

LEON TROTSKY ON MOSCOW TRIALS

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Auto Local Bids Union Fight for 30-Hour Week

LINDEN, N. J., May 5 — General Motors Local 595, United Automobile Workers, by unanimous vote at its membership meeting here April 29, called upon the UAW International Executive Board to reopen the union contract for the purpose of negotiating a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay.

The Linden local was in the process of taking a strike vote on speedup grievances when the big layoff hit several weeks ago. Reduced income due to the elimination of overtime and short work weeks has been accompanied by an intensification of the back-breaking speedup. The membership was fighting mad at the callous disregard for human welfare manifest in the profit-gouging policy of the corporation. To top it off came the layoff of April 26 cutting another 1,000 off the work force.

The bitterness of the Linden membership was voiced in the unanimous resolution flaying GM corporate policy. "The membership of Local 595," says the opening paragraph, "regard the layoff of April 26 and the short work weeks in that period as crimes. General Motors Corporation has driven us cruelly all year. . . Now we find that their tremendous push — so harsh that it forced us to take a strike vote at Linden and at many other plants — has resulted in a stockpile so large that the company feels it necessary to cut back. One thousand of our brothers will be in the street, seeking work. The rest of us are working short hours and, if buying doesn't pick up, more of us stand to lose our jobs. What kind of justice is it to overwork us part of the year and then lay us off for the remainder? What kind of security do we have and what kind of existence can we offer to our families?"

Nixon With Franco's Minister



Vice Pres. Nixon (r) takes Spanish Foreign Minister Alberto Artajo on a sightseeing tour of Washington. AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany criticized playing host to Franco's minister while Spanish workers "are risking their lives by striking in Spain against starvation wages." Meany didn't criticize the basic foreign policy of Big Business which lines up the U.S. with every fascist and oppressive dictatorship around the world.

The Fight to End Jim Crow Shows Need for Labor Party

Who Is Albert E. Kahn?

An Editorial

At the Stalinist-sponsored May Day rally in New York on April 30, a certain Albert E. Kahn was invited to speak on the topic of civil liberties. The same Kahn is listed as judge in a teen-age essay contest sponsored by the New York State Labor Youth League. The theme of the contest is "Our Country's Democratic Heritage" with special emphasis on civil rights.

Who is Albert E. Kahn? The Daily Worker lists his occupation as "author." It would be more accurate to list him as a professional frame-up artist. His books reek of rotten slanders against honest working class leaders. They also reek of American imperialist chauvinism. He has no business speaking at a May Day meeting nor acting as a mentor of the radical youth.

Here is his record in part:

(1) In his book, *Sabotage!* — The Secret War Against America (1942), Kahn and co-author Sayers maligned the Japanese-American minority in the worst jingoistic way. "In the years before Pearl Harbor," Kahn wrote, "potential Japanese saboteurs moved in by droves to take up residence and carry on business in the immediate vicinity of important United States military establishments. . . A mass evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans was found necessary, and was undertaken throughout the entire West Coast area."

The ouster of tens of thousands of Japanese from their homes at the start of World War II was one of the worst atrocities committed against a racial minority in this country. It was instigated by the greedy Associated Farmers trust in California as a means of grabbing lands the Japanese had painfully developed to fertility. The Japanese were herded into concentration camps "in droves" — the first such victims in U. S. history.

The high-handed act pulled by the Roosevelt Administration became the precedent for the concentration camp provisions of the McCarran Act of 1950. Such was the crime of U.S. imperialism that Kahn extolled, adding his slanders to all the other abuses piled on the hapless victims.

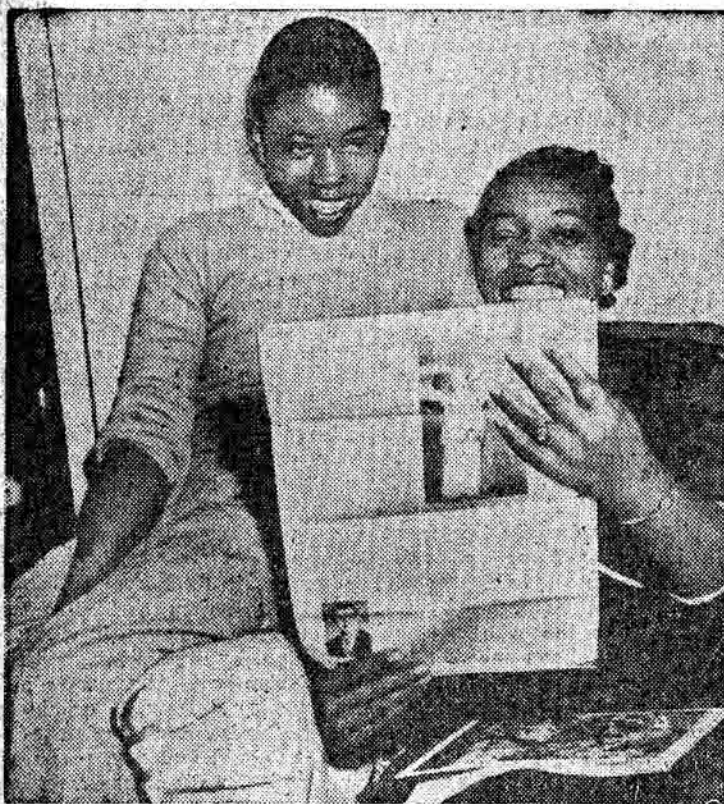
(2) Kahn and his fellow poison-pen wielder, Sayers, rode to notoriety on the strength of the Great Conspiracy, published in 1946. The book's main purpose was to refurbish the Moscow Frame-Up Trials of the 1930's in which Stalin wiped out the generation of Bolshevik leaders that led the Russian Revolution of 1917.

To spice up his slanders, Kahn did not scruple at forging quotations. (This was proved by Joseph Hansen in the *Militant*, Aug. 31, 1946.)

Most of Kahn's lies are drawn from the Moscow Trial records. He repeated them after the International Commission of Inquiry headed by Professor John Dewey had exposed them as lies. In a series of recent moves, the Soviet Government itself has, in effect, repudiated the Moscow Trials. The Great Conspiracy goes into the garbage-dump of history.

The leaders of the American Communist Party are presumably engaged in eliminating the Stalin cult in the CP. Isn't it time they stopped treating the cult's most sinister representative in this country — "author" Albert E. Kahn — as an honored figure?

Their Fight Goes On



Spotswood Bolling, one of the five Washington, D. C., youngsters who were plaintiffs in the case in which U.S. Supreme Court ruled, May 17, 1954, that school segregation is unconstitutional, is shown with his mother at time of court's action. This week marks second anniversary of the court's ruling which is being widely flouted in the South.

Integration in Schools Slows Down 2 Years After Court Decision

By John Thayer

The second anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision against school segregation will be celebrated this week at meetings throughout the country. It is fitting that opponents of Jim Crow commemorate that momentous victory of May 17, 1954. It is also appropriate to recall how it was won and to compute its results up to now and in the coming years.

For 60 years the Supreme Court cheated the Negro people of their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment by its "separate but equal" doctrine. The overthrow of this vicious doctrine was a great victory in the struggle for equal rights. It was the culmination of 20 years of effort by American Negroes. Out of the struggle for survival in the Great Depression the Negro people had emerged with new militancy and with a new ally — the white industrial workers organized in the CIO. The steady pressure of the Negro people plus the support of the most advanced sections of

LEGAL VICTORIES

The growing pressure of the Negro people against Jim Crow and the limited but increasingly steady support of the labor movement meant not only concessions from the White House and governors but from the courts themselves.

But it was in the post-war period that American Negroes were to find new and decisive support in their fight against Jim Crow. A tremendous new world power had emerged and it hated Jim Crow with a hatred second only to that of its victims in the U. S. This power was the colonial revolution which was sweeping Asia and Africa.

European public opinion in its majority had always been on the side of the American Negroes against the white supremacists. But the post-World War II epoch differed from the pre-war period in that a whole host of colored peoples in the colonies had thrown off their shackles — India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Indonesia. A social revolution was tearing China from the grasp of imperialism. Social revolution was threatening other colonial possessions in Asia — as in Vietnam, which was almost entirely controlled by the insurgents. In Africa, Egypt was throwing off the British yoke; Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria were in revolt; British imperialism was being forced to make important concessions in the Gold Coast and Nigeria and had its hands full with guerrillas in Kenya.

