

Negro Bus Co. Denied Franchise In Montgomery

By George Lavan

The City Commission of Montgomery, Alabama, on April 2 denied an application by leaders of the city's historic, four-month bus boycott for a franchise for a bus line owned and operated by Negroes.

The delegation that appeared before the City Commissioners was headed by Rev. Martin L. King and was composed of other leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Rev. King was recently convicted under an anti-labor law of leading a boycott. The other leaders of the MIA have been indicted under the same law.

Nonetheless the white-supremacist City Commissioners sat and listened to the leaders of the most powerful Negro movement the South has yet produced. Then they argued that the present bus company gave "excellent service" and was adequate for all the people of Montgomery.

After the Commission's refusal of a franchise, Mayor W. A. Gayle told the Negro leaders that there was not enough passenger business in Montgomery to support two bus companies and proposed that they ask the present bus line to schedule buses solely for Negroes on certain routes. As to whether this would mean Negro drivers for those buses, the mayor declared: "That is up to the bus company altogether. It's their money and they have the right to hire whom they please."

The great bus protest of Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes began on Dec. 5. In mass meetings a three-point program was drawn up. It demanded: 1) Courteous treatment from drivers; 2) A first-come, first-served system by which Negroes would take seats from the rear and whites from the front — with the segregation line thus fixed by the actual

number of people seated; 3) Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

In the course of the struggle the MIA has filed a suit challenging the legality of segregation on the city transportation system.

The determination of Montgomery's Negro population, the strenuous walking of old and young alike for four months, has aroused world-wide admiration. No less impressive has been their organizational ability. On their own they have organized a car pool which in fact is a free, city-wide transportation system. The car pool has been maintained financially principally by the Negro people of Montgomery. Since the indictment of 93 leaders of the protest, however, some contributions from the North have supplemented the funds raised among the poorly paid Negro working people of the Deep South city.

Yet contributions from the labor movement have not been what they should be (see editorial below) and more money is sorely needed for the heavy legal expenses, operation of the car pool, and replacement of cars as they wear out from constant use.

DELIVERANCE DAY

Demonstrations of solidarity with the Montgomery protesters reached a high point on March 28, which had been declared a Day of Deliverance to aid the bus boycott and protest the mass indictment of its leaders. In meeting halls and churches throughout the country Negroes and their

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Aid Montgomery Car Pool Now!

An Editorial

The freedom fighters of Montgomery need help. They need it in the form of material aid — money and cars, preferably station wagons. They need cars to augment their car pool and money to operate it. They need it now!

The recent court verdict against the Reverend M. L. King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, was a signal for mounting pressure on the leaders of the Montgomery bus protest movement, by the Jim Crow city authorities.

The tremendous sympathy and support throughout the world evoked by the heroic struggle of the Negro people of Montgomery has impelled the authorities to seek a compromise. Their compromise offer would preserve the basic premise of segregation but would modify some of its uglier manifestations.

If the MIA is forced, through lack of organized support, to accept such a "compromise" settlement then the responsibility will rest primarily upon the leaders of the powerful trade union movement. It must be said that thus far the leaders of the organized labor movement have been derelict in their duty. It is their elementary obligation to mobilize the entire union movement in support of the Montgomery freedom fighters. For this fight is the fight of all labor. It is in the interest of labor to back it to the limit.

While the top leaders of labor are dragging their feet there are encouraging signs that the lower ranks and members are beginning to move. Reports are coming through from various parts of the country of membership collections and donations. It is only a matter of time before the union militants break through and prod their leaders into action. But time is of the essence. The important thing is to get the ball rolling — NOW! Send your donations to: Montgomery Improvement Association, 647 Clinton St., Montgomery 8, Ala.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX — No. 15

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cents

SWP Asks for Commission To Probe Stalin Frame-Ups

Jury Frees Phila. Westinghouse Strike Leaders

PHILADELPHIA, March 31 — Striking workers at the Lester Westinghouse plant were heartened when a jury acquitted nine union leaders of company inspired charges of riot, assault and battery. The workers belong to Local 107, United Electrical Workers (Ind.). The nine leaders, including the president, vice-president and business agent, had gone to jail rather than pay heavy bail fees and deprive strikers of badly needed relief benefits.

This action frees the union to concentrate on negotiating a strike settlement. The corporation has settled with every other plant in the chain except Local 107 where it is demanding special concessions.

The Lester factory makes steam turbines for power plants and ships. A large part of its production is on government or military orders. Since it is not a highly competitive field the margins of profit are high. Yet the corporation is demanding a new wage structure that would result in an average wage cut of 20%. Even though the men have been out for 166 days they are determined to resist the company demands.

Pointing to the key role of this plant, James J. Matles, UE Director, informed the press that Westinghouse had taken 18 months to prepare demands on Local 107 which they hoped would pave the way for deeper cuts throughout the chain. They also hoped to break the militancy of the union which has a reputation, not only of fighting for its own rights, but also of aiding other striking unions in the area.

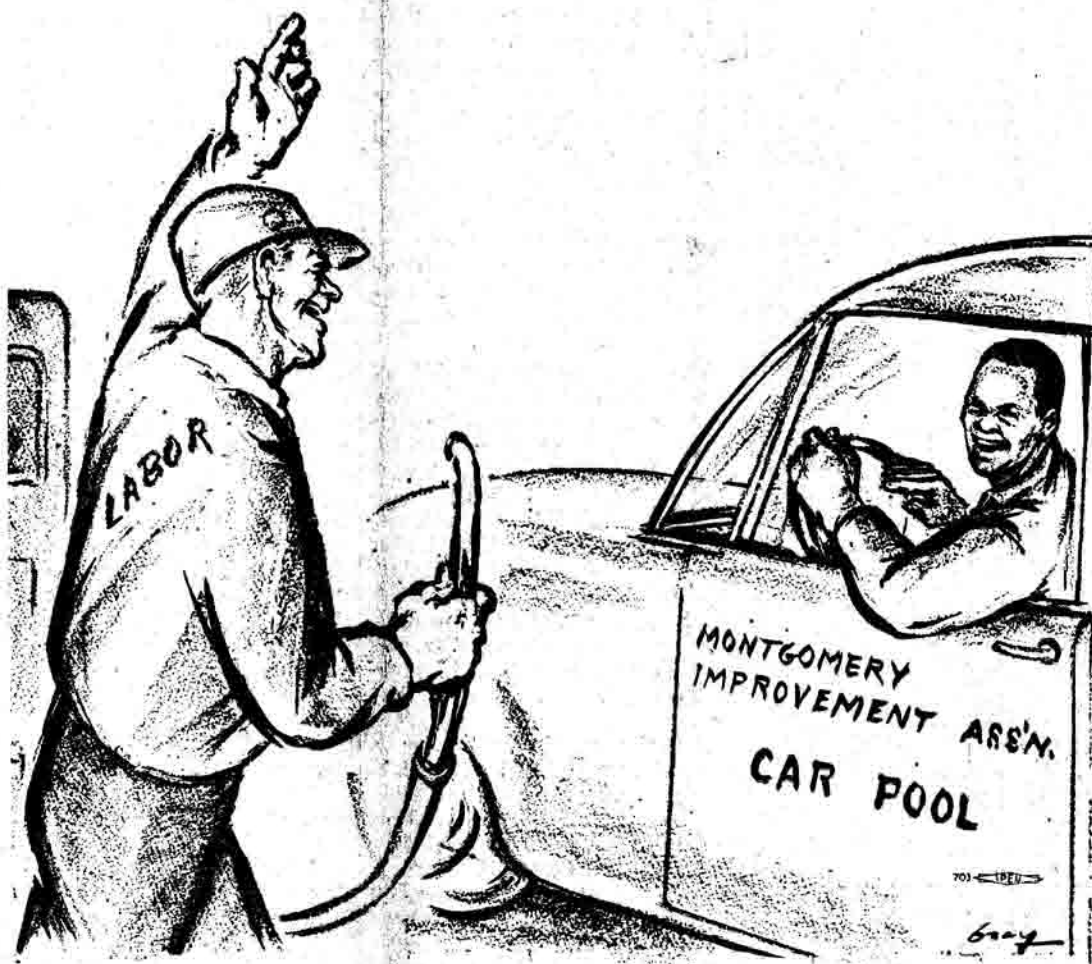
AFL-CIO GIVES AID

Recognizing the importance of the strike at Lester top leaders of all AFL-CIO unions in the Philadelphia area have come out in support of Local 107. "The combined AFL-CIO labor movement of the city of Philadelphia join in their condemnation of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation in refusing to extend to the workers of the Lester plant, the conditions and benefits extended to their other 106,000 employees," the joint union statement said.

Unions in the area have been contributing funds through their meetings and plant gate collections, to aid the strikers. Now a top committee of unionists in the Philadelphia area has been set up to raise funds.

Morale of the strikers has been high throughout the strike, in spite of company provocations, court actions and other harassment. With the backing of the other unions Local 107 members are determined to stick it out until they win.

Montgomery Protest — "Fill 'er up!"



Might Use U. S. Troops In Mid-East Says Dulles

By Carl Goodman

APRIL 5 — In another "brink of war" statement, Secretary of State Dulles said, April 3, that "in an emergency in the Middle East" United States forces might be sent into action without authority of Congress.

The Sixth U.S. Fleet is already stationed in the Eastern Mediterranean. Recently, the Eisenhower Administration sent an additional 1,800 Marines to reinforce it. With the rise of the national independence movement of the Arab peoples, spearheaded by the Egyptian government, U.S., British, and French imperialism — the overlords of the area — are getting increasingly itchy to intervene. The oil trusts have huge stakes in the Middle Eastern area and the State Department is ready to sacrifice untold numbers of lives — Arab, Israeli, French, English and American — to prevent the Arab peoples from reclaiming their own oil resources.

Where Dulles projected a straight "police action" on Truman's Korean model, Eisenhower, yesterday denied that he would ever commit U.S. troops in a war except by Congressional approval.

However, he immediately hedged on this stand, declaring, "Now, there are times when troops, to defend themselves, may have to be, you might say, undertake local warlike acts."

U.S. troops are posted all over the world — including the areas where the colonial revolution is at intense pitch. Under these conditions, it is not at all difficult when it suits Big Business' needs to claim they have been attacked and to precipitate a "police action."

CONGRESS VOTED WAR

But even if Eisenhower should resort to the formality of a Congressional vote, this is no deterrent to committing U.S. troops for repressive measures. Congress gave overwhelming support to Truman's war in Korea. Congress also voted (with only three votes against) last year a pre-emptive declaration of war against China in support of the expelled and discredited dictator, Chiang Kai-shek.

Eisenhower's weasel-worded assurances are designed to placate U.S. public opinion — especially in an election year. It would be a serious illusion to accept them as a genuine peace declaration.

What working people should demand is that all U.S. troops be immediately brought back home and that any question of war or peace be settled by the American people in a popular referendum.

