

## Shorter Week At Same Pay Is Next UAW Goal

By Tom Kerry

MAY 28 — Meeting in Detroit last week against a background of soaring unemployment in the auto industry, a national conference of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, General Motors Council, adopted a resolution calling for a substantial reduction in the work week with no reduction in take-home pay. The Council is composed of representatives of GM Locals throughout the country.

"At the termination of our present collective bargaining agreement," the resolution declares, "a major and just demand of the General Motors workers will be a substantial reduction in the work week with the maintenance of a full forty-hours take-home pay."

### PRESSURE FROM RANKS

The action of the GM Council was taken under strong pressure from the ranks. Hard hit by widespread layoffs and short work weeks the auto workers are demanding an effective program of action to combat the scourge of creeping unemployment in progress since the first of the year. A number of GM Locals had gone on record for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay prior to the Council meeting. Coupled with this slogan has been the demand that the UAW International Executive Board invoke the principle of the living agreement.

The auto workers want action now! The U.S. Bureau of Employment Security announced that there were 12,000 new layoffs during the week ended May 19. There is no sign of an upturn. On the contrary, all forecasts are for additional layoffs, short weeks and unpaid "holidays." The GM Council resolution postpones action for two years — until the

present agreement expires in 1958. "Mr. Reuther," says the May 28 Wall Street Journal, "told reporters he was not ready at this time to be specific on just what his union means by a 'shorter work week.'"

Reuther seems to have an aversion to being "specific." He tipped his hat to the 30-for-40 slogan in his opening speech to the UAW convention last year and then shunted it aside for the Guaranteed Annual Wage demand. "When we get our basic economic needs satisfied," he said, "and when we get the economic problems nailed down, the next demand has to be for a shorter work week so we'll have more time to enjoy the good things of life that we have."

### THE DREAD PLAGUE

Reuther saw the shorter work week coming after the Guaranteed Annual Wage had succeeded "in achieving full production and full employment in peacetime." He saw it as a complement to "full employment" in which the workers would "have more time to enjoy the good things of life." It never entered his head that less than a year later the dread plague of unemployment would strike the auto industry, as it has so often in the past, and that from the ranks would come wailing up the demand for a reduction in hours with no reduction in pay. Not to "have more time to enjoy the good things of life," but to stem

(Continued on page 4)

# Boycotts Against Jim Crow Spreading in the Deep South

## Boycott Hits Ball Parks In New Orleans

A boycott begun by the Negro people of New Orleans has hit the pocketbooks of the Southern Baseball Association so hard that the league is faced with going out of business. It has, of course, the alternative that Southern Negroes are demanding — abandonment of the lily-white player rule and of segregated seating in the ball parks.

The boycott began about a year ago without any publicity or formal organization. Southern ball club owners and the newspapers tried to prevent its spreading by saying nothing about it. Yet it spread and has cut deeply into gate receipts. It is estimated that at some parks attendance is 20% lower than in previous years.

None of the eight teams in the Southern Association has a single Negro player. All parks have segregated seating.

The effectiveness of the long protest movement was revealed when several club officials broke their policy of silence about the boycott and told reporters that unless attendance picks up the league may be forced out of business.

### JIM CROW MOVE

The struggle over segregation in Southern sports also brought developments in the Evangeline League — a class C league with an all-Louisiana circuit. Two teams in the league have had Negro players. The white-supremacist park commissioners of Baton Rouge recently banned Negroes from the city-owned park used by the league.

In a hypocritical attempt to comply with the Jim Crow edict and yet not provoke a boycott by Negro fans, Evangeline League officials announced that by "good luck" the five Negro players were being traded to Northern minor leagues for white players or were being dropped. Color, he said, had nothing to do with the shifts, it was simply a question of improving the teams. This transparent dodge makes the league lily-white and thus satisfies the Baton Rouge park commissioners. It is unlikely any fan — Negro or white — believes the official "good luck" explanation.

Also in Baton Rouge, pressure of the Negro movement against segregation, led the board of supervisors of Louisiana State University to reject by a 7-7 vote a resolution to ban LSU teams from playing in racially mixed games.



"I think everyone should enjoy the right to suffer, don't you, Dear?"

## "Right to Suffer" Is a Joy Says Capitalist Spokesman

By Harry Ring

President Eisenhower's special administrative assistant, Howard Pyle, hardly rolled them in the aisles in Detroit May 21 with his "smiling" comment that "the right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy, just as the right to prosper is." There are at present 220,000 jobless in the state of Michigan.

Pyle's unfeeling crack has provided the Democrats with a choice election-year target. His apology after UAW President Reuther protested to President Eisenhower was a hasty effort to lower the target. But the "apology" to "anyone who may have been offended" will not erase the Big Business Republican administration's callous indifference to the plight of the unemployed.

### BIRDS OF A FEATHER

It is less than two years ago that Defense Secretary Wilson told the unemployed, "I have always liked bird dogs better than kennel-fed dogs myself. You know, one who will go out and hunt for food rather than sit on his fanny and yelp."