It was this pressure from the colonial revolution, plus the pressure of the Negro people and their allies in the U. S., which proved overwhelming in the post-war period and led to the Supreme Court decision.

VALUE OF VICTORY

This was a great legal victory. It meant that henceforth the (Continued on page 3)

Chicago and Detroit Aid Montgomery Car Pool

MONTGOMERY, May 7 — Two representatives of the Chicago Station Wagon to Montgomery Committee, arrived here last week with a car and \$175 in cash, for delivery to the Montgomery Improvement Association which is conducting the bus protest movement now nearing its sixth month. Kenton Sanders, treasurer of the Chicago committee, turned the car and money over to the MIA. The money was collected in Chicago on street corner and plant gates from workers who voluntarily made their contributions as an expression of support to the heroic Montgomery freedom fighters.

From Detroit comes word that workers in that city have raised enough money to finance the purchase of a station wagon to augment the Montgomery car pool. A representative of the Detroit Station Wagon to Montgomery Committee, is making delivery of the station wagon on behalf of the workers of Detroit. Both of the above named committees were set up after hearing an eye-witness report by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

DOBBS ON TOUR

Upon his return from Montgomery following the recent trial of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, Dobbs addressed mass meetings in a number of midwestern cities calling for material aid to the bus protest movement. The response from Chicago and Detroit are a direct result of that appeal. In the latter city the Station Wagon to Montgomery Committee was set up at a meeting of the Detroit Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward Ave., which conducts regular weekly meetings each Friday.

Material aid coming into Montgomery from all parts of the United States has greatly boosted the morale of the entire Negro community of 50,000 freedom fighters. The truth of this was demonstrated again at a mass meeting held in the Holt St. Baptist Church on April 30. There were people from a number of states who spoke at the meeting to assure the Montgomery Negro community that they were not in this fight alone. To show they meant business they brought a little something along to back up their talk.

One of the speakers, the Rev. Wright, came from New Jersey with \$1,500 from the people of that state. He spoke out forcefully against those who think they can intimidate and frighten the Negro people into abandoning their fight for equal rights. "We are not running anymore," he declared. I am sick and tired, he said, of hearing the spurious complaint that "northerners" and "subversives" are coming to Montgomery to stir up the innocent Negro people. The racists would like nothing better than to isolate each struggle the better to destroy it. They are not going to get away with it.

The day following the mass meeting at the Holt St. Baptist Church was election day in Montgomery. The Montgomery Improvement Association had conducted a vigorous campaign to get the Negro community to register and vote. It did this in the midst of the bus protest action. The need for political action was emphasized at the mass meeting. The struggle for equality, it was pointed out, was essentially a political struggle.

The political character of the conflict was highlighted in the recent developments of the bus protest fight. Following the recent Supreme Court verdict on a South Carolina bus segregation case, the National City Lines, operators of the Montgomery bus lines, notified its drivers not to enforce the local segregation laws. The city authorities immediately intervened and threatened anyone violating the local Jim Crow statutes with arrest and imprisonment. If there was any doubt before about the political character of the fight it was removed by the truculent intervention of the city officials. But the question arose immediately about whom to vote for. All the candidates were Jim Crow practitioners. Most were members and practically all supporters of the White Citizens Councils. On what basis was the choice to be made? While some counseled voting on the basis of "the lesser evil," one prominent leader summed up the attitude of the more militant section: "I could not vote for any of them and still live with my conscience; they all stand for the same thing. So if I voted I would be voting for what I am fighting against." [See story from Detroit page 4.]

Soviet Revokes Stalin's Confession Trial Laws

By Daniel Roberts

Stalin's decrees of 1934 and 1937 under which the Moscow Trials of the late 1930's were staged have now been repealed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. These laws gave special powers to the secret police in dealing with alleged acts of sabotage, attempted terrorism and treason. They "established a special method of investigation and court consideration." In the Moscow Trials this spelled out as forced "confessions," denial of the right of appeal and summary executions within 24 hours of sentencing.

The action of April 19 is more than a mere repeal of Stalin's tyrannical laws. Taken together with other recent measures, it is in effect nothing less than the repudiation of the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and unspeakable blood-lettings. The repeal of the decrees is a link in the chain which includes the exposure of the "confessions" in the Lazlo Rajk purge trial in Hungary as police fabrications; the tacit rehabilitation of Alexei Ivanovitch Rykov — a Moscow Trial victim; the rehabilitation of leading Soviet generals purged in 1937; and the denunciation of juridical methods fol-

lowed by Vyshinsky, chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials.

KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH

Previously, at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikoyan charged that there had been frame-ups during the past 20 years. And in his speech at the closed session of the Congress, Khrushchev is reported in Borba, Yugoslav CP paper, to have related how Stalin personally selected the list of Moscow Trial victims and dictated the procedure to be followed in each case for extracting "confessions." The Borba report has not been denied by the Soviet government.

"It has already been noticed that such opponents of the present regime as the late Leon Trotsky are not being denounced as traitors any longer although they are still regarded as dangerous opponents," reports Jack Raymond from Moscow in the May 5 New York Times. But treason plus sabotage and terror were precisely the crimes to which the Moscow Trial victims "confessed" implicating Trotsky.

The Kremlin chiefs, it is true, have not admitted in so many words that the Moscow Trials

were frame-ups. They have not dared to admit that they and their boss, Stalin, tortured Lenin's leading associates in the making of the Russian Revolution, then forced them to degrade themselves by "confessions" and finally drowned them in blood. But all the partial acts taken together amount to the same thing: Stalin's heirs can no longer sustain the lying accusations in the face of the pressure of the working people demanding an end to the hated Stalinist dictatorship.

Already in 1937, the International Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by Prof. John Dewey, declared the victims to have been Not Guilty! and the trials to have been deliberate frame-ups perpetrated to serve Stalin's political purposes. The whole series of recent measures taken in the Soviet Union only confirm — nearly 20 years after! — the justice of the Dewey Commission's verdict.

NOT ENOUGH!

And yet the tacit repudiation of the Moscow Trials is far from enough. Involved are the reputations of virtually all the Bolshevik leaders during the first

five years of the Soviet regime. The Trials marked an apogee in the slander Stalin hurled against them in the course of consolidating the anti-working class rule of the bureaucratic caste. The true history of the Revolution and the civil war, the history of the Communist International, the authentic Leninist program, the history of the Soviet Union since its creation — all these lie buried under the mountain of falsehoods capped by the infamous blood-trials.

In other developments in the Soviet Union, Anatoli Volin, President of the Soviet Supreme Court, told a group of French Socialists of new legal reforms being prepared. "Conviction by association" will soon be outlawed, he said. Punishment for failing to denounce suspects of serious crimes — in reality for failing to stool-pigeon on fellow workers and friends — will be moderated. The right of accused to counsel will be broadened. Finally, political opposition, "when not involving crimes against the state or by concrete moves against the state," will no longer be subject to criminal prosecution.

In the field of trade unions — completely bureaucratized as is

the rest of Soviet life — a May 8 Pravda editorial urged "a good wrangle" between the trade unions and industrial managements. At the same time the CP organ sharply warned against strikes.

As against the various "reform" measures — passed in an attempt to appease mass dissatisfaction — are the crack-downs on those within the party and working class labelled "rotten elements" who are really seeking to exercise the rights proclaimed by the Kremlin. To the crack-down must be added the admission by the Soviet press that over 100 people were killed when Soviet troops fired on demonstrations in Tiflis, Georgia early in March.

Despite the attempts to control the situation by threats and actual reprisals, however, there is revolutionary seething throughout the Soviet bloc. "The flood of disclosures now being made of brutality, injustice, errors, incompetence, corruption and bungling . . . has caused the most profound shock to lower-level Communist youth," reports Sydney Gruson from Poland in the May 9 N. Y. Times. "Only the very top leaders are talking these

days of what socialism has achieved in Poland. Everyone else is talking of the errors."

ANTI-SEMITIC OUTRAGES

It was in Poland several weeks ago that the Jewish-language newspaper *Folksstimme* reported accounts of pogroms against Soviet Jews conducted by the Stalin regime. The pogroms resulted in the extermination of the flower of Soviet Jewish writers. To this day, the Kremlin remains silent about the bestial crimes.