While the issue of U.S. troops in the Middle East is being publicly debated, the U.S. government has already committed itself to support French imperialism militarily against the Algerian people's bid for national independence. On March 21, U.S. Ambassador to France, Dillon, stated that the "security" of Algeria was guaranteed by the North Atlantic Treaty of which U.S. is a member and indeed the moving force. By terms of the treaty, U.S. troops are committed to the "defense" of France.

The occasion for Dillon's remarks was his declaration endorsing the next day by Eisenhower — that the U.S. Government supported the French government's claim that Algeria is part of French territory. The Algerian people, however, want to form their own nation. More than 300,000 French troops — including NATO units — are seeking to crush their independence struggle.

Communist Party Gets Bid to Join in Asking Purge Trials Inquiry

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, April 3 — In a letter addressed yesterday to the American Communist Party, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary and presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, proposed that both organizations 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." (See letter printed below.)

The appeal for joint action came after the Daily Worker, April 2, had condemned, in an editorial statement, the "frame-up of Rajk and other Hungarian Communist leaders" as a "betrayal of the socialist movement."

László Rajk, Hungarian Foreign Minister, was executed in 1949 in a frame-up trial in which he "confessed" to having conspired with Marshall Tito to capture control of Hungary, assassinate Stalinist leader Matyas Rakosi, etc., etc.

Rajk was "rehabilitated" recently after study of the trial by a special commission appointed by the Hungarian Minister of Justice. The commission established that the execution of Rajk and his associates was a frame-up. In an address over the Budapest radio, Matyas Rakosi, First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, announced that the commission had "established that the trial had been based on provocation. For this reason the Supreme Court rehabilitated Comrade Rajk and other comrades. It also revised similar cases, rehabilitating those who had been condemned though innocent and granting amnesty to others."

The disclosure that the Rajk "confession" was a counterfeit is

a shattering blow to the whole Stalinist frame-up system. The "confession" provided the keystone of the system. Without the confession the entire structure collapses. Despite the overwhelming evidence brought to refute the fantastic charges in Stalin's numerous purge trials the stock rejoinder of Communist Party leaders was to point to the confession. But if the Rajk confession was a counterfeit what about the others?

Under the circumstances one can understand the sense of urgency which impelled the Daily

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STALIN

Proposal for Frame-Up Investigation

April 2, 1956

Communist Party U.S.A.
268 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.
Attention: Eugene Dennis, General Secretary

Comrades:

We note with satisfaction the editorial statement, "The Rajk Case," in the April 2 issue of the Daily Worker, condemning the "execution of innocent persons" as a "crime anywhere and by any standards." The editorial correctly characterizes such crimes as "the frame-up of Rajk and other Hungarian Communist leaders" as a "betrayal of the socialist movement."

It is a matter of record that in the United States we have a consistent record in defense of victims of the capitalist witch hunt and frame-up system. In the case of the Soviet Union our record is equally consistent. For example, we supported the world-famous Commission of Inquiry headed by the distinguished educator John Dewey that proved the Moscow Trials in the mid-Thirties to be frame-ups.

In the same Daily Worker editorial you assert the "right to demand that the investigations in Hungary and the Soviet Union shall be full and complete and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is." (Our emphasis.)

We assume the Daily Worker editorial coincides with the view of the Communist Party U.S.A. on this question. We therefore ask you to join with us 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. Only such a commission would be competent to conduct the "full and complete" investigation you propose.

It should be obvious that any investigation carried out by those closely associated with the imprisonment and execution of innocent persons would carry no weight with world working class opinion. The demand, therefore, for the creation of an impartial commission of inquiry composed of men and women of unquestioned integrity who command the confidence and respect of the world workers movement is a basic prerequisite for a "full and complete" investigation.

We further propose that this joint demand be submitted to the government of the Soviet Union.

Fraternally,
Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Trade Union Bureaucrats and the Leader Cult

By Morris Stein

The reputation of the Stalin cult at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, has confronted Communist Party leaders in the U.S. as elsewhere, with a number of knotty questions. The membership wants to know, among other things, how the Stalin cult arose, why it flourished so long and what was done about it by all those leaders now denouncing Stalin.

George Morris, labor columnist of the Daily Worker, came up with what might have been a sensible explanation if he had followed through with it. He compares the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union with the leader cult existing in some American trade unions. A number of the trade union heads have held their positions for a life time, and, says Morris, "Many of the present-day major leaders are so entrenched in their organizations, fortified by a clique of yes-men and bureaucratic machines, that it is virtually im-

possible to differ with them, much less to challenge them in office." (Daily Worker, March 27.)

A GOOD ANALOGY

The analogy between the Soviet Union and a bureaucratized trade union is a very good one. Trotskyists used it many times in explaining to workers why they should defend the Soviet Union in World War II against imperialist attack despite the crimes of Stalin.

A worker's own experience enables him to understand that he must not turn his back on his union when it is under bosses' attack even though it is dominated by a corrupt and dictatorial leadership. An advanced worker knows that the defense of his union is unconditional even when his struggle against the bureaucracy is unrelenting. But an advanced worker also knows that a successful union struggle in behalf of the workers and against the bosses requires a struggle for a correct program and for the full, demo-

cratic participation of the rank and file in union affairs, a struggle for a union free of the abuses and arbitrary rule of a bureaucratic dictatorship that lords it over the workers and grows fat at their expense.

Anyone truly concerned with the welfare of the Soviet Union could not by that very fact support or even tolerate Stalinist bureaucracy any more than he could support or tolerate the late Daniel Tobin or his successor Dave Beck's bureaucracy in the Teamster's Union. No one can support Beck and claim at the same time concern for the interests of the truck drivers. . .

BACKERS OF BUREAUCRATS

Yet this is precisely the role George Morris has played. He has been not only one of the most zealous in promoting the Stalin cult but in supporting the Tobin bureaucracy when in 1941 it waged war to dislodge the left-wing leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters and impose its own dictatorial rule on unwilling workers. These workers

had experienced a truly democratic union led by devoted, courageous men and wanted to safeguard their gains.

George Morris' unswerving adherence to the Stalin cult which has been in conflict with the interests of the Soviet masses — prepared him for service in behalf of the trade union bureaucracy against the interests of the American workers every time the party line demanded it.

The "line" now requires the repudiation of the Stalin cult. The party ranks demand answers to pertinent questions. The trade union analogy can assist greatly in understanding the interrelationship between the defense of the workers' interests, the struggle against bureaucracy and the struggle against the capitalists.

But George Morris refuses to follow through on his analogy. He brings it up only to muddle the question. His complaint against the top union bureaucrats is that "their judgement is warped by advanced age, in-

ability to pace the times, and inclination to look back rather than ahead. Even their close friends hardly dare advise them. In fact the yes-people help to build up an infallibility for the personalities around whom they dance, and in time they themselves believe that the strength and unity of their organization is tied up with the maintenance of a god-like authority for the president who can do no wrong."

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

According to Morris then, the leader cult arises as an aberration of aging and arbitrary individual leaders. But why should identical aberrations occur in the Soviet Union and in the American unions? And where are we going to find leaders immune from such dangers?

It goes without saying that Morris' explanations have nothing in common with Marxist analysis. The leader cult is not an individual but a social phenomenon. And Marxists always start from an explanation of the material base in the analysis of social

phenomena. The leader cult in a trade union arises invariably out of a privileged bureaucracy which uses the cult of the leader to secure its positions of power and maintain its privileges.

To succeed the trade union bureaucracy must free itself of democratic control by the ranks. It views the democratic participation of workers in the life of the union as an ever-present threat to its existence. The cult of the individual leader is therefore counterposed to democratic workers' rule and is imposed on the workers by means of deception, fraud, intimidation and terror.

This is also how the Stalin cult arose in the Soviet Union and for the same basic reasons.

The only safeguard against bureaucracy and the cult of the individual is workers' democracy. A renunciation of the Stalin cult must therefore be accompanied by a struggle for the greatest possible unfoldment of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

Farm Unrest Helps Kefauver

By George Lavan

The shift in sentiment of small and middle-sized farmers from the Republican to the Democratic Party, that was announced in clarion tones in the Minnesota primaries is further borne out by the results of the Wisconsin primaries and the milk strike of dairy farmers in Michigan.

Though Eisenhower polled the higher vote in Wisconsin, it was not as high as had been expected. Kefauver, on the other hand, polled a larger vote than had been expected. The explanation lies in the shift of votes to the Democratic column in counties where small farmers, who feel the pinch of the farm "depression" most, are leaving the Republican Party despite Eisenhower's much-touted popularity.

Another manifestation of discontent among farmers is the militant strike just concluded by a rebel organization of dairy farmers from the area that supplies Detroit with milk. The fight was to force the big dairy companies to pay a higher price for the bulk milk which they buy cheap from the farmers and sell dear to the consumers. It is noteworthy that farm policies of both the Truman and Eisenhower regimes have favored the big farmers and the processing companies in the dishing out of price-support and other subsidies. The small farmers have been fighting for a more equitable share of federal subsidies to those who need it most and against the gouging they take from the Big Business food-processing companies.

LIKE DEPRESSION DAYS

The scenes in Michigan were reminiscent of the depression days and the militant Farm Holiday Association. Farmers stopped milk trucks, sent them back. Battles with the state cops ensued and in some instances milk flowed over the highways.

The Minnesota and Wisconsin primaries plus the dairy farmers' action in Michigan undoubtedly caused Eisenhower's hint to his April 4 press conference that he will sign the farm bill which White House sources up till now have said he wouldn't. It's not that the bill will make the small farmers happy, but that Eisenhower's alternative "flexible support" plan with its smaller subsidies would have enraged them more. It is very doubtful that even this election-year concession will mollify the small farmers. It must be remembered that in the midst of what the administration is ballyhooing as the country's greatest prosperity, farm families' income has dropped over 20%.

Naturally small farmers have suffered most. Senator Kefauver is the main political beneficiary of the rural discontent. In his Minnesota campaign he talked like an agrarian radical with denunciations of Wall Street and a promise of 100% parity for farmers with incomes below \$7,000 a year. The promise of some measure to alleviate their financial plight caused the Minnesota farmers to choose Kefauver over Adlai Stevenson as a vehicle for expressing their discontent. Added to this was the fact that Stevenson's campaign strategy of being squarely in the middle of the road on every issue alienated workers and farmers who like candidates to seem to be for something positive.

FREE TO PROMISE

Kefauver's principal disadvantage in his bid for the presidency is that he has neither the seniority-dominated Southern machines, nor the Northern big city machines, nor the Northern liberals behind him. Precisely this gives him the freedom to engage in demagogic impossible this year for Stevenson. Kefauver has nothing to lose and all to gain. Stevenson can't be unequivocally for anything or he will alienate either the South or the Northern liberal-labor leaders.

This in Florida last week Kefauver was able to appear, in comparison with Stevenson, as a politician unafraid to take a stand on desegregation. Actually Kefauver's statement was quite mild — that the Supreme Court's ruling could not be nullified and that people should begin "a grass-roots dialogue" looking toward solution of the problem.