The attitude of Wilson and Pyle is in tune with that of the President himself. It was Eisenhower, in a discussion of old age pensions, who said in December, 1949, "If all that Americans want is security they can go to prison. They'll have enough to eat and a roof over their heads."

These blatantly anti-labor Republican pronouncements in actuality express a bi-partisan view. This is demonstrated by ex-President Truman's statement of Feb. 16, 1950, that "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing, job-seeking should go on at all times. This is healthy for the economic body."

Truman here blurted out a basic fact of life about capitalism. While pounding the pavement may not be healthy for labor it is very much so for capital which must continually maintain a reservoir of unemployed. "Free competition" between employed and unemployed labor is, among other things, a powerful employer weapon for holding down wages. In his protest against Pyle's

remarks, Walter Reuther declared that a part of the "concept that would have us believe that within the framework of our free economy, economic insecurity is the inescapable price we must pay for our freedom."

The inescapable fact is that the rights to "suffer" and "prosper" are basic features of capitalism. The big catch to it is that they are not alternating processes enjoyed by one and the same individual. The capitalist class prospers while the workers suffer. The prosperity of the capitalist is not halted by the suffering of the worker. For example, while the auto workers are not getting a solid dose of the right to suffer, the auto barons continue to pile up record profits.

Only under a socialist society of planned production for use instead of profit, will the "right" of the capitalist exploiters to prosper at the expense of labor be forever abolished.

Dearborn, Wyandotte and Royal Oak, Michigan prevent any Negroes from living within their city limits.

## Negro Students Spark Florida Bus Boycott After Arrest of Co-eds

By George Lavan

The spirit of the Montgomery bus boycott, which has inspired the Negro people throughout the South, flared into the open in Tallahassee, Florida, and a new bus protests movement may be in the making there.

The Tallahassee events began on May 26 when Wilhelmina Jakes and Carrie F. Patterson, girl students at Florida A & M University for Negroes, boarded a bus and took the only two empty seats. They happened to be in the forward part of the bus. Ordered to get up by the driver, they said they would get off and asked for their money back. Instead, the driver called the police, who took the girls to jail and charged them with acting to incite a riot. Finally released on bail, their cases are scheduled for trial June 2.

### HURL FLAMING CROSS

On the next day, Sunday, May 27, white supremacists hurled a flaming cross from a car onto the lawn of the rooming house where the two co-eds live. Fearing KKK violence, the girls moved to a dormitory on the campus of the Negro university.

Student anger over the arrests boiled over when the flaming cross threat became known. The next day the student body of Florida A & M gathered in a mass meeting in a university auditorium. Student Council President Broadus Hartley, one of the speakers, declared the arrests of Miss Jakes and Miss Patterson, were but the latest "in a series of incidents in which we have been humiliated by bus drivers."

After the meeting students began circulating petitions pledging the signers to boycott the Tallahassee bus system. Interviewed by reporters, student

leader Hartley said: "I would not call it a boycott, we are just refraining from riding the buses until we can have assurance that we will receive better treatment."

### BUS RUNS EMPTY

The first bus to follow its route through the campus after the meeting was completely empty. It was followed by a police car. Five hundred students cheered when the bus failed to get a single passenger. "We'll walk," they shouted. Into the evening buses serving the university remained empty while crowds of students stood at the regular campus bus stop hooting and shouting their protests.

The New York Post reported that in downtown Tallahassee Monday night city buses had few or no Negro passengers. This would indicate that the protest movement, started by the Negro students, is spreading to the Negro population of Tallahassee, the state capital.

Further indication of this was a statement by Rev. K. C. Steele, president of the Tallahassee chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He predicted that the boycott "will be continued beyond the university campus."

### JIM CROW REGION

Whether the boycott will continue or not depends upon the Negro townspeople of Tallahassee since the students are due to finish the college term in a few days.

(Continued on page 3)

## To Ask 'Moderate' Jim Crow Plank



Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (left), Speaker of the House Rayburn and Mrs. Johnson in Washington after Johnson established himself as possible presidential contender by defeating rabid racist Gov. Shivers in fight for control of Texas delegation to Democratic national convention.

# How CP Members React to End of Stalin Cult

By Daniel Roberts

About two and a half months ago the U.S. Communist Party began reports and discussions on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The pattern of the meetings throughout the country, according to Militant correspondents present, have been invariably the same. The official speakers all sought to present what they called a balanced report touching on all phases of the Congress speeches. All sought to place the dismantling of the Stalin cult "in its proper focus."

But invariably, the overwhelming number of questions and speeches — where these were allowed from the floor — concerned themselves with the Stalin question.

"Why did the Soviet leaders wait three years before disclosing Stalin's dictatorial rule?" "What were Khrushchev, Bulganin and the others doing while Stalin was building his dictatorship? Weren't they hand in glove with him and aren't they now just passing the buck? Why don't they explain their own role?"

### RANKS ASK QUESTIONS

Each new revelation from the

Soviet Union only swelled the volume of questions asked by CP members of their leaders. "What measures were used to obtain confessions from Rajk and the others?"

