

MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS IV

Trotsky Explains Marxist View of Terrorism

[We publish herewith the fourth installment of Leon Trotsky's closing speech at the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The hearings took place April 10 to 17, 1937 at Coyoacan, Mexico. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher and a veteran of 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 Commission after nine months of thorough investigation in several countries was that the defendants in the Moscow Trials were "Not Guilty." Leon Trotsky's speech has been reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in a pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. — Ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

If terror is feasible for one side, why should it be considered as excluded for the other? With 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 preparation of murders through the medium of a court or from behind an ambush is purely and simply a question of police technique. In the event of a failure, some second-rank agents can always be sacrificed.

On the part of an opposition, terror presupposes the concentration of all forces upon preparing acts of terror, with the foreknowledge that every one of such acts, whether successful or unsuccessful, will evoke in reply the destruction of scores of its best men. An opposition could

by no means permit itself such an insane squandering of its forces. It is precisely for this, and for no other reason, that the Comintern does not resort to terrorist attempts in the countries of fascist dictatorships. The Opposition is as little inclined to the policy of suicide as the Comintern.

According to the indictment, which banks on ignorance and mental laziness, the "Trotskyites" resolved to destroy the ruling group in order in this way to clear for themselves the path to power. The average Philistine, especially if he wears the badge of a "Friend of the USSR," reasons as follows: "The Oppositionists could not but strive for power, and could not but hate the ruling group. Why, then, shouldn't they really resort to terror?" In other words, for the Philistine the matter ends where in reality it only begins.

Theory and History

The leaders of the Opposition are neither upstarts nor novices. It is not at all a question of whether they were striving for power. Every serious political tendency strives to conquer power. The question is: Could the Oppositionists, educated upon the enormous experience of the revolutionary movement, have entertained even a moment's belief that terror is capable of bringing them closer to power? Russian history, Marxist theory, political psychology reply: No, they could not!

At this point, the problem of terror requires clarification, even though briefly, from the standpoint of history and theory. In so far as I am delineated as the initiator of the "anti-Soviet terror," I am compelled to invest my exposition with an autobiographic character.

In 1902, I had no sooner arrived in London from Siberia, after almost five years of prison and exile, than I had the occasion, in a memorial article devoted to the bicentennial of the fortress of Schusselburg, with its hard-labor prison, to enumerate the revolutionists there tortured to death. "The shades of these martyrs clamor for vengeance..." But immediately thereafter I added: "Not for a personal, but for a revolutionary vengeance. Not for the execution of ministers, but for the execution of the autocracy."

These lines were directed wholly against individual terror. Their author was twenty-three years of age. From the earliest days of his revolutionary activity he was already an opponent of terror. From 1902 to 1905 I delivered, in various cities in Europe, before Russian students and emigres, scores of political

reports against terrorist ideology, which at the beginning of the century was once again spreading among the Russian youth. Beginning with the 'eighties of the past century, two generations of Russian Marxists in their personal experience lived through the era of terror, learned from its tragic lessons, and organically instilled in themselves a negative attitude toward the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands of pages and hundreds of speeches to the struggle against the tactic of terror.

The ideological inspiration emanating from these senior Marxists nourished my attitude toward the revolutionary alchemy of the shut-in intellectual circles during my adolescence. For us, the Russian revolutionists, the problem of terror was a life-and-death matter in the political as well as the personal meaning of the term. For us, a terrorist was not a character from a novel, but a living and familiar being. In exile we lived for years side by side with the terrorists of the older generation. In prisons and in police custody we met with terrorists of our own age.

We tapped out messages back and forth, in the Peter and Paul fortress, with terrorists condemned to death. How many hours, how many days, were spent in passionate discussion! How many times did we break days of his revolutionary activity he was already an opponent of terror. From 1902 to 1905 I delivered, in various cities in Europe, before Russian students and emigres, scores of political

Terrorism Builds Cult of Individual

Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it into a system—that is a different thing.

"Terrorist work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such a concentration of energy upon the supreme moment, such an over-estimation of personal heroism and, lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as... excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses... Struggling against terrorism, the Marxian intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working-class districts for the sake of tunneling mines underneath the Grand Ducal and Czarist palaces."

