Mustapha Ben Mohamed, City Councillor of Algiers and prominent Algerian revolutionary leader, gives details in a letter he recently addressed to French judicial authorities. It was published by the Committee for the Liberation of Messali Hadj. The present French government, headed by "Socialist" Mollet continues the savage repression in Algeria, backed by the vote of the Stalinist Deputies. The following are excerpts from the letter.

"I was arrested on Nov. 5, 1955, at El Biar . . . by the judicial police of Algiers. After having been transported to central headquarters and questioned as to my identity, I was insulted, beaten and wounded, and subjected to electric shocks with alternating currents on various parts of the body (especially the genitals), which inflicted burns upon me.

"The same day, around 10 P.M., I was transferred to the headquarters of the judicial police in Blidah, where I was tortured in the following way: I was tied in a horizontal position to a double ladder. Water was then poured into my mouth through a rubber tube until I became unconscious. This operation was repeated as soon as I vomited the water I had swallowed and regained consciousness.

"I was submitted to the following outrages until Friday, Nov. 11: twice with electricity in Algiers, five times railroaded to Blidah (each time undergoing several water tube treatments.)

"Only on Tuesday, Nov. 25, at 3:30 P.M., was I brought before the examining magistrate of Eighth Chamber of the Court of Appeals."

... Folksstimme Article on Fate of Soviet Jews

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that this shameful plague was forever ended on Soviet soil.

And truly, the years of the further development of the revolution brought with them more pronounced and more complete expressions of absolute equality for the Jewish masses, of their creative activity in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the Soviet Union. The Jewish problem was at that time completely resolved.

AUTONOMOUS REGION

What a source of hope for the Jewish masses of the entire world was the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, which ended in the most fundamental manner Jewish landlessness, the heritage of Czarism with its absence of purpose in the lives of the young Jewish generation! Instead of the dark workshop, large modern factories arose in all the Jewish towns. The doors to the big factories, to heavy industries, to the acquisition of new, never-before-known trades were thrown wide open to the Jews. Within a few years a Jewish working force grew up in heavy industry which faithfully adhered to the process of socialist construction. The barriers to the soil were ended and a layer of Jewish peasants formed. Jewish villages grew and grew in the West Ukraine and in the Crimea, became Jewish national regions. Agricultural settlements began to arise in the Jewish autonomous region.

The process of social reeducation of the Soviet Jews reached completion when the Leninist national policy was carried through consistently.

JEWISH CULTURE FLOWERS

On the basis of equal rights, politically and economically, Soviet Jewish culture flourished and reached heights hitherto unknown in the history of the Jewish people.

Great Jewish cultural centers arose in Moscow and in Kiev, in Minsk and in Odessa, in Kharkov and Vitebsk. Jewish state-theaters were created in all the larger cities with a compact Jewish population. They were the pride and joy of the Soviet Jewish people, above all the Moscow Jewish state-theater.

To the old cadres of scientists, historians and researchers in Jewish history, language and literature were added new young forces. And most important of all, with the first days of the October revolution came a multitude of Jewish poets, writers, dramatists, critics who expressed the most subtle and intimate feelings of the Jewish masses now raised to a new free life. To the great masters of the Jewish artistic world, well-

known even before the October revolution, — David Bergelson, The Nestor—were added wonderful singers of the Jewish rebirth at the time of October—David Hofstein, Perets Markish, Leib Kvitko, Aaron Kushnir, Shmuel Halkin, Lipe Reznik, Ezra Finenberg, Itzik Feffer, Hersh Orland, Noah Lurie, Izzy Kharik, Itzik Kipnis, Zelig Axelrod, Note Lurie and scores of new and young creators of the most progressive Jewish literature, who had at their disposal a network of publishing houses and press.

Such in brief outline was the product of the Leninist application of the national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in relation to the Jewish masses — a product which had great influence on the thoughts and social behavior of the Jewish masses of the entire world, who rightly saw in these achievements the precursor of the all-sided absolute realization of their own age-long national aspirations.

FIRST VICTIMS OF BERIA

This creative process, natural to the Soviet Union, began to feel interference at a certain high point of its development. The social plague which is today sadly known as "Beriodom" had, together with its degenerating influence on the whole social life of the Soviet Union through its system of repression and extermination, tragic results for the creative activity of the Jewish population in the Soviet Union and for a number of its public and cultural leaders.

The first victims to fall before this plague were such distinguished revolutionaries as S. Dimanshtein, Lenin's close co-worker and the head of the Jewish commissariat, Comrade Esther (Maria) Frumkin, Comrades Rachmael Weinshtein, Mereshin, Moishe Litvakov, Mikhail Levitan, Yankel Levin, the youth leader, Hershell Brill and many, many others. Talented men at the very prime of life perished, such as Izzy Kharik, Moishe Kulbak, Max Erix, Yasha Bronshtein, H. Dunietz and more, many more honest, talented people, devoted heart and soul to the great cause of communism and the full awakening of the Jewish masses.

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Great Jewish cultural centers arose in Moscow and in Kiev, in Minsk and in Odessa, in Kharkov and Vitebsk. Jewish state-theaters were created in all the larger cities with a compact Jewish population. They were the pride and joy of the Soviet Jewish people, above all the Moscow Jewish state-theater.

To the old cadres of scientists, historians and researchers in Jewish history, language and literature were added new young forces. And most important of all, with the first days of the October revolution came a multitude of Jewish poets, writers, dramatists, critics who expressed the most subtle and intimate feelings of the Jewish masses now raised to a new free life. To the great masters of the Jewish artistic world, well-

known even before the October revolution, — David Bergelson, The Nestor—were added wonderful singers of the Jewish rebirth at the time of October—David Hofstein, Perets Markish, Leib Kvitko, Aaron Kushnir, Shmuel Halkin, Lipe Reznik, Ezra Finenberg, Itzik Feffer, Hersh Orland, Noah Lurie, Izzy Kharik, Itzik Kipnis, Zelig Axelrod, Note Lurie and scores of new and young creators of the most progressive Jewish literature, who had at their disposal a network of publishing houses and press.