"What assurances are there that the outrages against the Jews in the Soviet Union will not be repeated?"

"Who are the 'rotten elements' denounced in Pravda and Izvestia? What kind of a discussion is it if people who oppose party policy are cracked down upon?"

A Militant correspondent writes the following about a Los Angeles meeting, April 13, where William Schneiderman, California Chairman of the CP, spoke. "Many questions relating to the frame-up of Tito, the execution of Rajk and the slaughter of Jewish intellectuals indicated the profound dissatisfaction of the audience with the explanations that have been offered by the CP leadership."

"The only applause of any size received by the speaker came when he stated that he was in favor of abolishing capital punishment in socialist countries. Otherwise, the audience was undemonstrative."

The release of thousands of

political prisoners from Polish jails occasioned one young CP supporter to ask at a Jefferson School forum in New York: "Are these people now going to be given political rights? They were called criminals. But if that is true, why were they released? And if it wasn't true, why were they put in prison, and what is going to be done to make it up to them now?"

At a subsequent discussion at the Jefferson School on whether under socialism in the U.S. capitalists would be granted democratic rights to advocate a return to capitalism, one CP supporter stated: "I am more concerned about the chance of workers in the Soviet Union today to exercise democratic rights, including the right to form new parties. We talk about the crimes of Stalin. These weren't committed against capitalists. They were crimes against Socialism — against the workers. Are we going to back their rights?"

At another meeting in Los Angeles on the 20th Congress, "there was burning indignation expressed about the crimes against the Jewish people. One woman said: 'I can't trust either you or the leaders over there

any more because you permitted these things to happen. I felt that things were wrong for a long time, but I was afraid to open my mouth because I would be called a reactionary.'"

### THE MOSCOW TRIALS

The question of Trotskyism and the Moscow Trial frame-ups are stumping the Stalinist leaders.

At a Los Angeles forum a member of the audience, referring to an article in the current issue of Masses and Mainstream, said: "In this article, Gerson says that the CP committed a deep error in principle by not defending the Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act in Minneapolis and also James Kitcher. . . As I understood it at the time, and still do, the basic reason why the CP refused defense was because the Trotskyists were said to be proven wreckers, assassins and agents of fascism in the Moscow Trials. If the CP is now changing its position on the Trotskyists, isn't it necessary to review the Moscow Trials which provided the basis for their previous wrong position?"

Bernard Burton of the People's World, one of the speakers, replied, "We changed our position

because the Smith Act if used against one can be used against all." "That's what the Trotskyists said," "I don't care what they said," Burton replied. He did not dare renew the charge of "fascist" against the Trotskyists. (Nor have other speakers at other meetings.)

Arnold Shimbarg, Los Angeles youth leader, held a different view. "He said there were two reasons for the CP's change of position; the one given by Burton and the other which was his own. In view of the sweeping character of the violations of socialist democracy, he believed incumbent upon both the Soviet and American CP leaders to re-evaluate the role of the Trotskyists. It was one thing to conduct an ideological struggle against people with wrong views — and he believed the Trotskyist position would have prevented the building of socialism in the USSR. However, it is another thing for a socialist country to engage in frame-ups."

One of the motives in the frame-ups conducted against Leon Trotsky was to prevent CP members from learning what his ideas really were about the problems of building socialism in the USSR and on a world scale. For

over 30 years, Stalin and his henchmen erected a barrier of misrepresentation, then slander, then frame-ups between the CP rank and file and the Trotskyist movement.

By repudiating the Stalin cult, Stalin's heirs have unwittingly undermined all credence in the monstrous accusations. Revolted by the record of Stalinist crimes, CP members are demanding that their leaders abandon bureaucratic for Leninist methods — i.e., adopt ideological struggle instead of frame-ups. A good beginning for CP members seeking the truth would be a study of Trotsky's basic writings. The question of the road to socialism in the USSR — 30 years ago and now — opens up a rich area of discussion on the fundamental problems of world socialism, including the very questions now agitating CP members as a result of the 20th Congress.

Rex Bell, husband of "It Girl" Clara Bow, and Nevada's No. 2 politician, talks about politics in the May 28 New York Post: "It's not too different from the acting business. My social and public duties are about the same now as when I was in Hollywood."

## Key '56 Issues Discussed At Dobbs, Weiss Meetings

JUNE 2 — Having completed a schedule of visits to the principal West Coast cities, Myra Tanner Weiss, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is now enroute to the Minneapolis-St. Paul area for three days of campaigning.

Mrs. Weiss is making a coast-to-coast speaking tour on the subject, "The United States and the Soviet Union in 1956." She will address a public meeting on this question Friday night, June 8, at 10 S. 4th St., in Minneapolis. She will speak in Chicago, Saturday, June 9 at 8:00 P.M. at 777 W. Adams Street.

The Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, was in Philadelphia for two public meetings last week. On May 26 he spoke at Temple University on "Socialism vs. Liberalism." The following night he addressed the Militant Labor Forum on "Labor's Stake in Soviet Democracy."