It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everybody in his place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength. There are, of course, historical conditions where terror can introduce confusion

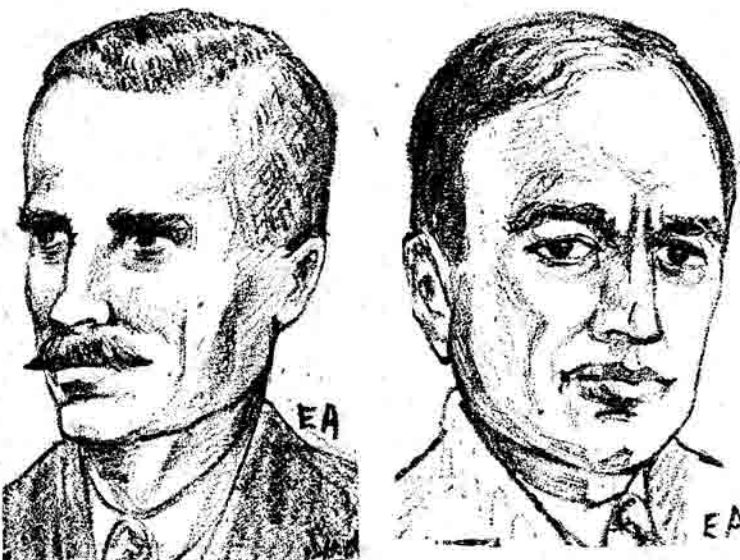
among the governing ranks. But in that case who is it that can reap the fruits? At all events, not the terrorist organization itself, and not the masses behind whose backs the duel takes place. Thus, the liberal Russian bourgeois, in their day, invariably sympathized with terrorism. The reason is plain.

In 1909 I wrote: "In so far as terror introduces disorganization and demoralization into the ranks of the Government (at the price of disorganizing and demoralizing the ranks of the revolutionists), to that extent it plays into the hands of none other than the liberals themselves." The very same idea, expressed virtually in the same words, we meet a quarter of a century later in connection with the Kirov assassination.

The very fact of individual acts of terror is an infallible token of the political backwardness of a country and the feebleness of the progressive forces there. The revolution of 1905, which disclosed the vast strength of the proletariat, put an end to the romanticism of the single combat between a handful of intellectuals and Czarism.

"Terrorism in Russia is dead," I reiterated in a number of ar-

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 in 1929, Rakovsky in 1934. Then both were victimized in the Moscow Trials.

icles. "... Terror has migrated far to the East—to the provinces of Punjab and Bengal... It may be that in other countries of the Orient terrorism is still destined to pass through an epoch of flowering. But in Russia it is already a part of the heritage of history."

In 1907 I found myself again in exile. The whip of counter-revolution was savagely at work, and the Russian colonies in European cities became very numerous. The entire period of my second emigration was devoted to reports and articles against the terror of vengeance and despair. In 1909 it was revealed that at the head of the terrorist organization of the so-called "Social Revolutionists" stood an agent provocateur, Azef. "In the blind alley of terrorism," I wrote, "the hand of provocation appears or recedes far away, and there remains only the individual invested with power." We shall presently, in connection with the Kirov assassination, meet once again with this thought, which runs through the decades of my activity.

During the same period I wrote: "The irreconcilable attitude of the Russian Social Democracy towards the bureau-

cratized terror of the revolution as a means of struggle against the terrorist bureaucracy of Czarism has met with bewilderment and condemnation not only among the Russian liberals but also among the European Socialists." Both the latter and the former accused us of "doctrinairism." On our part, we, the Russian Marxists, attributed this sympathy for Russian terrorism to the opportunism of the leaders of European Social Democracy who had become accustomed to transferring their hopes from the masses to the ruling summits.

"Whoever stalks a ministerial portfolio... as well as those who, clapping an infernal machine beneath a cloak, stalk the Minister himself, must equally overestimate the Minister—his personality and his post. For them the system itself disappears or recedes far away, and there remains only the individual invested with power." We shall presently, in connection with the Kirov assassination, meet once again with this thought, which runs through the decades of my activity.

A "Substitute" for Class Action

In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in November, 1911, an article on terrorism for this publication.

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confusion in the ruling circles depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist 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 continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach

the goal, then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle?

"If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission."

Five years later, in the heat of the imperialist war, Friedrich

Adler, who had spurred me to write this article, killed the Austrian Minister-President Sturgkh in a Vienna restaurant. The heroic skeptic and opportunist was unable to find any other outlet for his indignation and despair. My sympathies were, naturally not on the side of the Hapsburg dignity. However, to the individual action of Friedrich Adler I counterposed the form of activity of Karl Liebknecht who, during war-time, went out into a Berlin square to distribute a revolutionary manifesto to the workers.

On the 28th of December, 1934, four weeks after the Kirov assassination, at a time when the Stalinist judiciary did not know as yet in which direction to aim the barb of their "justice," I wrote in the Bulletin of the Opposition:

"... If Marxists have categorically condemned individual terrorism... even when the shots were directed against the agents of the Czarist Government and of capitalist exploitation, then all the more relentlessly will they condemn and reject the criminal adventurism of terrorist acts directed against the bureaucratic representatives of the first workers' state in history."