Such in brief outline was the product of the Leninist application of the national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in relation to the Jewish masses — a product which had great influence on the thoughts and social behavior of the Jewish masses of the entire world, who rightly saw in these achievements the precursor of the all-sided absolute realization of their own age-long national aspirations.

Then came the Hitler death march. From Moscow there then reached out to the whole world the voice of the leaders of the Jewish community, writers and military men, the voice which called on all to unite in struggle against the murderers of the Jews, a voice which reached the fronts and which resounded among the partisans in the forests, breaking through even the ghetto walls to encourage all and awaken them to decisive resistance against the Hitlerite beasts.

How then did it come about that the representatives of the Jewish community, who in the cruel fateful hour for the Soviet Union succeeded in forging the unity of Jewish resistance—how could it happen that these representatives, among them the best sons and daughters of the

Russia and West Ukraine. The people who had come from the Polish prisons and from the Beresovka camp threw themselves into this work with all their energy on the basis of the broad possibilities flowing from the Leninist national policies.

Jewish elementary and secondary schools, Jewish theaters and newspapers, arose in the cities and towns of West White Russia and West Ukraine under the banner of the generally liberated creative activity of the broad masses in the sphere of economic and spiritual life. The Jewish writers of Poland who escaped Hitler's inferno were greeted with wide-open arms and became integrated in the family of Soviet Jewish writers. What new great perspectives opened for the development of the social and cultural life of the Jewish masses!

Then came the Hitler death march.

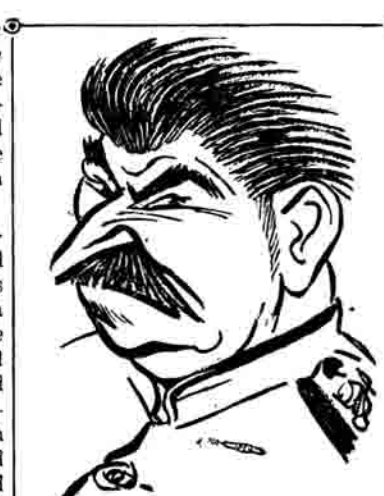
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ROLE OF JEWISH ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE

This effort of the Soviet Jewish Community at the head of which stood the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, was part of the general, tremendous effort of all the Soviet people, who under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bore the heaviest burdens of the anti-Hitler war in order to bring about the liberation of all the people of Europe by its victory, in order to save the lives of millions of Jews in the Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews, in order to save the lives of the threatened Jews in Israel and to assist them later in the struggle for their land and independence.

This will forever remain the historic service of the Soviet Union which the Jews the world over will never forget. This took place despite the disruptive work of Beriodom, and the harmful influence of the cult of the individual.

How then did it come about that the representatives of the Jewish community, who in the cruel fateful hour for the Soviet Union succeeded in forging the unity of Jewish resistance—how could it happen that these representatives, among them the best sons and daughters of the



JOSEPH STALIN of whom Leon Trotsky wrote:

"Mankind is once again entering an epoch of wars and revolutions. Not only political but social regimes will topple like houses-of-cards. It is quite probable that revolutionary convulsions in Asia and Europe will forestall the overthrow of the Stalin clique by the capitalist counter-revolution and prepare its downfall under the blows of the toiling masses. . . Revolution will unlock all the secret compartments, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise memorials to the victims of wantonness and cover with eternal infamy the names of the executioners. Stalin will depart from the scene laden with all the crimes he has committed — not only as the gravedigger of the revolution but as the most sinister figure in the history of mankind." — Socialist appeal, Oct. 16, 1937.

Soviet Jewish people—the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee — how could it happen that suddenly without a why or wherefore the Committee was liquidated and its leaders condemned to annihilation?

ALL SOVIET PEOPLE SUFFERED

Yes we know that to pose the question this way, separate and apart from the whole disruptive activity of Beriodom — means not to see the whole scope of the phenomenon which was revealed with acute penetration by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. Beriodom, which could maintain itself only in the atmosphere of the cult of the individual, caused endless pain and countless sacrifices for all the peoples of the Soviet Union without exception. The greatest sufferer was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — which incorporates the finest and highest aspirations of the entire Soviet people. Of course, false and deceptive is the alarm

of Forward, the Day-Morning Journal, Our Voice, and similar newspapers of Jewish national-

ism which try to present our tragedy as a result of an ostensibly anti-Jewish policy exclusively.

By underscoring the general harm of the cult of the individual we are not seeking to find semi-consolation because misery likes company. No, we are concerned with establishing the truth, that all the peoples of the Soviet Union without exception are interested in the complete destruction of every trace of the cult of the individual. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Leninist determination, probed to the very bottom of this dangerous phenomenon in order to completely destroy it. This is the victory of the Leninist Communist Party. In this victory is our consolation, in this victory is our hope and confidence in the future.

CUT-OFF CREATIVE LIVES

We Communists are not in the habit of proclaiming our feeling of pain and suffering. In the face of defeats (and they are unavoidable in the stubborn struggle we are conducting) it comes to pass more than once that we grit our teeth in order not to give the enemy occasion for jubilation. In the course of long years the united chorus of Jewish enemies of the Soviet Union and of the Communist movement persisted with "questions" and with "inquiries," attempting in different ways to exploit our tragedy in the cutting off of the stormily creative lives of David Bergelson and The Nestor, of Perets Markish and Leib Kvitko, of David Hofstein and Itzik Feffer, of Benyomin Zuskin and Itsrak Nussinov, of Elyohu Spivak and S. Persev. In a perfidious manner they try to represent to the Jewish masses that under a people's government, under communism, such a fate of Jewish community and cultural leaders is ostensibly legal. They are interested in stifling the warm feeling of sympathy and respect which the Jewish masses the world over have expressed towards the Soviet Union.

