## **SWP Vice-Pres. Candidate Opens** Nationwide Tour

MAY 19 - Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, is in Los Angeles this week on the opening lap of a coast-to-coast speaking tour that will cover 9the principal cities from there to

MYRA TANNER WEISS

In 1946 she initiated a West

France gives aid to imperialism.

while asking for renewed negotia-

tions, do not support the enosis

demand of the Cypriotes. Further-

more, the Tory Colonial Secretary

Alan Lennox-Boyd threatened to

reveal secret documents showing

that the Labor Government in

1951 pursued the same policy.

towards Cyprus as the Tories do

"Socialist" Premier Mollet in

France now speaks only of the

distinguishable from the extreme

been able to get away with it

the powerful French Communist

Party are determined to buy his

support to his government. Thus

powers which have enabled Mollet

to carry on his regime of terror

Marshall Tito for his part, on

a state visit to France, offered to

play the role of "honest broker"

between French imperialism and

the Arab nationalists. He backed

Algeria, praising it as "liberal."

Popular hostility to this colonial

war is so great that the CP lead-

recently as the May Day rallies.

May 13 edition of the party organ.

L'Humanite, because it carried

reprisals against the Algerians

in Algeria.

STALINIST TREACHERY

The British Labor Party chiefs,

Kicking off the 1956 SWP election campaign Mrs. Weiss will present the socialist answer to the reactionary bi-partisan foreign and domestic policies of the Republicans and Democrats. The theme of her speaking tour will be, "The United States and the Soviet Union in

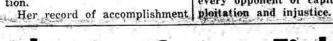
The tour schedule for Mrs. Weiss has been arranged to provide time for speaking engagements in addition to major pub-

A veteran socialist lecturer, Mrs. Weiss will be accepting invitations to speak before labor. Negro, student and community organizations. Among the subjects she is prepared to speak on are the following: "Why the Kremlin Repudiated Stalin," "Socialism and the Negro Struggle," "Foundations of the Marxist in the struggles of labor and Theory of the Class Struggle." | minority peoples is equally sol- | Party, after piously speechifying

Organizations interested in having Myra Weiss appear on struggles of the agricultural be straddled, promptly proceeded their platform can obtain the workers in Southern California to straddle on this very issue. necessary information from the and participated in the leader-Myra Tanner Weiss, together fense of Mexican immigrant

with Presidential candidate Far- workers. rell Dobbs, has been placed in nomination by the SWP's National Committee. The nomina- forced official action in the tions will go to a Party convention planned for this summer. She was also Dobbs' run- their home had been threatened

An active socialist since 1936, case, Vigilante Terror in Fon- Congress. Mrs. Weiss is a regular contributor to The Militant, Previously she was the SWP's organizer in Los Angeles and its standard bearer in elections there for Mayor and for Congress. In 1950 she polled 18,000 votes in the contest for Board of Educa-



## Algeria, Cyprus Fight **Terror of Imperialists**

By John Black

The hanging of two young Cypriote patriots, the sentencing of a 15-year-old boy to ten years in jail for carrying concealed weapons, the Imposition of collective fines,

curfews and the jailings of thousands - all these and other acts ship of labor in England and of imperialist terror emphasize British determination to hold on to its strategic military base of

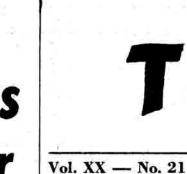
At the same time "Socialist" Premier Mollet of France has junked his "reform" program for Algeria and has sent almost 400,000 troops to suppress the swelling Arab insurrection. France has more troops committed in Algeria now than ever saw action

Cypriotes determined to have enosis (unity with the Greek restoration of 'law and order' in motherland) reacted to the British Algeria. His policy is less and less terror by shutting down industries and services with a gen- rightwing imperialists. He has eral strike on May 10. Newspapers ceased publication as print- above all because the chiefs of ers walked out. Construction workers at the British Middle East Command at Akrotiri and good will by giving parliamentary Episcopi joined the strike. Mainland Greek cities of Athens and they voted for the extraordinary Salonika were shaken by anti-British and anti-U.S. demonstrations that cost the lives of three and left 124 wounded in Athens alone. Students attempted to storm the U.S. Information Service office in Athens, showing that they understood the behind-thescene role of the State Depart- up Mollet's repressive program in

Anti-U.S. feeling ran so high that the Greek government, a ers have had to make an adjust-NATO ally, was forced to ask the U.S. Sixth Fleet to cancel ment in their Algerian policy. As its proposed visit to Crete.

NATO TROOPS IN ALGERIA The French, with the openly fact, the thousands of Algerians declared support for their policy in Algeria by U.S. Ambassador Dixon, have withdrawn almost all Day rally. But under the pressure their NATO forces from Europe of its own membership the CP for action against the Algerians. now has shifted to a campaign Nevertheless, a full scale, late of "petitions, demonstrations and spring offensive launched by the strikes" to end the war in North native Fellagha armies has put the French on the defensive throughout the country. The May 12 N. Y. Times states that "the military situation is one of

swiftly continuing deterioration." Algerian national independence this day the Stalinists in the Socialism. But the official leader- government.



THE MILITANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY, 21, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cents

# Union Tops Form Committee To Support Negro Struggle

### **ADA** Weasels On Key Civil Rights Issue

By George Lavan The convention of Americans or Democratic Action, the liberallabor wing of the Democratic

This piece of hypocrisy took Socialist Workers Party in their ship of strikes of the badly un- place when it became necessary locality or by communicating derpaid farm workers. She was to leave the field of talk against with the Party's national cam- made an honorary member of Jim Crow and take a position on paign headquarters, 116 Uni- the Mexican Agricultural Work the Powell Amendment which versity Place, New York 3, N.Y. ers Union for her courageous de- would deny federal funds to school districts and states which refuse to desegregate their Jim Crow schools. The Powell Amend-Coast protest movement that ment has caused much embarrass ment to Northern Democratic shocking case of a Negro family politicians who are strong against that was burned to death after Jim Crow in campaign speeches before Negro and labor audiences ning mate in the 1952 Presiden- by racists. She wrote a nation- but weak in bringing civil rights ally circulated pamphlet on the legislation to a showdown vote in

> The ADA delegates who me eloquent and militant in Washington, May 11-13, didn't spokesman for socialism, Mrs. however, even get a chance to Weiss will utilize every possible vote on the Powell Amendment. opportunity during her tour to Their leaders, who have been reach the maximum audience snipping at that unequivocal antiwith the SWP platform. She segregation amendment to the should have the active support of school aid bill for many months every opponent of capitalist ex- proposed instead a much watered lown amendment to be introduced by Senator Lehman (D-N.Y.).

So corrupted with opportunism is the ADA, however, that even the emasculated Lehman amendment was long and bitterly opposed and almost defeated. It finally squeaked through to endorsment by the narrow vote of 128 to 123.

rights issue was given by its state Alabama bus segregation theory, the ADA is independent tional. and non-partisan. In fact, it is ticians, union chiefs and Negro they pleased. eaders. It endorses those candistandards. These have always tion on the flimsy ground that a been the Democratic presidential city ordinance was at issue. This

Although the majority of the delegates obviously were for Adlai Stevenson, for reasons of practical politics no one endorse- with violating state laws. ment was given. Rather a blank check of support to the Democratic Party was given in the three leading Democratic hope-Harriman - were all "eminently Broder: "We employed Rev. King build and keep rolling the kind of of the formation of an AFL-CIO

(Continued on page 4)



Painted on the sands of Namu Island, in the Eniwetok Atoll, is this huge bull's eye, the target set up for the first hydrogen bomb to be dropped by an American plane. U.S. government is preparing to explode this largest nuclear weapon produced by man despite world - wide protest. Top scientists have warned of "grave danger of such tests." Dr. A. H, Sturtevant of California Institute of Technology has said, "The bombs already exploded will ultimately result in the production of numerous defective individuals if the human race itself surives

### MIA Digs in for Long **Battle to End Jim Crow**

MAY 17 - As the Negro people of Montgomery entered the ourselves." 25th week of their battle to drive no sign that either they or their stand by voicing the opinion that racist opponents are ready to the Supreme Court has not outgive ground in the fight. Moving lawed intra-state bus segregation. dently involved in the fight. on the legal front, four women, In ending the hearing the judges Since his return from Montrepresenting the entire Negro reduced to set a date for handing gomery, where he covered the Further demonstration of the into Federal District Court, May ADA's weaseling on the civil 11, in an effort to have local and presidential endorsments. In laws struck down as unconstitu-

The four women complainants the liberal-labor wing of the informed the three-judge court Democratic Party and numbers that they would not ride the among its leaders liberal poli- buses until they could sit where

City and state officials argued dates who meet its "high" liberal the federal court had no jurisdicquickly exploded when NAACP attorney Robert Carter produced evidence that Negroes had been arrested and charged

Efforts of the city's lawyer to prove that the Negro community had been induced to stay off the form of a declaration that the buses by its leaders was flung back in his teeth by the plainfuls - Stevenson, Kefauver and tiffs, Replied Mrs. Aurelia to be our mouthpiece, but we are a car pool that can provide ef- National Union Civil Rights Com-It was ironic and revealing that our own leaders, too." A second ficient transportation for all.

added, "I don't know who selected | supporters of the MIA have camwhom to lead us. We all spoke for

During the hearing two of the case and will be studied and

STATION WAGONS NEEDED

and deliberate" ways to thwart people, through their organization, the Montgomery Improvestepping up the drive to secure station wagons for the vital car pool. They find that the private cars used on a volunteer basis are beginning to wear out and are costly to keep repaired.

The membership of the MIA has demonstrated its ability to make the financial sacrifices with this view was expressed in a needed to keep the movement collection of \$100 which was for going but it must necessarily look | warded to the MIA. for substantial additional aid to plaintiff, Mrs. Susan McDonald | Since the beginning of the fight.

paigned to win them the help they need, Throughout, the Socialist Workers Party, has cam-Jim Crow off the buses there was three judges indicated where they paigned for support to Montgomery by the U.S. labor movement, whose own interests are

community of Montgomery, went down a decision and piously ex- boycott trial for the Militant, Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers candidate for President, has spoken in key Northern cities on the need for labor to extend full material and moral support to the While their opponents "study MIA. For a while such support from the unions was slow in their just demands the Negro coming. But rank and file unionists and many students did demonstrate their desire to help. ment Association, are digging in At meetings addressed by Dobbs for what they recognize will be a in Detroit and Chicago, members long fight. The MIA is reportedly of the audience organized "Station Wagons for Montgomery committees and acted to reinforce the MIA car pool.