"Let me . . . confess to being shocked that confirmation of what enemies of the Soviet Union have charged for years reaches us second hand — from the Yiddish organ of the United Workers' Party of Poland — rather [than] from Moscow," writes A. B. Magill in the April 25 Daily Worker. And Z. Yachnes writes in a letter to the Stalinist Morning Freiheit, May 1, "The blame shall not be removed by as much as one hair from him, who is already dead three years. Stalin's name must bear full responsibility for the horrible crimes. He could not possibly have not known about them." And Yachnes also points an accusing finger at the present chiefs of the Soviet Union.

May Day In Guatemala

It was not long ago that a U.S. government supported military putsch toppled the democratically elected Arbenz Guzman regime in Guatemala. Since then the workers have been subjected to a ferocious repression. In a bid for labor support the puppet dictator Castillo Armas recently contributed \$6,475 to help defray the cost of a May Day parade and celebration in Guatemala. The May 6 N. Y. Times reports: "The workers, in an apparently well-planned maneuver, booted the scheduled speakers, some of them government officials, off the platform and cheered five substitutes, some of them leaders under the regime of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. These speakers took over the meeting and vigorously attacked the Government's labor policies."

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS III

The Three Crucial Points of the Soviet Trials

[We publish herewith the third installment of Leon Trotsky's closing speech at the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyoacan, Mexico. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher and a veteran of the anarchist movement and one of the men most hated by the fascist dictator, Mussolini. Otto Ruehle who stood side by side in the Reichstag with Karl Liebknecht in fighting German imperialism in World War I, was another member. The Commission selected as its legal adviser John Finerty, of world-wide fame in the defense of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti. The verdict of the Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." Leon Trotsky's speech has been reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in a pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. — Ed.]

The very necessity of having to "justify" oneself against the charge of being in league with Hitler and the Mikado indicates the full depth of the reaction which today is conquering a great portion of our planet, and particularly the U.S.S.R. But none of us can leap over historically conditioned stages. I put my time and my energy at the disposal of the Commission with entire willingness. It is superfluous to remark that I have and can have no secrets from the Commission. The Commission will itself understand the necessity of being guided by caution with respect to third parties, especially subjects of fascist lands and of the Soviet Union. I am ready to answer ALL questions and to place at the disposal of the Commission all my correspondence, personal as well as political.

At the same time, I think it necessary to state in advance that I do not at all regard myself as a "defendant" before the bar of public opinion. There is not even a formal basis for such a characterization. The Moscow

authorities did not indict me in a single one of the trials. And that is, of course, not accidental. To indict me they would have had to summon me before the court, or to demand my extradition. For this purpose they would have had to announce the date of the trial, and to publish the indictment at least some weeks before the opening of the court proceedings. But Moscow could not even go that far. Their whole plan was to take public opinion by surprise, and to have the Pritts and Durants ready in advance as commentators and reporters.

They could have asked my extradition only by opening the question in a French, Norwegian or Mexican court, before the eyes of the world press. But that would have meant for the Kremlin to court a cruel failure! For this very reason, the two trials were not a prosecution of myself and my son, but only a slander against us, carried out by means of a legal process, without notification, without summons, behind our backs.

Who Are the Criminals?

The verdict of the latest trial states that Trotsky and Sedov "having been convicted . . . of personally directing the treacherous activities . . . in the event of their being discovered on the territory of the USSR, are liable to immediate arrest and trial." I leave aside the question of the technical means by which Stalin hopes to "discover" me and my son on Soviet territory (apparently by means of the same technique which permitted the GPU, on the night of November 7th, 1936, to "discover" a part of my archives in a historical institute in Paris and to transport them in substantial diplomatic valises to Moscow).

The fact which, above all others, commands attention is that the verdict, after declaring us "convicted," although we have not been indicted and examined, promises to deliver us to the court for trial, in the event of our being discovered. In this way I and my son have already been "convicted" but not yet tried. The object of this nonsensical but not accidental formulation is to arm the GPU with the possibility of shooting us upon "discovery," without any judicial procedure whatsoever. Stalin cannot permit himself the luxury of a public arraignment of us, even in the USSR!

The most cynical among the agents of Moscow, including the Soviet diplomat Troyanovskiy, raise the following argument: "Criminals cannot choose their own judges." In its general form, this idea is correct. It is only necessary to determine on

which side of the dividing line are the criminals.

If one accepts the view that the real criminals are the organizers of the Moscow trials—and that is the opinion of wide and growing circles—can one then permit them to set themselves up as judges of their own case? Just because of this the Commission of Inquiry stands above both parties.

The territory covered by the Moscow trials is immense. If I assumed the task of refuting before you all the false accusations directed against me, if only those contained in the official reports of the two most important Moscow trials, I would be forced to take up too much time. It is sufficient to recall that my name is met on almost every page, and more than once. I hope that I shall have the opportunity to speak more fully before the entire Commission. Now I am forced to impose severe limitations upon myself.

For the time being, I am compelled to leave aside a whole series of questions, each of importance for the refutation of the charges. For a series of other questions, still more important, I must confine myself to a short resume, noting only the general outline of the conclusions which I hope to present in the future to the Commission. On the other hand, I will attempt to bring out the crucial points of the Soviet trials, principally as well as empiric in nature, and to clarify them as much as possible. These crucial points lie on three planes:

Who Profits?

(1) The foreign apologists of the GPU monotonously repeat the selfsame argument: It is impossible to admit that responsible veteran politicians accused themselves of crimes they had never committed. But these gentlemen obstinately refused to apply the same commonsense criterion to the confessions, but to the crimes themselves. Yet it is much more appropriate to the latter.

My point of departure is that the accused were responsible individuals—that is, normal—and consequently could not knowingly carry out absurd crimes directed against their ideas, their whole past, and their present interests.

In planning a crime, each of the accused had what from the juridical point of view can be called freedom of choice. He could commit the crime, or refrain from doing so. He considered whether the crime was expedient, whether it corresponded to his aims, whether the means employed were reasonable, etc.—in a word, he behaved as a free and responsible person.

The situation, however, changes radically when the real or pretended criminal falls into the hands of the GPU, for whom, because of political reasons, it is necessary at all costs to obtain certain testimony. Here the

"criminal" ceases to be himself. It is not he who decides; everything is decided for him.

That is why, before I deal with the question whether or not the accused acted in the trials in accordance with the laws of common sense, another preliminary question must be posed: Could the accused have perpetrated the incredible crimes to which they confessed?

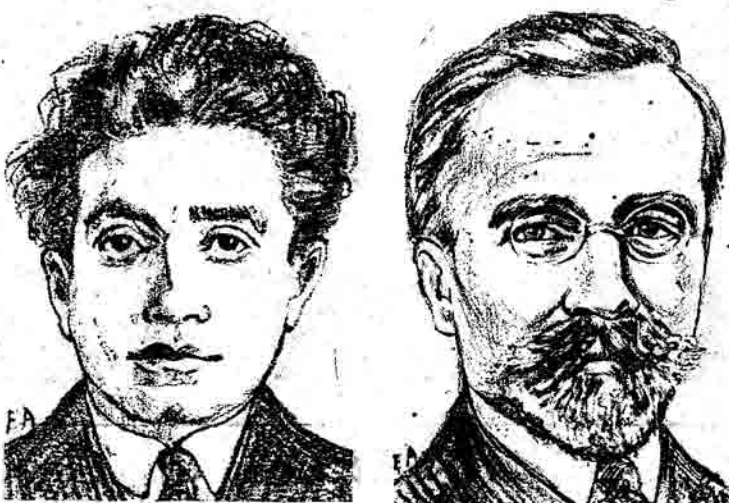
Was the assassination of Kirov advantageous to the Opposition? And if not, was it not advantageous to the bureaucracy to ascribe the assassination of Kirov to the Opposition whatever the cost?

Was it advantageous for the opposition to commit acts of sabotage, to cause mine explosions, and to organize railroad wrecks? And if not, was it not advantageous for the bureaucracy to place the responsibility for the mistakes and accidents in industry on the Opposition?

Was it advantageous for the Opposition to enter into an alliance with Hitler and the Mikado? And if not, was it not advantageous for the bureaucracy to obtain from the Opposition the confession that it was in alliance with Hitler and the Mikado?