[The document here dwells on the elements who are now undertaking a campaign against the Soviet Union precisely in connection with the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union. It tells about the 20th Congress which drew the balance sheet on the enemies of the Soviet people, the bandits of the Beria type and which revived the basic laws of Soviet society that are founded on Leninism. The document deals with all those in Jewish life who were always crying, "Why do you keep quiet," and it continues. — The Freiheit]

Yes, truly, we kept silent despite the fact that we saw and painfully felt the tragic results

of Beriodom. We remained silent because we believed profoundly that only the Leninist party is capable of untangling the tragic skein and that sooner or later it would do so; we were convinced that the Leninist party would sooner or later uncover the whole truth and would determine and energetically reveal it to all the people. Our faith, our conviction, was fully justified!

The Jewish masses believed just as we Communists did that the truth would conquer. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave the watchword to destroy root and branch the cult of the individual, the source of the crippling, and thus justified the profound hopes of the Jewish masses in the victory of Leninist truth.

JEWISH STATE-THEATER BEING CONSTRUCTED

Long before the 20th Party Congress came the energetic action of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to rehabilitate the innocent, to re-establish the good name of those who were slaughtered by the Beria murderers and to make their works available to the broad masses. Thus the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rehabilitated the group of doctors in the shameful frame-up and returned them to their places of work; thus the Soviet government and the Soviet Communist Party re-established the good name of Mikhoels and of all the liquidated innocent Jewish writers. The belief that the Leninist party would correct this tragic event was realized. In this way the Jewish population of the Soviet Union now enjoys the practical benefits of the return to the Leninist norm.

We welcome as long-awaited, happy tidings every announcement of the return of Jewish writers, scientists and artists to their interrupted creative work. It is our common consolation that as of today there are over 60 Jewish Soviet writers once again creating and preparing to publish their works. With the greatest eagerness we receive every announcement of close comrades and friends from Moscow and Kiev, from Minsk and Odessa who remain undaunted and determined to devote all their strength to the revival of Jewish social and cultural life. Full of hope is the news about the reconstitution of the Jewish state-theater, about a series of weighty steps of political, economic and cultural significance for the Jewish population in the Soviet Union.

This is our consolation, the consolation of the Jewish masses the world over.

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1. Israel and the Middle East Crisis

The conflict in the Middle East is getting hotter with each passing day. The area is the battleground of mighty historic forces. The fundamental struggle is between the rising Arab national independence revolution and U.S., British and French imperialism. The imperialist governments are preparing a Korea-type "police action" to preserve exploitation of the area by the oil trusts. The Middle East is also the hottest area of "cold war" between the Soviet Union and imperialism.

Radical workers raised in the teachings of Lenin are passionate defenders of the independence revolution of the Arab and all other colonial peoples. That is why they demand that the U.S., British and French governments keep hands off the Middle East and withdraw their troops from the area. At the same time, the ever-sharpening conflict in the Middle East raises the problem of a mortal danger confronting the Jews in Israel. They are caught between the rise of the national liberation movement in Egypt, Syria and other Arab lands and the counter-revolutionary drive of imperialism.

"The future development of . . . events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews," wrote Leon Trotsky in 1940. These words fully apply to the peril confronting the Israeli Jews today. How can they escape the death trap? What program can socialist-minded workers present that will enable the Jews in Israel to save lives, homes and national culture?

At the outset they must reject the reactionary utopia that there can be a special solution for the Jews separate and apart from the socialist revolution. This means to reject the Zionist program of building Palestine as a Jewish national homeland with the aid of British and U.S.

2. The Colonial Revolution in Egypt

A main front of the world-wide struggle for socialism is the national independence revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rise of nationalism in Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries is an integral part of the colonial revolution. This movement, even when initiated under the leadership of the colonial capitalist class, inevitably sets the working class and peasantry into action to realize their independent class aims. As Trotsky explained and history verified, the national independence revolution is "permanent" — that is, it can be successfully completed only under the leadership of the working class. This means that a victorious national revolution in the colonies must lead to the creation of workers and peasants governments. Furthermore, the impact of the colonial independence movement throws the imperialist countries in crisis and hastens the advent of the revolutionary showdown there, too.

It is to the further course of the colonial revolution in the Middle East — to the independent intervention of the Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian and other Arab masses — that the Israeli population must look for aid in safeguarding their lives and homes. However, the Jews will win the Arabs as allies only if they support their national liberation drive now.

It is true that Nasser, who heads the Arab struggle at present as an agent of the Egyptian capitalist class, only takes half-measures against imperialism. He diverts his blows in the direction of Israel rather than mobilize the Egyptian masses — whom he mortally fears — for a social revolution that would end British economic domination. For the Arab revolution to

imperialism. This course has made of Zionism an agency of imperialism. It has aroused the deepest hatred of the Arab masses for Jewish Palestine and now threatens to engulf the land in bloody reprisal.

Nor is the Stalinist program propounded by the Kremlin chiefs and supported in the U.S. by the Daily Worker any better. It calls for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict at all other Middle Eastern conflicts at a four power conference of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Britain and France. The Kremlin offers to help preserve imperialist rule in the Middle East in exchange for a scrapping of the Baghdad anti-Soviet military pact.

Guarantees for Israel and meager concessions to Arab nationalism would be a by-product of a four-power agreement such as proposed by the Kremlin. It would be essentially a status quo deal at the expense of the right of the Arab people to determine their own fate. By preserving imperialist rule, it would do nothing basic to resolve the Arab-Israel conflict and the threat it poses to the Jews.

We Trotskyists reject the class-collaborationist scheme of the Kremlin and the pro-imperialist orientation of the Zionists. The sole hope for Jews anywhere in the world is to enter the international struggle for socialism, linking themselves with the proletariat of whatever country they happen to live in. Only after socialism is established on a world-wide basis, will there be the possibility for creating a viable Jewish state for all Jews who desire to develop a common national culture. "National topography will become a part of the planned economy. This is the grand historical perspective that I envisage," said Trotsky in 1937. "To work for international socialism means also to work for the solution of the Jewish question."

succeed it will have to clear the Nasser dictatorship out of the road.