> At a meeting in Buffalo May 12, Dobbs repeated the urgent need for labor to support the Montgomery movement in its own self interest. Audience agreement

Now comes the heartening new mittee pledged to raise \$2 million (Continued on page 4)

## \$2 Million Fund Will **Back Fights Like Bus Protest in Montgomery**

At long last a number of top leaders of the American union movement have taken cognizance of their responsibility to intervene on behalf of the Negro struggle for equality with something more substantial than pious words and good resolutions. In a speech before the 29th con-

vention of the International 3 Ladies Garment Workers Union years ago, the Southern racists at Atlantic City, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters announced the formation of a National Union Civil Rights Commitee to raise funds to aid the fight against segregation and intimidation and terror, to nullify for full civil rights status for the Supreme Court ruling. With the Negro people.

Mr. Randolph disclosed that the mmediate objective of the committee would be to raise a fund of \$2 million from labor unions and members. The committee will have George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO as chairman and segregation and discrimination. David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU as treasurer.

There seemed to be some ques ion as to how the funds colected by the committee would be allocated. Mr. Randolph proposed that the money go to support such activities as National Association for the Advancement of Colored People court cases; to aid the Montgomery bus protest action, and to help Negro farmers and storekeepers in the South faced with economic pressure and boycott by White Citizens Councils because they supported desegregation. In addition, Mr. Randolph the committee will also strive to encourage active in- unions as a preliminary to terest and sympathy among destroying them, unionized Southern workers."

On the other hand, Dubinsky according to the May 15 N. Y. the committee is in an organizational stage and that its specific be determined on how boldy and objectives and procedures have vigorously the Meany - Dubinsky not been fully decided." Dubinsky committee follows through. added however, "that the committee's over-all aim will be to further civil rights everywhere in is still the Montgomery bus prothe country, with the Negro test movement. Hitherto the suptruggle receiving primary atten- port from the unions has been

preme Court handed down its way for the union organization school desegregation decision two of the open-shop South.

unleashed a ferocious counterattack on all fronts. Their aim is to use their monopoly control over local and state government, their representatives in Congress, protracted judicial proceedings, the launching of Jim Crow White Citizens Council formations in the South the racist offensive took an ominous turn.

The WCC combined political, economic and social pressure to terrorize all opposition to color They reached into the unions to disrupt the elementary unionconscious economic solidarity of the workers by injecting the poison of race hate and color division into the union ranks. Under pressure of the WICIC there even developed talk of

a "separate" Southern federation based on segregated union organizations. Encouraged by their success in the South the Jim Crow practitioners talked of moving North and West. The lack of dorthright leadership from the heads of AFL-CIO emboldened the labor-hating racists who saw

The action of the AFL-CIO leaders in setting up the National Union Civil Rights Committee can Herald-Tribune, "explained that be the first step in reversing the trend. Whether it is or not will

In the meantime, the front line battle in the fight for civil rights scattered and spotty. Many locals The ILGWU convention, said have waited for the top leaders-Dubinsky, would be asked to ap- to speak. The action intiated at prove a \$10,000 contribution "to the ILGWU convention can be get the money ball rolling." The considered semi-official sanction Sleeping Car Porters, added Mr. for all union locals and members Randolph, would be asked to con- to step up the collection of funds tribute an hour's wages which to help the Montgomery freedom would total \$18,000 for the 12,000 fighters. Victory in that fight will go a long way toward When the United States Su- toppling Jim Crow and paving the

# But it will certainly be accelerat- notion that a workers' state | abolition of such obligatory em- | has only weakened itself," wrote | its heroic members were sen-

By Daniel Roberts

A Soviet decree of April 28made public on May 8 - grants important concessions to the Soviet working class. The decree revokes stringent labor regimentation laws which made it a criminal offense for factory and office workers to quit jobs without leave or for prolonged absenteeism without excuse. The government has also decided to release from jail persons convicted of quitting their jobs SOVIET WORKING CLASS without permission and to quash pending indictments.

the CP in France failed to call Actually, the new laws ratify for Algerian independence. In an overwhelming fact of Soviet by a working class that has working in Paris industrial establife. So pronounced is the turnlishments held a separate May as workers seek better wages, conditions that for several years now prosecution for unauthorized change of job has been a dead is to go into effect Oct. 1. It The government suppressed the

was considered possible now that favoring lower income brackets. are entered in the book, which heavy pressure of the masses upon ary socialists in the Soviet Unvarious enterprises might com- It will free material and maneyewitness accounts to mass pete with each other for the power for production of civilian ployer. services of workers by stressing items. Victory for the Cypriote and by the French army. However, to specially good conditions," says Jack Raymond reporting the new however, to believe that the struggles would immeasurably aid French parliament continue to decree in the May 12 New York Kremlin bureaucrats are making try know how the device of a pened more than once that a Stalinist youth opposition - The chairman of this committee the working class in its fight for give their support to the Mollet Times. Actually, this too has these moves because they have permanent "labor record" can

ers will sharpen the demand of to begin functioning as organs of being in drawing up the national production plans.

The Soviet bureaucracy is being forced to give such demands recognition, backed as they are over of the Soviet labor force skill and self-confidence since the end of World War II. Reworking conditions and housing portedly the most popular reform measure to date is the new old-age pension draft law which provides for considerable in-"In view of the new decree it creases in benefits particularly

It would be a serious mistake, been going on for some time, been converted to the Leninist be used to hound them. The ing salvation in 'liberal' reforms, ganized in 1948. The bulk of not a member of it.

drastic of the labor laws. A well-being (insofar as resources elementary demand of the work- Betrayed, in 1936. process of competing for work- permit) of the working people. ers wherever they have built The bulk of the political career unions and asserted their rights. the working class for the unions of Khrushchev, Bulganin and Co. In the U.S. in particular, the has been spent in promotion of struggle in 1937 against the the material interests of the "continuous discharge book" tions. Beyond that the process bureaucratic caste at the exwill sharpen demands giving pense of the workers and peas- correctly called it - provided to a political revolution as the Reconciliation in this country. high priority to workers' well- ants. That is what being Stal- one of the most militant chapin's lieutenants meant. Stalin's ters in the history of West Coast dictatorship was conducted for the sake of the privileges, power and revenue of the Soviet bur-

Stalin's heirs have not changed their loyalty. They still serve of the reforms. For instance, alized change of job and absenrecord" book is not. Each worker must still carry a permanent record of his employment. Disciplinary measures against him he must show every new em- the bureaucracy. It indicates the ion. They include Trotskyists, workers and heroes of October,

"FINK BOOK"

seamen's unions. Regimentation of labor con-

tinues in the Soviet Union depite reforms. Furthermore, planning continues to favor the swollen privileges of the bureauthe bureaucracy. This is indi- cracy, despite salary cuts decreed all internment camps within a cated by the limited character in certain of the highest brackcts. And the preparation of the take that long to end this abomthough prosecution for unauthor- plans as well as the direction of the economy remains comteeism is abolished, the "labor pletely out of control of the lion people are held in various Course" and other Stalinist Soviet working people. Thus the concessions reveal proportion sent there for politicause they "push into the fore-

not a readiness of the bureau-Union militants in every coun- bureaucratic caste. "It has hap-

ed with the repeal of the most must democratically plan for the ployment records has been an Leon Trotsky in The Revolution tenced to 25 years of hard la-

people and the bureaucratic oligarchy," confidently predicted prison camps are also the "Monby Trotsky, is now visible. It is ashkis" - religious pacifists on the "fink book" as the seamen this clash - which must lead the order of the Fellowship of only means of wiping out the bureaucratic rule - that is now litical opponents of the oligarat hand in the Soviet Union. END OF LABOR CAMPS

The growing demands of the Soviet masses against political oppression has forced the Kremlin to announce that it will end fate. year or 18 months. Why it must ination in Soviet society was not explained. An estimated 15 mil- Daily Worker that the "Short cal opposition. Among these are ground the figure of Stalin, cracy for self-reform but the the most devoted of revolution- minimize and keep silent about fact that the Soviet working who have held to their revoclass has gained enormously in lutionary convictions against the of the Petrograd Military Revostrength in relationship to the fearful Stalin terror since 1927. Iutionary Committee as the di-

bureaucratic dictatorship, seek- Lenin's True Works - that or- was Leon Trotsky. Stalin was

bor in Siberia. This was the The "clash between the cul- group that led the great Vorturally developed forces of the kuta strike of 25,000 slave-laborers in August 1953. In the

What will happen to these pochy? Will they simply be transferred to prisons or newly projected "corrective labor colonies"? The announcement does not breathe a word about their

Stalin's falsifications of Soviet history are being corrected piecemeal. Ralph Parker reports from Moscow in the May 14 concentration camps - a large writings are being denounced bethe activities of many party and reveal but weakly the work They also number the anti- rect organizer of the uprising."

### MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS IV-

# Trotsky Explains Marxist View of Terrorism

We publish herewith the fourth installment of Leon Trotsky 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 American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader 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 Commisison 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.]

#### By Leon Trotsky

all its seductive symmetry, this reasoning is corrupt to the core. It is altogether inadmissible to place the terror of a dictatorship against an opposition on the same plane with the terror of an opposition against a dictatorship. To the ruling clique, the simply a question of police techways be sacrificed.

On the part of an opposition, terror presupposes the concentration of all forces upon pre-

by no means permit itself such If terror is feasible for one an insane squandering of its side, why should it be considered forces. It is precisely for this, as excluded for the other? With and for no other reason, that the Comintern does not resort to terroristic attempts in the countries of fascist dictatorships. The Opposition is as little inclined to the policy of suicide as the

According to the indictment, which banks on ignorance and preparation of murders through mental laziness, the "Trotskythe medium of a court or from ites" resolved to destroy the behind an ambush is purely and raling group in order in this way to clear for themselves the nique. In the event of a failure, path to power. The average some second-rank agents can al- Philistine, especially if he wears the badge of a "Rriend of the USSR," reasons as follows: "The Oppositionists could not but strive for power, and could not paring acts of terror, with the but hate the ruling group. Why, foreknowledge that every one of then, shouldn't they really resuch acts, whether successful or sort to terror?" In other words, unsuccessful, will evoke in reply for the Philistine the matter the destruction of scores of its ends where in reality it only best men. An opposition could begins.