Que protest? [who profits?] It is enough to formulate this question clearly and precisely,

Victims of Stalin's Blood Purges



Gregory Zinoviev (left) and Lev B. Kamenev (right), Lenin's oldest collaborators in the Bolshevik Party leadership at the time of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. They joined with Trotsky in 1926 in the struggle for workers' democracy, then capitulated to Stalin in 1927. Finally, Stalin's GPU forced them to "confess" to terrorism. They were shot following the first Moscow Trial in August 1936.

in order to have the first outlines of the answer already apparent.

(2) In the last trial, as in all the preceding ones, the only bases of the charges are the standardized monologues of the accused, who, repeating the thoughts and expressions of the Prosecutor, outdo one another in confessing, and invariably name me the principal organizer of the plot. How explain this fact?

In his summation, Vyshinsky tries this time to justify the absence of objective proofs by the considerations that the conspirators did not have membership cards, did not keep records, etc., etc. These miserable arguments appear doubly miserable on Russian soil, where plots and trials stretch out over many decades.

The conspirators write pseudo-conventional letters. But these letters can be seized during raids, and then constitute serious evidence. The conspirators quite frequently have recourse to chemical ink. But the Czarist police hundreds of times seized such letters and presented them in court. Among the plotters there are provocateurs who give the police concrete information about the progress of the plot, and make it possible to seize documents, laboratories, and even the conspirators themselves at the scene of the crime.

We find nothing like that in the trials of Stalin-Vyshinsky. Despite the five-year duration of the most grandiose of all plots, with ramifications in all parts of the country and connections across the western and eastern borders, despite the innumerable raids and seizures and even thefts of archives, the GPU has not been able to present to the

Too Much for Shakespeare

The number of instances in which the testimony of the accused — their denunciations of themselves and others — falls to pieces when confronted with the facts, is very large. That has already been made sufficiently apparent here during the inquiry. The experience of the Moscow trials shows that a frame-up on such a colossal scale is too much even for the most powerful police apparatus in the world.

There are too many people and circumstances, characteristics and dates, interests and documents, which do not fit into the framework of a ready-made libretto! The calendar stubbornly maintains its prerogatives, and the seasons of Norway do not bow even before Vyshinsky. If one approaches the question in its artistic aspect, such a task—the dramatic concordance of hundreds of people and innumerable circumstances—would have been too much even for Shakespeare.

But the GPU does not have Shakespeares at its beck and call. In so far as it is a question of "events" in the USSR, the external semblance of concordance is maintained by inquisitorial violence. All—the defendants, the witnesses and the experts—chorus their confirmation of materially impossible facts.

But the situation changes abruptly when it is necessary to extend the threads abroad. Yet, without threads abroad, leading to me, "Public Enemy Number One," the trials would lose most of their political importance. That is why the GPU was forced to risk dangerous and most unfortunate combinations with Holtzman, Olberg, David, Berman-Yurin, Romm, and Pyatakov.

The choice of objects for analysis and refutation thus unfolds by itself from the "facts" which the accusation alleges against me and my son. Thus, the refutation of Holtzman's assertion about his visit to me in Copenhagen, the refutation of

tribunal a single piece of concrete evidence. The defendants refer only to their real or pretended conversations about the plot. The judicial inquiry is a conversation about conversations. The "plot" has no flesh and blood.

On the other hand, the history of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggle alike knows of no case in which dozens of seasoned conspirators, over a period of years, committed unparalleled crimes, and, after their arrest, despite the absence of evidence, confessed without exception, betraying one another and furiously blasting their absent "leader." How do criminals who yesterday assassinated leaders, shattered industry, prepared war and the dismemberment of the country, today so docilely sing the Prosecutor's tune?

These two fundamental features of the Moscow trials—the absence of evidence and the epidemic character of the confessions—can but arouse suspicion in every thinking man. The objective verification of the confessions, therefore, assumes so much the more importance. Yet the court not only did not make such a verification, but, on the contrary, avoided it from every side. We must take this verification upon ourselves. To be sure, it is not possible in all the cases. But there is no need for that. It will be entirely sufficient for us, as a beginning, to show that in many extremely important instances the confessions are in complete contradiction with the objective facts. The more the confessions are standardized, the more they will be discredited by the revelation that some of them are false.

Romm's testimony about his meeting with me in the Bois de Boulogne, and the refutation of Pyatakov's account of his flight to Oslo, are not only important in themselves, since they pull down the main props of the charges against me and my son but also because they permit me to peer behind the scenes of Moscow jurisprudence in its entirety and to illumine the methods which are there employed.

Such are the first two stages of my analysis. If we succeed in demonstrating that, on the one hand, the so-called "crimes" contradict the psychology and the interests of the defendants, and that, on the other hand—at least in several typical cases—the confessions contradict facts established with precision, we accomplish, by the same token, a very great task for the refutation of the indictment as a whole.

(3) To be sure, even then there remain not a few questions which demand answers. Chief among them are: Why, then, did the accused, after twenty-five, thirty, or more years of revolutionary work, agree to take upon themselves such monstrous and degrading accusations? How did the GPU achieve this? Why did not a single one of the accused cry out openly before the court against the frame-up, etc., etc.

In the nature of the case, I am not obliged to answer these questions. We could not here question Yagoda (he is now being questioned himself by Yezhov), or Yezhov, or Vyshinsky, or Stalin, or, above all, their victims, the majority of whom, indeed, have already been shot. That is why the Commission cannot fully uncover the inquisitorial technique of the Moscow trials. But the mainsprings are already apparent.

The accused are not Trotskyites, nor Oppositionists, nor fighters, but docile capitulators. The GPU had educated them for these trials for years. That is

why I think it extremely important, for the understanding of the mechanics of the confessions, to bring out the psychology of the capitulators as a political group, and to give a personal characterization of the most important defendants of the two trials.

I have in mind not arbitrary psychological improvisations, constructed after the event in the interests of the defense, but objective characterizations based on unimpeachable documents which pertain to various parts of the period which interests us. I have no lack of such materials. On the contrary, my dossiers are bursting with facts and citations. That is why I choose one example—the clearest and most typical, namely: Radek.

Already on June 14th, 1929, I wrote of the influence exerted by the powerful Thermidorian tendencies on the Opposition itself: " . . . We have seen by a whole series of examples how old Bolsheviks, striving to preserve themselves and the traditions of the Party, tended with all their strength to go with the Opposition; some until 1925, others until 1927, and yet others until 1929. But in the long run, they did not hold out; their nerves gave way. Radek is now the most headlong and vociferous ideologue of the elements of

Mathematical Series of Frame-Ups

(1) It can be unimpeachably established, on the basis of official sources, that the preparations for the assassination of Kirov were made with the knowledge of the GPU. The head of the Leningrad section of the GPU, Medved, and eleven other GPU agents, were sentenced to prison because "They possessed information concerning the preparations for the attempt on S. M. Kirov . . . and failed to take the necessary measures."

One should imagine that the police agents who "knew" ought to have figured as witnesses at all the subsequent trials. But we never hear again of Medved and his collaborators; they "knew" too much. The Kirov assassination serves as the basis of all the subsequent trials. Yet at the basis of the Kirov assassination lies a colossal provocation of the GPU, attested to by the verdict of the military court on December 29th, 1934.

The task of the organizers of the provocation consisted in implicating the Opposition and especially myself, in a terrorist deed (through the medium of the Latvian consul Bisenecis, an agent provocateur employed by the GPU who has likewise vanished without leaving a trace). The bullet fired by Nikolayev was hardly part of the program, but rather one of the incidental costs of the amalgam.

This question was analyzed in my pamphlet, "The Kirov Assassination and the Stalin Bureaucracy," written at the beginning of 1935. Neither the Soviet authorities nor their foreign agents even attempted to answer my arguments, which were based exclusively on official Moscow documents.

(2) As we have proved before the Commission, seven trials took place in the USSR, with the Kirov assassination as their starting point: (a) the trial of Nikolayev et al, December 28-29th, 1934; (b) the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, January 15-16th, 1935; (c) the trial of Medved et al, January 23d, 1935; (d) the trial of Kamenev et al,

this type." (Bulletin of the Opposition, Nos. 1-2, July, 1929.)