A year ago such a statement would have passed unnoticed. The cowardly silence of Northern Democratic liberals in the face of the Southern Democratic counter-attack on the Supreme Court's school decision makes Kefauver's Florida speeches seem not only newsworthy but courageous. That Kefauver will gain support from workers, farmers and Negroes appears certain. Not realizing yet that only a Labor Party can fulfill their political aspirations they still believe their problems can be solved through the Democratic Party.

Whether they will actually go through the bitter experience of seeing Kefauver in office or as Democratic presidential nominee violates his current promises, is another question. Democratic as well as Republican conventions are dominated by party machines, not by the primary voters. So far the bosses of the various component parts of the Democratic Party are against Kefauver. Unless he can arrive at a deal with them it is unlikely that he will get the nomination despite the fact that Democratic voters prefer him.

APRIL SELECTION BOOK-A-MONTH PLAN

FETTERED FREEDOM. A Discussion of Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy in the United States, 1830 to 1860. By Russel B. Nye. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1949, 273 pp., \$4.00 (April Book-A-Month price \$1.00 plus 15 cents postage.)

Each great social struggle in this country has involved a struggle to preserve the Bill of Rights. For the ruling classes and their politicians in office have invariably violated the Constitution's guarantee of freedom in the attempt to suppress the movement for social reform or revolution.

While this may be crystal clear to many today who observed the tattered state of the Bill of Rights under the witch hunt, it is not fully appreciated about struggles of the past. Nor is it also realized that in past struggles many people first defended and then joined the social crusaders largely on the basis of preserving civil liberties. As the struggle progressed they came to see that the fate of liberties gained in the past were bound up with the fate of the minority movement fighting for the extension of freedom.

In no case was this truer than in the case of the anti-slavery movement, as professor Nye so well demonstrates in his outstanding book, "Fettered Freedom."

JOHN Q. ADAMS'S ROLE

For the North the anti-slavery movement was as much a civil liberties question as a slavery question. Indeed what first made Abolitionism a national issue in American politics was the suppression of their right to petition Congress and to send their petitions through the mails. Nye recounts in detail the story of ex-President John Quincy Adams's masterful strategy in the petition fight. Adams was not an

Abolitionist but he fought like a tiger to defend their constitutional right to petition. The story of that fight in Congress makes the recent McCarthy period in Congress seem almost tame by comparison.

The suppression of academic freedom and the fight of students and professors to restore it was also an important part of the anti-slavery struggle. So it was with all the other issues which recur today — freedom of the press, free speech, vigilantism, etc. Today's witch hunters have discovered little new. All their acts, tricks and propaganda were used by the slave power and its Northern allies in the year 1830-1860. Yet they were unavailing.

LIBERTY PREVAILED

This is what makes this book so important for the reader today. It shows how the imposing power of the rulers of society and their control of the government apparatus could not in the end prevail against social change and the determination of the American people to preserve political liberty. This is a lesson that should not be forgotten in moments of discouragement today.

"Fettered Freedom" will not only give the reader an inspiring account of a vital period in U.S. history and the history of the Negro people, it will also shed new light on the period we are living in.

By Robert Chester

We have seen how automation has served to speed up every contradiction of capitalism. Workers will be faced with unemployment, speed up and attacks on their standard of living. Capitalists will be faced with the crisis of production, saturation of their markets and cuts in their rate of profit.

Automation has raised deep-going concern in the unions. Speaking to the Senate-Economic Subcommittee Walter Reuther claimed: "We already need to create three and a half million jobs a year just to hold our own in keeping purchasing power in balance with production."

Reuther asked the subcommittee for "adequate cushions and

safeguards to make the transition in an orderly and evolutionary manner." He proposed an eight-point program: reduction in the work week to 35 or 30 hours in the coming decade; earlier retirement; increased social services; increased consumer purchasing power; aid to small business; retraining displaced workers; assistance to distressed areas; and price policies that will "share" the benefits of automation among all groups in the population.

This program of "cushions" is not intended as a solution to the fundamental contradictions raised by technical advances under capitalism. Reuther believes they can solve themselves. "I am firmly convinced," he told the subcommittee, "that our economy can adjust to the challenge of automation, if we use foresight and the combined wisdom of private groups and government."

On the Job



John "Scotty" Simpson eats his first lunch at the Pittsburgh Westinghouse plant after picketing in front of it for 156 days. Workers won annual increases of five to 22 cents per hour on a five year contract.

BOSSES WANT FREE HAND

However, Reuther's limited demands were fought bitterly by the employers. They demanded instead to be allowed a free hand in introducing automation as they saw fit. They threatened that, "if union leadership continues to demand wage increases, which discount in advance the savings to be made by automation, reductions in price will be impossible." They fought adamantly against every proposal to shorten hours of work.

The subcommittee granted all the employers' requests. They recommended none of Reuther's proposals but recommended instead that "no specific broad-gauge economic legislation appears to be called for." This doing nothing recommendation leaves the employers free to calculate how best to use automation for their own advantage; namely, how to reap greater profits now and weaken the unions in preparation to smash them—if they can.

All the requirements for a completely new level of production are present in modern technology. For example, the Nov. 28, 1955 issue of Union News, the Oil and Chemical Workers Journal, describes a new oil plant now in the planning stage. A central computer will receive market reports from several cities in the surrounding area. From the data the computer will analyze the reports and deter-

mine the needs of the coming period. It will then schedule the plant's production giving "orders" for the required types and quantities of oil to the central control board which will then automatically carry out the production. Automation here extends beyond the factory, integrating the productive process continuously to the needs of an area.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

Major department stores now use computers to assemble statistics of daily sales as they take place. When supplies are depleted automatic running inventories "notify" the "electronic clerks" which replenish the stocks through automatic feeder systems.

Expand these two examples to the manifold production and distribution systems now possible through automation and the full possibilities are immediately apparent. Production rates can leap upwards while necessary labor time shows tremendous declines. If the country's productive and distribution systems were integrated into a planned economy, using the latest technology, a four-hour, or even two-hour day for all workers would be a practical possibility.

But as long as the capitalist class remains in control of industry, the alternatives of economic crisis or atomic war loom as the only future for the American people. The great technical achievements of World War II, atomic energy and automatic controls, were developed with government funds out of taxes paid by all the people. Yet these acquisitions are appropriated by the capitalists as if they had a God-given right to them. It is necessary that workers demand that they benefit from the great achievements they helped make possible.

As a first step they must demand that workers do not bear the brunt of technological changes. The slogan of "30 for 40," 30-hours work at 40-hours pay, already a demand of the auto workers, must become general for all industry. With rapidly growing productivity there is no reason why it cannot be instituted right now.

There is no reason why workers replaced by machines should suffer. Society should maintain all those willing to work. Labor

has a right to demand full wages for the duration of unemployment.

Nor is there any reason for the crisis in education that now exists. The wealthiest country in the world should be able to find the means to provide enough teachers and training facilities. Workers needing retraining because of displacement should be retrained at government expense and, where necessary, on the job.

There should be no such thing as "overproduction" as long as workers and farmers throughout the world need the things our factories and farms can produce. A program of full production for use and not for profit will aid us, as well as workers in other countries, to break through the barriers that separate the world into warring camps.

As long as both Big Business parties, Democrat and Republican, remain in control of the government, workers can have no prospect of peace and plenty. There is only one way to break the stranglehold of Big Business, and that is to form a party based on the organizations of working people, working farmers and oppressed racial minorities. A Labor Party, based on these organizations, can combine all their demands into a unified political drive aimed at changing the government now run by Big Business into a Workers and Farmers Government.

BENEFITS OF PLANNING

Once in power, a Workers and Farmers Government can proceed to reorganize the country under workers' control. Under the leadership of committees elected by the workers and drawing upon the best technical talent in the country, a planned reorganization of the whole industrial system can be made. Production based on automation will leap forward at a pace never seen before.

A world of peace and security, of leisure and culture, of maximum freedom for the individual combined with the greatest cooperation between all the people can only be a dream as long as capitalism exists. Through a Workers and Farmers Government the dream can be made a reality. It is up to us to fight for it, organize for it and win it.

... Montgomery Bus Protest

(Continued from page 1)

allies in the fight against Jim Crow gathered to hear speeches, pray, and donate to the heroic freedom fighters in "the Cradle of the Confederacy."

The largest meeting took place in Los Angeles' Olympic Auditorium. There 10,000 people responded to the call of a Minister's Committee, the NAACP, the AFL-CIO and other organizations. Principal speaker was Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, a leader of the MIA. He told the enthusiastic audience: "For the first time in the history of this country since the Civil War, the Southern white man is confronted by a new Negro... a prepared Negro, unafraid, not pleading, but demanding his rights." Abernathy emphasized that "we are not going to leave Alabama. We're going to receive our rights if we have to fight like hell to get them." A collection of \$3,000 for the MIA was taken up.

In New York over 4,000 people filled Manhattan Center and overflowed into a hall in a nearby hotel to observe Deliverance Day. They listened to a succession of preachers, including Congressman Powell, invoke divine aid for the Montgomery protest. Main speaker was E. D. Nixon, treasurer of the MIA and a veteran of the Southern labor movement. Nixon gave a prepared address, recounting the history of the protest.

At the end of the speech he spoke extemporaneously and roused the audience to its greatest pitch of enthusiasm, when he declared the protest "has lifted the Negro everywhere and gave him courage to stand on his feet and be counted."

"It would have made your heart proud to see them stand up in court down there in Montgomery," said Nixon, "and tell them how they treated us and kicked us around. I'm here to tell you the

true facts as they exist. We got tired of it and we decided we were going to take a stand for right, whether we lived to see the next day or not. And if we all go to jail, we ain't gonna ride them buses." A collection of \$3,000 was taken for the MIA.

A Deliverance Day meeting in Newark, N. J., was sponsored by the NAACP, the CIO and 28 other organizations. Speakers were former federal Judge J. Waties Waring of South Carolina, and the noted Negro sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier. Judge Waring, a native Southerner, ruled in 1944 that Negroes could vote in the Democratic primaries. He continued his support of civil rights despite threats and ostracism until his resignation in 1952, when the aged judge moved to New York. Waring told the Newark audience that Montgomery's significance was that "the Negro is standing solidly on his feet in the Deep South and saying, 'I am a citizen and I am not afraid.'"

EARLIER MEETINGS

The March 28 meetings were preceded in many parts of the country by earlier meetings in support of Montgomery. Thus in New York the ministers' committee, headed by Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, held mass meetings in Harlem every Sunday for a month. In Brooklyn over 3,000 people turned out to hear and cheer Rev. Martin B. King on March 25 a few days after his trial.

Another big rally on March 25

was held in Oakland, Cal., under the auspices of the NAACP and several church organizations. Rev. Joshua Hayes, one of the indicted leaders of the MIA, was the guest speaker.