### Theory and History

ices. It is not at all a question for power. Every serious political tendency strives to conquer power. The question is: reply: No, they could not!

At this point, the problem of terror requires clarification, even though briefly, from the stand-thousands of pages and hundreds point of history and theory. In point of history and theory. In so far as I am delineated as the against the tactic of terror. initiator of the 'anti-Soviet terror," I am compelled to invest exposition with an biographic character.

rived in London from Siberia, after almost five years of prison casion, in a memorial article a life-and-death matter in the for vengeance . . ." But immediately thereafter I added: tion. In prisons and in police "Not for a personal, but for a revolutionary vengeance. Not for of our own age. the execution of ministers, but for the execution of the auto-

These lines were directed Their author was twenty-three spent in passionate discussion! years of age. From the earliest How many times did we break ity he was already an opponent most burning of all questions! delivered, in various cities in ism, nourished by and reflecting Europe, before Russian students these debates, would fill a large

The leaders of the Opposition | reports against terrorist ideol-

perience of the revolutionary through the era of terror, learnmovement, have entertained even ed from its tragic lessons, and a moment's belief that terror is organically instilled in themselves capable of bringing them closer a negative attitude toward the to power? Russian history, Marx- heroic adventurism of lone inist theory, political psychology dividuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism: Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated

Marxists nourished my attitude toward the revolutionary alcircles during my adolescence. For us, the Russian revolutionand exile, than I had the oc- ists, the problem of terror was devoted to the bicentennial of political as well as the personal the fortress of Schlusselburg, meaning of the term. For us, a with its hard-labor prison, to terrorist was not a character enumerate the revolutionists from a novel, but a living and there tortured to death. "The familiar being, In exile we lived shades of these martyrs clamor for years side by side with the terrorists of the older generacustody we met with terrorists

We tapped out messages back and forth, in the Peter and Paul fortress, with terrorists condemned to death. How many wholly against individual terror. hours, how many days, were days of his revolutionary activ- personal relationships on this of terror. From 1902 to 1905 I The Russian literature on terrorand emigres, scores of political library.

### Terrorism Builds Cult of Individual

are inevitable whenever political in that case who is it that can oppression transgresses certain reap the fruits? At all events, boundaries. Such acts almost al- not the terrorist organization itways have a symptomatic char- self, and not the masses behind acter. But politics that sanctifies whose backs the duel takes place. terror, raising it into a system -that is a different thing.

1909, "in its very essence de- reason is plain. mands such a concentration of energy upon 'the supreme mo- terror introduces disorganization of personal heroism and, lastly, of the Government (at the price pletely any agitational and or- ists), to that extent it plays into gentsia defended their right or the same words, we meet a quarthe working-class districts for tion with the Kirov assassinathe sake of tunneling mines un- tion. derneath the Grand Ducal and

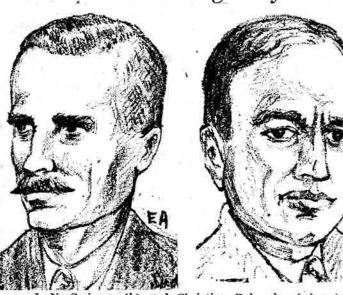
It is impossible to fool or outpolitical strength. There are, of intellectuals and Czarism. course, historical conditions where

Thus, the liberal Russian bourgeois, in their day, invariably "Terrorist work," I wrote in sympathized with terrorism. The

In 1909 I wrote: "In so far as ment,' such an over-estimation and demoralization into the ranks such a hermetically concealed of disorganizing and demoralizconspiracy as . . . excludes com- ing the ranks of the revolutionganizational activity among the the hands of none other than the masses. . . Struggling against liberals themselves." The very terrorism, the Marxian intelli- same idea, expressed virtually in Polands was my Fatherland. I their duty not to withdraw from ter of a century later in connec-

The very fact of individual acts of terror is an infallible to- hours I knelt in a dark empty ken of the political backward- church. My soul cried, threatenwit history. In the long run, ness of a country and the feeble- ed, implored. I hated Him and history puts everybody in his ness of the progressive forces at the same time I loved Him place. The basic property of ter- there. The revolution of 1905, so much. My poor betrayed Lech ror as a system is to destroy which disclosed the vast strength also loved Him. that organization which by means of the proletariat, put an end to of chemical compounds seeks to the romanticism of the single it is to feel one's faith slip the idea and its executors. compensate for its own lack of combat between a handful of away, vanish, and yet crave for

Old Bolsheviks Purged by Stalin



I. N. Smirnov (l.) and Christian Rakovsky (r,) veteran leaders of the Bolshevik Party. Both were close friends of Trotsky and joined with him in the fight in 1923 against the rising Stalinist dictatorship. Smirnov, a Civil War hero, was known as the "Lenin of Siberia." He organized the victory of the Red Armies over Kolchak in 1918. Rakovsky was Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in Ukraine in Lenin's time. Smirnov capitulated to Stalin 1929, Rakovsky in 1934. Then both were victimized in the Moscow Trials.

ed far to the East-to the prov- as a means of struggle against inces of Punjab and Bengal . . . It may be that in other countries of the Orient terrorism is still destined to pass through an erals but also among the Euroepoch of flowering. But in Rus-

sia it is already a part of the

heritage of history." In 1907 I found myself again in exile. The whip of counter- this sympathy for Russian terrevolution was savagely at work, and the Russian colonies in European cities became very nu- mocracy who had become accusmerous. The entire period of my second emigration was devoted from the masses to the ruling are neither upstarts nor nov- ogy, which at the beginning of to reports and articles against the century was once again the terror of vengeance and deof whether they were striving spreading among the Russian spair. In 1909 it was revealed that at the head of the terrorist Beginning with the 'eighties of organization of the so-called "Sothe past century, two genera- cial Revolutionists" stood an Could the Oppositionists, edu- tions of Russian Marxists in agent provocateur, Azef. "In the cated upon the enormous ex- their personal experience lived blind alley of terrorism," I

> "blind alley." During the same period I with the Kirov assassination, wrote: "The irreconcilable atti- meet once again with this tude of the Russian Social De- thought, which runs through the

rules with assurance" (January,

1910). Terrorism has always re-

mained for me nothing but a

ticles. " . . . Terror has migrat- cratized terror of the revolution the terrorist bureaucracy of

Czarism has met with bewilderment and condemnation not only among the Russian libpean Socialists." Both the latter and the former accused us of "doctrinairism." On our part, we. the Russian Marxists, attributed rorism to the opportunism of the leaders of European Social Detomed to transferring their hopes

portfolio . . . as well as those who, clasping an infernal machine beneath a cloak, stalk the Minister himself, must equally overestimate the Minister - his personality and his post. For wrote, "the hand of provocation them the system itself disappears or recedes far away, and there remains only the individual invested with power." We shall presently, in connection mocracy towards the bureau- decades of my activity.

### A "Substitute" for Class Action

The ideological inspiration. In 1911 terrorist moods arose the goal, then to what end are emanating from these senior among certain groups of Austhe endeavors of the class strugtrian workers. Upon the request gle? of Friedrich Adler, editor of Der chemy of the shut-in intellectual Kampf, the theoretical monthly slug of lead are ample to shoot of the Austrian Social Democan article on terrorism for this publication.

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' incircles depends upon the concrete case this confusion can be only state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men-the mechanism remains intact and coninto the ranks of the working sion. masses. If it is enough to arm | Five years later, in the heat

my beloved brother Lech was

killed in the Warsaw uprising

for falsehood. In my childish

imagination he was always the

embodiment of heroism, courage

and uprightness. When I was ten

they told me in a history lesson

that he was killed fighting for

the vile cause of the London

(Polish) Emigre Government

and not for the real Poland, I

have thought there was only one

Poland and now it appeared that

When I was ten I ceased to

believe in the hitherto sacred

word Fatherland because I did

not know which of these many

I had God. When I was 15 I

ceased to believe in God. God

had proved to be an ally of the

You must know how terrible

it to remain. You must know

murderers of Lech. For long

no longer had a Fatherland.

there were many.

the enemy through the neck. racy, I wrote in November, 1911, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an troduces confusion in the ruling a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elecpolitical circumstances. In any tions, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench of short duration. The capitalist from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eves reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes tinues to function. But much towards the great avenger and deeper is that confusion which emancipator who will some day the terrorist attempts to introduce come and accomplish his mis-

"If a pinch of powder and a method of political suicide. explosion, what need is there for accusation shows to what depths

theoretical and political thought, not to mention Soviet justice. To political convictions gained is inadmissible precisely for the theory, tempered in the white ists-automatically, without any the falsifiers counterpose inchoate, contradictory, and uttersuspicious' nonentities.

oneself with a revolver to reach of the imperialist war, Friedrich ist adventurism, not only in Rus-

write this article, killed the sary function in the defense of Austrian Minister - President the workers' state. Should ter-Stuergkh in a Vienna restaurant, rorism of the Nikolayev type The heroic skeptic and opportun- spread, it could, given other unist was unable to find any other favorable circumstances render outlet for his indignation and service only to the fascist countdespair. My sympathies were, er-revolution. "Only political fakers who Hapsburg dignitary. However, to bank on imbeciles would endeav-

the individualist action of Fried- or to lay Nikolayev at the door rich Adler I counterposed the of the Left Opposition, even if form of activity of Karl Lieb- only in the guise of the Zinoviev knecht who, during war-time, group as it existed in 1926-1927. went out into a Berlin square to The terrorist organization of the distribute a revolutionary mani-Communist youth is fostered not by the Left Opposition but by On the 28th of December, 1934, the bureaucracy, by its internal four weeks after the Kirov asdecomposition. Individual terrorsassination, at a time when the ism in its very essence is bureau-Stalinist judiciary did not know cratism turned inside out. For as yet in which direction to aim Marxists this law was not disthe barb of their "justice," I covered vesterday. Bureaucratwrote in the Bulletin of the Opism has no confidence in the masses and endeavors to substi-. . . If Marxists have catetute itself for the masses.