Just the same, present Egyptian support of the North African liberation struggle against the French; opposition to the U.S.-sponsored Baghdad anti-Soviet military pact; ouster of the British from Suez; purchase of arms from the Soviet bloc in defiance of Washington's edicts; anti-imperialist propaganda beamed to Negro Africa over Radio Cairo — all these measures taken by the Nasser regime give clear-cut expression to the national liberation sentiments of the Arab masses. Revolutionary socialists are duty bound to support these actions and so should the Jewish people.

Instead, the Israeli government has lined up solidly with imperialism against the Arab nationalist movement. Repeatedly during the last several months, the Israeli government has denounced Egypt to Britain, alleging that Nasser has secret intentions to keep British forces out of Suez in case of war, despite the provisions of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

This is an act of strikebreaking on the Israelis' part. It is an invitation to hated British imperialism to violate its end of the treaty by bringing the troops back now. Israel's action is from the same mint as the shameful vote her delegate cast last fall in the United Nations supporting French imperialism against the Algerian people.

The Israel government is closely aligned in the Middle East with the Turkish. Both these regimes as well as the Iranian, Iraqi, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian monarchs are the firmest props imperialism has in the Middle East.

3. The Road to Socialism for Israel

The reactionary policy of the Israeli government towards the Arab independence movement is the other side of the coin of its policy at home. Israel is the arena of a full-blown class struggle. The capitalist "Five Hundred" are the ruling class. They control the government. Their exploitation of the Israeli working class is supplemented by discrimination favoring European Jews against Jews from the Middle East and North Africa, discrimination against the Arab minority, ascendancy of the Hebrew priestcraft and development of a strong semi-fascist movement.

The program of the labor Zionists to support the "Jewish homeland" venture in Palestine but build it as a socialist country is exploded by the sordid reality. It is shown to be a completely utopian scheme. For the Jewish workers to make common cause with the Israeli capitalists and with imperialism for the sake of this utopia goes directly counter to their own class interests. It strengthens the hand of reaction in Israel and worsens their own ex-

ploitation. It also invites the Arabs to close in on Israel — and spring the bloody trap.

The Middle East is still overwhelmingly Arab land. Its central problem is how to bring victory to the Arab national independence movement. This is the only road to socialism in the Middle East. What the Jewish workers and socialist-minded youth in Israel confront is a special variant of the path for the Jews in the rest of the world. To enter the world-wide struggle for socialism as part of the proletariat of whatever country they live in, means in the Middle East to link up with the Arab masses in their anti-imperialist struggle.

If the Israeli toilers are successful in this, they will certainly retain their homes in Israel. They will also win the possibility to develop their national culture unmolested within the frame-work of a socialist federation of the Middle East. This will immeasurably hasten the world-wide victory of socialism and thereby bring a solution to the Jewish problem everywhere.

[In last week's issue of the Militant we published the first half of an excerpt from Leon Trotsky's autobiography, My Life, describing the events and conditions surrounding Lenin's decision to write a letter to the Soviet Communist Party which became known as his last "Will" or "Testament." The full text of Lenin's testament was also published in our last issue. The testament, written at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, contains a postscript which calls for the removal of Stalin from his post as General Secretary of the party. The following concluding installment of Trotsky's passages on the period of Lenin's illness is of exceptional current interest since it gives an account of how, in his last days, Lenin was preparing an all-out attack on Stalin at the Twelfth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The central point of his attack was to be Stalin's chauvinist position and conduct in relation to national minorities in the Soviet Union. The recent admissions of the Stalinist Jewish press in Warsaw and New York on the slaughter of the cultural leaders of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union under the regime of Stalin, provides additional tragic proof of the foresight shown by Lenin in his plan to work closely with Trotsky to destroy the Stalin cult in its embryonic phase.—Ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

Lenin's two secretaries, Fotevia and Glyasser, did service as liaison officers. This is what they came to tell me: Vladimir Ilyich was very much disturbed by Stalin's preparations for the coming party congress, especially in connection with his factional machinations in Georgia. "Vladimir Ilyich is preparing a bomb for Stalin at the congress" — that was Fotevia's phrase, verbatim. The word "bomb" was Lenin's, not hers. "Vladimir Ilyich asks you to take the Georgian case in your hands; he will then feel confident." On March 5, Lenin dictated this note to me:

"Dear Comrade Trotsky: I wish very much to ask you to take upon yourself the defense of the Georgian case in the Central Committee of the party. At present, the case is under the 'persecution' of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot trust their impartiality. Quite the opposite. If you were to agree to undertake the defense, my mind would be at rest. If for some reason you cannot agree to do so, please return the entire dossier to me; I shall consider that a sign of refusal from you. With best comradely greetings, Lenin."

STALIN'S DISLOYAL GAME

What had brought the question to such an acute stage? — I inquired. It turned out that Stalin had betrayed Lenin's confidence; in order to insure himself support in Georgia, acting behind Lenin's back and without the knowledge of the entire Central Committee, he had carried out, with the help of Ordzhonikidze and not without support from Dzerzhinsky, an organized coup d'état there against the best section of the party, shielding himself falsely behind the authority of the Central Committee.

As Lenin's illness made it impossible for him to meet other comrades, Stalin had taken advantage of this and had surrounded him with misinformation. Lenin instructed his secretaries to gather all the material they could on the Georgian matter and decided to come out openly with a statement. It is hard to say what shocked Lenin most — Stalin's personal disloyalty or his rough and bureaucratic policy on the national question. Probably it was a combination of both.

Lenin was getting ready for the struggle, but he was afraid that he would not be able to speak at the congress, and this worried him. Why not talk the matter over with Zinoviev or Kamenev? — his secretaries kept prompting him. But Lenin waved them aside impatiently. He foresaw that if he withdrew from activity, Zinoviev and Kamenev would join Stalin to make up a trio against me, and thus would betray him. "Do you happen to know Trotsky's attitude on the Georgian question?" Lenin asks. "At the plenary meeting, Trotsky spoke in agreement with your views," answers Glyasser, who acted as the secretary at the meeting.