Typical of the successful rallies held in the period before Deliverance Day was one in Trenton, N. J., attended by 3,000. Impressed by the power of the Negro people evidenced in their mass turnouts, local politicians are trying to curry favor. The Mayor of Trenton, for example, not only spoke at the meeting but announced he was sponsoring a

resolution in the City Council protesting the indictment of the boycott leaders. Only a few years ago the politicians of Trenton were almost solidly behind the infamous Jim Crow frame-up of the Trenton Six.

Meetings in support of Montgomery have been too numerous to list here. More are planned to give continuing support to the heroic movement of that city's Negro population. Such support must be kept up, not only through meetings and collections, but by bringing union locals in the North morally and financially behind it.

Hear Trotsky Defense At Newark CP Rally

NEWARK, April 2 — "If you really want to return to Leninism, you will have to study the writings of Leon Trotsky," Daniel Roberts, local chairman of the Socialist

Workers Party, told a principally Stalinist audience last Friday night. Roberts spoke in the discussion period at a public meeting on the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The meeting was under the auspices of the Free Press Association. The featured speaker was Martha Stone, N. J. Chairman of the Communist Party.

"For years your leaders have raised a wall of hatred and violence against Trotsky's ideas," Roberts said. CP members have been expelled for reading his books. He was slandered as a fascist agent and counter-revolutionary spy. This was based on the Moscow Trials of the 1930's. But the whole confession system on which these trials rested now stands exposed as a tissue of lies. In Hungary, Rajk "confessed" to conspiracy against the Hungarian and Soviet governments and was hanged. However, he has now been exonerated, discrediting the whole Stalinist system of frame-up-by-confession."

Roberts introduced himself as a "socialist opponent of the Communist Party" after the chairman had invited discussion from CP members, friends and even opponents in the socialist movement.

"Frame-ups in a worker's state deserve the special condemnation of advanced workers because they give the socialist cause a black eye before the working

class as a whole," Lillian Kiesel, who also spoke as a Socialist opponent of the CP, told the audience. "Leon Trotsky was serving the interests of the Soviet Union and the world working class when he denounced Stalin's Moscow Trial frame-ups as a betrayal of socialism." She was replying to a member of the audience who had said in effect that progressives in the U.S. should concentrate on exposing capitalist frame-ups such as the Sacco-Vanzetti, Joe Hill and Rosenberg executions.

"Don't place the slightest confidence in Khrushchev, Bulganin and the rest of Stalin's heirs," Comrade Kiesel continued. "They carried out all his orders when he was alive. They were his henchmen. The only reason they now denounce Stalin's crimes is to appease the Soviet working class which wants political liberties and will make a political revolution to get them." She cited the East German uprising of 1953 as an example.

The audience heard Comrades Roberts and Kiesel attentively, but a rabid Trotsky-baiting speech was made from the floor and another by Martha Stone in her summary. Most of the other speakers confined their remarks to attacking the Stalin cult. Copies of the March 26 Militant with James P. Cannon's speech on the Death of the Stalin Cult were distributed to the meeting.

South Africa Also Had Bus Boycott

By John Thayer

The heroic protest of the Negro people of Montgomery, now in its 19th week, against brutal and humiliating treatment on that city's buses brings to mind similar great struggles of the past.

One of the most inspiring boycotts of our generation was also against a bus company, and was also carried out by Negro people. This was in South Africa in the last year of World War II.

It was in Johannesburg, the main city of the Union of South Africa, where 80% of the people are Negro or colored and are ruled by a lily-white minority fully as vicious as the Mississippi white supremacists.

Wartime prosperity had increased the influx of African workers from the countryside to the industries of Johannesburg. The already overcrowded "location" compulsory Jim-Crow neighborhoods were bursting at the seams. The Negro people began to show a greater self-confidence by such actions as building illegal trade unions, taking over empty land near a location and building their own shantytown on it.

The racist ruling class sensed the Negroes' new mood and began a terror campaign. The newspapers whipped up a hysteria about a Negro crime wave, such as is commonly done by the press in this country. The press portrayed all criminals as Africans and all Africans as criminals. Particular vindictiveness was expressed toward returning black soldiers, who were charged with forgetting their "place" and "spooling" other Africans with their ideas. Letters to the papers openly urged lynchings.

POLICE TERROR

The police imposed a reign of terror on the Negro population. Mass raids, beatings, savage sentences were meted out. In a single day 10,000 Negro men and women were arrested. Yet the terror failed to break the fighting spirit of the masses. Sporadic demonstrations singing songs against the pass laws took place. Strikes of Negro workers occurred in various parts of the country in defiance of Emergency Regulation 145, which forbade African striking.

Then rumors began to circulate about a big bus boycott to be started by the people of Nandi township. Nandi was the largest of the Jim Crow locations outside Johannesburg. Some 20,000 people, about a quarter of its population, commuted daily by bus to work in Johannesburg. In addition to factory workers, commercial employees and domestics, large numbers of women went to

the city to pick up laundry which they carried home and then delivered back to the customers.

The bus company servicing Nandi charged Africans a penny higher fare than it did whites, even though the former were paid starvation wages. So low were the Africans' wages that the round-trip bus fare took 15% of their average wage.

During the last winter of the war, the profit-greedy bus line announced a fare increase of yet another penny, two-pence on holidays. The people of Nandi warned the bus company that they would not pay the outrageous increase. They declared they would boycott the buses and walk rather than submit to the gouge. But the bus officials refused to listen — there was no other bus line — Johannesburg was fifteen miles away — what could the Africans do but submit?

WHITES ASTOUNDED

They and the rest of the whites were thunderstruck, and the Negro and colored peoples of South Africa inspired, when the workers of Nandi refused to ride the buses. Twenty thousand Africans walked fifteen miles to work in the morning and fifteen miles back at night. And they did this for five weeks. Nandi women walked with the clothesbaskets on their heads. Workers had to get up at three in the morning to get to the factory bench on time. They did not get home until nine or ten in the evening.

There was no car pool as in Montgomery, but those few colored who had cars and some whites ("subversives" as the government called them) voluntarily patrolled the fifteen-mile line of marchers picking up the aged and infirm. Nor were there mass meetings since assemblies of more than ten Africans were against the law.

This boycott was one of the most heroic actions carried out by the people of Africa and it gives promise of the deeds of self-sacrifice and devotion they will show in their coming battles for freedom. Resolutely they stuck to their order until the bus company rescinded the fare increase.

It is not only a foretaste of the future in Africa that the Nandi boycotters won, it is also a forecast of the coming victory of the bus protesters in Alabama.

Hook Slanders Victims Of Stalin Purge Trials

By Daniel Roberts

On April 1 the New York Times published a letter from Sidney Hook, recalling the International Commission of Inquiry, which in 1938 made a thorough examination

of the Moscow Trials. The committee was headed by Prof. John Dewey, world renowned liberal philosopher. Its verdict was that the Moscow Trial defendants — Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and numerous other collaborators of Lenin — had been framed up by Stalin.

In throwing overboard the Stalin cult, says Hook, "the present rulers of the Kremlin are well on the way to confirm these judgments" of the commission. Hook, a prominent supporter of Wall Street's aim to "liberate" the Soviet Union by restoring capitalism, is now worried that revolutionary socialism will be the gainer from the Kremlin's exposure of Stalin's crimes. That is why he claims credit only for the liberals who served on the Dewey Commission, and slanders the Trotskyist victims of the trials. They share guilt with their executioner, Stalin, for his bloody deeds, is his monstrous accusation.

"Potentially the largest group, within and without the Soviet Union, are those who see in the exposure of Stalin's lunacy a vindication of Lenin and Bolshevik-Leninism," admits Hook. Then, he argues, "Without denying the difference in stature between Lenin, Trotsky and Bukharin on the one hand, and Stalin on the other, it should not be forgotten that Stalin was made possible by the system of ideas and institutions introduced by Lenin. Stalin may not have been Lenin's legitimate heir: he is none the less his legitimate offspring."

A STUBBORN FACT

But Hook will have a hard time reconciling his thesis that Leninism begot Stalinism and that Trotskyism and Stalinism are twins with the enthusiastic support major sections of the U.S. capitalist class gave to the Moscow trials. Hook himself cites the

fact without explaining it. Yet there is no mystery to it: the U.S. capitalists welcomed Stalin's blood purges against his revolutionary opponents. They, no less than he, desired the extirpation of the last traces of the "ideas and institutions introduced by Lenin." These included workers' democracy and socialist internationalism.

Wall Street's rulers saw in Stalin a gunner for them against the world revolution. They maintained their friendship with the Soviet bureaucracy until 1947 when they began World War III preparations to restore capitalism in the USSR. It was then the U.S. State Department proclaimed as gospel truth the lie that Stalinism and Leninism were the same.

But as Hook admits, the working people "within and without the Soviet Union" see the difference. All his dishonest arguments will fail to convince them that U.S. imperialism rather than Leninism is the valid alternative to the Stalinist tyranny.

Chicago Meet to Aid Montgomery Bus Protest

Hear

FARRELL DOBBS

SWP Candidate for President Just returned from Montgomery, Ala. Trial of bus protest leaders

Friday, April 13, at 8 P. M. SWP Hall: 777 W. Adams Admission Free. Proceeds will go to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Philadelphia Meet to Aid Montgomery Bus Protest

Eyewitness Speakers

Just Returned from Alabama

Tom Kerry,

Militant Staff Writer

Dr. Lonnie Cross,

Negro Educator.

Chairman: Herbert Lewin

U.S. Senatorial Candidate

of the Militant Workers Party

Saturday, April 14, at 8 P. M.

Militant Labor Forum

1303 W. Girard Ave.

Donation: 50c. Proceeds will go to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

San Francisco FRANCES JAMES

S. F. Chairman of the SWP

will speak on

Organized Labor and the

Desegregation Movement

Chairman: Frank Barbara

Sat., April 14, at 8:30 P. M.

At 307 S. Van Ness Ave.

All proceeds will go to the

Montgomery Improvement Association in Alabama.

Uncover Accomplice of Trotsky's Killers

By Joseph Hansen

Did Mark Zborowski, co-author of a popular ethnic study of Jewish life in Poland, "Life Is With People," participate in Stalin's organization of the murder of Leon Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov?

This question has been raised by two contributors to the Social Democratic magazine The New Leader. One of them, David J. Dallin, who has known Zborowski personally for more than two decades, strongly suggests that the admitted NKVD agent is guilty of complicity in the two crimes.

According to Henry Kassin, writing in the Nov. 21 issue of The New Leader, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been probing the case of this agent of the Kremlin's secret police, who has been a resident of New York since 1941.

"Zborowski's exposure," says Kassin, "traces to a former high official of the NKVD, who states that in Paris during the Spanish Civil War he learned of the existence of 'Etienne,' a Soviet agent then assigned to penetrate Trotskyist organizations. Because of Stalin's obsession with Trotskyism in this period, 'Etienne's' communications were read personally by the late Soviet dictator. Now 'Etienne' has been identified as Zborowski, and he has confessed to having worked for the NKVD."