"Terrorism behaves in the same manner; it wants to make the masses happy without asking their participation. The Stalinist bureaucracy has created a revolting leader-cult, endowing leaders with divine attributes. The hero' cult is also the religion of terrorist acts directed against terrorism, only with a minus the bureaucratic representatives sign. The Nikolayevs imagine of the first workers' state in histhat all that is necessary is to remove a few leaders by means Nikolayev and his associates are a matter of indifference to us. "The subjective motivations of The road to hell is paved with munist-terrorists, as an ideolog-

good intentions. So long as the Soviet bureaucracy has not been flesh and blood as the Stalinist removed by the proletariat—a task which will eventually be ac-

### A Lifetime's Belief

naturally not on the side of the

gorically condemned individual

terrorism . . . even when the

shots were directed against the

agents of the Czarist Govern-

ment and of capitalist exploita-

tion, then all the more relent-

lessly will they condemn and re-

ject the criminal adventurism of

festo to the workers.

These lines, as you have had | sia but also in other countries the opportunity to convince your- in various stages of political deselves, were not written ad hoc. velopment and under different They summarize the experience conditions. But we have discovof a whole lifetime, which was ered in his lifetime a few inin turn fed by the experience of

Already in the epoch of Czarism, a young Marxist who went over to the ranks of the terrorist party was a comparatively rare phenomenon - rare enough to cause people to point their fingers. But at that time there was at least taking place an unceasing theoretical struggle between two tendencies; the publications of the two parties were waging a bitter polemic; public disputes did not cease for a

Now, on the other hand, they with the tradition of three revolutions behind them, have suddenly, without criticism, without discussion, without a single word of explanation, turned their faces toward the terrorism which they had always rejected, as a

The very possibility of such an

agents, "we cannot deny that trial of the sixteen completely Trotsky did warn with the very same insistence against terror-

stances which constitute an exception to the rule: In a conspiratorial letter he wrote to one Dreitzer [and which nobody ever sawl; in a conversation with Holtzman who was brought to son [who was at the time in Berlin]; in a conversation with whom I never heard prior to the first reports of the court proceedings], in these four or five

instances Trotsky issued to his followers [who were in reality my bitterest opponents] terrorist instructions [without making any want to force us to believe that attempt either to justify them want to force us to believe that not young revolutionists, but old leaders of Russian Marxism, with the tradition of three review to the tradition of the traditi ed his programm terror orally and in writing to hundreds of thousands and millions in the course of forty years, Since the civil war of the years it was only in order to deceive 1918 to 1921, Stalin had an them. His real views he expounded in strictest secrecy to hate, towards the creator and the Bermans and the Davids." And then a miracle came to considered as a rival. After the

of debasement the Stalinist bu- pass! These inarticulate "instruc- death of Lemin, he dedicated himreaucracy has dragged the official tions," which rest wholly on the mental level of the Messrs. Vyshinsky, proved sufficient for of the party apparatus which through experience, sealed by this: That hundreds of old Marx- Lenin had given him charge of, on this particular question. Logiheat of the history of mankind, objections, without uttering a syllable-turned to the path of able to banish him to Turkestan, ly unsubstantiated testimonies of terror. Such is the political basis later exile him to Turkey from of the trial of the sixteen (Zino-"Yes," said Stalin and his view et al.). In other words, the lacks a political basis.

(To be continued)

## Trotsky's Specter Over Russia

#### An Appraisal by a Political Enemy

[We publish herewith an article by Boris Souvarine that appeared in the May 10 El Diario, New York Spanish-language newspaper. Souvarine is the author of a scholarly biography of Stalin. A sworn political enemy of Leon Trotsky, he was particularly known for his theory that Leninism spawned Stalinism and that Trotskyism and Stalinism are twins. - Ed.]

gress, a new orthodoxy is being elaborated before a frightened public and is replacing the obligatory orthodoxy of yester- hidden.

It is now admitted that the the summary of the "History of lackeys had to rewrite contemthe Communist Party," which porary history according to the Stalin had unjustly attributed to himself, deserve to be burned. The major part of the historical, philosophical and juridical books domains of literature with the elaborated under Stalin are dismust be revised in order to be continued to persecute him cruelly remade anew. Teams of writers in the memory of mankind. rapidly edit new school manuals. The history examinations will not TURNING POINT take place this year, because the

disciples. The authors of sucwhich were prohibited one after victims. the other, after having in their Berman-Yurin and David [of turn been official - Nevski, Bouldnov, Yaroslavsky and Popov - are rehabilitated in turn. The generals Blucher, Yegorov, Ka-eign agents" and "imperialist meney, begin the march of re-spies." They are now repreached habilitation in the army. The list only for their opposition to the of names of Jewish intellectuals, artists, folklorists, executed due to false, since they opposed only Stalin's anti-Semitism, is published. From all sides surge

### Above all the other specters

one specter has arisen in all its stature: that of Leon Trotsky. aversion, later transformed into head of the Red Army, whom he self to the task of denigrating he was able to isolate Trotsky bring him into disrepute, and make him impotent. He was then which the proscribed Trotsky had to look for refuge in France. Norway, Mexico. Everywhere the Caligula of the Kremlin pursued him with his secret agents and assassins — paid or fanatic — at the same time, pressuring faint that Lenin and Trotsky, who hearted governments disposed to share responsibility for the showing him hospitality, and unleashing hostile campaigns against him through the Communist parties and his devoted action. But the responsibilities of

Since the last Communist Con- | This ended only with the ress, not a day goes by without assassination of Trotsky in 1940. official information from Moscow Stalin persevered in his "sweet announcing the revision of revenge" - according to his notions belonging until now to choice expression. But before and the Stalinist dogma and the re- after the physical assassination, habilitation of innocent victims of the political and moral assassina-Stalin. The impulsion having been | tion took place. All the books given by the leaders with the which referred to Trotsky's role automatic approval of the Con- during the Revolution, the Civil War and the installation of the Soviet state were destroyed; all the old and authentic documents

For a quanter of a century, the fabrications, the lies, the maleblography of Stalin, written and dictions of Stalin had the power embellished by him, as well as of law, and the terrorized pen pleasure of the bloody megalomaniac. The drastic purge of the libraries was demanded in all exception of the exact sciences. carded. Once again, everything With Trotsky already dead, Stalin

But the wheel of destiny has professors no longer know what turned. Stalin is a compse which they should teach. It will be should be killed, and Trotsky in a necessary to rewrite anew the certain sense is a corpse which encyclopedias and the dictionaries. is being resurrected. The new Pokrovsky, head of the Marxist owners of the USSR can no longer historical school, put in dishonor re-establish even a little historical and disrepute by Stalin, is truth without erasing at least a rehabilitated along with his part of the horrible absurdities which Stalin, with their com-Trotsky in Copenhagen by his cessive "party history" books, plicity, had invented to soil his

By a decision from above, those condemned in the Moscow trials, little earlier smeared with "Trotskyism," are no longer "for-"Party" — a charge which is also Stalin and his gang.

In other words, their political motives were different from those ascribed to them officially. But even this has nothing to do with the infamous accusations heard in the trials and in the Stalinist commentaries. At the same time, Trotsky finds himself cleansed of a good part of the calumnies of Stalin.

Again, the review, "Questions of History," recognized at last that the Stalinist version of the Civil War, and especially the and discrediting him by all means episode of Tsaritsyn, is completely - except legitimate ones. Master false - thus confirming and justifying Trotsky's testimony cally, the admission should be sufficient to change the name of Stalingrad. The rehabilitation of historians, generals, and diverse Communist personalities, also confirms and justifies what Trotsky has said about Stallin in his

In the course of the de-Stallinization, Trotsky is rising while Stalin is falling. It is true October coup d'etait and its consequences, must account for their Stalin are of a very distinct type.

### The Revolutionary Party in the U.S.

In Defense of Marxism By Leon Trotsky

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party By James P. Cannon

The History of American Trotskyism By James P. Cannon

These three books deal with fundamental problems of the building of a revolutionary socialist party in the United States. What is the relation of the Russian Revolution in all stages of its development to the building of such a party? Why does the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism remain the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker? What is Stalinism? How did it destroy the American Communist Party as a revolutionary organization and transform it into a supporter of the Democratic Party? Against what tendencies did American Trotskvism struggle in order to preserve the revolutionary character of the Socialist Workers Party? How does Lenin's concept of a party of the workers' vanguard apply to the American scene? What are the perspectives for socialism in the United States and what is the road to its realization?

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The Despair of a Polish By Michael Bruck Michael Bruck is an 18-year-old student at Warsaw (Poland) When I was ten I was told that Polytecnic. The excerpts that we are publishing from his letter

> Soviet regime as representative of the mood of the Polish youth. The letter voices the despair and disillusionment of a youth who feels betraved by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Bruck feels that his revolutionary beliefs have turned to ashes. But the very depths of his despair indicates the rebirth of his revolutionary

> first appeared in the May 10 issue of Nowa Kultura, a weekly

magazine in Poland. Bruck's letter is officially regarded by the

The youth of Poland and Russia will not long be held in the grip of disillusionment and apathy. The new movement of the Soviet working class will rekindle the revolutionary flame in their hearts. The youth will learn to think for themselves and discover the Marxist truth. They will turn to the living movement of socialist revolution - the Trotskyist movement which told the truth unflinchingly throughout the dark era of Stalin, and pour all their energy and courage into the fight to rebuild democratic workers' republics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. - Ed.

Beria."

a child. The day finally came what my family said was trueonly a piece of wood.