"Are you sure?" "Quite. Trotsky accused Ordzhonikidze, Voroshilov and Kalinin of failing to understand the national question."

"Verify it again," Lenin demands. The next day, at the meeting of the Central Committee at my house, Glyasser handed me a note with a brief summary of my speech of the day before, concluding with the question: "Did I understand you correctly?"



V. I. LENIN

"What do you want it for?" I asked. "For Vladimir Ilyich," Glyasser answered. "Yes, this is correct," I replied. In the meantime, Stalin watched our correspondence with alarm, but at that moment I was still unaware of what it was all about. "After he read my correspondence with you," Glyasser told me afterward, "Vladimir Ilyich fairly shone . . . 'Now, it is a different matter.' And he instructed me to hand over to you all the manuscripts that were to make part of his bomb for the twelfth congress." Lenin's intentions now were quite clear to me; by taking the example of Stalin's policy he wanted to expose to the party, and ruthlessly, the danger of the bureaucratic transformation of the dictatorship.

"Tomorrow Kamenev is going to Georgia for the party conference," I said to Fotevia. "I can acquaint him with Lenin's manuscripts so as to induce him to act properly in Georgia. Ask Vladimir Ilyich about it." A quarter of an hour later, Fotevia returned out of breath:

"Under no circumstances."

"Why?"

"Vladimir Ilyich says: 'Kamenev will immediately show everything to Stalin, and Stalin will make a rotten compromise and then deceive us.'"

"Then the thing has gone so far that Vladimir Ilyich no longer thinks that we can compromise with Stalin even on the right line?"

"Yes, he does not trust Stalin, and wants to come out against him openly, before the entire party. He is preparing a bomb."

"BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE"

About an hour after this conversation, Fotevia came to me again with a note from Lenin addressed to old revolutionary, Mdivani, and to other opponents of Stalin's policy in Georgia. Lenin wrote to them: "I am watching your case with all my heart and soul. Ordzhonikidze's rough methods and Stalin's and Dzerzhinsky's encouragement fill me with indignation. I am preparing notes and a speech for you." The copy of the note was addressed not only to me, but to Kamenev as well. This surprised me.

"Then Vladimir Ilyich has changed his mind?" I asked. "Yes, his condition is getting worse every hour. You must not believe the reassuring statements of the doctors. He can speak now only with difficulty. . . . The Georgian question worries him terribly. He is afraid he will collapse before he can undertake anything. When handing me this note he said: 'Before it is too late. . . I am obliged to come out openly before the proper time!'"

"But this means that now I can talk to Kamenev?"

"Obviously."

"Ask him to come to see me." Kamenev came an hour later. He was completely at sea. The idea of a trio—Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev—had long been established. Their spear-point was directed at me. The whole plan of the conspirators was that after they had mustered enough support in the organizations, they would be crowned legitimate successors to Lenin.

The little note cut into their plan like a sharp wedge. Kamenev did not know what to do, and admitted it to me quite frankly. I gave him Lenin's manuscript to read over. Kamenev was an experienced enough politician to understand at once that for Lenin the question was not only one of Georgia but of Stalin's entire role in the party.

BREAKS WITH STALIN

Kamenev gave me some additional facts. He had just seen Nadyezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, at her request. She told him in great alarm: "Vladimir has just dictated to his stenographer a letter to Stalin saying that he breaks off all relations with him." The immediate cause of this was of a semi-personal character. Stalin had been trying to isolate Lenin from all sources of information, and in this connection had been very rude to Nadyezhda Konstantinovna. "But you know Vladimir," Krupskaya added. "He would never have decided to break off personal relations if he had not thought it necessary to crush Stalin politically."

Kamenev was quite pale and agitated. The ground was slipping away under his feet. He did not know what to do next, or which way to turn. It is quite likely that he was simply afraid of my acting in an unfriendly way toward him.

I gave him my opinion of the situation. "Sometimes," I said, "out of fear of an imaginary danger, people are capable of bringing real danger down upon themselves. Remember, and tell others that the last thing I want is to start a fight at the congress for any changes in organization. I am for preserving the status quo."

"If Lenin gets on his feet before the congress, of which there is unfortunately little chance, he and I will discuss the matter together anew."

"I am against removing Stalin, and expelling Ordzhonikidze, and displacing Dzerzhinsky from the commissariat of transport."

"But I do agree with Lenin in substance. I want a radical change in the policy on the national question, a discontinuance of persecutions of the Georgian opponents of Stalin, a discontinuance of the administrative oppression of the party, a firmer policy in matters of industrialization, and an honest co-operation in the higher centers."

"On the national question the Stalin resolution is good for nothing. It places the high-handed and insolent oppression by the dominant nation on the same level with the protest and resistance of small, weak and backward nationalities. I gave my resolution the form of amendments to Stalin's to make it easier for him to alter his line of policy. But there must be an immediate and radical change."

"In addition, it is necessary that Stalin should write to Krupskaya at once to apologize for his rudeness, and that he revise his behavior. Let him not overreach himself. There should be no more intrigues, but honest co-operation."

"And you," and here I turned to Kamenev, "when you are at the conference at Tiflis, must arrange a complete reversal of the policy toward Lenin's Georgian supporters on the national question."

"RUDE AND CAPRICIOUS"

Kamenev gave a sigh of relief. He accepted all my proposals. His only fear was that Stalin would be obstinate: "He's rude and capricious."

"I don't think," I answered, "that Stalin has any alternative now." Late that night, Kamenev informed me that he had been to see Stalin in the country, and that Stalin had accepted all the terms. Krupskaya had already received his letter of apology, but she could not show it to Lenin, for his condition had grown worse. I gained the impression, however, that Kamenev's tone was different from that at our parting a few hours earlier. It was not until later that I realized that the change was the result of Lenin's more serious condition.

On his way to Tiflis, or immediately after his arrival, Kamenev received from Stalin a telegram in code telling him that Lenin was paralyzed again, and unable to speak or write. At the Georgian conference, Kamenev carried out Stalin's policy against Lenin's. Cemented by personal treachery, the trio had become a fact.