FIRST ASSIGNMENT

The agent's first assignment was with a Soviet-financed emigre group in Paris. Kassin outlines his subsequent activities up to 1941 as follows:

"From 1934 till the war Zborowski worked among the Trotskyites, gradually moving through the French Trotskyite group into the smaller Russian group headed by Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov. Ultimately Zborowski was let into many important secrets of Trotsky's organization. He read many letters to and from Trotsky, met Trotskyite leaders from various countries, and participated in conferences of the 'Fourth International.' He regularly reported at length, orally and in writing, to the NKVD on the activities of Trotsky, Sedov and their followers. Regine Zborowski, his wife, was aware of his services to the NKVD."

"The NKVD planned to kidnap Sedov and take him to Russia; Zborowski was slated for an important role in these plans. When Sedov fell ill in February 1938, Zborowski notified the NKVD of the hospital to which he had been taken. Sedov died a few days later."

"Earlier, on November 7, 1936, Trotsky's archives were stolen from the International Institute for Social History, 7 Rue Michodet, Paris. A long investigation by the French police proved fruitless. Now Zborowski admits that, after helping to bring the archives to the Institute, he informed the NKVD, which organized the burglary on the basis of his report."

"Zborowski also figured in the case of Ignace Reiss, high NKVD official who defected in Holland in July 1937 and was murdered by the NKVD in Switzerland two months later. During those months, the NKVD had Reiss shadowed and the assassination organized. Zborowski reported that Reiss would arrive in Reims on a certain day, and the NKVD sent the murder gang to the railway station."

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT

"When General Walter Krivitsky, another high Soviet agent, defected in Paris in the fall of 1937, Zborowski met him through Sedov and reported on all his moves. The NKVD tried unsuccessfully to slay Krivitsky at the Marseilles railway station."

"Zborowski was probably involved also in the disappearance of former German Communist Rudolf Klement ('Frederick'), Secretary of the Fourth International, who vanished in Paris in July 1938. Both Trotsky and the press accused the NKVD of having done away with Klement. 'Zborowski and his family were in France when the Nazis occupied Paris. But in December 1941 they succeeded in reaching the U.S.; they were naturalized in 1948.'"

During the war his "first assignments here were among Russian emigres and Trotskyites." He then shifted to other fields.

To one acquainted with the known facts in the cases referred to, what is most remarkable about Kassin's article is the paucity of fresh information. For instance, Zborowski "figured" in the case of Ignace Reiss. How? "Zborowski reported (to the NKVD) that Reiss would arrive in Reims on a certain day, and the NKVD sent the murder gang to the railway station." But the Swiss police who captured some of the NKVD murderers of Reiss reported about such attempts that fell through. Zborowski says nothing concerning the successful plan.

The key role in the killing of Reiss was played by Gertrude



LEON SEDOV

Schildbach, who lured the former member of the NKVD into a trap at Lausanne. She then disappeared from sight never to be heard of again. Does Zborowski, as an NKVD agent intimately involved in the case, know what happened to her?

The only new information we have is the part Zborowski admits to in sending a single report. However, we cannot even be sure of that, for Dallin, writing in the March 19 New Leader, says that Zborowski "was the only person who could have told the NKVD about Reiss' plans to go to Reims Could have? We are left in the dark as to whether Zborowski actually admitted complicity in organizing the murder of Reiss."

MORE VAGUENESS

The same uncertainty holds concerning his admissions of com-

placency in the murder of Leon Sedov. According to Kassin, Zborowski "notified the NKVD of the hospital" to which Sedov had been taken. Dallin, however, declares: "When he fell ill, Zborowski called an ambulance and, no doubt, gave the NKVD the address of the hospital, which was staffed by Russian emigres." No doubt? Is that all? Then we do not have a single new fact about the actual organization of Sedov's assassination although this NKVD agent admits to gaining Sedov's confidence!

Only in the case of a lesser crime, the theft of 15 bundles of Trotsky's archives from the International Institute of Social History in 1936 is the information more specific:

"Zborowski was unhappy about this," declares Dallin. "In the first place, it was a piece of unfinished business. Secondly, it could expose him. Today, he tells this story:

"When I heard about the burglary, I rushed to my NKVD chief and vehemently protested, because this could expose me as a spy. Only four persons knew the archives' whereabouts. I was one of them; the three others were out of the question. The answer I received was: 'We never inform our agents about a forthcoming operation because, being nervous, they may betray us. Besides, we had to get hold of the documents that night to make our present to Stalin.'"

SPECIFIC ITEMS

Dallin is specific about the following items:

(1) "Posing as a dedicated Trotskyite, Zborowski became a close 'friend' of Leon Sedov—so close that he came to read all his important documents."

(2) "In July 1936, a secret conference of Trotsky's Fourth International met in Paris. Ironically enough, Sedov assigned

Zborowski to meet the arriving delegates and escort them to the secret meeting place. Zborowski now admits having reported on this conference to the NKVD."

(3) "When Krivitsky left Stalin's service, he turned for assistance to Sedov—who promptly appointed Zborowski as his bodyguard. Zborowski now admits he was reporting to the NKVD on where Krivitsky spent his time, whom he was seeing, and so on."

These admissions apparently were forced from Zborowski because of the revelations of another agent of Stalin's secret political police who defected in 1938 and came to New York. Dallin does not reveal his real name, identifying him simply by the pseudonym "Nick Pavlov." It was Pavlov, he says, who tried to warn Trotsky that the Kremlin had succeeded in placing an agent high in the organization of the Fourth International in Europe.

Zborowski's admissions are sufficient to indicate that he knows far more about the operations of Stalin's professional killers than he has confessed to so far.

Kassin and Dallin are correct in concluding that Zborowski was probably involved in the murder of Rudolf Klement, Erwin Wolf and Leon Sedov. "Although his exploits in the subsequent years in France are not known in precise detail, there can be little doubt that he played a role in the final blows inflicted on Trotsky and his associates between 1938 and 1940."

Whether he actually met Frank Jackson, the Kremlin agent who later drove a pickaxe into Trotsky's brain is not known, says Dallin, "but we may be certain that his information was essential for the operation."

COVERING UP

Zborowski claims that after 1938 he did "almost" no work

for the NKVD and had "few and irregular" meetings with his chiefs. Dallin links this date with the last of Pavlov's reports and indicates his belief that Zborowski is covering up.

Dallin reports that Zborowski attempted to become his secretary, that he moved into the same building Dallin lived in, and that through him Zborowski came to know Kravchenko. "On the advice of his friends, Kravchenko made every effort to conceal himself; but, thanks to Zborowski, the NKVD was aware of his movements at all times."

Dallin also stresses the fact that Zborowski "never elected to make a clean breast. Not even his closest friends knew about his role as a spy until Nick Pavlov revealed the facts. Interrogated by the FBI in the fall of 1954, he denied everything."

During the Senate subcommittee investigation it became evident that Zborowski's circle of friends still includes Stalinists. He was represented at the hearings by Herman A. Greenberg, "who once defended Hannes Eisler and was until recently a member of the Communist-party law firm of Greenberg, Forer and Rein."

It thus appears evident that Zborowski is a genuine NKVD agent who was deeply implicated in Stalin's campaign of murder against the Fourth International. Trapped by accident, he seems to have made the least possible damaging admissions and to be withholding really important information. As Dallin declares, "His entire testimony is a tissue of clever evasions, well thought out by a good legal mind."

At the same time the little he has confessed adds one more piece to the mountain of evidence condemning Stalin as the most sinister figure history has yet seen. Truth marches slowly but it does march on.

The Cause Is Uncorrupted

Once again, Wall Street's propagandists seek to discredit the socialist cause by smearing it with Stalin's crimes. Pointing to the junking of the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union, the Voice of America said in a recent broadcast beamed at the Soviet bloc: "If the revolutionary movement, during three-quarters of its life, was captured by a criminal, has not the whole movement been corrupted? . . . Must there not be something basically wrong with the movement?"

And a U.S. State Department official said March 17: "If you admit that the Communist movement was headed by a gangster for twenty-nine years, what's left?"

The propaganda attack lumps together the Stalinist counter-revolutionary bureaucrats and the revolutionary Bolshevik party. Headed by Lenin and Trotsky this party led the Russian workers and peasants in October 1917 to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of the Soviet state. This was the party, too, that launched the Communist International as a world-wide organization of revolutionary socialists. Wall Street's propagandists also lump together Stalinism and revolutionary socialist parties today, which, while defending the Soviet Union against capitalism, have always fought the Stalin gang.

These socialists were the first to denounce the horrible disfigurement of the Soviet Union made by the bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin. They were led by Leon Trotsky and many other Bolshevik leaders who were Lenin's closest collaborators.

Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks initiated the fight against the rising bureaucrats not to gain personal power but to uphold the revolutionary program. They

fought for the record — that means, the future of the working class. They fought to keep alive the continuity of Marxist-Leninist principles, which Stalin sought to drown out in blood. They faced slander, expulsion, exile and death to preserve the revolutionary ideas against the pro-Stalin revisionists.

The tide of working class upsurge that Trotsky prepared for is now at hand in the Soviet Union. It is the demands of 48 million workers that is forcing Stalin's heirs to junk the Stalin cult and give economic concessions besides. This paves the way for the political revolution that will destroy the rule of the bureaucratic caste and vindicate the socialist cause.

What's left of the revolutionary movement if you admit Stalin was a gangster? ask Wall Street's spokesmen. What's left is everything that is vital to its success. There are the economic foundations of the Soviet state which imperialism could not overthrow and Stalinist reaction could not destroy from within. There is the Soviet proletariat, 48 million strong.

There is the burning desire of millions of workers throughout the world to establish a socialist order in order to escape from the madhouse of capitalist wars, fascism and depression. There is the Leninist program defended and developed by Trotsky and revolutionary socialists who followed his lead. And there are the revolutionary socialist parties themselves. They continue on the Leninist road uncorrupted.

What's left will provide the starting point for a new socialist assault on the capitalist order. It will encompass the entire globe and create a world of peace, freedom and plenty. It is of Wall Street's rule that mankind will then be asking: "What's left?"

Iceland Wants No U. S. Bases

Little Iceland, with its 160,000 people and the oldest parliament in the world, has demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. occupation force from that country. This action is sending cold shivers down the spines of the political and military strategists in Washington.

While Iceland lies half way on the straight line between Moscow and New York, via the Arctic circle, and therefore has considerable strategic importance as a radar center and as a submarine base, the real importance of the action, as far as Washington is concerned, lies in the dangerous precedent it sets.

Joseph C. Harsch, writing in the March 31 Christian Science Monitor, cries out in disgust: "If this sort of thing spread, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would become a disembodied concept, not a working military alliance." And he might well have added that this is equally true for the South East Asia Treaty Organization and the Middle East Treaty Organization and the whole elaborate spider net of military structures erected around the non-capitalist world as part of U.S. imperialism's effort to contain and roll back the tide of social revolution.