"The subjective motivations of Nikolayev and his associates are a matter of indifference to us. The road to hell is paved with good intentions. So long as the Soviet bureaucracy has not been removed by the proletariat—a task which will eventually be accomplished—it fulfills a necessary function in the defense of the workers' state. Should terrorism of the Nikolayev type spread, it could, given other unfavorable circumstances render service only to the fascist counter-revolution."

A Lifetime's Belief

These lines, as you have had the opportunity to convince yourselves, were not written ad hoc. They summarize the experience of a whole lifetime, which was in turn fed by the experience of two generations.

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 single day.

Now, on the other hand, they want to force us to believe that not young revolutionists, but old leaders of Russian Marxism, 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 method of political suicide.

The very possibility of such an accusation shows to what depths of debasement the Stalinist bureaucracy has dragged the official theoretical and political thought, not to mention Soviet justice. To political convictions gained through experience, sealed by theory, tempered in the white heat of the history of mankind, the falsifiers counterpose inchoate, contradictory, and utterly unsubstantiated testimonies of suspicious nonentities.

"Yes," said Stalin and his agents, "we cannot deny that Trotsky did warn against terrorist adventurism, not only in Rus-

sia but also in other countries in various stages of political development and under different conditions. But we have discovered in his lifetime a few instances which constitute an exception to the rule: In a conspiratorial letter he wrote to one Dreitzer (and which nobody ever saw); in a conversation with Holtzman who was brought to Trotsky in Copenhagen by his son [who was at the time in Berlin]; in a conversation with Berman-Yurin and David [of 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 his bitterest opponents] terrorist instructions [without making any attempt either to justify them or to tie them up with the cause to which my entire life has been devoted]. If Trotsky had imparted his programmatic views on terror orally and in writing to hundreds of thousands and millions in the course of forty years, it was only in order to deceive them. His real views he expounded in strictest secrecy to the Berman and the Davids."

And then a miracle came to pass! These inarticulate "instructions," which rest wholly on the mental level of the Messrs. Vyshinsky, proved sufficient for this: That hundreds of old Marxists—automatically, without any objections, without uttering a syllable—turned to the path of terror. Such is the political basis of the trial of the sixteen (Zinoviev et al.). In other words, the trial of the sixteen completely lacks a political basis.

(To be continued)

Trotsky's Specter Over Russia

By Boris Souvarine

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.]

Since the last Communist Congress, not a day goes by without official information from Moscow announcing the revision of notions belonging until now to the Stalinist dogma and the rehabilitation of innocent victims of Stalin. The impulsion having been given by the leaders with the automatic approval of the Congress, a new orthodoxy is being elaborated before a frightened public and is replacing the obligatory orthodoxy of yesterday.

It is now admitted that the biography of Stalin, written and embellished by him, as well as the summary of the "History of the Communist Party," which Stalin had unjustly attributed to himself, deserve to be burned. The major part of the historical, philosophical and juridical books elaborated under Stalin are discarded. Once again, everything must be revised in order to be remade anew. Teams of writers rapidly edit new school manuals. The history examinations will not take place this year, because the professors no longer know what they should teach. It will be necessary to rewrite anew the encyclopedias and the dictionaries.

Pokrovsky, head of the Marxist historical school, put in dishonor and disrepute by Stalin, is rehabilitated along with his disciples. The authors of successive "party history" books, which were prohibited one after the other, after having in their turn been official — Nevski, Boulbovin, Yaroslavsky and Popov — are rehabilitated in turn. The generals Blucher, Yegorov, Kamenyev, begin the march of rehabilitation in the army. The list of names of Jewish intellectuals, artists, folklorists, executed due to Stalin's anti-Semitism, is published. From all sides surge legions of spectators.

SPECTER OF TROTSKY Above all the other specters, one specter has arisen in all its stature: that of Leon Trotsky. Since the civil war of the years 1918 to 1921, Stalin had an aversion, later transformed into hate, towards the creator and head of the Red Army, whom he considered as a rival. After the death of Lenin, he dedicated himself to the task of denigrating and discrediting him by all means — except legitimate ones. Master of the party apparatus which Lenin had given him charge of, he was able to isolate Trotsky, bring him into disrepute, and make him impotent. He was then able to banish him to Turkestan, later exile him to Turkey from 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 hearted governments disposed to showing him hospitality, and unleashing hostile campaigns against him through the Communist parties and his devoted satellites.

Again, the review, "Questions of History," recognized at last that the Stalinist version of the Civil War, and especially the episode of Tsaritsyn, is completely false — thus confirming and justifying Trotsky's testimony on this particular question. Logically, 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 Stalin in his memoirs.