Lenin's offensive was directed not only against Stalin personally, but against his entire staff, and, first of all, his assistants, Dzerzhinsky and Ordzhonikidze. Both of them are mentioned constantly in Lenin's correspondence on the Georgian question. Dzerzhinsky was a man of great and explosive passion. His energy was held at a high pitch by constant electric discharges. In every discussion, even of things of minor importance, he would fire up, his nostrils would quiver, his eyes would sparkle, and his voice would be so strained that often it would break. Yet, in spite of this high nervous tension, Dzerzhinsky had no apathetic intervals. He was always in that same state of tense mobilization. Lenin once compared him to a spirited thoroughbred. Dzerzhinsky fell in love, in a mad in-

fatuation, with everything he did, and guarded his associates from criticism and interference with a passionate fanaticism that had no element of the personal in it, for he was completely dissolved in his work.

Stalin's other ally, Ordzhonikidze, Lenin thought it necessary to expel from the party because of his bureaucratic high-handedness in the Caucasus. I argued against it. Lenin answered me through his secretary: "At least for two years." How little could he imagine at that time that Ordzhonikidze would become head of the Control Commission that Lenin was planning to create to fight Stalin's bureaucracy, and which was to embody the conscience of the party!

LENIN'S PLAN

Aside from its general political aims, the campaign that Lenin opened had as its immediate object the creation of the best conditions for my work of direction, either side by side with him if he regained his health, or in his place if he succumbed to his illness. But the struggle, which was never carried out to its end, or even part way, had exactly an opposite result. Lenin managed only to declare war against Stalin and his allies, and even this was known only to those who were directly involved

in it, and not to the party as a whole.

Stalin's faction — at that time it was still the faction of the trio — closed its ranks more tightly after the first warning. The indefinite situation continued. Stalin stood at the helm of the apparatus. Artificial selection was carried on there at a mad pace. The weaker the trio felt in matters of principle, the more they feared me — because they wanted to get rid of me — and the tighter they had to bolt all the screws and nuts in the state and party system. Much later, in 1925, Bukharin said to me, in answer to my criticism of the party oppression: "We have no democracy because we are afraid of you."

"Just you try to stop being afraid," I proffered by way of advice, "and let us work properly." But my advice was vain.

The year 1923 was the first year of the intense but still silent stifling and routing of the Bolshevik party. Lenin was struggling with his terrible illness. The trio were struggling with the party. The atmosphere was charged, and toward autumn the tension resolved itself into a "discussion" of the opposition. The second chapter of the revolution had begun — the fight against Trotskyism. In reality, it was a fight against the ideological legacy of Lenin.

... Anti-Semitic Purges

(Continued from page 1)

fore been liquidated and its leaders sentenced to destruction."

In 1937 Leon Trotsky, writing on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, warned Communist workers against blinding themselves to the crimes of Stalinism. "Woe to those workers, revolutionists, socialists, democrats who, in the words of Pushkin, prefer 'a delusion which exalts us' to the bitter truth," said Trotsky. "A healthy revolutionary optimism has no need for illusions. One must face life as it is. It is necessary to find in reality itself the force to overcome its reactionary and barbaric features. That is what Marxism teaches us."

SOCIAL ROOTS

Under the Czar anti-Semitism was widespread in Russia. The workers revolution of 1917 swept this foul oppression away and established the economic foundations which will eventually liberate mankind from all oppression. When the revolution ebbed the bureaucracy helped to consolidate its police machine by appealing, at first covertly, to the worst prejudices of the most backward sections of the population.

The anti-Jewish purge of the Thirties was the culmination of this process. It was part of the purge of the most advanced workers in the Soviet Union, including almost all of the leaders of the Russian Revolution.

The Second World War impelled the Soviet workers into revolutionary struggle once more — and especially the Jewish people. The anti-Jewish purges in the post-war period were part of a new attempt to destroy the revolutionary mood of those who had sacrificed so much in the war years.

The editors of the Daily Worker, April 13, expressed their shock at the extermination of Jews in the Soviet Union. They say, "We register our strong

dissatisfaction that the Soviet leaders have not offered any explanation of what took place." However, the editors failed to note that the new Kremlin masters have not as yet even admitted publicly that the anti-Jewish purges took place. Only the Jewish press of Poland has exposed the murder of Jews in the Soviet Union.

JUST HAVE FAITH

But the Daily Worker editors — without waiting for their requested explanation or even the details of these bloody events — rush to assure their readers that the present Soviet leaders "are taking steps to prevent a recurrence of other types of violation of socialist principle. We have confidence that they will take the necessary measures in this grave matter too," they say.

How can the editors of the Daily Worker know that steps are being taken to prevent new pogroms if they don't even know what caused them in the first place? What is the justification for this servile expression of confidence in the "new" leaders of the Soviet Union, all of whom are guilty of participating in the slaughter of Jews?

The indignation of class conscious workers throughout the world will not be "consoled" by proclaiming Stalin's guilt, followed by a quick whitewash of Stalin's partners-in-crime. The murder of revolutionary workers and minority peoples in the Soviet Union must be avenged. The first stirrings of the political revolution of the workers in the Soviet Union has already toppled the edifice of lies and frame-ups on which the rule of the bureaucratic caste is founded. This revolution will grow until the bureaucracy has lost its power and workers' democracy is fully restored.

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PLACE: SWP Hall 10 S. 4th St., Minneapolis

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Our Readers Take the Floor

The Polite South

Editor:
I wish to express my appreciation, as a Southerner, for the way the Militant has handled the Southern events that have shaken the world in the past months. The editors' swift action and inspired covering of the Montgomery protest movement have won for the Militant recognition that it is a true champion of the Negro struggle for equality.

Especially good was William Bundy's story in the March 19 issue on the meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association. I wish every person who has never been South might read this story. Nothing short of a visit down there could so graphically illustrate what it means to be a Negro in the South, as do the closing paragraphs of Bundy's story, telling of the polite streets of that polite Southern town.