It was none other than Radek who in the last trial provided the "philosophy" for the "criminal activities" of the "Trotskyites." According to the testimony of many foreign journalists, Radek's testimony seemed in the trial to be the least artificial, the least constructed on a model, the most deserving of confidence. All the more important is it to demonstrate by this example that on the defendants' bench sat not the real Radek, as nature and his political past made him, but a "robot" out of the laboratory of the GPU.

If I succeed in demonstrating this with full conviction, then the role of the others accused in these trials will also be clarified to a considerable extent. That does not mean, obviously, that I discard the clarification of each separate personality. On the contrary, I hope that the Commission will give me the opportunity to carry out this task at the next stage of its work. But now, because of the limitations imposed by time I am obliged to concentrate attention only on the most important circumstances and the most typical figures. The work of the Commission, I hope, will only gain thereby.

July, 1935; (e) the trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev, August, 1936; (f) the Novosibirsk trial, November 19-22nd, 1936; (g) the trial of Pyatakov-Radek, January 23-30th, 1937.

These trials are seven variations played on one and the same theme. Among the different variations there is almost no discernible connection. Each contradicts the others in fundamentals, and details. In each trial, different persons organize the assassination of Kirov, by different means and for different political objectives. The mere comparison of the official Soviet documents is ample proof that at least six of these seven trials must be frame-ups. In fact, all seven are frame-ups.

(3) The Zinoviev-Kamenev trial (August, 1936) has already inspired a voluminous literature, which contains a number of extremely important arguments, testimonies, and weighty considerations in support of the idea that the trial constitutes a malicious frame-up by the GPU. I mention here the following books:

Leon Sedov: "Livre Rouge sur le Procès de Moscou."
Leon Sedov: "Lettre au Comité Central de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et la Ligue."
Max Shachtman: "Behind the Moscow Trial."
Francis Heisler: "The First Two Moscow Trials."
Victor Serge: "Destin d'une Révolution, U.R.S.S., 1917-1937."
Victor Serge: "16 Feuilles. Ou Va la Révolution Russe?"
Friedrich Adler: "The Witchcraft Trial in Moscow."

Not one of these books, which represent the product of serious and careful study, has thus far met with a critical appraisal—leaving aside the gutter epithets of the Comintern press, which for a long time has not been taken seriously by any self-respecting person. The fundamental arguments of these books are also my arguments.

Warnings and Predictions

(4) As far back as 1926, the Stalin clique tried to charge various oppositional groups with "anti-Soviet" propaganda, connections with White Guards, capitalist tendencies, espionage, terrorism aims, and, finally, the preparation of armed insurrection. All these attempts, which are akin to rough drafts, have left their traces in official decrees, in newspaper articles, in documents of the Opposition. If we were to arrange chronologically these rough drafts of and experiments in frame-up, we would obtain something in the nature of a geometric progression of false accusations, whose end terms are the indictments in the last trials. Thus we uncover the "law of frame-ups" and the mystery of the alleged Trotskyite conspiracy vanishes into thin air.

(5) It is the same with the improbable declarations of the defendants, which at first sight contradict all the laws of human psychology. Ritualistic recantations on the part of Oppositionists date back to 1924, and especially the end of 1927. If we collate the texts of these recantations on the basis of the leading Soviet press—often consecutive recantations made by

the self-same individuals—we obtain a second geometric progression, the end terms of which are the nightmarish confessions of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Radek and others at the judicial trials. A political and psychological analysis of this accessible and unimpeachable material wholly and conclusively reveals the inquisitorial mechanics of the recantations.

(6) To the mathematical series of frame-ups and the mathematical series of recantations, there corresponds a third mathematical series—that of warnings and predictions. The author of these lines and his closest co-thinkers followed attentively the intrigues and provocations of the GPU, and in advance, on the basis of particular facts and symptoms, warned time and again, in letters as well as in the press, against Stalin's provocative plans and against amalgams in preparation. The very expression, "Stalinist amalgam," was given currency by us almost eight years before the Kirov assassination and the spectacular trials which followed it.

The relevant documentary proofs have been placed at the disposal of the Commission of Inquiry. They show with abso-

lute incontestability that what is involved is not an underground Trotskyite conspiracy first unearthed in some startling manner in 1936, but a systematic conspiracy of the GPU against the Opposition, with the aim of imputing to it sabotage, espionage, assassinations and the preparation of insurrections.

(7) All the "recantations" extorted from tens of thousands of Oppositionists since 1924, contained by compulsion a barb directed at me. All who wished to re-enter the Party, the exiles wrote in the Bulletin of the Opposition (No. 7, Nov.-Dec., 1929), were ordered to "give us Trotsky's head." In conformity with the previously indicated law of the mathematical series, the threads of all the crimes of terrorism, treason and sabotage, in the trials of 1936-1937, lead invariably to me and my son. But our entire activity during the past eight years was, as is well known, carried on abroad.

Here the Commission enjoys, as we have already seen, a great advantage. The GPU abroad had no approach to me, since I was always surrounded by a circle of devoted friends. On November 7th, 1936, the GPU stole a portion of my archives in Paris, but until now they have been unable to make any use of them. The Commission has at its disposal all my archives, the testimonies of my friends and acquaintances, not to speak of my own depositions. The Commission is in a position to compare my private correspondence with my articles and books, and in this way determine whether my activity bears the slightest tinge of double-dealing.

(8) But that is not all. The directives of the conspiracy allegedly came from abroad (France, Copenhagen, Norway).

Five Conclusion

The conclusions which flow from the initial stages of this investigation are, in my opinion, the following:

(1) Despite long years of struggle against the Opposition, despite tens of thousands of raids, arrests, banishments, imprisonments, and hundreds of executions, the Soviet judicial authorities do not have at their disposal even a single substantial fact, not a shred of material proof, to confirm the truth of the accusations. This fact constitutes the most damning evidence against Stalin.

(2) Even if we concede for sake of argument that all or some of the defendants really committed the monstrous crimes attributed to them, their stereotyped references to me as the principal organizer of the plot do not carry any weight. Moral degenerates capable of preparing railroad wrecks, poisoning workers, entering into relations with the Gestapo, etc., would naturally have attempted to ingratiate themselves with the bureaucracy by means of staccato slanders against its principal adversary.

(3) The testimony of the defen-

Thanks to an unusually fortunate combination of circumstances, the Commission has full opportunity to determine whether any of the alleged conspirators—Holtzman, Burman-Yurin, Fritz David, Vladimir Romm and Pyatakov—did visit me at the specified times and places.

While the Moscow court has not lifted a finger to prove (by questions regarding passports, visas, hotels, etc.) that these meetings and interviews really did take place we are able here to solve a much more difficult problem: To prove with documents, depositions of witnesses, circumstances of time and place, that these meetings and interviews did not and could not have taken place. To employ legal terminology—I am able in all important instances, where exact dates are given, to establish an unshakable alibi.

(9) If the criminal is not mentally deranged, but a responsible person and even an old and experienced politician, then his crime, however monstrous it may be, must fit in closely with his specific aims. Yet in the Moscow trials there is no such concordance of aims and methods. The state Prosecutor at different trials, ascribes different aims to the very same defendants (now a naked "struggle for power" under the Soviet regime, now a struggle for the "restoration of capitalism"). In this question, likewise, defendants docilely take their cue from the prosecution. The methods to which the defendants resort are absurd from the standpoint of their supposed aims; certainly, they appear to be specially created to furnish the bureaucracy with the best possible pretext for exterminating every kind of opposition.

dants—at least those whose political physiognomy is well known—is, however, false also in those sections where they expose their own criminal activity. We are not dealing with bandits, or with criminal perverts, or with moral degenerates, but with the unfortunate victims of the most horrible inquisitorial system of all time.

(4) The trials are a judicial comedy (hard as it is to use the word "comedy" in this connection), whose lines have been worked out over a number of years on the basis of countless experiments by the organs of the GPU, under the direct and personal supervision of Stalin.

(5) The charges against old revolutionists ("Trotskyites") of desertion to fascism, of alliance with Hitler and the Mikado, etc., were dictated by the same political causes as the accusations of the French Thermidorians against Robespierre and other Jacobins guillotined by them, that they had become "Royalists" and "Agents of Pitt." Analogous historical causes produce analogous historical consequences.

(To be continued)

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Where is Khrushchev's Speech?