A friend five years older than I gave me help. He was a Communist. It was he who then brought me closer to the ideology [that] restored my faith in the world, in the goal of life, in mankind. These were my happiest years. I rushed from one meeting to another. I believed in

HISTORY WAS FORGED

"Terrorism in Russia is dead," those sleepless nights, that des- . Three years have passed. Now

when the cross became to me about the cruelty of secret police investigations and about the dicout that history was really forged. Those who looked at my personal questionnaire with suspicion when I begged them for that have ordered us to reject an explanation now speak of the the political leaders. "Stalin era" and the "time of

terror can introduce confusion I reiterated in a number of ar- perate struggling in the soul of I am 18. It has turned out that in Yugoslavia, about which they which one believed.

tatorship of Stalin. It has turned path. It is not through effemin-

They are recommending jazz, new conditions, are not happy which they opposed two years because we have perceived that ago as a symptom of the decay- this newness is very old and it ed culture of the West. They are deceived our dreams. It is disdiscussing youth organizations tressing to lose everything in

And I? I do not know how to

change my soul for the fourth time without fear that it will become a rag. Now I cannot stand in the ranks with my face up high although I would like to. I am ashamed of my older colleagues, ashamed for the whole party, for all those who waited, sniffed and looked around and for those who deceived. am ashamed of all of you and, above all, of myself, for my stupidity and credulity.

I no longer know how to raise my head. If I ever raise it again -but this is impossible for I have no basis for believing any-

Our era was not easy and al though we had no rifles in our hands we did not have a rosy acy and prosperity that our cynicism was born and it is not egoism and desire for comfort

We, 18-year-olds and 20-yearolds, although growing up in

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THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460 Editor: MURRY WEISS

Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Bigned articles by contrib-utors do not necessarily res-resent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its

Vol. XX - No. 21

each in foreign countries.

Monday, May 21, 1956

### A Belated Stalinist Correction

After 15 years the American Communist Party has finally taken official cognizance of their betrayal in 1941 of the fundamental principle of working class defense of democratic rights and civil liberties for all victims of capitalist persecution. The case in point was the first Smith Act trial in Minneapolis in which 18 members and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union were railroaded to prison under that anti-labor, witch-hunt statute.

In a report to an enlarged plenum of the CP national committee, Simon Gerson, chariman of a special committee on civil liberties, noted that, "the Party" had "made 'some serious errors,' including specifically the failure to defend the Minneapolis Trotskyites in the Teamsters Union in 1941." (Daily Worker, May 6).

While this specific "error" had been noted before by various individual Stalinist spokesmen it is the first time that it has been made more or less "official." This is all to the good, so far as it goes. But the "correction" does not go far enough. It is only a half truth which glosses over and attempts to minimize the magnitude of the error. Nor does it disclose its source. Unless the extent and source of the "error" is acknowledged no real and lasting correction can ensue.

First, to put the record straight. The CP did not play a passive role in the Minneapolis Smith Act case. It was not merely their "failure to defend" but their active opposition to the defense of the Minneapolis victims that aroused the burning indignation of wide circles in the liberal and labor movement. They actively supported the prosecution and did everything in their power to sabotage the defense

Fifteen years ago the Stalinists were a power in the labor movement. They controlled the Minnesota State CIO. They were in control of the CIO on the West Coast. They controlled numerous CIO State and City CIO Councils, International and Local unions and their influence extended into many AFL units. In each case they threw the weight of their power and influence on the side of the witch hunters. Despite their rabid opposition, unions representing over five million workers supported the Minneapolis defendants.

If the Stalinists had added their weight to the Minneapolis defense movemen against the first Smith Act frame-up the subsequent result could have been different. It is undeniable that Stalinist sabotage of the Minneapolis case led inexorably to the victimization of leaders and members of the American Communist Party under the same statute. No small "error" this!

What about the source of the "error?" Was it a transient aberration that led to an "unfortunate" violation of workingclass principle? If that was all that is involved the confession of error, the correction of a previously unprincipled policy, the promise not to repeat the "error" in the future, could be taken at its face value. But more, much more is involved.

It is no accident that the "error" was committed precisely in a case involving Trotskyists. The American CP leaders are now in the process of repudiating the "Stakin cult." They admit that in the past they had accepted "uncritically" all of the pronouncements coming out of Moscow, including support of Stalin's purge trials. Their "error" in the Minneapolis case can be directly traced to the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. In fact, they repeated the same abusive slanders, stigmatizing the Minneapolis defendants as "seditious spies, wreckers, diversionists and sa-

So long as the American CP does not openly repudiate the Moscow frame-up trials the source of the "error" remains untouched and can give rise to similar "errors" in the future. And its no good

## **CP National Committee Spurs Right Swing**

In its first full meeting since 1951, the national committee of the Communist Party met in New the Dennis report alludes. York recently, to codify the extreme right turn' which has led the American Stalinists deep into the leprous swamp of capitalist party politics. With the CP national committee meeting, the Stalinists come out more openly as supporters of the "liberal" wing of the Democratic party. With the policy decided, the membership will now be "clarified." As usual, the process of clarification involves "self-critical" repudiation of the previous line.

Each Stalinist zig-zag carries its own "theoretical" justification. The current "line" was embodied in a report by CP general secretary Eugene Dennis, reviewing the past, repudiating previous for the future. "Dennis' searching of the Party's work," says the

Labor Statesman at Work

Sunday Worker reports of the CP confab do not cite the precise "left-sectarian" errors to which

This gap is filled in by Stal-"labor expert" George inist Morris writing in the April 22 Daily Worker. The "leftism in the ranks of the Marxists," says Morris, contributed to the split in the CIO in which the Stalinist-controlled unions were expelled and subsequently cut to pieces. The error of the "left." according to Morris, was its "refusal to retreat and compromise some when that was presidential race and on the capitalist "third" party, with a Marshall plan."

ERRED ON COLD WAR?

The expulsion of the Stalinistcontrolled unions came as an policy and laying down the line aftermath of the 1948 CTO convention following the election of examination of the last decade Harry Truman. The Stalinists had unions. sponsored the Progressive Party May 6 Sunday Worker, "placed and its candidate for president, his principal emphasis on what Henry Wallace. The Marshall he viewed as shortcomings and plan was the cornerstone of the mistaken estimates which he Truman Doctrine with its policy characterized as 'mainly left-sec- of "containment" and cold war. tarian in character." The re- The Stalinist attempt to comport was adopted unanimously. promise on the Marshall plan by Unfortunately, the full text of proposing its funds be allocated he Dennis report has not yet through the United Nations was

that the "left" should have "re- of war," which led to a "wrong Scarcely a single day has passed the Stalinists should have sup-

ocratic party? When the Stalinists begin rewriting history they always have a political motive. The current emphasis on "left - sectarian" errors is designed to screen another opportunist zig-zag. What was "lefit" about their previous imperative, especially on the policy? In 1948 they supported a capitalist program and a capitalst candidate. It was the politics of class collaboration. They

spurned the class concept of an independent labor party based on the mass organizations of the American working class, the trade

Instead, they spawned a pettybourgeois hodge-podge. The corcharacterization of that policy is not "left-sectarian" but opportunist adventunism; i.e., Stalinism. Thousands of workers were victimized in the process. But that is always the by-product of Stalinist politics whether of the "lefit" or "right" variety.

#### LENINIST PRINCIPLE

The terms "lefit" and "right" are meaningless unless some point of departure is fixed. The Stalinists contend they are Marxthought and action, Leninism is class struggle. distinguished as revolutionary Marxism in contradistinction to defends the Khryshchev-Stalin social-reformism. It is a funda- policy of "peaceful coexistence." mental Leninist principle that the crossing of class lines in politics dignified by the name, holds that is a betrayal of socialism. Lenin was absolutely inflexible in his world can exist side by side for a adherence to principle. He combined principled intansigeance with the utmost tactical flex- is not inevitable. From this conibiltiv. According to Lenin, tactics are always subordinated to principle and cannot be in violation thereof.

When viewed from the stand point of Marxist-Leninist principle, the so-called "left-sectarian" policy of the American Stalinists opportunism. And the "theoretical" justifications that accompany each change in line are compounded of the flimsiest counter-

basic causes for past "left-sectarian" errors was their "mis-be necessary, that Lenin's analysis 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

treated and compromised" on tactical conclusion." That is, the these issues can only mean that organization of the Wallace "peace" party in 1948. In the nessed war, revolution and coloported Truman and the cold war Wallace party the illusion was nial uprising. "Peaceful coexiagainst the Soviet Union. Is this assiduously sown among the workwhat they have in mind now with ers, that war could be avented their policy of supporting the through the medium of a "third" "Fair Deal" wing of the Dem- capitalist party with a pacifist program. What is involved is no mere "tactical" error but a violation of Marxist principle. raised the slogan: Back to Lenin,

A STORMY EPOCH

Lenin characterized our age as the epoch of wars, revolutions and colonial uprisings. He reiterated over and over again that capitalism and socialism could not exist indefinitely side by side. One or the other must prevail. That so long as capitalism exists war is inevitable. That the only effective means of conducting the struggle against capitalist war was through the uncompromising medium of the class struggle. That the aim of the class struggle is the abolition of capitalism and the goal the victory of socialism. Only then would war vanish from the face of the earth.

The question of the imminence or non-imminence of war is not a matter of drawing up a timetable and then turning the class with the "estimates," mistaken or is not Marxist theory but Stalists. Not only Marxists, but inist claptrap. Dennis has a theory inist politics have nothing what-Leninists to boot. In socialist but it is not that of the Leninist

As against Lenin, Dennis This "theory," if it can be the capitalist and non-capitalist prolonged and indefinite period of time. That war under capitalism cept flows the class collaboration policy of world Stalinism as adapted to the national peculiaricountry it is translated into support for the Democratic party whose main criticism of Eisenhower's foreign policy is that the s seen as nothing but the rankest Republican administration is not spending enough money for military armaments.

Lenin and Dennis can't both be right. All theories are subjected to the acid test of experience. According to Dennis, one of the The events of the past ten years

since the end of World War II in which the world has not witstence" is conspicuous by its

absence. Dennis' second "theoretical" explanation is no better than his first. Another cause for "leftsectarian" errors in the past, he says, was due to "an over-Inasmuch as the Stalinists have estimation of the imminence of a deep cyclical economic crisis.' let's check Dennis against Lenin. As with the question of war, Dennis muddies everything up.

What "tactical conclusion" does Dennis derive from the fact that prosperity in the U.S. has led to an amelioration of the class struggle? He proposes to call it off for the duration of prosperity in order to avoid the "left-sectarian" errors of the past, What is involved in the Dennis "theory" is not a matter of tempo but of fundamental prognosis. There are pundits who contend that American capitalism has solved the problem of recurring economic crisis. If that is true then socialism becomes a utopia and class struggle a figment of the imagination. Where do Dennis and Company stand?