At the campus meeting, sponsored by the Three Arrows club,

Dobbs demonstrated that liberalism has been transformed from a progressive to a retrogressive tendency.

Because it supports the system of private property, Dobbs explained, liberalism is compelled to adapt itself to the monopoly-controlled government, and when the chips are down, finds itself lined up with reaction.

As evidence he cited the example of Americans for Democratic Action leader Senator Humphrey who co-sponsored the bill outlawing the Communist Party, the first such illegalization of a political party in this country. The recent convention of the ADA, Dobbs said, revealed the present state of liberalism by its shameful attempt to straddle the crucial civil rights issue.

### STRADDLE CIVIL RIGHTS

The ADA dodged completely the Powell amendment to the federal school aid bill which would bar funds to segregated schools. It was only by a slim majority that the convention supported Senator Lehman's ineffectual substitute for the Powell measure which would grant aid to schools "proceeding in good faith" with integration.

The ADA gave the Democrats "a blank check" said Dobbs, when it endorsed all three Democratic aspirants for the presidential nomination. The endorsement of Stevenson by the racist Talmadge, he added, establishes an illiberal common denominator signifying a further shift to the right by the ADA.



MYRA TANNER WEISS



## MOSCOW FRAME-UP TRIALS VI

# The Marxist Position on War and Revolution

We publish herewith the sixth installment of Leon Trotsky's speech at the hearing 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 installment consists of Section XIII, entitled: "The Political Basis of the Accusation: The Alliance with Hitler and the Mikado."

The full text is available in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet entitled Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials. The Commission of Inquiry was an impartial body headed by Prof. John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher of American liberalism. It included Carlo Tresca, outstanding leader of the anarchist movement in the U.S. 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 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."

By Leon Trotsky

To bolster up the all too improbable accusation of an alliance of the "Trotskyites" with Germany and Japan, the foreign attorneys of the G.P.U. are circulating the following versions:

1. Lenin, with the agreement of Ludendorff, crossed Germany during the war, in order to be able to carry out his revolutionary tasks.

2. The Bolshevik Government did not shrink from ceding enormous territory and paying indemnity to Germany, in order to save the Soviet regime.

Conclusion: Why not admit that Trotsky entered into agreement with the same German General Staff in order to secure, through the cession of territory, the possibility of realizing his aims in the rest of the country?

This analogy represents, in reality, the most monstrous and poisonous slander against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party as a whole.

1. Lenin actually crossed Germany by utilizing the false hopes of Ludendorff that Russia would disintegrate as a result of internal struggle. But how did Lenin proceed in this matter?

(a) He did not conceal for a moment either his program or the purpose of his trip;

(b) He called in Switzerland a small conference of internationalists from various countries who fully approved his plan to travel to Russia through Germany;

(c) I agree to renounce Socialism in favor of capitalism;

(d) I give the signal to destroy Soviet economy and exterminate workers and soldiers;

(e) I conceal from the whole world my real aims as well as my methods;

(f) My entire public political activity serves only to fool the working masses about my real plans, into which Hitler, the Mikado and their agents are initiated.

The activity ascribed to me has consequently nothing in common with the above-mentioned example of Lenin's activity, but in every respect represents its direct opposite.

The Brest-Litovsk peace was a temporary retreat, a compulsory compromise, with the object of saving the Soviet power and realizing the revolutionary program. A secret alliance with Hitler and the Mikado is a betrayal of the interests of the working class for the sake of

(c) Lenin did not enter into any political agreement with the German authorities, and made the condition that no one was to enter his car during the passage across Germany;

(d) Immediately upon his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin explained before the Soviet and the laboring masses the purport and nature of his trip through Germany.

Audacity of decision and carefulness of preparation characterize Lenin also in this episode; but no less is he characterized by full and unconditional honesty towards the working class, to whom he is ready at any moment to render an accounting for each of his political steps.

2. The Bolshevik Government really did cede great territory to Germany after the peace of Brest-Litovsk, in order to save the Soviet regime in the rest of the country. But:

(a) The Soviet Government had no other choice;

(b) The decision was adopted not behind the backs of the people, but only after an open and public discussion;

(c) The Bolshevik Government did not for one moment conceal from the popular masses that the Brest-Litovsk peace signified a transitory and partial capitulation of the proletarian revolution to capitalism.

In this case, too, we have a full concordance of aims and methods and an unconditional honesty of the leadership before the public opinion of the toiling masses.

## No Possible Analogy

Now, let us see what sense there is in the accusation against me.

I have allegedly concluded an agreement with fascism and militarism on the following basis:

(a) I agree to renounce Socialism in favor of capitalism;

(b) I give the signal to destroy Soviet economy and exterminate workers and soldiers;

(c) I conceal from the whole world my real aims as well as my methods;

(d) My entire public political activity serves only to fool the working masses about my real plans, into which Hitler, the Mikado and their agents are initiated.

The activity ascribed to me has consequently nothing in common with the above-mentioned example of Lenin's activity, but in every respect represents its direct opposite.