Ten weeks have elapsed since Nikita S. Khrushchev, head of the Russian Communist Party, made a secret speech to a closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP in Moscow. The closed session served as a platform from which the world-wide campaign against the "Stalin cult" was launched. Reports of Khrushchev's secret speech created a sensation in the world press. It led to a repudiation of the monstrous frame-up purges and frightful atrocities perpetrated by the Stalinist bureaucracy over the past 20 years.

Ten weeks have elapsed but the speech has not yet been made public. The N. Y. Times carried a report of the speech on March 16. It had been siphoned through "diplomatic" channels which is journalistic for the U.S. State Department. The contents of the Khrushchev speech, released piece-meal through various channels, set off a chain reaction with violent repercussions throughout the Stalinist world.

Ten weeks have elapsed in which the Stalinist parties in every part of the globe have been jolted by the shocking revelations which came as an aftermath of the Khrushchev speech. There have been ten weeks of "discussion." Ten historic weeks in which the most cherished beliefs which the Stalinist ranks have been taught to revere for 20 years were thrown overboard. But the document that triggered the discussion remains a "secret" to rank-and-file members of the Stalinist parties to this day.

Khrushchev made his secret speech the

evening of Feb. 24. It is obvious that the American State Department was given a copy of the speech. The "Russian expert" of the Christian Science Monitor reports that Tito has a full text of the speech. And several weeks ago it was reported that Moscow had provided leaders of the Stalinist parties outside the Soviet Union with copies. But rank-and-file Stalinists have not seen it. What is the reason?

In the meantime the discussion within the Soviet Union was giving the bureaucrats cause for alarm. Editorials began to appear in the Soviet press bristling with epithets directed against "rotten elements" seeking to take advantage of the "free discussion" to question the Kremlin's political line. The "rotten elements" were obviously those workers who were pressing the discussion vigorously and asking the most pointed questions. It was impossible to discover, from the content of the editorials, what the so-called "rotten elements" were saying. What was their criticism? What were their views? They were not disclosed. Only threats, abuse, denunciation and invective calculated to create an atmosphere in which free democratic discussion becomes impossible.

And all of this is palmed off as a return to Leninism. It would be in the interest of political hygiene if some "rotten elements" in the American Communist Party began asking a few questions about what kind of a discussion is it where the main document remains the secret property of the Stalinist leaders and high capitalist circles.

"American Labor Statesmen"

The two top "labor statesmen" in this country, George Meany and Walter Reuther, recently engaged in a verbal duel over what attitude American labor should adopt toward Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India. Reuther had just returned from a junket to India. Before his departure he had taken exception to a speech made by Meany last December castigating Nehru as an "aide and ally of communism in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage." Meany was outraged. Especially as the April 3 N. Y. Times editorially lauded Reuther's trip to India as an opportunity to offset the damage done to U.S.-Indian relations by Meany's attack on Nehru. Meany's reply to the Times editorial reiterated the charge that "Mr. Nehru has lined up with Moscow."

According to news reports, the Meany-Reuther argument at the AFL-CIO executive council meeting "reached such a pitch that one member said, 'it made the battle between Meany and Beck look like a molehill.'" When the two top leaders of the most powerful union movement in the world become embroiled in heated dispute at a meeting of the highest AFL-CIO body, one would presume that the vital interests of the American working class were at stake. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In the field of foreign policy, both Reuther and Meany function as agents of the American State Department. Meany was a little slow in catching up to modifications of American foreign policy due to recent international developments. His speech

last December was made during the visit to India of Khrushchev and Bulganin. Their warm reception by government officials and the tremendous crowds that turned out to hear them alarmed the "cold war" practitioners in Washington. "Labor statesmen" Meany came forward to voice the displeasure of the American State Department. His was the role of "hard cop" warning Nehru to line up with the U.S. in the "cold war" or else!

Instead of intimidating Nehru, Meany only succeeded in inflaming the antagonism of the Indian masses who want no part of American imperialist war policy in Asia. Nehru is bitterly opposed to communism in India. He represents the native capitalist class which seeks to solidify its power in that country. While Khrushchev and Bulganin came to India offering economic aid and "coexistence," U.S. policy has sought to bludgeon the "neutralist" Asian countries into a war alliance against the Soviet Union and China.

The offer of economic aid from the Soviet Union threw the American State Department into a dither. They began talking about economic aid "with no strings attached." So "hard cop" Meany was shunted aside and "soft cop" Reuther was pushed to the fore. Reuther went to India, "unofficially," but with the blessing of the American State Department. His chore? The N. Y. Times put it very neatly: To meet with Indian leaders "to assuage their injured feelings and to correct misunderstandings they may have about American opinion."

The Morton Sobell Case

As popular revulsion for the witch hunt grows, more questions are being raised about the 1951 trial of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. An increasing number of public figures of unimpeachable motives have declared after studying the court records that the victims were innocent or, at most, guilty of much lesser charges.

The Rosenbergs were hurried off to the electric chair in response to the McCarthyite hysteria of the period. But Morton Sobell, who has steadfastly proclaimed his innocence from the first, is serving a 30-year sentence in the Devil's Island of the U.S. prison system — Alcatraz.

Sobell has been subjected to unusually cruel treatment by the prison authorities. He has been put in the prison reserved for the most violent prisoners even though he has no record of violent acts. Alcatraz is the prison furthest away from his family and has the most stringent visiting regulations. The official reason given for the vindictive treatment of this man is that he does not cooperate or show remorse by confessing. In other words he maintains he is innocent and must therefore be broken.

Recently the famous English philosopher and scientist, Bertrand Russell, publicly proclaimed his belief in Sobell's

innocence, accused the FBI of having framed him and called for a new trial.

In a crude attempt to answer Russell, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee produced two witnesses from the original trial at a public hearing. The passage of five years has not improved their testimony any. Most important the one witness against Sobell was not produced.

History has provided enough examples of frame-ups to make the re-opening of the most celebrated case of the McCarthy era an elementary demand. One has only to recall the Dreyfus frame-up to realize the possible parallel. In this country the frame-ups of the Haymarket "bombers," the Mooney-Billings case, the Palmer raid cases involving J. Edgar Hoover, and the Sacco-Vanzetti case, to name only the most famous, give the lie to newspaper claims that political frame-ups are impossible in America. The important roles of such sinister, and now discredited, figures as Roy Cohn and Elizabeth Bentley in Sobell's original trial makes re-opening of the case even more urgent.

Elementary decency and justice require that Morton Sobell be removed from Alcatraz to an ordinary federal prison nearest his family and that the Department of Justice stop its frenzied opposition to the motion of Sobell's attorneys now before the federal courts for a new trial.

An Important Book on the Negro Struggle

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. Grange Publications: London, 1956. 192 pp. \$1.50. American Distributor: G. L. Weissman, 325 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

By George Lavan

American workers owe Frenchman Daniel Guerin a vote of thanks for this remarkably comprehensive and penetrating study of the Negro struggle in the United States. This is far and away the best book on the subject that has appeared for many years.

Guerin is a militant socialist and a scholar of note. Some American readers know the quality of his work from his book, "Fascism and Big Business," that appeared in this country in the 1930's and still remains the best book on the subject. Among his other writings are a two-volume study of the great French Revolution, and a book exposing and excoriating French imperialism in the colonies. There recently appeared in France a study by him of the West Indies and at present he is working on another volume to be entitled Hunger and Love.

REVIEWED BY COURIER

Even before its translation into English Guerin's analysis of the Negro struggle in this country drew the attention of American scholars. Thus, for example, Phylon magazine, the scholarly journal of the University of Atlanta, in a survey of foreign writings on the subject by Mercer Cook (second quarter 1954), described Negroes On The March as "the most painstaking attempt to analyze race relations in the U.S."

The article continues: "His impressive bibliography reveals that he has read voluminously on the subject; in fact, his is certainly the most thoroughly documented account written by a Frenchman. As a typical example, 19 pages contain references to 60 authors such as DuBois, Logan, Brazier, Myrdal, Drake and Cayton,

Wright, Henry Lee Moon, Bucklin Moin, Dorey Wilkerson, Florence Murray and Max Lerner. In addition a footnote to page 181 indicates that Richard Wright has read the proofs and discussed certain of the ideas with the author."

But Guerin, who spent two years in the U.S. on a fellowship studying the Negro struggle, apparently not only read everything written on the subject, but studied it at first hand. His book reveals an itinerary of the Negro communities of most important Northern and Western cities and a thorough tour of the South.

NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS

How perspicacious he was at that time can be appreciated today only after the events of the past year in Mississippi and Montgomery. In the latter he noted that leadership of the local NAACP by Negro trade unionists had produced an altogether outstanding organization. He described the Montgomery NAACP chapter as the most working-class in membership and the most militant he had seen in the South.

He singled out its head, E. L. Nixon, Negro trade union leader, as the new type of leader that the situation not only demanded but which the struggle was producing. Nixon's current role as one of the most prominent boycott organizers and treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Association, bears out the author's foresight of seven years before.

A Militant Leader



E. D. NIXON, prominent leader of the Montgomery bus protest movement, was interviewed by Daniel Guerin in 1948 when the author was gathering material for his book: "Negroes on the March." Guerin described Nixon as, "part of a new generation of Negro cadres (which) is developing, realistic and modern, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, and that the effects of this germination will soon be felt both in the labor movement and in the Negro community."

As his record in the French labor and anti-imperialist movements attests, Guerin is no compromiser. He begins his book with a devastating criticism of a sacred cow — the encyclopaedic survey commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation and directed by Gunnar Myrdal known by the title, An American Dilemma. Guerin's scrupulous approach is

demonstrated by the fact that before publishing his criticisms of Myrdal's work he journeyed to Switzerland to interview Myrdal and inquire whether the omissions of An American Dilemma might not be the sociologist's fault but the result of pressure from the Carnegie Foundation.

In addition to tracing the historical origin of Jim Crow, describing its ugly features in contemporary America and measuring the rate of progress in the fight against it, Guerin takes up the basic problems of the Negro struggle. He examines the theoretical questions involved in separation (or nationalism) and integration. The latter, he shows, is path the Negro people have indisputably chosen. He turns the searchlight of his analysis on the programs, accomplishments and shortcomings of the Negro organizations and of the radical organizations of significance in the Negro struggle.

Talking up the key and inter-related questions of program and leadership, he shows the forces which impel and retard the upward stratum of the Negro community, the Talented Tenth of the Black Bourgeoisie, as E. Franklin Frazier denominates it in his latest book.

One cannot help but be struck with Guerin's indefatigable pursuit of evidence on which to arrive at his conclusions. Throughout the book he makes points by referring to what he saw at union meetings in the South — of longshoremen, machinists, etc., etc. His description of job discrimination is based on talks with Negro building tradesmen, white AFL officials, CIO leaders. He seems to have talked to everyone, to have observed and interviewed representatives of every layer of the population from college presidents on down, and to

have carried protests against attempts to interfere with his search for the facts as far as Southern State houses.

This book appeared as part of a larger work on America in a French edition in 1951. Parts of it were serialized in a Paris newspaper. Soon thereafter the Pittsburgh Courier carried a series of excerpts in translation. The book was definitely controversial in France. The sycophants of American imperialism shouted that Guerin had exaggerated the sadistic and degrading aspects of American democracy's treatment of its Negro minority. The U.S. State Department rendered its political, if not critical, judgment by summarily refusing Guerin a visa to re-enter the U.S.

The powerful French Stalinist movement on the other hand attacked the book because Guerin had objectively but unsparingly traced the history of the American Communist Party's opportunistic policy on this all-important struggle.

For its English translation Guerin revised the book to bring it up to date on events which had transpired since its original writing. He also added a new introduction addressed to the American reader.

Negroes On The March is a full-scale Marxist analysis and as such is an invaluable tool for all class-conscious American workers. They should add it to their libraries. And all serious participants in the Negro struggle are obligated to read this book and compare what it says and proposes with the writings of liberals, Stalinists, humanitarians, etc., on the subject. Certainly Marxism and Guerin's application of it to this vital issue stands not only to benefit, but to triumph, by such a test.

British Dockers Win Fight for Own Union

By John White

LONDON, May 4 — By their own determination, solidarity and courage thousands of British port-workers have established their right to belong to a union of their own choice and have made a tremendous stride towards a militant national portworkers' union.

On July 6, 1955, 10,000 dockers in the ports of Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester and Hull, were expelled from the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union (NASD) by order of the top circle of British trade union bosses.

In accordance with that order, the main Executive Committee of the NASD (a committee on which the Northern dockers were not represented) dispatched a letter to the secretaries of the Northern branches, curtly informing them that their members were outside the union.

Nine months later, another letter has now been received by these secretaries. This informs them that the expulsion has been rescinded. The dockers of the North are back in the union and a smashing victory for militant trade unionism in Britain has been registered.

Readers of The Militant, who have followed reports from Britain over the past 18 months, will remember how these dockers broke out of the bureaucratic prison house of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and joined the NASD — or "blue" union as it is called by trade unionists here. Before dockers in Hull, Manchester and on Merseyside began streaming into the "blue" it was a tiny union of 7,000 members, confined entirely to London.

Over a period of six months, at the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955, 10,000 dockers left the TGWU and joined the "blue" union.

The mass walk-out from the TGWU aroused violent protests from the trade union bureaucracy. Accusing the NASD leadership of "poaching," they threatened reprisals, alleging violation of the "Bridlington Agreement"—drawn up by the trade union leaders before the war to protect the monopoly and spheres of influence of the big unions in certain industries.

A united front of employers and trade union bosses resisted the recognition of negotiating rights for the "blue" union in the Northern ports. The NASD was forced to take strike action in the spring of last year in an attempt to secure that recognition.

After six weeks of strike, the Northern dockers went back with their objective still unachieved. They had fought on against an array of enemies and treachery, both within and without the labor movement, it would be hard to equal. They were forced to return to work, beating a temporary retreat, and maintaining their forces intact, as solid as

... Labor Party Needed

(Continued from page 1)

Negro people would have the letter of the law on their side in the battles against segregation. This could be of the same value that the famous Section 7A of the NRA code had been to labor in the 1930's. Section 7A had given workers the legal right to organize into unions. By itself it didn't organize any, but the militant young CIO had used it to full advantage in its historic battle to organize America's basic industries. Similarly the problem now was to use the school desegregation decision to batter down Jim Crow throughout the country but primarily in the South, the main bastion and primary source of infection.

For it is today crystal clear that those who, in their first enthusiasm, thought that the Supreme Court decision meant that Jim Crow schools would automatically disappear were grievously mistaken. Two years have passed and there is no desegregation whatsoever in the public schools of the Deep South. Indeed, even in the border states the hateful system is slow in disappearing.

Most of the school desegregation that has been effected since the Supreme Court decision took place in the first six months. Moreover the desegregation of the schools of Washington, D.C., and Baltimore account for the greater part of that. The rest has been in the border and fringe areas of the South. Much of the so-called integration is token and half-hearted. However, these criticisms are minor when compared to the slowdown that has taken place in the second year since the decision.

REASON FOR DELAY

In the Deep South it is not a slowdown but a dead stop. The slowdown has come in the border states. It is explained by three factors: (1) the implementing decision of the Supreme Court, a year after the first decision, gave in to the white supremacists on the question of how and when to desegregate; (2) the Southern state officials and Congressmen have taken the offensive politically with declarations that they simply will not desegregate their schools — this successful defiance has strengthened the resistance to desegregation in the border states; (3) the Negro leaders and their allies in labor's of-

feelings of the men on the water-front. For him the problem was solved by a decree from above. The sacrifice and solidarity of working men, however, proved more powerful than the bureaucratic machine.

After the test case, the two men met again. The bureaucrat was no longer patronizing as he looked in angry frustration at the leading militant.

"You're smashing the trade union movement," he fumed. Back came the answer. "Your type of movement."

Every Deep South state has made legislative preparations to delay interminably and evade enforcement of desegregation in the event the federal district courts attempt to put some teeth into the high court's implementation ruling. There is no doubt but that legal trickery could keep school desegregation in litigation for decades, if not for a century as some predict.

To cut this Gordian knot a political weapon is needed. Do the Negro people have such an instrument? The solid Southern bloc has so terrorized both Northern Democrats and the Republican Party that neither, desirous though they are to snare the Negro vote, will even consider executive or legislative measures to enforce desegregation.