There are very few people in the world today who are anxious for their countries to become targets of A and H-bomb attacks in the event of war because of the presence of U.S. troops. John Foster Dulles' cold-blooded announcement that he took the world to the brink of war three times in a brief period leaves these people with somewhat the same feeling the British Governor of Cyprus must have experienced recently. He awoke one morning to discover that he had slept all night on a bomb placed under his bed by his Cypriot manservant.

The action of Iceland may set off a chain reaction in many other parts of the globe where people are more than anxious to have Americans as tourists but not happy to see them as military occupiers. What makes Iceland's action all the more embarrassing to Washington is the fact, well known to the whole world, that the Soviet Union only very recently gave up its large base at Porkkala, Finland, to the Finns without being asked to leave in the dramatic way Washington has been asked by Iceland.

Congress and Civil Rights

The 84th Congress is now in its Easter recess — the half-way mark of its 1956 session, the three-quarters mark of its existence. One thing it has amply demonstrated: It is strictly a do-nothing Congress where civil rights are concerned.

The Democrats who run the Congress blame President Eisenhower for the record, because he failed to present a program. This is certainly true. But it is only half the reason why the score is zero. The other half lies with the Democrats themselves.

On March 28, the New York Times reported that Eisenhower was finally ready to present a program to Congress. What is announced as his proposals are minor measures that would prove ineffective in protecting Negroes against the reign of terror they now confront in the South. He wants a commission with "subpoena powers to look into the complaints of denial of civil rights" — just look into, not do anything about. He also wants Negroes to have permission to sue for damages in a federal court persons or organizations who try to deny them the right to vote.

These measures will not keep Negroes from getting killed by the likes of Milam and Bryant — the murderers of Emmett Till who boast of their deed!

Federal troops to Mississippi are out as far as Eisenhower is concerned. So is denial of federal funds to school districts failing to desegregate. So are any other measures of enforcement of Negroes' rights. And introduction of even Eisen-

hower's weak program has been repeatedly delayed and watered down each time so as not to antagonize the Dixiecrats. Such is the Administration's record on civil rights.

The record of the Northern Democrats is no better. Their program does not differ substantially as far as effective enforcement measures are concerned from that of Eisenhower's. They, too, are against sending Federal troops to protect the lives and economic position of Negroes from physical and economic terrorism. They oppose the Powell Amendment. They voted for the appointment of Sen. Eastland to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee. They failed to press for anti-filibustering measures or to change the rules in any way that would curb Dixiecrat domination of Congress.

The truth is the Northern liberals are solidly bound up in an alliance with the Southern Democrats and dare not launch a struggle against them. Passage of effective civil rights legislation by the 84th Congress is ruled out for sure. It will be prevented by a three-way gang up of Republicans, Northern Democrats and Dixiecrats. Even the passage of meaningless measures — and that in an election year — is not very probable. The Negro people can not expect to get anything from either of the Big Business parties.

We urge them to cast a strong protest vote in 1956 for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. This will force far more action out of the next Congress than to vote for either gang of capitalist politicians.

...Ask Frame-Up Probe

(Continued from page 1)

Worker editors to rush into print with a full two-column editorial in which they assert their "right to demand that the investigations in Hungary and the Soviet Union shall be full and complete and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is."

The demand for an investigation is good so far as it goes. But the question is immediately posed: Who is to do the investigating?

In the same issue of the Daily Worker, William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party, answers the question in his own way. Workers everywhere, says Foster, are asking "insistently for an answer to one key question. They want to know what the present leadership, for the most part, who worked side-by-side with Stalin for many years, did to prevent the growth of Stalin's cult of the personality or to combat it as it manifested itself in the Party practice." Foster testifies to the tremendous pressure of the ranks who are doggedly seeking an answer to the startling revelations coming out of Moscow and the East European capitals.

"The workers," says Foster, "have every right to information on this matter." He is then forced to conclude that "there has been little or nothing made public in answer to the above specific question." After deploring the lack of any explanation from those who "worked side-by-side with Stalin for many years," Foster hastens to reassure everyone that all is going well. "We," says Foster, "may rest assured that it will eventually get its full explanation. The men who have boldly and courageously gone ahead with the exposure of Stalin's weaknesses will not stop short." In other words, Foster proposes that those who should be subject to investigation should do the investigating!

FOSTER'S RECORD

This proposal comes with ill grace from a man who is himself deeply involved in the Stalin frame-ups. For thirty years Foster had been an ardent promoter of the Stalin cult. He personally endured the frame-up execution of Laszlo Rajk and all the other victims of Stalin's purge trials. Writing in his book, History of the Three Internationals, Foster participated "side-by-side" with Stalin, Khrushchev and the others, in smearing Tito as a fascist agent of imperialism. Proof? The proof, says Foster, was "brought out in the trials of Rajk, Kostov, and others in Budapest and Sofia in 1940."

The announcement by Rakosi that the Rajk trial was a frame-up carries implications that go back much earlier than 1949. Even in 1949, in reply to charges against the Tito regime at the trial of Laszlo Rajk in Hungary, Moshe Pyade, an official of the Yugoslav government said it was reminiscent of the Moscow purge trials of 1936, whose "producers, with

their experience, could have had a hand in the production of the Budapest trials." And in truth, the purge trials in Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, Czechoslovakia, etc., in the 1940's could not be fully understood without understanding their origin in the infamous Moscow purge trials of the 1930's.

In 1937 an International Commission of Inquiry was constituted headed by the world-renowned philosopher and educator, John Dewey. The Dewey Commission was established to investigate the grotesque charges brought in the Moscow trials against Lenin's closest co-workers and especially against the co-leader with Lenin of the October revolution, Leon Trotsky. After an exhaustive investigation in which evidence was collected on two continents and the commission published its findings in two thick volumes, the decision was rendered: Not Guilty!

DEWEY SMEARED

The Dewey Commission unraveled all of the tangled threads of the Moscow trial frame-ups beginning with the Kirov assassination on Dec. 1, 1934. The assassination of Sergei M. Kirov, a close associate of Stalin, was used as the springboard to launch a whole series of frame-up trials in which, along with the leading staff of the October revolution who figured in the trials, thousands of militant rank and file communist workers were exiled, imprisoned and slaughtered without benefit of trial. For exposing the bloody frame-up trials the Dewey Commission was smeared, vilified and slandered by Stalinists throughout the world.

Those bits of tangible evidence that the Stalinists proffered in support of their monstrous charges were torn to shreds by the Dewey Commission — including the alleged meetings of conspirators in non-existent hotels and imaginary flights in aeroplanes that never landed. To all of which the apologists and supporters of Stalin replied: They confessed!

Now, in addition to the shattering disclosure of the counterfeit Rajk "confession" which knocks out their last remaining prop, a New York Times dispatch, March 28, discloses that the entire Kirov affair is under reconsideration. Writing under a Leningrad dateline, the Times reporter says:

"Instead of attributing the assassination to Trotsky and others, as was done in the past, the deputy director of the Kirov Museum, Alexander Vikhrov, said it was not known yet who was responsible for the crime." Trotsky's prediction that the Kirov assassination would be found to have been conceived by Stalin and organized by his GPU agents will yet be confirmed. Let the Khrushchev government open up the archives of the GPU for inspection by an impartial International Commission of Inquiry and the whole truth will be forthcoming.

World Events

IN BOLIVIA, Guillermo Lora, leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party has been released after one year in jail for political opposition to the Paz Estenssoro regime. "We will reorganize the party and continue the struggle, but we will not participate in the election because the electoral law is a veritable fraud," Lora declared.

WITH BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS scheduled to come up in the near future, attention is once more focused on the fluid situation in that country. Side by side with the much reduced standing army of 3,000 there exists a large militia recruited from the unions. Several weeks ago a group of tin miners at Challapata raided the local barracks and took the arms away from the soldiers there. These were then given to the militia. The army, small as it is, remains a symbol of reaction to the workers, and they don't trust it. Said one officer: "... we must have guarantees against any raids against us. Not even a pay raise is as important as this."

PREMIER GAMAL ABDEL NASSER of Egypt announced that he still holds in his pocket a Soviet offer to finance the High Aswan Dam should negotiations for loans from the U.S., Britain and the World Bank fall through. The Wall Street Journal reports that the U.S. and British attitude toward the loans has become considerably cooler in the last weeks. U.S. State Department sources lost enthusiasm for the project when Nasser refused to aid in suppressing anti-imperialist demonstrations in the Middle East and has continued to carry on trade with Czechoslovakia, the

Soviet Union and Red China. The United States promised a loan of \$55 million, Britain \$15 million and the World Bank \$200 million. The Soviet Union offered a loan of \$800 million.

A PURGE of the Greek Communist Party was reported by the Communist paper, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy. Nicolas Zachariades and several associates were accused of having violated the principles of "collective leadership" and followed "a sectarian line." At the Yalta Conference, Stalin ceded to Britain the right to occupy Greece. In 1945 when the British moved in they were opposed by the Partisans, under the leadership of Zachariades, who were not able to get aid from the Soviet Union.

THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY membership has slumped by more than a quarter of a million in five years, according to a report given by President Tito at a party central commission session concluded March 15. Party discipline and enthusiasm have considerably declined. Above all, said Tito, youth has "slipped from our hands" and fallen prey to reactionary concepts alien to socialism. Members of the party, he said, wrongly assumed that the so-called "withering away" of the state announced by the government together with its decentralization policies implied that the need for the party itself was also diminishing and that socialism would develop automatically.

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New York Organizer, Socialist Workers Party
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Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials

By Leon Trotsky

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges. With an introduction by Joseph Hansen.

168 pages PIONEER PUBLISHERS \$1.00
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

The Negro Struggle

By Art Sharon

Louisiana Court Outlaws NAACP

The State of Louisiana moved its ponderous legal machinery last week to put the NAACP out of business in that state by placing a ban on the organization. The NAACP attorneys are appealing this action to the federal court.

The action of the Louisiana white supremacists illustrates the division of labor between the two sections of the White Citizens Council in the South. This movement dedicated to carrying on war against the Negro people on every front — economic, political and social, is the 1956 version of the old Ku Klux Klan. But unlike the old Klan that resorted almost exclusively to unrelenting terror the WCC is more sophisticated. In its arsenal, direct physical terror is just one more weapon, and sections of the Council even decry it in public.

These elements of the Council are the ones who deplored the murder of Till in Mississippi, but since he was murdered they stand arm and arm with the murderers against those who would bring them to justice. In Louisiana, as in most Southern states, the executive, judicial and legislative sections of the state are infested with members of the White Citizens Council if not directly controlled by it.

It is this section of the Council that carries out its labors through the machinery of the state. Combing through the statute books, they dug up an old law, originally aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, requiring organizations that hold meetings to register membership lists with the state.

This law, which was passed when the political climate in Louisiana turned against the Klan, has by an ironical twist been used as the weapon to strike down the NAACP.