The Brest-Litovsk peace was a temporary retreat, a compulsory compromise, with the object of saving the Soviet power and realizing the revolutionary program. A secret alliance with Hitler and the Mikado is a betrayal of the interests of the working class for the sake of

(a) I agree to renounce Socialism in favor of capitalism;

(b) I give the signal to destroy Soviet economy and exterminate workers and soldiers;

personal power, or rather the illusion of power — i.e., the basest of all possible crimes.

To be sure, some attorneys of the GPU are inclined to dilute with water the over-potent wine of Stalin. It may be, they say, that Trotsky agreed only verbally to restore capitalism, but in reality was preparing to realize in the remaining territory a policy in the spirit of his program. In the first place, this variant contradicts the confessions of Radek, Pyatakov and others. But, independently of this fact, it is just as senseless as the official version given in the indictment.

The program of the Opposition is the program of international Socialism. How could an experienced adult imagine that Hitler and the Mikado, possessing a complete list of his treasons and abominable crimes, would permit him to realize a revolutionary program? How could one hope, anyway, to achieve power at the price of acts of high treason in the service of a foreign general staff? Is it not clear in advance that Hitler and the Mikado, after using such an agent to the limit, would fling him aside like a squeezed lemon?

## Thousands of Lunatics?

Could the conspirators, headed by six members of Lenin's Political Bureau, have failed to understand this? The accusation is thus internally meaningless in both its variants — the official variant, which speaks of the restoration of capitalism, and the semi-official variant, which concedes to the conspirators a hidden design — to fool Hitler and the Mikado.

To this it is necessary to add that it must have been clear in advance to the conspirators that the conspiracy could in no case remain undiscovered. At the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, Olberg and others testified that the "collaboration" of the "Trotskyites" with the Gestapo was not an exception but a "system." Consequently, scores and hundreds of people must have been initiated into this system. The commission of terrorist acts — and especially sabotage — would, in its turn, require hundreds and even thousands of agents. Discovery, therefore, would be absolutely unavoidable — with simultaneous exposure of the alliance of the "Trotskyites" with the fascist and Japanese spies. Could anyone but

a lunatic hope to arrive at power in this way?

But that is still not all. The acts of sabotage, like acts of terror, presuppose on the part of their executors a readiness for self-sacrifice. When a German fascist or a Japanese agent risks his head in the USSR, he is impelled by such powerful stimuli as patriotism, nationalism, chauvinism. By what stimuli could the "Trotskyites" have been driven? Let us grant that the "leaders" having lost their senses, hoped to seize power by such methods. But what were the driving motives of Berman-Yurin, David, Olberg, Arnold and many others who, taking the actual path of terrorism and sabotage, thereby condemned themselves to certain death?

A man is capable of sacrificing his life only for the sake of some high ideal, even though it be a mistaken one. What high ideal did the "Trotskyites" have? The desire to dismember the USSR? The desire to give Trotsky power for the sake of the restoration of capitalism? Sympathy for German fascism? The desire to supply Japan with

## Organizer of the Red Army



LEON TROTSKY, as Soviet Commissar of War led the Red Army throughout the Civil War, 1918-22, when the Soviet Union beat back intervention on 21 fronts. The writer, Maxim Gorki, tells of Lenin's appraisal of Trotsky thus: "Striking the table with his hand, he, Lenin, said: 'Could any one point out to me another man who could organize an almost model army in a year and even win the respect of military experts?'" Compare this with Stalin's later role as Red Army chief. Khrushchev has now admitted that in 1937 Stalin purged 5,000 officers. The thus-weakened Soviet Army was almost overwhelmed by Hitler's forces.

oil for a war against the United States?

Neither the official nor the semi-official version furnishes any answer whatever to the question: For the sake of what were the hundreds of "executors" ready to stake their heads? The whole construction of the indictment is mechanical. It ignores the psychology of living men. In this sense, the indictment is the logical product of a totalitarian regime, with its disregard and contempt for men when they do not happen to be "leaders."

The second fantastic theory which is put into circulation by the friends of the G.P.U. declares that in view of my general position I am presumably politically interested in expediting war. The usual line of argument is as follows: Trotsky is for the international revolution. It is well known that war often produces revolution. Ergo, Trotsky must be interested in expediting war.

People who believe this, or who ascribe such ideas to me, have a very feeble conception of revolution, war, and their interdependence.

War has in fact often exped-

ited revolution. But precisely for this reason it has often led to abortive results. War sharpens social contradictions and mass discontent. But that is insufficient for the triumph of the proletarian revolution. Without a revolutionary party rooted in the masses, the revolutionary situation leads to the most cruel defeats. The task is not to "expedite" war — for this, unfortunately, the imperialists of all countries are working, not unsuccessfully. The task is to utilize the time which the imperialists still leave to the working masses for the building of a revolutionary party and revolutionary trade unions.