At the very moment that signs of growing crisis appear in the American economy the Stalinists propose to declare a moratorium struggle on or off in accordance on the class struggle and invite the workers to support the otherwise, contained therein. That | Democratic party, one of the twin bulwarks of capitalist rule. Stalever to do with Marxism.

One noteworthy characteristic of these Stalinist "left" and "right" oscillations is that the pendulum never swings as far left as before and always further to the right. The theoretical revisionism of the 20th Congress in Moscow accelerated the rightward swing of world Stalinism. The opportunist leaders of the American CP, always uncomfortable in their periods of "left" pretensions have embraced the right turn with genuine enties of each country. In this thusbasm. It suits their character and mood.

Their spurious "re-evaluation" and repudiation of their past "left-sectarian" line is, in essence, an adaptation to the opportunist politics of the American labor bureaucracy.

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### WAYNE UNIVERSITY OFFICIALS TRY TO SILENCE ONLY DISSIDENT GROUP

ist Club of Wayne University administration, which was then socialists in general, rather than has been suppressed. Against busy trying to get the State Leg- adherents of the Socialist Workthe wishes of representative stu- islature to accept Wayne as a ers Party). dent and faculty opinion, reactionary forces in the university Socialist Club off the campus by administration have succeeded- | hook or by crook" became the temporarily-in ridding Wayne of | objective of administration forces the only non-conformist student anxious to appear "respectable" political organization recognized in the eyes of the Republican on this campus for several years.

The YSC, organized in the fall of 1954, was from the beginning servative university administra-Young Republicans and Young Democrats, it aggressively defended the theories and policies erties-on and off the campus. Last fall it extended its socialist of a magazine, the Wayne So-

Redbaiting and general political apathy combined to keep the club's membership small, but it won a reputation as a serious political group and got a hearing from many students who were unwilling to join themselves. The first issues of the Wayne Socialist got a favorable reception on the campus, and indicated a growing influence for the club. But the Wayne Socialist got

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DETROIT-The Young Social- | under the skin of the university | its members consider themselves

State Legislature. a thorn in the side of the con- by engaging in debate over its ideas and policies. Instead, it tion. Far more active than the was decided to suppress the club by changing the rules under which student political clubs operate so as to make the YSCof socialism as well as civil lib- and the YSC alone-ineligible for continued recognition. One Dr. R. F. Steadman, chairman of the sion and academic freedom. Sevpropaganda with the publication Political Science Department eral student leaders and faculty which supervises the student political activities program at asking that they not be put into Wayne, was entrusted with the effect.

> Steadman's game was a simple one. He carefully studied the composition of the YSC and worked out a number of changes in regulations that would result in depriving the YSC of its campus recognition. Then he bulldozed his Political Science Department into approving the proposed changes by a narrow

One change was to bar from membership in political clubs a large portion of part-time students (mainly from working class and poor families unable to go to school full time). Another was to change requirements for ofpresent YSC officers would be unable to continue serving as officers. A third was to subject campus.) all political publications to censorship (only the YSC had such a publication). A fourth was to compel the YSC to change its name to the Young Socialist Workers Club (although many of

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waiting for Moscow to do it first.

Steadman then submitted hi proposed changes to the advisory council of the Political Science Department, which is composed

of representatives of all three No group on the campus cared political clubs at Wayne and the to try to end the YSC's influence chairmen of the political parties on the ballot in Wayne County. Even before this advisory council met. Steadman's proposals evoked a storm of protest Dear Mr. Huberman: from the campus. The Student Legislature and many other student groups strongly denounced them as attacks on free discus-

> Then to ton it off, the advisory council, in which the socialrejected every one of Steadman's proposals after he had personally appeared before it, pleading for their acceptance, admitting they were aimed at the YSC alone, and severely criticizing the stu-

object to them. But majority opinion rarely stops bureaucrats. On the eve of university, Steadman bypassed ficers of the clubs so that the by decree. (Ironically, this action vania nominations. coincided with the celebration of

> meeting on the campus until it ciple. could comply with the new rules. Unable to comply, the club aption to the Council of Deans, So far the Deans have taken no action but to "receive" the appeal. But all signs indicate that Steadman's superiors view his actions with approval or indulgence, and that for the time being the only voice of officially recognized political dissent at

Wayne has been stifled.

Pending final disposition of their appeal, the members of the YSC have not decided on their next steps. One thing is sure, however. The bureaucratic suppression of their club hasn't rectness of the ideas of social- Revolution. ism, nor their determination to defend and spread those ideas misunderstanding, distortion, and roots as the weakness and secwherever students are willing to

SWP and Monthly Review Discussion [In its May issue, Monthly | measure deters many 'left ele- | by Soviet developments; neither | Leminist party itself and the | editors. But the CP preaches the Review published a letter from ments" from supporting the SWP has ever succeeded in working Leninist, conception of the so- crassest form of class-collaborathe election campaign manager electroally. We are interested in out American solutions for American international — The tion by giving support to the of the Socialist Workers Party, separating honest differences Art Sharon, calling on the magazine to support the Socialist

Joao Coulart, (left) Vice-President of Brazil, chats with

AFL-CIO president George Meany at Washington luncheon in

Goulart's honor. The South American capitalist government

official lectured the union group on the most efficient ways to

combat "communist" infiltration in the labor movement,

Workers ticket. We publish heretunity to do so. with the text of Sharon's letter, In short we are asking for your the reply of MR's editors and our own comment. - Ed.]

### SWP LETTER

We note with interest your statement in the March issue of Monthly Review stating your intention of supporting a socialist ticket in the coming national elections.

members signed a statement You say your choice of socialist tickets will be made from among the four socialist parties: the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor ists were a minority, decisively Party, or the Socialist Workers Party.

On the basis of your criteria, the Communist Party obviously cannot be supported. Its policy is one of supporting Democrats and in line with that it will not enter dent groups that had dared to a national ticket in this coming electoral contest. The Socialist Party has

similar electoral position; conthe State Legislature's vote on sequently no slate of the Socialist the bill to make Wayne a state Party will appear on the ballot. This is further attested to by the the advisory council, ignored the failure of the Socialist Party to protests on the campus-and put enter presidential candidates in the new regulations into effect the recent important Pennsyl-

This leaves only the Socialist Academic Freedom Week on the Labor Party and ourselves. We submit that your position on the The YSC was simultaneously Russian Revolution and the Soviet suspended and prohibited from Union rules out the SLP on prin-

You criticize the Socialist Workers Party as advocating sopealed Steadman's arbitrary ac- cialism "in an unrealistic sectarian way." We don't think we do, but we would be happy to explore better methods of "advocating socialism." We would be happy to discuss with you any specific expression of our alleged sectarianism. Further you criticize the SWP for "focusing its energies on attacking Stalinism." Perhaps since the 20th Congress of the CPSU you are now reevaluating that particular childicism. At any rate you must recognize that along with our rejection of "Stalinism" goes its corollary defense of Leninism and weakened their belief in the cor- the conquests of the Russian There is a vast accumulation of SWP has had precisely the same

slander that make up the body of tanianism of the Communist attacks on the SWP. This in large Party: both have been dominated avoided are the nature of the both Leninists, say the MR

from fanciful nonsense, and to that end welcome every oppor-

support in the 1956 elections. We case for electoral support to the SWP in your publication. A good beginning would be the publication of this letter.

### MR EDITOR'S REPLY

For the present, we want only to make a few brief comments on the letter from Art Sharon of the Socialist Workers Party which is the final communication about MR's basic position.

In his letter to Joan Reo Huberman wrote: "The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party advocates socialism, but in an unrealistic sectarian way with all its energies focused on attacking Stallinism." To this Mr. Sharon replies: Perhaps since the 20th Congress of the CPSU you are now re-evaluating that particular criticism. At any rate you must recognize that along with our rejection of 'Stalinism' goes its corollary defense of Leninism and the conquests of the Russian Revolution."

The implication of this ob-

riously is that we would normally

determine our attitude and position in the light of what happens in the Soviet Union. In respect to some things - particularly internal developments in the socialist countries - this is of course perfectly true. But we want to make it as clear as we possibly can that what we think about the United States - including each and every political party or grouping in this country - is completely independent of what happens in the Soviet Union. The notion that because of the attack on Stallinism by the 20th Congress of the CPSU (which in and of itself certainly has positive aspects), therefore we would re-evaluate our criticism of the SWP for focusing its energies on attacking Stalinism proves not only that the SWP doesn't understand us but also that the SWP itself still thinks in essentially "Russilan" terms. At bottom, the

weaknes and sectarianism of the

This brings us to the second

sentence quoted from Mr. Sharon's letter. The SWP, he appears to be saying, bases itself on Leninism and the conquests of the Russian would like further; to present our Revolution. Is this the correct and appropriate position for the American Left to take? With regard to the conquests of the

Russian Revolution, the answer is an unqualified affirmative. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions are to the twentieth century what the American and French Revolutions were to the eighteenth. They belong to all of progressive humanity, and anyone who claims printed below. The purpose is to to be of the Left and still refuses emove possible misunderstanding to defend their historic achieve ments is either a fraud or a fool

Is the same true of Leninism

In our view, the answer depends on what you understand by the term. Lenin was one of the greatest men who ever lived, and much of what he accomplished in the fields of thought and action has universal validity. But Lenin was also the master strategist of a revolution that took place under unique historical and geographical conditions, and some of his most fruitful ideas and discoveries were designed to cope with the problems of the czarist empire in the world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. How far they are applicable to other countries and times therefore depends to a very large extent on how closely conditions resemble those of pre-1917

This is not the place to attempt to settle the question of how much of Leninism has relevance and vallidity for the United States at mid-century. But it is a good place to state that for our part we are certain that not all of it has, and that the kind of undiscriminating acceptance of Leninism as a whole and without qualification that has always characterized both the SWP and the CP can be, has been, and will continue to be a flatal political

One final point: one of the main purposes of the discussion which is now going on in leftwing circles, and of which this discussion in MR is only a small part, must be precisely to reassess past relations and attitudes Leninism. And among the points is not a worthy procedure. that cannot and should not be

Editors.