In the course of the de-Stalinization, Trotsky is rising while Stalin is falling. It is true that Lenin and Trotsky, who share responsibility for the October coup d'état and its consequences, must account for their action. But the responsibilities of Stalin are of a very distinct type.

But the wheel of destiny has turned. Stalin is a corpse which should be killed, and Trotsky is a certain sense is a corpse which is being resurrected. The new owners of the USSR can no longer re-establish even a little historical truth without erasing at least a part of the horrible absurdities which Stalin, with their complicity, had invented to soil his victims.

By a decision from above, those condemned in the Moscow trials, a little earlier smeared with "Trotskyism," are no longer "foreign agents" and "imperialist spies." They are now repudiated only for their opposition to the "Party" — a charge which is also false, since they opposed only 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.

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The Despair of a Polish Youth

By Michael Bruck

When I was ten I was told that 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 there were many.

When I was ten I ceased to believe in the hitherto sacred word Fatherland because I did not know which of these many Polands was my Fatherland. I no longer had a Fatherland.

I had God. When I was 15 I ceased to believe in God. God had proved to be an ally of the murderers of Lech. For long hours I knelt in a dark empty church. My soul cried, threatened, implored. I hated Him and at the same time I loved Him so much. My poor betrayed Lech also loved Him.

You must know how terrible it is to feel one's faith slip away, vanish, and yet crave for it to remain. You must know those sleepless nights, that desperate struggling in the soul of

Michael Bruck is an 18-year-old student at Warsaw (Poland) Polytechnic. The excerpts that we are publishing from his letter first appeared in the May 10 issue of *Nova Kultura*, a weekly magazine in Poland. Bruck's letter is officially regarded by the Soviet regime as representative of the mood of the Polish youth. The letter voices the despair and disillusionment of a youth who feels betrayed 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 spirit.

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.

a child. The day finally came when the cross became to me only a piece of wood. A friend five years older than I gave me help. He was a Communist. It was he who 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 the idea and its exponents.

HISTORY WAS FORGED Three years have passed. Now I am 18. It has turned out that

what my family said was true—about the cruelty of secret police investigations and about the dictatorship of Stalin. It has turned out that history was really forged. Those who looked at my personal questionnaire with suspicion when I begged them for an explanation now speak of the "Stalin era" and the "time of Beria."

They are recommending jazz, which they opposed two years ago as a symptom of the decayed culture of the West. They are discussing youth organizations in Yugoslavia, about which they

sang satirical songs a few years ago.

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. I 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 anything.

Our era was not easy and although we had no rifles in our hands we did not have a rosy path. It is not through effeminacy and prosperity that our cynicism was born and it is not egoism and desire for comfort that have ordered us to reject the political leaders.

We, 18-year-olds and 20-year-olds, although growing up in new conditions, are not happy because we have perceived that this newness is very old and it deceived our dreams. It is distressing to lose everything in which one believed.

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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 13 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, chairman 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 movement.

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 movement 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 working class 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 "Stalin 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 saboteurs."

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 waiting for Moscow to do it first.

CP National Committee Spurs Right Swing

By Tom Kerry

In its first full meeting since 1951, the national committee of the Communist Party met in New York recently, to codify the extreme right turn which has led the American Stalinists deep into the leprosy 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 policy and laying down the line for the future. "Dennis' searching examination of the last decade of the Party's work," says the May 6 Sunday Worker, "placed his principal emphasis on what he viewed as shortcomings and mistaken estimates which he characterized as 'mainly left-sectarian in character.'" The report was adopted unanimously.

Unfortunately, the full text of the Dennis report has not yet

been made public. The Daily and Sunday Worker reports of the CP confab do not cite the precise "left-sectarian" errors to which the Dennis report alludes.

This gap is filled in by Stalinist "labor expert" George 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 imperative, especially on the presidential race and on the Marshall plan."

ERRED ON COLD WAR?

The expulsion of the Stalinist-controlled unions came as an aftermath of the 1948 CIO convention following the election of Harry Truman. The Stalinists had sponsored the Progressive Party and its candidate for president, Henry Wallace. The Marshall plan was the cornerstone of the Truman Doctrine with its policy of "containment" and cold war. The Stalinist attempt to compromise on the Marshall plan by proposing its funds be allocated through the United Nations was

summarily rejected. To say now, that the "left" should have "retreated and compromised" on these issues can only mean that the Stalinists should have supported Truman and the cold war against the Soviet Union. Is this what they have in mind now with their policy of supporting the "Fair Deal" wing of the Democratic 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 "left" about their previous policy? In 1948 they supported a capitalist "third" party, with a capitalist program and a capitalist 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 unions.