It is in the vital interest of the proletarian revolution that the outbreak of war be delayed as long as possible, that the maximum possible time be gained for preparation. The more firm, the more courageous, the more revolutionary the conduct of the toilers, the more the imperialists will hesitate, the more surely will it be possible to postpone war, the greater will be the chances that the revolution will occur prior to war and perhaps make war itself impossible.

## The Need for a Revolutionary Party

It is precisely because the Fourth International stands for the international revolution that it is one of the factors working against war; for — I repeat — the only check to a new world war is the fear, among the proletariat classes, of revolution.

War, we are told, creates a revolutionary situation. But have we had a lack of revolutionary situations in the period from 1917 until today? Let us glance briefly at the post-war period:

A revolutionary situation in Germany, 1918-1919.

A revolutionary situation in Austria and Hungary at the same time.

A revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 (the Ruhr occupation).

A revolutionary situation in China, 1925-27, which was not immediately preceded by a war.

Profound revolutionary convulsions in Poland in 1926.

A revolutionary situation in Germany, 1931-1933.

A revolution in Spain, 1931-1937.

A pre-revolutionary situation in France, beginning in 1934.

A pre-revolutionary situation in Belgium at present.

Despite the superabundance of revolutionary situations, the toiling masses have not carried off any revolutionary victory in

## Khrushchev on Leon Trotsky

Abraham Shulman, the Paris correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward, New York Social Democratic paper, reports, May 28, on a conversation between Khrushchev and Marceau Pivert on the topic of Leon Trotsky. Pivert recently returned from Moscow where he went as a member of a delegation of French Socialist Party leaders.

According to Shulman, Pivert asked Khrushchev: "How is it possible to speak about the Red Army and completely ignore Trotsky? Trotsky, if not the sole, was at least one of the main creators of the Red Army."

"To this Khrushchev answered that it is true. There are many things in the history of the Russian Revolution and the last 40 years which demand enlightenment. It is really true that Trotsky played a role during a certain period. But later he departed from the Leninist line and committed many mistakes. Were his theories to be realized they would lead to damaging results."

"To this Pivert said: 'In the first place, Trotsky is accused of far worse sins than deviations from Leninism. And secondly — even if he had committed certain theoretical errors, where is the party democracy?'"

The Soviet Union doesn't need an opposition, Khrushchev then reportedly said. "For example . . . go to the first Russian you meet on the street and ask him if our country should have an opposition party. He would not even understand what you are saying to him."

any of the enumerated cases. What is lacking? A party capable of utilizing the revolutionary situation.

The Social Democracy has sufficiently demonstrated in Germany that it is hostile to the revolution. It now demonstrates this anew in France (Leon Blum). The Comintern, for its part, having usurped the authority of the October Revolution, disorganizes the revolutionary movement in all countries. The Comintern has, in reality, regardless of its intentions, become the best assistant of fascism and reaction in general.

Precisely for this reason there rises before the proletariat the iron necessity of building new parties and a new international which correspond to the character of our epoch — an epoch of great social convulsions and permanent war danger.

If, in the event of a new war, the masses are not headed by a bold, courageous, consistent revolutionary party, tested through experience and enjoying the confidence of the masses, a new revolutionary situation would throw society back. A war may, under such circumstances, terminate not with a victorious revolution, but with the crumbling of our whole civilization.

One would have to be pathetically blind not to see this danger.

War and revolution are the gravest and most tragic phenomena in human history. You cannot joke with them. They do not tolerate dilettantism. We must understand clearly the interrelationship of war and revolution. We must understand no less clearly the interrelationship of the objective revolutionary factors, which cannot be induced at will, and the subjective factor of the revolution — the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, its party. It is necessary to prepare this party with the utmost energy.

Can one admit for a moment that the so-called "Trotskyites," the extreme left wing, hounded and persecuted by all other tendencies, would devote their forces to contemptible adventures, sabotage and war provocation, instead of building a new revolutionary party capable of meeting the revolutionary situation well armed? Only the cynical contempt of Stalin and his school for world public opinion, together with Stalin's primitive police cunning, are capable of creating such a monstrous and nonsensical accusation!

## Trotsky's Defense of the USSR

I have explained in scores of articles and hundreds of letters that a military defeat of the USSR would inevitably signify the restoration of capitalism in a semi-colonial form under a fascist political regime, the dismemberment of the country, and the wrecking of the October Revolution. Indignant at the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, many of my former political friends in various countries arrived at the conclusion that we cannot take upon ourselves the obligation "unconditionally" to defend the USSR.

Opposing this attitude, I argued that it is impermissible to identify the bureaucracy with the USSR; that the new social foundation of the USSR must be unconditionally defended against imperialism; that the Bonapartist bureaucracy will be overthrown by the toiling masses only on condition that the foundation of the new economic regime of the USSR is preserved.

On this question I broke publicly and demonstratively with dozens of old and hundreds of new friends. My archives contain an enormous correspondence devoted to the question of the defense of the USSR. Finally, my latest book, "The Revolution Betrayed," gives a detailed analysis of the military and diplomatic policies of the USSR, expressly from the standpoint

of the defense of the country.