### OUR COMMENT

The letter of the SWP to the Monthly Review and the reply of the MR editors obviously open a discussion on some of the most fundamental problems of Amercan Marxism. We will report regularly on the progress of the discussion and reprint the most important documents. At the outset we wish to make the following comments:

(1) The editors of Monthly Review have not yet replied to the specific question posed in Art Sharon's letter — namely, will Leo Huberman support the SWP ticket in 1956? In the March issue of MR Huberman stated that he would have to choose between the Communist, Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Socialist Workers Parties. But, as Sharon pointed out, the only radical parties with candidates are the Socialist-Labor and SWP. Which will Huberman endorse and why?

(2) We take note of a nather startling change of front in the criticism addressed by MR editors against the SWP. They used to smear the Trotskyists with the Stalinist fabrications of the Moscow Frame-Up Trials. These slanders included alleged enmity on our part to the Soviet Union and Leninism. Now Monthly Review concedes that we do uphold Leninism and do defend the Soviet Union - but finds this to be precisely our crime. Furthermore, according to Huberman and Sweezey we err in these respects together with - the Communist Party!

The MR editors have not yet informed the radical workers what they now think of the Moscow Trials - which they once endorsed; of anti-Semitism under Stallin - which they once covered up; or of Stalin himself - whom they once exalted in the best mianner of the Stallin cult. They only intimate that they are no longer defending these hideous perversions. But in their hurry to get out from under now that Stalinism stands exposed by the Kremlin chiefs themselves, the MR editors have resorted to the dodge of claiming that Stalinism and Trotskyism (the persecutor not only to Stallinism but also to and the victim) are - twins. This

(3) The CP and the SWP are

Democratic Party. upholds the revolutionary program of independent class political action as a principle. Lenin for his part taught that it was betrayal to cross class lines in politics and guided the Communist International on that basis during its first five years. Isn't it clear that the SWP upholds the principled position of Leninism, while the CP has nothing in

common with it? (4) We disagree fundamentally with the declaration of the MR editors contained in the phrase that what they "think about the United States - including each and every political party or grouping in this country - is completely independent of what happens in the Soviet Union." The Russian Revolution has dominated the radical movement in this country and every other country of the world since 1917.

This was no accident. Nor was it due to immaturity on the part of revolutionary workers. The explanation for the touchstone character of the Russian question in shaping every political tendency is this: The Russian Revolution was the first in a process of world revolution. The development of socialist theory and practice could only proceed from the lessons of that great event. The world revolutionary process could only unfold under the inspiration of its first great con-

The degeneration of the Soviet Union threw a terrible blight over the course of the Socialist movement. But the cure for the blight is not to escape to an exclusive national view - as the MR proposes at the same time it continues to apologize for the Kremlin bureaucracy - but defense of Leninism against Stalinism. This has been and continues to be the course of the SWP.

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#### White Citizens Councils Move North

The White Citizens Councils are moving North to become a rallying point for many hily-white real estate associations and hitherto isolated racist groups throughout the country. The Chairman of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, Dr. John H. Whitley, has announced plans to send speakers through the North to "explain Southern views on racial segregation."

Orville Hubbard, Mayor of Dearborn, the Detroit suburb where the giant Ford Rouge plant is located, last month made a statement which was featured on the front page of the Montgomery Advertiser in Montgomery, Ala. Hubbard encouraged the Montgomery racists saying that he is for segregation "one million per cent on all levels," and boasted that Dearborn allows no Negroes to live within its city

Hubbard was also invited to a WCC meeting held April 24 in another Detroit suburb, Highland Park. He said he was

"sorry" that he was unable to attend. The Alabama WCC attempted to place ads containing membership blanks in Dearborn and Detroit papers, but the ads have been refused. The Dearborn Independent, however, printed a full page ad containing a reprint of an article from the April 13 U.S. News and World Report entitled "When Negroes Move North Many Problems of the South and Others Too, Come With Them." The ad was clearly designed to bolster the Mayor's racist

The WCC offensive comes at a time

when Detroit is faced with mounting unemployment. There are over 150,000 unemployed in the city now. The May 11 U.S. News and World Report quotes a Detroit "race relations authority" as saying "in the event of economic recession, the bitterness and sharpness of the struggle for employment will become a paramount political issue." This is fertile soil for the bitter seed of racism.

The UAW in Detroit has asked its members to report WCC organizing activity to union leaders. Local 600, whose thousands of Negro members work, but cannot live in Dearborn, answered Hubbard with a shockingly mild resolution which simply "reaffirms the position of the UAW and Local 600 on Civil Rights." The resolution then lists other resolutions which have been passed previously.

But speeches and resolutions are not enough! The Northern union movement is now faced with a serious threat from the growth and consolidation of anti-union racist groups right in its own back yard. The labor leaders are reaping the fruit of their faillure to nip the WCC in the bud right down South where it originated. By their inaction, the "labor statesmen" have left the "neutral" and "liberal" whites in the South, and particularly in Southern unions to the tender mercies of WCC terrorists. They have failed to cement a strong alliance in action with the inspired Negro protest movement in Montgomery. Until they do, the WCC will continue to grow and threaten the union movement throughout the country.

## Convention

(Continued from page 1) on the very same day former Georgia Governor Herman E. Talmadge, who is slated now to enter the Senate where he will rival racist, also came out for Stevenson. To round out the picture of opportunists in the labor and with white-supremacist Talmadge in support of Stevenson, it should be noted the Daily Worker (May 14) carries an editorial enthusiastically approving the line and

actions of the ADA Convention. The ADA's endorsements were

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192 pages

**NEGROES** 

tions submitted to them. Their answers were almost identical Eastland as America's leading since the questions were drawn candidates to skirt the real issues with liberal generalities. For ex-Negro movements joining hands ample, in reply to what he would do about school desegregation if elected president, Stevenson said he would use his "moral influence" to encourage compliance. Keflauver said he would use his "good offices" to get the people to "talk the matter over calmly, justly and rightly." And Harriman said he would try to rally men and women of good will together" to talk out the problem. All three answers to this question were marked not only by the same vagueness but by the failure even to promise any action to enforce the Supreme "Court's

and Harriman to ten stooge ques-

inswers of Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman to all the ADA's Reuther dwelt on the layoffs in questions. As the New York the auto plants and denounced it, the ADA had the "task of ous" \$2,543,000,000 profit last distinguishing between a tittle, year. Wilkins was stronger than a jot and a scintilla."

With an eye to the coming elec-

ostensibly based on the answers | two years. The New York delegagiven by Stevenson, Kefauver tion attempted to strengthen this criticism of the Democrats. But its resolutions were voted down.

The attempted strategy of Democratic Party leaders to avoid up in a flashion to allow the the civil rights issue, which is so bedeviling them, was evident in Truman's message to the convention. He listed three major issues for the coming election: foreign policy, the agricultural depression and the growing concentration of economic power. It is noteworthy that Truman, who is being painted up today as the great champion of Negro rights (because his weak record looks almost strong compared to the current retreat of Stevenson et al.), not only did not list civil rights as a major tion of it in his message.

NAACP head Roy Wilkins. Similar doubletalk typified the Both reflected the pressure from the ranks of their organizations. Times (May 14) humorously put General Motors for its "scandalother speakers in criticisms and warnings to the Democrats on the tions, the tenor of the ADA civil rights issue. He did not go speeches and resolutions was to as far, however, as to suggest blast away at Eisenhower and to supporting the Republicans. When soft-pedal the failure of the he was quoted to this effect a Democratic - controlled Congress month ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, on civil rights, pro-labor and National Honorary Chairman of social legislation. Thus the po- the ADA, handed in her resignalitical resolution presented to the tion from the NAACP Board of convention dealt only a mild slap Directors. Wilkins then backon the wrist to the Democrat's tracked and Mrs. Roosevelt Congressional record for the past reconsidered her resignation.

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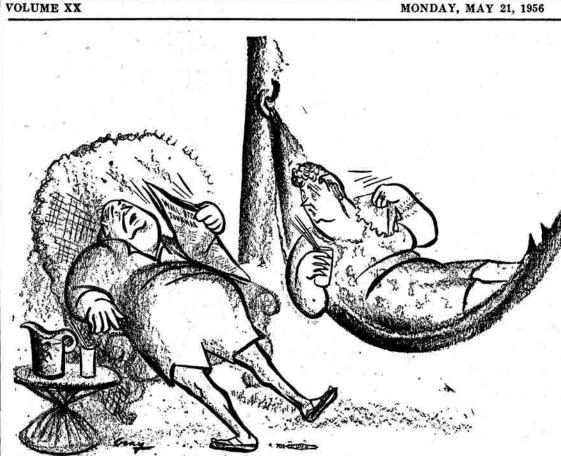
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# THE MILITANT



"I don't know why they complain about layoffs. It's too hot to work anyway."

(Continued from page 1) lead story in this issue.)

While rank and file pressure has finally moved the top union son leadership to take this progressive step, the action was blunted the next day, May 15, when David Dubinsky, President of the ILGWU announced union plans to raise a \$3 million fund to support the Democrats in the coming

Regardless of the top labor eaders' claims their support to the Democratic Party serves only to strengthen the very people that the newly formed Civil Rights Committee is supposed to be helping to fight - namely, the Southern white supremacists.

With the withdrawal of Senator George of Georgia, Herman Talmadge is slated to become the ranking racist in the U.S. Senate. On the basis of Democratic Party control of the Senate, Talmadge along with Eastland and the issue, but gave mere passing men- other unspeakable racists will use their Congressional power as a Other notable features of the legal club, in their infamous convention were the speeches of struggle against civil rights.

> Democratic presidential aspirant, Adlai Stevenson, All of Stevenson's competitors for the nomination share his fundamental view, regardless of the vote-catching lip service they may pay to equal enough to point out that every the party that houses its sworn have declared their refusal to use with the Negro leaders, should that road.

to be used to aid the Southern enforce the U.S. Constitution in building of a great new political equal rights fighters, including the South. All of them preach, in power in this country — a labor the Montgomery community. (See one form or another the kind of party based on the unions and pro-racist "moderation" that led to Talmadge's support of Steven-

#### LABOR-NEGRO UNITY On May 24 a giant rally will be

held in New York's Madison Square Garden in support of the front-line civil rights fighters. It is sponsored by powerful labor and Negro organizations. The meeting will symbolize the great wer inherent in such an alliance of the two most progressive forces in America. Such an alliance between labor and the Negro people must be cemented on a permanent basis in the

This can be done by a determined Southern unionization drive conducted on a completely integrated basis. Such a drive would spell the doom of the White Citizens Councils, which represents the open shop as fully as it does oppression of the Negro people. That Southern white workers

can be raillied to the program of non-Jim Crow unionism was UAW President Wallter Reuther White supremacist Tallmadge demonstrated in the epic battles has endorsed the "moderate" that gave rise to the CIO. Thoulearned the need for interracial solidarity on the picket lines and in the organization drives.

the organizations of the Negro Consider the problem confront-

ng Montgomery's equal rights fighters: With inspiring unity and solidarity they have built an organized movement capable of enippling a powerful bus company. They have remained solid in the flace of persecution. Yet the fact is they are limited in their struggle as long as it is confined to the boycott weapon.