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

LENINIST PRINCIPLE

The terms "left" and "right" are meaningless unless some point of departure is fixed. The Stalinists contend they are Marxists. Not only Marxists, but Leninists to boot. In socialist thought and action, Leninism is distinguished as revolutionary Marxism in contradistinction to social-reformism. It is a fundamental Leninist principle that the crossing of class lines in politics is a betrayal of socialism. Lenin was absolutely inflexible in his adherence to principle. He combined principled intangibility with the utmost tactical flexibility. According to Lenin, tactics are always subordinated to principle and cannot be in violation thereof.

When viewed from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist principle, the so-called "left-sectarian" policy of the American Stalinists is seen as nothing but the rankest opportunism. And the "theoretical" justifications that accompany each change in line are compounded of the flimsiest counterfeits.

According to Dennis, one of the basic causes for past "left-sectarian" errors was their "mis-

taken estimates on the imminence of war," which led to a "wrong tactical conclusion." That is, the organization of the Wallace "peace" party in 1948. In the Wallace party the illusion was assiduously sown among the workers that war could be averted through the medium of a "third" capitalist party with a pacifist program. What is involved is no mere "tactical" error but a violation of Marxist principle. Inasmuch as the Stalinists have raised the slogan: Back to Lenin, let's check Dennis against 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 capitalism 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 struggle on or off in accordance with the "estimates," mistaken or otherwise, contained therein. That is not Marxist theory but Stalinist claptrap. Dennis has a theory but it is not that of the Leninist class struggle.

As against Lenin, Dennis defended the Khrushchev-Stalin policy of "peaceful coexistence." This "theory," if it can be dignified by the name, holds that the capitalist and non-capitalist world can exist side by side for a prolonged and indefinite period of time. That war under capitalism is not inevitable. From this concept flows the class collaboration policy of world Stalinism as adapted to the national peculiarities of each country. In this country it is translated into support for the Democratic party whose main criticism of Eisenhower's foreign policy is that the 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. The events of the past ten years have proven, if additional proof be necessary, that Lenin's analysis

of our epoch has been confirmed. Scarcely a single day has passed since the end of World War II in which the world has not witnessed war, revolution and colonial uprising. "Peaceful coexistence" is conspicuous by its absence.

Dennis' second "theoretical" explanation is no better than his first. Another cause for "left-sectarian" errors in the past, he says, was due to "an over-estimation of the imminence of a deep cyclical economic crisis." 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 on the class struggle and invite the workers to support the Democratic party, one of the twin bulwarks of capitalist rule. Stalinist politics have nothing whatever 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 right-wing 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 enthusiasm. It suits their character and mood.

Their spurious "re-valuation" 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

DETROIT—The Young Socialist Club of Wayne University has been suppressed. Against the wishes of representative student and faculty opinion, reactionary forces in the university administration have succeeded—temporarily—in ridding Wayne of the only non-conformist student political organization recognized on this campus for several years.

The YSC, organized in the fall of 1954, was from the beginning a thorn in the side of the conservative university administration. Far more active than the Young Republicans and Young Democrats, it aggressively defended the theories and policies of socialism as well as civil liberties—on and off the campus. Last fall it extended its socialist propaganda with the publication of a magazine, the Wayne Socialist.

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

under the skin of the university administration, which was then busy trying to get the State Legislature to accept Wayne as a state university. "Get the Young Socialist Club off the campus by hook or by crook" became the objective of administration forces anxious to appear "respectable" in the eyes of the Republican State Legislature.

No group on the campus cared to try to end the YSC's influence by engaging in debate over its ideas and policies. Instead, it was decided to suppress the club by changing the rules under which student political clubs operated so as to make the YSC—and the YSC alone—ineligible for continued recognition. One Dr. R. F. Steadman, chairman of the Political Science Department which supervises the student political activities program at Wayne, was entrusted with the job.

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 margin.

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 officers of the clubs so that the present YSC officers would be unable to continue serving as officers. A third was to subject 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

its members consider themselves socialists in general, rather than adherents of the Socialist Workers Party).

STORM OF PROTEST

Steadman then submitted his proposed changes to the advisory council of the Political Science Department, which is composed of representatives of all three political clubs at Wayne and the 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 from the campus. The Student Legislature and many other student groups strongly denounced them as attacks on free discussion and academic freedom. Several student leaders and faculty members signed a statement asking that they not be put into effect.

Then to top it off, the advisory council, in which the socialists were a minority, decisively rejected 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 student groups that had dared to object to them.

But majority opinion rarely stops bureaucrats. On the eve of the State Legislature's vote on the bill to make Wayne a state university, Steadman bypassed the advisory council, ignored the protests on the campus—and put the new regulations into effect by decree. (Ironically, this action coincided with the celebration of Academic Freedom Week on the campus.)