Now, by the grace of the G.P.U., it appears that while breaking with many close friends who did not understand the necessity of unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism, I was actually concluding alliances with the imperialists and urging the destruction of the economic foundation of the USSR.

It is impossible to discern, moreover, exactly what Germany and Japan contributed in practice to the alliance. The "Trotskyites" sold their heads to the Mikado and Hitler; what did they receive in exchange? Money is the sinews of war; did the "Trotskyites" at least receive money from Germany and Japan? Not a word of this in the trial. The Prosecutor is not even interested in this question. At the same time it appears, from references to other financial sources, that neither Germany nor Japan gave any money. What, then, did they give to the "Trotskyites"? Throughout the trial this question receives not a shadow of an answer.

The alliance with Germany and Japan rests wholly in the domain of metaphysics. To this I would add that it is the most dastardly of all the police metaphysics in the history of mankind!

(To be continued)

## Workers Halt New Algeria War Levy

MAY 29 — Four thousand French workers stormed through police lines in the shipyard city of St. Nazaire yesterday to prevent a group of reservists, recalled to the

Army, from leaving for Algerian duty. At the end of the fight they carried home the 200 servicemen on their shoulders.

According to an AP dispatch, "A force of 1,000 mobile guards and special riot police [the hated CRS, specialists in strike-breaking], swinging gun butts and clubs was unable to check the demonstrators' march on the railway station. . . . The cops also threw tear gas and practice grenades without avail. The workers retorted with stones, iron bars and heavy bolts, evidently to better effect."

The demonstration was called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the major union body in France, led by the Communist Party.

Worker and soldier demonstrations against France's imperialist war in Algeria are breaking out all over France. This is a repetition of similar actions last fall against sending French troops against the Moroccans, before the French government was finally forced to grant a limited form of independence to that colony.

At present, there are over 400,000 French troops in Algeria — more than the French used at any time in Indo-China. Despite a fascist-like reign of terror against the Algerian people fighting for national liberation, the French military situation has been reported as "steadily deteriorating."

## OTHER WORLD EVENTS

**CYPRUS AND CONSPIRACY** — Two closely related questions — are pushing to the fore as top national issues in Great Britain, reports Drew Middleton in the May 29 New York Times. "There are many who say, 'Let's get out [of Cyprus] and be quick about it.' There are many others who say, 'Let's stay and be tough about it.'" The Daily Mail, a Tory newspaper, contends that Cyprus could be "pacified" — i.e., the national aspirations of the Cypriote majority crushed — in a few weeks if Britain wanted to "put 400,000 troops like the French in Algeria." On the issue of conscription, left-wing So-

cialists, who advocate that the British government withdraw from its bases at Cyprus, Aden and Singapore, state a conscript army is no longer needed to garrison bases that will soon be lost.

\*\*\*  
**THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT** is extending segregation into industry as a union-busting measure. A new set of labor and union rules recently imposed is designed to split mixed unions into separate race unions. At the same time the government is reserving specific trades and occupations for different South African groups on a color basis. The legislation, reports the May 26 Christian Science Monitor, encourages splits from parent mixed unions to form segregated organizations. Unfortunately, South African unions are not united in fighting the vicious measure because of the desire of many white workers to maintain economic superiority. Furthermore, the most militant unions have already been silenced under the Suppression of Communism Act.

\*\*\*  
**ASIAN AND AFRICAN** students from 22 countries began a conference on May 30 at Bandung, Indonesia. This is the first African-Asian students conference. It is being held in the same city as the first conference of African-Asian nations held in April, 1955.

\*\*\*  
**DOMINICAN DICTATOR** TRUJILLO — a Wall Street puppet — is accused by political exiles in New York of organizing the murder of Columbia University Professor Jesus de Galindez. Galindez, a Spanish-Republican refugee, wrote a book denouncing Trujillo's tyranny, citing murders committed against political opponents. On May 29, the Dominican Revolutionary party held a public funeral-demonstration in front of offices of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., the Trujillo government's legal representative in the U.S.

## Stalinists Bar "Testament" Ad

NEW YORK — For reasons which it refused to state, the Daily Worker has refused to publish a paid advertisement from Pioneer Publishers for its Pocket Library edition of the Suppressed Testament of Lenin. The Daily Worker acknowledged existence of this historic document for the first time in its May 21 issue.

For almost 30 years the American and world Stalinist movement attempted to conceal the existence of this document in which Lenin called for Stalin's removal as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

Although the contents of Lenin's death-bed message to the party was known to the CPSU leaders of that time, Stalin never permitted its official publication. He did admit its existence in the Nov. 17, 1927 issue of International Press Correspondence.

In the face of extreme penalty by the newly consolidated Stalin regime, the Trotskyist Left Opposition did circulate in the Soviet Union Lenin's last advice on how to organize the party leadership. It was first published outside the Soviet Union in the N. Y. Times on Oct. 18, 1926.

The Kremlin, this May 18, publicly revealed through a Communist youth paper that Lenin had denounced Stalin's bureaucratic traits. Although taken directly from the Suppressed Testament, the Moscow article did not cite the document as the source of Lenin's attack on Stalin. Nor did it report Lenin's call for his removal.