Liberals in the NAACP and elsewhere could do well to generalize from this irony of history that permits the 1956-model klansmen to turn a liberal-intended law into its opposite. A similar evolution is taking place with much of the labor legislation of the "New Deal" era. These labor laws, which at one time sanctioned a great mass movement of workers in the basic industries are now used to harass and hamper the labor movement. What keeps these laws from being used directly and nakedly to smash independent unionism is the existence of a large and powerful movement that shows its fighting strength in battles like that just concluded with Westinghouse.

So with the NAACP. Its legal battle, while necessary, is not the principal battle. It is the reflection inside the court room of the very real movement on the outside.

The resources and abilities of the Negro rank and file are vast and rich as the Montgomery movement demonstrates. The white supremacists can be fought effectively only by a broad movement of the Negro rank and file along with their allies in the labor movement. Then and then only will the courts of Louisiana and other Southern states be forced to respect the elementary democratic rights of the Negro people.

The Laszlo Rajk Case And the Moscow Trials

[The following excerpt about the trial and executions of Laszlo Rajk of Hungary and Traicho Kostov of Bulgaria, both now undergoing "rehabilitation," are from Joseph Hansen's introduction to "Stalin's Frame-up System and the Moscow Trials" by Leon Trotsky. The book, available through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University PL, N. Y. 3, N. Y., sells for \$1.00. — Ed.]

Since the end of World War II, a series of sensational trials of former prominent figures in the Stalinist bureaucratic hierarchy have been staged in the East European countries under Moscow rule. Like grade "B" movies, these trials follow a rigid pattern. The hero is always Stalin. The criminal inevitably confesses to playing a Jekyll-Hyde role — in public an ostensibly loyal top government official, behind the scenes a spy for an enemy power. He repents, beats his chest in contrition for his traitorous conduct, glorifies the godlike dispenser of justice in the Kremlin and is executed.

The case of Laszlo Rajk, Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, is typical. A communist from youth, he was wounded while fighting against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. In March 1946 he became Minister of Interior and staged the police roundups that paved the way for ousting the regime of Ferenc Nagy in 1947. He wrote the new election law in 1947 and after the Stalinists were firmly in the saddle became Foreign Minister. Second in Hungary only to Matyas Rakosi, he was not boasting when he later said, "The Communists always believed me to be one of the best comrades."

In September 1949 this model Stalinist leader was placed on trial. He "confessed" that for 18 years he had been leading a secret life that did not correspond with his public activities. In 1931 he had turned informer

for dictator Horthy's police. After this taste of stoolpigeoning, he became an agent for the fascists in the Spanish Civil War. Next he served the French secret police while jailed in a French concentration camp. Following this apprenticeship in duplicity he moved right into the ranks of the Nazi Gestapo.

RAJK'S "DOUBLE LIFE"

This strange career, combining betrayal, espionage and treason with arduous public duties of a Communist Party leader, was finally capped, according to his "confession," by his becoming a willing tool in a plot masterminded by Winston Churchill, the Truman administration and Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia. The alleged plot aimed at killing key Hungarian officials, overthrowing the government because of its loyalty to Stalin and bringing Hungary into Tito's sphere.

The world Stalinist press headlined the trial as an unexpected gold mine of "proof" in its smear campaign against the Yugoslav government which had broken with Moscow. The "guiding center" of the plot was "in the United States, said Pravda; while the conductor of the plans and tasks was "the Yugoslav Fascist clique of Tito."

... Rajk cooperated one hundred per cent with the prosecution, even refusing to ask for mercy. The defense joined in underlining Rajk's "guilt" and only pleaded for clemency. "It is easier to defend someone who has killed his father," declared one defense attorney. The court completed the processing of this sad scapegoat by hanging him on October 15, 1949, in accordance with the script.

THE KOSTOV TRIAL

Minor departures from the formula used in these trials only emphasize their artificial, theatrical character. An instructive instance is the case of Traicho Kostov, condemned December 14, 1949, for "treason." Kostov had been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1924, Secretary of the party since 1940, General Secretary since 1944, and was second in importance in the government only to Dimitrov until the latter's death. He was charged with having become a stoolpigeon upon his arrest by the Bulgarian police in 1942 and of then entering the Anglo-American spy service. Now well launched in his dual career of public hero as spokesman for Stalinism and public enemy as traitor in the pay of the enemy, he went further, according to the prosecution, and plotted with Marshal Tito to assassinate Dimitrov, overthrow the Bulgarian government and amalgamate Bulgaria with Yugoslavia.

Instead of confessing according to ritual, Kostov denied guilt. He advanced such convincing arguments of innocence as his resistance to the Bulgarian police under torture, and the absence of incriminating evidence in the police files published in 1944. The court thereupon read

a "confession" allegedly made by Kostov with police assistance in advance of the trial. The attorney for the defense denounced his client as vigorously as any of the prosecution lawyers. Kostov continued to insist on his innocence. The court, of course, sentenced him to die.

After Kostov was hanged, the Stalinist authorities announced that just before the rope was placed around his neck, "the doomed man disavowed his 'arrogant' court attitude and 'admitted' his 'crimes.' Thus Stalinism proved its ability to establish the accused's 'guilt' even if the timing did depart from the formula calling for confessions before pronouncement of sentence.

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

The political objectives of these trials are not difficult to discern. Native Stalinist lieutenants like Rajk, Kostov and the rest can, despite their long-tested loyalty to Moscow, transmit the pressure of the growing mass resistance in the satellite countries against the Kremlin's totalitarian domination. Their elimination and replacement by figure-heads with fewer independent roots is a preventive measure against the possible development of "Titoism" or "Trotskyism" or any form of opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy. In addition, the trials serve Stalin as a propaganda weapon in the cold war with American imperialism.

The question arises, what compels the Kremlin to follow such a revolting course? We can find a satisfactory solution to the enigma only if we probe into the historical background of the trials and trace the development of Stalin's use of the frame-up as one of the means of maintaining his anti-socialist dictatorship. We must approach the current trials in Eastern Europe not as isolated episodes but as part of a system rooted in the consolidation of the Moscow bureaucracy as a privileged ruling caste.

To informed observers the parallel between the postwar trials of 1936-38 in Moscow is obvious. Thus, in reply to the charges against the Tito regime presented at the trial of Laszlo Rajk in Hungary, Moshe Pyade, a high official of the Yugoslav government, said, according to the September 23, 1949, New York Times, "it was reminiscent of the Moscow purge trials of 1936, whose 'producers, with their experience, could have had a hand in the production of the Budapest trials.'" Pyade observed that "now such trials have become export articles . . . a penetration into Europe of the dark methods of the Soviet intelligence service. . ."

Without knowing the truth about the Moscow purge trials it is impossible to properly understand the character of the Stalinist regime. The key to those trials also opens the door to a true evaluation of Stalinism on a world scale.

Pretend Trotsky Never Lived?

The following is an excerpt from an interview Jack Raymond of the New York Times had, March 30, with Prof. Aleksander Alexandrov rector of the Leningrad University.

"It had been noticed that in the local museums depicting the history of the Russian Revolution, no mention was made of Trotsky. The rector was asked why.

"Under certain conditions when it is a question of political struggle," the professor replied, "it is 'better to wipe out of your brain such personalities as Trotsky.'"

"There is no ground for the revival of any point of view of his or to remind anyone of the existence of Trotsky," the rector added.

"Does that mean you simply make believe he did not exist?" "Oh, no," he said. "If it is considered as a special problem, the historians have the material concerning Trotsky, although these papers are not published."

"Asserting that he did [not] know much about the role of Trotsky," the rector said that he was not interested in Trotsky's views and "I did not want to clutter up my brain with them."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1956

NUMBER 15

No Apologies for Past Says Howard Fast

By John Thayer

In the flood of letters to the Daily Worker from Communist Party members and sympathizers over the denunciation of the Stalin cult there appeared on March 28 one from the well-known author, Howard Fast. The gist of it is summed up in his closing paragraph: "For what in hell should we apologize?"

Fast writes: "It is inherent in the dynamics of error that the correction must take as its premise an admission of error. The process of admission is the other side of the coin. The process of correction is the face of it. . . . As a steady reader of the paper [Daily Worker] it would seem to me that perhaps we are becoming a little too deeply concerned over the error. The major concern it seems to me should be for the process of correction."

Further on Fast declares: "Perhaps I am being subjective, for I will admit that I have piled up as neat a score of error as anyone around, and I intend to continue to do so."

Obviously, Howard Fast thinks that the few admissions made so far by the Soviet regime about Stalin's true role and their echoes in the press of the American CP, are enough. There should be no more of that, he is saying, let's "correct the line" but not disturb ourselves with further revelations. And to cap it, he ends up with the bragadocio, "For what in hell should we apologize?"

But history will not be cheated so easily and erstwhile Stalinist cultists will never correct themselves or achieve political honesty until they demand and get the full story on Stalin and Stalinism — and break with it. Otherwise they will merely switch names and continue on the same path — Stalin will be denounced, but Stalinism will rule their minds.

WHAT'S CALLED "ERRORS"

Fast is trying to pass off as mere "errors" such things as the destruction of Lenin's Party by frame-up, forced "confessions," concentration camps, and outright brutal murder. These are not mere "errors" of judgment of an individual. These are the product of a system. And their organized defense, rationalization, as well as the slander and physical violence, used in every country of the world against those workers and parties which exposed them, are no mere "errors," to be quickly swept under the carpet by Fast and others who bear political and moral responsibility for them.

To make the members and sympathizers accept the "Stalin cult" a system of thought-control had to be built up in the Communist Party in America and every other country. Howard Fast bears his share of responsibility for prostituting his talents to the building of such a system of thought-control. To establish a belief in the infalli-



JAMES KUTCHER

bility of Stalin, the American CP, just like the Catholic Church, had to have its system of arbitrary excommunication, interdiction and an index of forbidden books.

Fast, who justifiably protests the witch-hunt atmosphere in America that prevents major publishers from accepting his new writings, supinely submitted to the suppression of one of his own books by the representatives of the Stalin cult in America.

Toward the end of the last war Fast wrote a biography of Tito (incidentally, it was an uncritical cultist eulogy of Tito, depicting him as a junior Balkan Stalin). When Stalin excommunicated Tito as a "fascist," etc., the till-then best seller in Communist Party circles was quickly withdrawn and suppressed. What happened to all the unsold copies? Were they burned, or just chopped into waste paper? What did Fast learn from this — just to keep his mouth shut and submit? When hundreds of CP leaders in the satellite Peoples Democracies were framed up and executed for Tito fascism, did Fast protest? No! Now that Rajk and other victims are being "rehabilitated," Fast still isn't for saying anything. He wants to brush away the whole bloody "error" and his moral and political culpability with a plea that too much time is being wasted on admissions.

ATTACKED KUTCHER

Let's take another "error" of which Fast was guilty but now prefers not to mention, let alone dwell on — his shameful attack on James Kutcher, the legless veteran, and the first victims of the Smith Act.