Those Montgomery heroes and heroines are showing what can be done by organized mass action, and against seemingly impossible odds. Are the odds too great in Mississippi for the same thing to happen? The climate in Mississippi must really be a miasma, when it breeds such thoughts as Nobel Prize winner Faulkner has expressed. This schizophrenic personality who can say to the world that he knows murder is wrong, but he would murder innocent Negroes to "protect" the South, is supposedly one of Mississippi's most intelligent white men. What can you expect of the rest of them?

It is fortunate that Mississippi has such non-whites as Dr. Howard and his associates; if Mississippi is ever to make it, it will have to do so through the efforts of such as they.

L. S.
Los Angeles

Starting to Think

Editor:
At a public meeting here in Philadelphia, April 6, sponsored by the Daily Worker, I had the opportunity to witness the impact of the 20th Congress upon leaders of the CP and upon its members. There were over 150 present. The larger part of the audience was composed of old timers, but there was a good number of youth. Most important, it was a serious audience that assembled to hear Alan Max, managing editor of the Daily Worker discuss the 20th Congress decisions.

Alan Max revealed that he is incapable of dealing with the major issue, that is of "democratization" in the Soviet Union. He represents the Stalinist leaders of the American CP who followed every twist and turn of

Stalin's treacherous course and defended every one of his crimes. Max came closest to the truth when he repeated during the course of his talk that he was "shocked, jolted, taken aback" by the 20th Congress repudiation of Stalin.

There is every indication that CP members want answers to their questions. Here are some typical questions asked and answered. (Incidentally, only written questions were honored.)

Q: Why doesn't the Daily Worker write about Socialism and what it would mean for the American worker?

A: (Max) We were too busy with immediate goals and we lost sight of the ultimate goal.

Q: Why were the leaders attacking Stalin after his death?

A: A lengthy evasion along the line of what-else-could-they-do.

Q: What responsibility did the present leadership have in past errors?

A: "History will tell."

Q: If Stalin were alive today wouldn't it be possible for him to self-criticize himself and change the course of leadership?

A: Laughter from the floor and from the rostrum and Alan Max with a shrug of his shoulders went on to another question.

The discussion went on until 11:10 P.M. There were still many unanswered questions. A motion was made to send the remaining question to the Daily Worker to be answered. Passed.

To the CPers who want answers: they will have to look elsewhere than their leaders. They will have to read Trotsky's ideas and discuss them with us.

P. Spangler
Philadelphia

Pa. Unions Determined To Back UE Strikers

By Joseph Grandy

PHILADELPHIA, April 16 — The lockout at the South Philadelphia (Lester) turbine works of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, now entering its seventh month, finds both sides bracing itself for what apparently is a final effort. The company is maneuvering for its objectives of a measured day-work system, and as much of a wage cut as it can impose. Local 107, United Electrical Workers (Independent), is as determined as ever not to return to work with less in wages and conditions than it had when its defensive action began on Oct. 14, 1955. These wages and conditions are among the highest in the Westinghouse chain.

Last week's section membership meetings clearly established the continuing firmness of the will of the ranks and showed that their fighting spirit has not been impaired during the six months of attritional warfare.

The awareness of organized labor in the Philadelphia metropolitan area that any cut suffered by the workers at Lester will definitely mean the spread of the same throughout the Delaware Valley, has enveloped the Lester workers in a warm blanket of class solidarity.

This spirit, whose high point was the historic solidarity meeting at Chester, March 8, where the support of the entire AFL-CIO of the area and state was solemnly pledged, is a manifestation more important than anything else that has occurred during the long months since October. It indicates that the ranks of

organized labor in this area are in no mood to allow the capitalist class here to trifle with them as to their economic conditions. The support pledged meant more than the considerable contributions of money — and Westinghouse will quickly find this out if it attempts to run scabbs through the picket lines.

POLITICAL THINKING

Further, the impact of the situation has developed a deeper level of political thinking. All the workers are critically watching the Democratic state administration regarding its actions on the unemployment insurance question. Local 107 members are especially aware that every step won in their fight to have the state recognize and pay their claims to compensation because of a lockout by Westinghouse, has been won through threats by "107" to make it a public issue against Governor Leader's administration.

The company at present is presenting in negotiations a package which stripped down is practically the same wage and condition-cutting proposal which it had made last October. Foremen are visiting workers in their homes trying to sell them the package.

Reports indicate that the foremen are not doing so hot. No basis for a back-to-work movement is visible. Jobs are to be had in the area, and relief support is available on a minimum basis. Many workers said, "I'll take anything I can get rather than let Westinghouse get away with what they are trying to do."

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Capetown Hit by Bus Boycott

12,000 Sign to Put SWP on Mich. Ballot

DETROIT, April 5 — The Socialist Workers Party today completed its petition campaign to secure a place on the Michigan ballot when it filed over 12,000 signatures with the Secretary of State.

Filing of the petitions completed a four-month campaign of work throughout the state. The SWP was the first of the minority parties to file this year. The SWP has already been certified for the ballot in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The success of the petition campaign was made possible only by hard work, enthusiasm, and receptivity among the workers. The election laws in Michigan are designed to make it very difficult for minority parties to appear on the ballot.

This year a minimum of 10,874 signatures had to be obtained throughout the state, the bulk of them during the difficult winter months.

The campaign was conducted entirely by workers who also put in a full 40 hours on their regular jobs each week. This required the petitioners to devote their weekends as well as their evening hours to the job. Petitions were collected throughout the state, in all the major industrial centers and many smaller cities as well. Signatures were gathered everywhere, in shopping areas during the day, from people returning home from work in the evening, and house-to-house when stormy weather made petitioning outdoors impossible.

Michigan workers gave the campaign an excellent response. In the industrial centers good signature getters could consistently get over 40 signatures an hour. Such results were impossible in many previous campaigns when the working class

Socialist Campaigner



Farrell Dobbs, shown above addressing a Pontiac, Mich. audience over Station WCAR during his first presidential campaign in 1948, has been touring through several Northern cities calling for aid to the Montgomery fight against Jim Crow buses through radio broadcasts, newspaper interviews and mass meetings.