The YSC was simultaneously suspended and prohibited from meeting on the campus until it could comply with the new rules. Unable to comply, the club appealed Steadman's arbitrary action 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 weakened their belief in the correctness of the ideas of socialism, nor their determination to defend and spread those ideas wherever students are willing to discuss them.

Labor Statesman at Work



Joao Coulart, (left) Vice-President of Brazil, chats with AFL-CIO president George Meany at Washington luncheon in Coulart'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.

SWP and Monthly Review Discussion

[In its May issue, Monthly Review published a letter from the election campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party, Art Sharon, calling on the magazine to support the Socialist Workers ticket. We publish here, with the text of Sharon's letter, the reply of MR's editors and our own comment. — Ed.]

SWP LETTER

Dear Mr. Huberman:

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.

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 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 a national ticket in this coming electoral contest.

The Socialist Party has a similar electoral position; consequently no slate of the Socialist Party will appear on the ballot. This is further attested to by the failure of the Socialist Party to enter presidential candidates in the recent important Pennsylvania nominations.

This leaves only the Socialist Labor Party and ourselves. We submit that your position on the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union rules out the SLP on principle.

You criticize the Socialist Workers Party as advocating socialism "in an unrealistic sectionarian 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 sectionarianism. Further you criticize the SWP for "focusing its energies on attacking Stalinism." 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.

There is a vast accumulation of misunderstanding, distortion, and slander that make up the body of attacks on the SWP. This in large

measure deters many "left elements" from supporting the SWP electorally. We are interested in separating honest differences from fanciful nonsense, and to that end welcome every opportunity to do so.

In short we are asking for your support in the 1956 elections. We would like further, to present our 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 printed below. The purpose is to remove possible misunderstanding about MR's basic position.

In his letter to Joan R—

Leo Huberman wrote: "The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party advocates socialism, but in an unrealistic sectionarian way with all its energies focused on attacking Stalinism." 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 obviously 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 group in the country — is completely independent of what happens in the Soviet Union.

The notion that because of the attack on Stalinism 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 "Russian" terms. At bottom, the weakness and sectarianism of the SWP has had precisely the same roots as the weakness and sectarianism of the Communist Party: both have been dominated

by Soviet developments; neither has ever succeeded in working out American solutions for American problems.

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 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 to be of the Left and still refuses to defend their historic achievements 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 Russia.

This is not the place to attempt to settle the question of how much of Leninism has relevance and validity 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 indiscriminate 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 fatal political error.

One final point: one of the main purposes of the discussion which is now going on in left-wing circles, and of which this discussion in MR is only a small part, must be precisely to re-assess past relations and attitudes not only to Stalinism but also to Leninism. And among the points that cannot and should not be avoided are the nature of the

Leninist party itself and the Leninist conception of the socialist international — The 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 American 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 rather 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 — but finds this to be precisely our crime. Furthermore, according to Huberman and Sweezy 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 Stalin — which they once covered up; or of Stalin himself — whom they once exalted in the best manner of the Stalin 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 and the victim) are — twins. This is not a worthy procedure.

(3) The CP and the SWP are both Leninists, say the MR

editors. But the CP preaches the crassest form of class-collaboration by giving support to the Democratic Party. The SWP 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 conquest.

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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The Negro Struggle

By William Bundy

White Citizens Councils Move North

The White Citizens Councils are moving North to become a rallying point for many hilly-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 limits.

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 stand.

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 failure 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.

...ADA 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 Eastland as America's leading racist, also came out for Stevenson. To round out the picture of opportunists in the labor and Negro movements joining hands 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

ostensibly based on the answers given by Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman to ten stogie questions submitted to them. Their answers were almost identical since the questions were drawn up in a fashion to allow the candidates to skirt the real issues with liberal generalities. For example, in reply to what he would do about school desegregation if elected president, Stevenson said he would use his "moral influence" to encourage compliance. Kefauver 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 desegregation decision.

Similar doubletalk typified the answers of Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman to all the ADA's questions. As the New York Times (May 14) humorously put it, the ADA had the "task of distinguishing between a title, a jot and a scintilla."

With an eye to the coming elections, the tenor of the ADA speeches and resolutions was to blast away at Eisenhower and to soft-pedal the failure of the Democratic-controlled Congress on civil rights, pro-labor and social legislation. Thus the political resolution presented to the convention dealt only a mild slap on the wrist to the Democrat's Congressional record for the past

two years. The New York delegation attempted to strengthen this criticism of the Democrats. But its resolutions were voted down.

The attempted strategy of Democratic Party leaders to avoid 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 issue, but gave mere passing mention of it in his message.