Kutcher, was fired from his job as a clerk in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration late in 1948 for admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP had been put on the Attorney General's "subversive" list on the unfounded charge that it advocated violent overthrow of the government. Kutcher vigorously denied this charge and his court case challenged the legality of the arbitrary "subversive" list. The

legless vet appealed to the labor movement and civil liberties circles for aid in his fight.

In February 1949 the Communist Party opened its violent propaganda campaign against Kutcher, in which Howard Fast was to play a not unimportant role. While the Daily Peoples World on the West Coast was screaming that Kutcher's case "reeked of fraud and deceit" and that to talk of civil liberties for Kutcher "is to argue for the rights of a stoolpigeon or a paid agent of fascism," Howard Fast accepted the assignment of attacking Kutcher on the East Coast.

On July 11, 1949 Fast wrote a long letter to the New York Compass taking to task its columnist I. F. Stone, who had criticized the Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights for voting against support of Kutcher's case and the 18 Trotskyists convicted under the Smith Act.

THE LIES OF FAST

Fast's letters contained numerous distortions and outright lies that were called to his attention but which he has never to this day retracted. For example, Fast wrote, "When questioned on his beliefs, Kutcher said quite frankly that he supported the overthrow of the government by force and violence." This was a barefaced putting into Kutcher's mouth of the very charges he had been denying before the government loyalty boards. It was an attempt to convince the public that Kutcher was guilty as charged — had in fact confessed guilt.

On the SWP victims of the Smith Act Fast wrote that it "is not a case of civil liberties" because the Trotskyists "were accused of sowing dissension among the American Armed Forces." The fact was that the 18 Minneapolis trial victims were convicted under the Smith Act at a trial where the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin were introduced as evidence against them.

To round out his letter Fast used the standard Stalinist lies, all based on the Moscow trial frameups, that Trotskyists "advocated support to the Nazi

and fascist dealers in death," that they are "strikebreakers, thugs and agent provocateurs," "admitted profascists," etc., and that the record was "amply documented" to prove all this.

Farrell Dobbs, a Smith Act victim and National Chairman of the SWP wrote, as did James Kutcher, protesting Fast's lies and distortions. They proposed an impartial Commission of Inquiry chosen from the civil liberties groups and labor movement to hear the evidence and render a verdict on whether the charges were true and whether the Kutcher and Minneapolis Smith Act cases were bona-fide civil liberties cases. The Compass never printed Kutcher's letter, but a copy was sent to Fast. Fast did not accept the proposal of an impartial Commission of Inquiry, nor did he retract his false statements then or afterwards.

What is the point in bringing all this up if Fast today is willing to get along with "the process of correction" of the Stalin cult? First, his what-the-hell-have-we-got-to-apologize-for line would indicate that he doesn't think the "errors" of the past are really very important. Yet they were crimes against the elementary principles of honesty and solidarity in the working-class movement. Second "the process of correction" can only take place if it is really based upon a full knowledge and understanding of the original "errors." Otherwise the "process of correction" can become a process of cover-up to help rationalize away past "errors" and preserve the basis for committing them again with only the labels changed.

Any members or sympathizers of the CP who earnestly desire to know how and why the Stalin cult grew and dominated the Soviet Union and the Communist movement as it did owes it to himself to read the forbidden books and journals of Trotsky and the SWP and to discuss the forbidden thoughts with the forbidden Trotskyists. For it was largely on the basis of putting them beyond the pale that Stalin was able to build and perpetuate his cult.

High Court Voids State "Sedition" Laws

By Fred Hart

The U.S. Supreme Court on April 2 rendered a decision which declared the sedition laws of 41 states, Alaska and Hawaii outmoded and void because the federal government had completely taken over the witch-hunt field by passage of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act and the Communist Control Act. Though the six-to-three decision knocks down the jungle of barbarous state sedition, criminal syndicalism and other thought-control laws, there is little in the decision to bring comfort to defenders of the Bill of Rights.

Moreover, the Supreme Court's voiding of the myriad state sedition laws may prove to be short-lived. Much of the decision rests on the court's conclusion that the passage of federal witch-hunt laws shows that Congress intended fully "to occupy the field of sedition." Passage of a joint resolution or an amendment by Congress stating that such was not its intent might be accepted by the high court as basis for a reversal of the opinion.

Already that sworn enemy of labor, civil liberties and civil rights, Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), author of the Smith Act, has announced he will work for passage of a law to allow the states to enforce their sedition laws.

NELSON PUNISHED TWICE

The test case on which the court decided was that of Steve Nelson, Communist Party official in Pennsylvania. Nelson had been sentenced to five years in federal prison under the Smith Act for "conspiring to advocate" his beliefs. He has also been sentenced on parallel grounds by the state of Pennsylvania to 20 years. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ruled that his conviction under the state sedition law was superseded by his conviction under the Smith Act. The Pennsylvania Attorney General appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Arguing along with the Pennsylvania Attorney General for upholding state sedition laws and for the double punishment of Nelson were the legal representatives of thirty other states having sedition laws and Eisenhower's Solicitor General, Simon E. Sobeloff.

State sedition laws have proved a fertile field for the worst

types of political stunts with the ambition to rise to power a la McCarthy. Thus the prosecution of Nelson was not even initiated by officials of Pennsylvania but by a two-bit local politician on-the-make who, acting in his capacity as a private citizen, saw a chance to grab a lot of publicity. The ensuing witch hunt terrorized the Pittsburgh area and resulted in prison mistreatment of Nelson equalling the horrors of the Middle Ages.

Though the Supreme Court decision clearly means that not only Nelson, but others imprisoned under state sedition laws since passage of federal legislation "pre-empted" the field, should be freed, the Kentucky Attorney General immediately announced that he would continue moves to imprison Carl Braden. Braden, sentenced to 15 years, and now out on bond, was the lead-off victim in one of the crudest frame-ups ever perpetrated.

BRADEN CASE

The Braden case grew out of his attempt to help a Negro veteran break through Jim Crow housing restrictions in Louisville. The efforts of Braden and other whites believing in racial equality were unavailing against the bomb violence of local racists. Instead of prosecuting the cross-burners and bombers, the local prosecutor, filled with racist hate and the ambition to be a McCarthy, indicted Braden, his wife and five other white friends of the Negro family whose home had been bombed. In a trial that trampled the Bill of Rights and made even a Moscow frame-up look refined by comparison, Braden was given the savage sentence of 15 years.

The Supreme Court's voiding of the state sedition laws follows on the heels of its decision upholding the Immunity Act. This could well bear out what many claim, namely that the court tries to balance its decisions on controversial issues. A "liberal" decision is often followed by a "conservative" one. This prevents the court from being accused of partisanship or acquiring the constant criticism of either liberals or conservatives. Adduced as evidence of such a policy is its two-installment ruling in the school segregation cases. The first part was "liberal." The second installment

or implementing ruling gave the Southern states everything they could ask for except outright repudiation of the principle of the first half.

If the ruling on the state sedition laws is intended to balance the ruling on the Immunity Act then the Pure Food and Drug officials should prosecute the high court not only for giving short measure but for adulterated products. The decision on the Immunity Act simply ripped the guts out of the Fifth Amendment. The decision in the Nelson case timidly bases itself on the narrow, and possibly revocable, grounds of federal-state jurisdiction rather than on civil liberties considerations.

HOW TO RESTORE RIGHTS

The handwriting on the wall should be clear for all opponents of the witch hunt. If left to the high court alone, the gaping holes torn in the Constitution in the last decade will not be repaired. However, as Mr. Dooley, the perceptive Irish philosopher and student of American life, observed, despite what the civics books say, what the nine robed justices think and rule is not determined in a vacuum but in the political climate of America.

The witch hunt will be destroyed and the Bill of Rights completely restored when the American people, led by the labor movement, kick out of office every McCarthyite, police-stater, and reactionary, who sells freedom down the river at the bidding of Big Business, and votes in true representatives of the liberty-loving workers, farmers and minority people. Then tardily the Supreme Court will rediscover the Bill of Rights.

It is noteworthy that the high court in leaving its ruling open to possible reversal by Congress declaring that it did not intend to "pre-empt" the field of sedition legislation, has given an important opening to the Southern states in their opposition to the school desegregation decision. The white-supremacist politicians of the South will take the lead in pressing for legislation restoring state sedition laws. They will do this not only because they are against civil liberties in general but because such an overriding of a Supreme Court decision would be an important legal precedent and propaganda victory in their campaign for "interposition" and nullification.

of the school desegregation decision.

In another development in the civil liberties field, the offices of the Daily Worker and the Communist Party were evacuated by the T-men. It has become increasingly clear that public reaction to this latest witch-hunt outrage was more shock at the assault on freedom of the press than the anti-Communist hysteria the Treasury raiders had hoped to arouse. Yet a disturbing feature was the cowardice of a great section of the capitalist press, which for long has maintained, out of self-interest, the principle that newspaper offices were sacrosanct. For example, the New York Times, terrorized by Eastland's recent attempt to smear it as Communist-infiltrated, dared not protest the seizure of the Daily Worker, but editorially attempted to justify the flimsy legal pretenses of the raiders.

In happy contrast was the revelation that Norman Thomas has taken a hand in raising funds for the legal defense of Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney, Communist Party officials convicted under the Smith Act. They have been granted a new trial because their first conviction was based on now repudiated testimony of Harvey Matusow.

Blake and Charney are having difficulty raising funds for their new trial. Though Norman Thomas has not joined any committee for their defense he has personally undertaken to ask numerous friends for contributions for the legal expenses of Trachtenberg and Charney.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

Norman Thomas' action is significant in that it marks his appreciation and public announcement

ment that those holding strong anti-Communist views are not thereby excused from defending Communist Party victims of the witch hunt, but rather are duty-bound to aid in their defense because defense of civil liberties as such requires it. Thomas' example should have an important effect on liberals who up till now have been for the defense of civil liberties "except where Communists were involved."

Another manifestation of the opposition to destruction of civil liberties was the strong statement issued by the American Association of University Professors against six colleges and universities which have been guilty of violating academic freedom and tenure.

The 58-page report of the AAUP's special committee declared that a professor should be judged only by his classroom fitness; that use of the Fifth Amendment was not sufficient to justify dismissal. It even suggested what before the witch hunt was a principle accepted by all liberals — that membership in the Communist Party was not sufficient grounds for firing.

Longest Strike

The United Auto Workers strike against the Kohler Plumbing Co. was two years old April 5. The UAW reports that the boycott of Kohler products is becoming more effective.

Book - A - Month Plan

April Selection
Fettered Freedom
A Discussion of Civil Liberties and
Slavery in the U.S.
(1830 to 1860)
By Russel B. Nye
Published at \$4.00
Special April price
\$1.00
(plus 15c. mailing charge)
Payments must accompany order
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

CLEVELAND Farrell Dobbs
SWP Candidate for President
Will Speak on:
"Labor and the Negro Movement in the South"
Dobbs has just returned from Montgomery, Ala. where he covered the trial of the bus protest leaders for the Militant. Wednesday, April 11, 8:00 P.M.
10609 Superior Ave.
Auspices: The Militant Forum