\$1,000 Donated To Montgomery By Longshoremen

By Daniel Roberts

The Negro population of Capetown, seat of the Union of South Africa's Legislature, is conducting a mass boycott of the city buses. According to an April 13 Reuters dispatch from South Africa, many Africans are walking to work in protest against racial segregation, which went into effect on the city-owned bus lines that morning. Others are sharing taxis or taking trains. Capetown has a population of 570,000 of which only 245,000 are Europeans.

Pickets, among them white persons, distributed leaflets at bus stops and carried banners saying "Keep Your City Clean — Away With Bus Apartheid" (segregation) and "Don't Give In To Stridom." Prime Minister Strijdom has been pushing for increasingly stringent Jim Crow measures throughout South Africa.

Reports on the second day of the boycott say that many motorists — including Europeans — have volunteered to give rides to those taking part in the protest movement. Picketing is going on at 15 bus stops.

The bus company's segregation order covers seven routes on which double-deckers operate. It states that Negroes must occupy the upper deck only, and Europeans the lower deck. A company official said the order would not apply to single-deckers because of "administrative difficulties."

The Reuters dispatch states "a similar boycott" to the one just beginning in Capetown "is going on in Montgomery, Ala." This is direct evidence of the inspiration given to the South African fighters for racial equality by the splendidly conducted bus protest movement in Montgomery.

The Capetown bus boycott also draws inspiration from a similar action conducted by Africans in Johannesburg, largest city in the Union of South Africa, in the last year of the war. Daily for five weeks Negroes walked 15 miles to work and 15 miles back between Johannesburg and Nandi, then the largest Jim Crow location outside the city. (See John Thayer's stirring account of this mass struggle in the April 9 Militant.)

Meanwhile, the bus protest movement of 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., continues without letup. Neither terrorist bomb attacks, nor the arrest of their leaders and the conviction of Rev. King has been able to stop this powerful movement against segregation. The Negroes of Montgomery have been walking or riding in car pools since last Dec. 5 when all their accumulated grievances took shape in a common determination to refuse to ride the buses until their demands for decent treatment have been met. We have received news that local unions all over the country are beginning to send substantial assistance to Montgomery to help them maintain and build their car pool. The Longshoremen's Union (Independent) in San Francisco voted \$1,000 for the fight and so did the Laborer's Union (AFL-CIO).

Dobbs Meetings Spark New Aid to Montgomery

By Harry Ring

Groups of workers in Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland are now actively engaged in a drive to secure station wagons for the Montgomery Jim Crow bus protest movement. The campaign to secure the wagons was initiated at public meetings addressed by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

With about 100 station wagons it would be possible for the Negro people of Montgomery to maintain their own transportation system, according to Rev. M. L. King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

With his energetic efforts to rally support for the Montgomery freedom fighters, Dobbs stands in sharp contrast to the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, all of whom have refused to lift a finger to aid the Negro community of Montgomery in its just cause.

When Rev. King was put on trial for violation of Alabama's anti-boycott law, Dobbs went to Montgomery to report the trial for this paper. While in Montgomery he utilized every opportunity to lend his support to the embattled Negro community. In local press and radio interviews he unequivocally took his stand with the Negro people against the racist White Citizens Council that controls Montgomery's city administration.

HELP FROM THE NORTH

With the decision of the Negro people of Montgomery to continue their fight, despite the outrageous verdict against Rev. King, Dobbs returned North to rally material and moral support for the MIA.

At the public meetings organized to hear Dobbs' first-hand report of the Alabama struggle, he hammered away at the fact that organized labor, in its own best interest must support the Montgomery movement.

In interviews with the daily press Dobbs sharply criticized the union officialdom for failing to give generous support to the protest movement. He pointed to the fact that the law being used against the MIA was originally adopted to break a miners' strike and if it were used successfully against the present protest movement it would become an even more lethal weapon against labor.

This effective activity in support of the MIA kicks off the 1956 election fight of the Socialist Workers Party. It provides a splendid example of the meaning of a genuine independent working class political campaign.

Contrast this record of modest but solid accomplishment with the dismal record of those who want to keep the labor and Negro movement chained to the twin capitalist parties. The top union leaders, the official national leaders of the Negro people and the Communist Party all insist that the workers and Negro people must not act on their own politically but must pin their hopes on "liberal" capitalist politicians. What has this policy produced for the civil rights battle in Montgomery or anywhere else?

The Democratic and Republican parties will not take any fundamental step against the Jim Crow system. Their refusal to act on the terror in Mississippi, the Auerhine Lucy case or the persecution of the Montgomery movement proves this to be the fact. And now we have the disgusting spectacle of their cheap election-time maneuvers around

the pitiful civil rights proposals of the administration in Congress.

PROFITS AT STAKE

The Democrats and Republicans use their political power to maintain Jim Crow because they represent the interests of the capitalist class which profits from the Jim Crow system. That is why final victory for the Negro people can come only when the political power of white supremacy is defeated. And that can be accomplished only when the Negro people in alliance with the white workers build a Labor Party that can effectively challenge the two capitalist parties.

Those who advocate that the workers and the Negro people stick with the old parties can neither give aid to the struggles of today nor help to develop the correct political understanding necessary for the victory of tomorrow.

A union bureaucrat, an official of the NAACP, a Stalinist, who says "vote Democrat" cannot go all-out in effective support of the Montgomery movement. To do so would damage the Democratic candidates they are supporting. Nor can such people truthfully explain to politically awakening unionists and civil rights fighters the cause and cure for the Jim Crow system. To do so would expose the capitalist political game in which they are themselves so deeply involved.

But a socialist candidate like Dobbs, campaigning on a central plank of labor-Negro unity against the capitalists and their political representatives can plunge into the civil rights fight without any pressure to pull his punches. He can help strengthen the movement and at the same time point out the road that will lead to its victory.

Hear

The Trotskyist Analysis

of the

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- Joseph Hansen
Former Secretary to Leon Trotsky
- Farrell Dobbs
Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President
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What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

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