In the face of this, the official Negro and labor leaders simply have no program that can bring results. The NAACP limits itself primarily to pursuing desegregation by lawsuits. These are necessary, but by themselves will accomplish little or nothing. Lawsuits can be won by the hundreds and not a single Deep South school will be integrated — if lawsuits are the only means employed — because each court "victory" the Dixiecrat officials will continue Jim Crow schooling under another name, and so on without end.

The cowardice of the Northern Democrats, to whom the Negro people and labor have given their votes for two decades, is well demonstrated by their failure even to answer the defiant manifesto of the 100 Southern Congressmen against the Supreme Court ruling. This cowardice, which has been spelled out in kowtowing to the Dixiecrats and in betrayal on civil rights promises, has prompted some Negro leaders to urge swinging to the Republican Party.

Such advice is worthless. The Republican Party is even more openly a party of Big Business. Big Business makes big profits out of Jim Crow. Moreover, the Southern reactionaries have in practice long been staunch allies of this Wall Street party. Voting Republican, as some Negro leaders are now urging, will advance desegregation as little as voting Democratic, which other Negro leaders and all the labor leaders are urging.

While the Negro and labor leaders have proved themselves impotent to capitalize on the legal victory of the Supreme Court decision and to launch an offensive to batter down the Jim Crow, open-shop stronghold of reaction, the Negro masses are on the upsurge.

A graph of the movement of the Negro people since the high court decision shows a mounting curve of unity, desire for action, and feeling that now is the time for effective action. The huge demonstrations over the lynching of Emmett Till and the

"trial" of his killers proved this. The feeling over Miss Autherine Lucy's attempt to enjoy in fact what the court said was her right in law, was another.

MONTGOMERY

Most important is the history-making bus boycott of the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama. The Montgomery protest demonstrates two things: that the Negro masses of the South are emerging onto the battlefield with unexpected solidarity, perseverance and organizational ability. This is a mass action which carries more power than the most beautifully written court decision.

Yet all this readiness of Negroes — North and South — to act can have no decisive, lasting effect against Jim Crow unless it finds a political solution. The overthrow of Jim Crow schools in the Deep South is going to involve the overthrow of a lot more. First and foremost must be the political stranglehold that the Southern white supremacists have, over their own states, over Congress and the White House.

A political solution will be the only solution. It is necessary to sweep the racists from the seats of power in Washington as well as in Georgia and Mississippi. Not only the white-supremacist school boards in Alabama but the anti-Negro, anti-labor sheriffs in every county must go. Side by side with integration in the South there must be union organization. A militant union organization drive linked with an anti-Jim Crow campaign would hurl the White Citizens Council elements out of existing unions and would unite the mass of Negro and white workers against their common economic and social enemies. In this way an alliance between the Southern Negroes and a section of the Southern whites can be won.

Yet the AFL-CIO leaders, far from mapping such a campaign, are covering before the WCC elements in the Southern unions. The labor bureaucrats have no program to organize the South or to do anything else than hold onto their privileges and to hustle the votes for the Democratic Party.

The Negro people and labor nationally must take a new road, a new political road which leads directly to desegregation and unionization of the South. That road means the building of a party of labor, the Negro people and the small farmers.

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The Negro Vote and The 1956 Election

The recent primaries disclosed a marked shift in the Negro vote. The nation-wide mass protest meetings around the lynch-murder of Emmett Till, the Autherine Lucy case, the Montgomery bus protest movement, were characterized by explosive resentment against the political party directly responsible for the outrages. Adam Clayton Powell, a sensitive barometer of the mood of the Negro people, even went so far as to threaten the formation of a "Third Party." Roy Wilkins, head

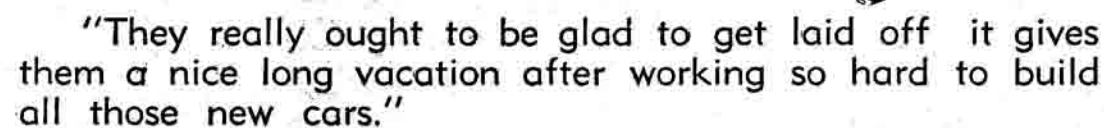
An appreciation of these facts has led W. E. B. DuBois, one of the more politically conscious Negro leaders, to advocate a boycott of the election as a protest against the virtual monopoly exercised by the twin political pillars of the Jim Crow system. A protest boycott would be valid if there were no other alternative. But there is. The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president, stand foursquare, in both word and deed, for the end of Jim Crow in all spheres of American life — economic, political and social. A vote for Dobbs and Weiss is the best expression in this election of the determination to carry the fight for equality through to the end.

By Don Barry

Still, in all this slime of degradation, the

glows and flickers, and then goes out.

NUMBER 20



By George Lavan

"AMERICAN TRAGEDY"

The Atomic Energy Commission on May 9 announced a new set of "loyalty" regulations. Publicized as making things fairer for victimized employees, the new procedure still does not permit the accused to confront and cross-examine the accusers. Rather it provides for secret examination of witnesses by board members. In addition an "impartial" counsel is to conduct the questioning with

The police-staters are also stepping up Smith Act cases. In New York the trial of seven secondary CP leaders is underway with the usual "evidence" of

In Massachusetts Judge Francis W. Ford rebuked the Department of Justice by postponing the Smith Act membership trial of Michael Russo since the Supreme Court has announced that it will review the constitutionality of the membership conviction. Claudio Lightfoot and Junius Scales. This is just the opposite of what happened in the Buffalo trial of John Noto, who was tried and convicted despite the high court's announcement that it would rule on the Lightfoot case.

DETROIT, May 5 — A project in this city to mobilize aid for the Montgomery bus boycott movement was successfully completed this week when a 1951 eight-seat station wagon was delivered to the Montgomery Improvement Association. A spokesman reported that the morale of the Montgomery movement

The response was excellent, showing a widespread desire among Detroiters, both white and colored, to demonstrate in a practical way their solidarity with the Montgomery fighters against segregation.

The committee representative who delivered the vehicle reported back to the Friday Night Socialist Forum last night, with a written message from the MIA expressing thanks for the gift and promising to make use of it in the spirit in which it was given.


The representative of the com-

By Della Rossa

WINNING SUPPORT

The Christian Science Monitor compares the current "automation war" with the Luddite movement which began in Nottingham around 1811. The introduction of power machinery in

Recent reports from the various parts of the country have been reflected by the work done with the main issues the Militant has been concentrating upon: the world crisis of Stalinism and the civil rights fight in the U.S.



John Collins wrote from Detroit: "We want to report that at an NAACP rally at which E. D. Nixon of Montgomery spoke, Edie Green, Stevey Marshall, Edith Black and Bertha Bell here on a visit, sold 56 copies of The Militant and 17 Bohannon pamphlets. We are all now busily engaged raising money for a station wagon for the Montgomery car pool."

thousand Militants reached readers at the Stalinist May Day meeting in Union Square. The paper was accepted and a few discussions resulted. At a Monthly Review meeting 250 copies of the March 26 issue with Cannon's speech were well received. One immediate result: a woman came in the next day, bought \$2.25 worth of literature and remarked that she likes the paper very much and had never known that a party like ours existed."

From San Francisco: "We have really been doing great on our Militant sales" says Ruth Aaron. "This weekend we sold 130 papers during a street sale. We found that the paper practically sold itself and everyone we met had a very friendly attitude. Many people came up to me and said they had gotten the paper before, enjoyed it and hoped to see us more often. The top salesmen were Frank Barbaria who sold 50 Militants and E. Harris with a sale of 25."

A friend in Canada: "Enclosed is my renewal to the Militant — sorry to be a couple of weeks late. Several of us here look forward to the arrival of our paper. The news of the last few weeks: Stalin, Montgomery, Ceylon portend a rising tide. I would like to suggest inclusion of short paragraphs such as highlighted in the "Appeal to Reason" in bygone days, something we may quote from memory on the job — the answers a lot of people will be looking for. Let us know early if any national broadcast time is obtained. We want to hear Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss."

An urgent appeal from Richard Clausen in St. Louis: "If you have them to spare, please send me some copies of the March 26 Militant. I need them because of Cannon's article on the Stalin cult. Over the years I have gotten out of the habit of talking about the Russian bureaucracy, but workers bring it up themselves now."

Helen Baker of Seattle tells us:
"Last Wednesday evening Ann Martin and I distributed The Militant to some Stalinists. The reactions were mixed. We got only one violent, No! . . . Six people came to our last two affairs from my regular Saturday route"

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