At recent meetings of the MIA, the membership has been urged to use its political strength; to register and vote. But none of time. These workers have, in they should vote for. The Democrats are dedicated to white full week's pay. supremacy and, to the degree they exist there, so too are the Republicans. If Montgomery were completely unionized on an integrated basis and if that united movement had a political party own choosing and beliefs to come to terms?

recognition by the ranks of labor Instead of using the resources and the Negro people that this place knowledge among the auto gotiate a new contract. rights during election time. It is of the union movement to bolster is the only road forward and then

### **Auto Recession** Raises Issue of "30-for-40"

By Ben Haines

NEW YORK, May 14 - The growing crisis in the auto and farm equipment industry was dramatized last week by a one day shutdown of all General Motors assembly plants in the country.

economic recession preceding the Korean war that the biggest producer in the auto industry closed all its assembly plants for a one day production "holiday"-

According to the May 14 Wall Street Journal, production of new cars fell last week 40% below the total produced in the same week in 1955. With cars in the dealers, hands now exceeding 900,000, orders are being slashed with additional production cutbacks in prospect at the fac-

As a result of 12,000 additional layoffs last week the official of the total number of auto character of the unemployment workers employed in seven problem in Michigan is apparent maining one-quarter were avail- ment compensation exhaustions. able the number of unemployed The May 10 Michigan CIO News closer to the total of 200,000 re- April totalled over 5,000 for the ported by the United Automobile Workers Union last week.

None of the figures on unemployment in the auto and farm implement field take into consideration the temporary shutdowns which are mounting in number and are becoming a regular practice. Nor do the figures take into account the tens of have been on a reduced work schedule for extended periods of

### WORKERS ARE VICTIMS

On May 12 the N Y. Times reported that UAW president Walter P. Reuther had expressed anew his concern over un of its own - candidates of its employment in the automobile industry. "The auto workers now wouldn't that supply the extra on layoff," declared Reuther, power to force the racists speedfly "are victims of irresponsible ment be reopened. From the far scheduling of production by the west in California to the east-Extend that picture over the automobile industry, and in part ern seabord in New Jersey, sands of prejudiced Southern entire South. Add the North and at least of the insane competewhites in Detroit and other cities | West. Would not this be an in- tive struggle in 1955 when high vincible force? Is it realizable? pressure selling chopped a huge UAW International Executive Yes. All that is required is the chunk out of the 1956 market." Board to invoke the principle of

workers. The production schedsome firm pressure on their lead- ules and high-pressure sales head of the list, is the demand speedup in the plants and to pay.

This is the first time since the cut-throat competition which saturated the market with cars on

long-term credit schemes.

Profit-hungry greed has al-ways motivated the production plans of the auto barons with cynical disregard for the day to day needs of the workers. Auto workers have never been able to achieve any degree of security precisely because the money-grubbing corporations are unable and unwilling to plan production to meet the workers needs. Their production methods have precipitated one crisis after another. HARDEST HIT

The Detroit area has been hardest hit by the auto layoffs. unemployment figure has risen Another 5,000 were added to to 148,000. The unemployment the unemployment role in that figures, however, are based on area last week to boost the a survey of only three-quarters total to 125,000. The persistent states. If the figures for the re- by the large total of unemployworkers would most likely be reports "that exhaustions during second month in a row. Since the beginning of the year some 17,-000 workers have finished collecting their unemployment compensation benefits and are still jobless."

Mounting layoffs and reduced ncome due to short work weeks has given a new vigor to the demand for a reduction in hours thousands of auto workers who with no reduction in pay, popularly known as "30-for-40" among the auto workers across the country. Thousands of rankthe leaders can tell them whom effect, the shorter work week. and-file auto workers along with What they do not have is the many local union officials sensitive to their needs, are raising the demand for a 30-hour week with 40-hours pay as the answer to the growing crisis in auto. -The UAW finds itself tied up

with a long term three-year agreement that does not expire until 1958. A number of auto locals throughout the country are demanding that the agree-Southgate Local 216 and Linden Local 595, have called upon the What Reuther says is common- the "living agreement," and ne-In each case, placed at the

one of the Democratic contenders enemies, the union leaders, along ers to force them to head up methods led to a back-breaking for a 30-hour week at 40-hours

# The Asphalt Jungle Moves in on the Trees

The New York City Park Department sent out a cheerful press release the other day announcing that trees and shrubs are blossoming at last and "no section of colorful sign of spring."

of the controversial fence that went up recently between the captains, to stop the mothers. hours of midnight and dawn. steel pipes into the ground, enclosing half an acre of grass and trees.

One of the men told a reporter they had "orders from the boss" not to give their names or any information about their actions. By 7 A.M., a sizeable police force turned up to stand guard by the fence "in case of any disturbance which might interfere with the

For two weeks, a group of mothers had been "interfering" with Park Commissioner Moses' plan to turn this play area into an 80-car parking lot for patrons of Tavern - on - the - Green, They first appealed to him to reconsider, pointing out that this half-acre was close to a playground for small children and provided safe recreation for the older ones.

His answer was a bulldozer which appeared the next morning and started leveling the ground Mothers and children quickly placed themselves in its path, with dogs and baby carriages filling in gaps in the line. For a week they arrived at 8 A.M. and maintained their blockade.

HAVE "PATIENCE"

Monday, the mothers sent a conference with Deputy Mayor ice cream cone in park areas."

cially in the light of the past prices quoted would make it an certainly members of one family). the last court, and the City Adrecord of our Park Commissioner. When the mothers arrived spot.

Tuesday morning at 8 A.M., they saw the fence and the bulldozer at work behind it. They surged Central Park will be without some forward but were blocked by the line of police. Our Police Dept. is I just inspected an area that's sometimes accused of negligence a notable exception, where the but it was certainly on the job at branches of fallen trees lie on Central Park. It took a total of churned up mud. This is the scene 31 of New York's finest including an inspector and a couple of

One of them fought her way Park employes hurniedly drove through and tried to push down the fence, but they pulled her Again, when the workmen

started chopping down trees, the mothers made a rush for them. but policemen linked their arms to form a barricade and the trees went down - at least a dozen were destroyed that day, including several of a rare type that cannot be replaced.

WHOSE PARK?

The mothers, determined to defend every square foot of play space in New York's jungle of steel and asphalt, hired a lawyer and went into court where they argued that park facilities should be designed for all of the people. A restaurant, they maintained, where hamburger and beer comes to \$4.50 does not meet this requirement. "It matters not," the opposing

lawyer said, "that Tavern-on-the-Green caters to those of substantial means willing to spend more than the price of a hot dog or sandwich in an environrecreation and pleasure would be afforded to those of lower means delegation to City Hall for a by the purchase of a hot dog or

exclusive right to this particular

injunction that stopped the work | He sailed for a four-weeks vacauntil a hearing the following week. Additional support came from two city councilmen who brought the matter before the Council's City Affairs Committee. Moses did not attend the meeting because, he said, he had "constructive" work to do. Councilman Isaacs charged that

Moses made a deal with the concessionaries that "bypassed all authorities and is a burden on the capital expense budget of the city." The Tavern will pay about \$600,000 for the present improvements but will recover most of it in reduced rent. (It was rather difficult to get

this information because Stuart Constable, Moses' chief assistant, refused to give any figures. When he was asked why, he said: "Just because I'm stubborn and won't give it out.")

### "LOOSELY DRAWN"

Over a period of seven years, the Tavern grossed \$5,866,861, of which the city received \$94,486, tract calls for 5%. This was explained by Deputy Controller Cohen (our elected officials are always somewhere else). He called it a "loosely drawn agreement." Mayor Wagner, back on the job, said he saw no irregularities in the arrangement.

Moses finally answered his critics in a furious eight-page document in which he complained ment and setting that affords that: "We have been subjected to them a source of pleasure and a flood of unprintable billingsrecreation to the same extent that grate, threats of violence from crackpots stirred up by false insinualtions . . . even that the Commissioner is related to a concessionaire" (Maybe they're not Theobald. He told them to have He concluded that executives, blood relatives, but in spirit

The judge granted a temporary York for a "breath of fresh air." tion in Spain. Most of us, who are not in a

position to travel 3,000 miles and who might not consider the air in Franco's Spain particularly wholesome, are still interested in the grass and shade trees of Central Park. As Moses was sailing, Judge

Hofstadter, who likes trees himself, issued an injunction that hallts work until the mothers petition for a permanent injunction is brought to trial. He said it was questionable whether "a half-acre of park land, shrubbery and trees - used by older children and immediately adjacent to a more formal playground for youngsters - may be sacrificed to a contemplated use of compounded dubiety, i.e., more parking space for an enlarged cocktail lounge for a plush restaurant." The mothers held a victory

seems to have been premiature. Moses took off with a final state- playgrounds for children.

He concluded by saying that he ministration announced that it was happy to be leaving New does not think Judge Hofstadter had authority to issue the injunction and it will be appealed to a higher court.

Mothers who started soliciting funds for the court fight were stopped by police because they didn't have a license or the night size American flag three by four feet.) They are now shopping for flags and making plans for a fund campaign. One of them

"We'll ring doorbells and see to it that no member of the city administration could be elected dog-catcher." As the Administration plans to

take the fight to the courts and the mothers prepare to take it to the people of New York, the disputed half-acre remains a noman's-land. The work is halted but the fence remains. This devastated stretch of earth is bleak testimony to the values of a society where parking lots for celebration in the park, but it patrons of a swank cocktail lounge are more important than

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