Other notable features of the convention were the speeches of UAW President Walter Reuther and NAACP head Roy Wilkins. Both reflected the pressure from the ranks of their organizations. Reuther dwelt on the layoffs in the auto plants and denounced General Motors for its "scandalous" \$2,543,000,000 profit last year. Wilkins was stronger than other speakers in criticisms and warnings to the Democrats on the civil rights issue. He did not go as far, however, as to suggest supporting the Republicans. When he was quoted to this effect a month ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, National Honorary Chairman of the ADA, handed in her resignation from the NAACP Board of Directors. Wilkins then backtracked and Mrs. Roosevelt reconsidered her resignation.

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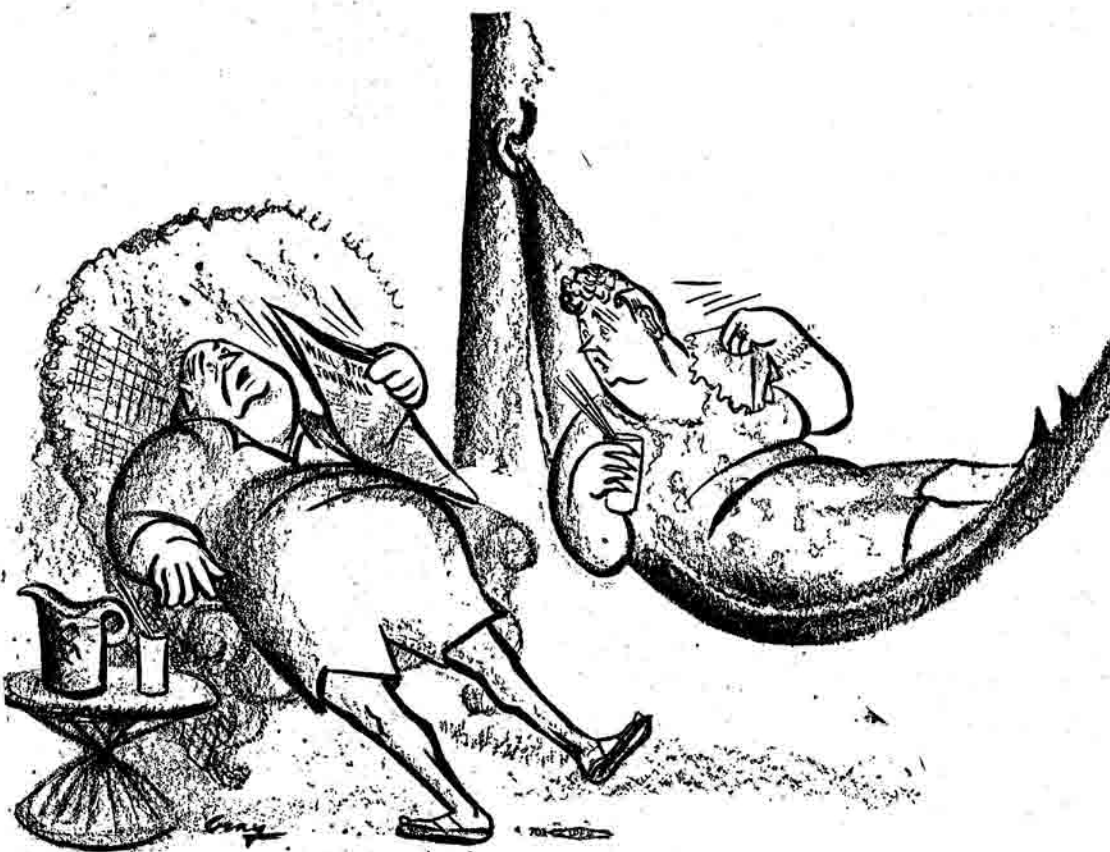
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THE MILITANT

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

...MIA DIGS IN FOR LONG BATTLE

(Continued from page 1)

to be used to aid the Southern equal rights fighters, including the Montgomery community. (See lead story in this issue.)

While rank and file pressure has finally moved the top union 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 election.

Regardless of the top labor leaders' 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 other unrepentable racists will use their Congressional power as a legal club, in their infamous struggle against civil rights.

White supremacist Talmadge has endorsed the "moderate" 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 rights during election time. It is enough to point out that every one of the Democratic contenders have declared their refusal to use

the power of the Presidency to enforce the U.S. Constitution in the South. All of them preach, in one form or another the kind of pro-racist "moderation" that led to Talmadge's support of Stevenson.

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 power 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 South.

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 rallied to the program of non-Jim Crow unionism was demonstrated in the epic battles that gave rise to the CIO. Thousands of prejudiced Southern whites in Detroit and other cities learned the need for interracial solidarity on the picket lines and in the organization drives.

Instead of using the resources of the union movement to bolster the party that houses its sworn enemies, the union leaders, along with the Negro leaders, should

turn labor's energies to the building of a great new political power in this country — a labor party based on the unions and the organizations of the Negro people.

Consider the problem confronting Montgomery's equal rights fighters: With inspiring unity and solidarity they have built an organized movement capable of crippling a powerful bus company. They have remained solid in the face 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 the leaders can tell them whom they should vote for. The Democrats are dedicated to white 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 of its own — candidates of its own choosing and beliefs — wouldn't that supply the extra power to force the racists speedily to come to terms?

Extend that picture over the entire South. Add the North and West. Would not this be an invincible force? Is it realizable? Yes. All that is required is the recognition by the ranks of labor and the Negro people that this is the only road forward and then some firm pressure on their leaders to force them to head up that road.

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.

This is the first time since the 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" without pay.

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 cut-backs in prospect at the factories.

As a result of 12,000 additional layoffs last week the official unemployment figure has risen to 148,000. The unemployment figures, however, are based on a survey of only three-quarters of the total number of auto workers employed in seven states. If the figures for the remaining one-quarter were available the number of unemployed workers would most likely be closer to the total of 200,000 reported 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 thousands of auto workers who have been on a reduced work schedule for extended periods of time. These workers have, in effect, the shorter work week. What they do not have is the full week's pay.

WORKERS ARE VICTIMS

On May 12 the N.Y. Times reported that UAW president Walter P. Reuther had expressed anew his concern over unemployment in the automobile industry. "The auto workers now on layoff," declared Reuther, "are victims of irresponsible scheduling of production by the automobile industry, and in part at least of the insane competitive struggle in 1955 when high pressure selling chopped a huge chunk out of the 1956 market."

What Reuther says is commonplace knowledge among the auto workers. The production schedules and high-pressure sales methods led to a back-breaking speedup in the plants and to

cut-throat competition which saturated the market with cars on long-term credit schemes.

Profit-hungry greed has always 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. Another 5,000 were added to the unemployment role in that area last week to boost the total to 125,000. The persistent character of the unemployment problem in Michigan is apparent by the large total of unemployment compensation exhaustions. The May 10 Michigan CIO News reports "that exhaustions during April totaled over 5,000 for the 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 income due to short work weeks has given a new vigor to the demand for a reduction in hours with no reduction in pay, popularly known as "30-for-40" among the auto workers across the country. Thousands of rank-and-file auto workers along with 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 agreement be reopened. From the far west in California to the eastern seaboard in New Jersey, Southgate Local 216 and Linden Local 595, have called upon the UAW International Executive Board to invoke the principle of the "living agreement," and negotiate a new contract.

In each case, placed at the head of the list, is the demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

The Asphalt Jungle Moves in on the Trees

By Joyce Cowley

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 Central Park will be without some colorful sign of spring."

I just inspected an area that's a notable exception, where the branches of fallen trees lie on churned up mud. This is the scene of the controversial fence that went up recently between the hours of midnight and dawn. Park employees hurriedly drove 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 work."

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 delegation to City Hall for a conference with Deputy Mayor Theobald. He told them to have

"confidence and patience, especially in the light of the past record of our Park Commissioner."

When the mothers arrived Tuesday morning at 8 A.M., they saw the fence and the bulldozer at work behind it. They surged forward but were blocked by the line of police. Our Police Dept. is sometimes accused of negligence but it was certainly on the job at Central Park. It took a total of 31 of New York's finest including an inspector and a couple of captains, to stop the mothers.

One of them fought her way through and tried to push down the fence, but they pulled her back.

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 environment and setting that affords them a source of pleasure and recreation to the same extent that recreation and pleasure would be afforded to those of lower means by the purchase of a hot dog or ice cream cone in park areas."

He concluded that executives,

too, had a right to the park. The prices quoted would make it an exclusive right to this particular spot.

The judge granted a temporary injunction that stopped the work until 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 concessionaires 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, which is 1.6% although the contract 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 that: "We have been subjected to a flood of unprintable billings-gate, threats of violence from crackpots stirred up by false insinuations . . . even that the Commissioner is related to a concessionaire" (Maybe they're not blood relatives, but in spirit

Moses and the concessionaires are certainly members of one family).

He concluded by saying that he was happy to be leaving New York for a "breath of fresh air." He sailed for a four-week vacation 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 halts 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 celebration in the park, but it seems to have been premature. Moses took off with a final statement that he would fight this to the last court, and the City Administration announced that it 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 right size American flag three by four feet.) They are now shopping for flags and making plans for a fund campaign. One of them said:

"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 no-man'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 patrons of a swank cocktail lounge are more important than playgrounds for children.

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