Reporting this development in the Soviet drive against the Stalin cult, the N. Y. Times reprinted the complete text of the Lenin Testament. This forced the Daily Worker to make its first mention of the document.

The Daily Worker article said the new Kremlin attack on Stalin was "evidently based on two memos written by Lenin the year before he died, in his so-called 'Testament,' in which he evaluated the character of half a dozen

Communist leaders and warned against a party split." As with the Soviet paper, the Daily Worker made no mention of the conclusion of Lenin's "memo," namely the proposal to remove Stalin.

By its refusal to publish the ad for the Suppressed Testament the Daily Worker signifies its intention to deprive its readers of the opportunity to read the full text of a document which sheds substantial light on the issue of the Stalin cult now being debated in its own pages.

This continuing bureaucratic effort to keep buried the Lenin document is part of a pattern

woven in the Kremlin. A prime example of what this pattern may be seen in the fact that the text of the sensational "secret" Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress has still not been made available to the rank and file of the Communist parties here or abroad. It was this speech that detailed a partial list of Stalin's monstrous crimes. Although the speech was the springboard for the present anti-Stalin drive, the ranks are called upon to "discuss" the cult issue in its absence.

The secret Khrushchev speech was made available to capitalist diplomatic channels, it was circulated to top bureaucrats in the

Soviet Union and to leaders of the various Stalinist parties throughout the world. A Moscow report discloses that the complete text of the Lenin Testament was circulated to CP tops but is still kept hidden from the ranks.

The "Speak Your Piece" page of the Daily Worker shows that many of its supporters are admittedly confused and disoriented by the new line that burst on them like a bombshell from the 20th Congress. They need and want a genuine, meaningful discussion. They cannot get it unless all the documents now in the hands of the top leaders are made available to the ranks.

# Get the Facts

about the

## SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN

This 48-page pamphlet, containing the full text of Lenin's famous last testament, plus background material by Leon Trotsky, is must reading for everyone interested in the origin of the Stalin cult. Trotsky reveals the inside story of why Lenin came to break with Stalin and how he started the struggle against the future dictator.

Stalin himself was forced at the October 1927 plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to admit the existence of Lenin's last warning. He read aloud the postscript designating the General Secretary as "too rude" and proposing to remove him from his post. "Yes, comrades," said Stalin, "I am rude towards those who are rudely and disloyally destroying and disintegrating the Party. I have never made a secret of it and shall not do so now." But Stalin soon decided to make a secret of Lenin's last testament. He refused to publish it, putting it instead on the list of forbidden reading for rank-and-file Stalinists.

Get your copy of the document Stalin tried to bury, together with Trotsky's illuminating revelations and Marxist analysis of how it came to be written. Only 25 cents.

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.



Subscription \$3 per year:  
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6  
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per  
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.  
Single Copies: 50¢ or more  
copies for each in U.S., 75¢  
each in foreign countries.

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7408  
Editor: MURRY WEISS  
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Vol. XX — No. 23

Monday, June 4, 1956

### French CP Ranks Correct Leaders

Judging by letters appearing in the Daily Worker and occasional questions posed at CP public meetings, the policy of the French Stalinist chiefs have filled many CP members in the U.S. with deep misgiving and outright indignation. For Thorez, Duclos, and the other leaders have shamelessly voted for the Mollet government's murderous drive to crush the national independence revolution of the Algerian people.

In the last two weeks, there has been a change in the French CP leaders' policy. They have now sanctioned "petitions, demonstrations and strikes" to end the war in Algeria. But this does not warrant confidence in the Stalinist leaders. In the National Assembly — and in their propaganda — they still cling to the "Socialist" butcher Mollet.

For the last twenty years, the French CP bureaucrats have unhesitatingly sacrificed solidarity with the colonial struggle for class-collaborationist deals with one or another set of capitalist politicians. Betrayal of the nationalist aspiration in the colonies has been the abiding politics of the careerist bureaucrats who stand at the head of the French CP. Playing the role of French imperialism's agent in the French working class has been part and parcel of the status quo, "peaceful coexistence" maneuvers pursued on a world scale by the Kremlin.

How account then for the recent change in line? The truth is that the Stalinist chiefs are still sold on their pro-Mollet policy, but are under terrific pressure from two sources.

In the first place, despite all the repres-

sive forces sent against the Algerian people, the Algerians are winning the war. The Stalinist chiefs risk complete discredit before the Algerian masses. In the second place, the CP ranks in France, will no longer stand still for the Stalinist leadership's policy.

There are tens of thousands of CP workers who enjoy the respect and confidence of their shopmates, because, unlike the bureaucratic tops, they are passionately devoted to the cause of socialism. Today, with the enormous hatred of the French working class for the "dirty war" in North Africa, the CP worker cadre is exerting an unusually strong pressure on the Stalinist chiefs. Implicit in their pressure is the threat to go into action without official permission and to sweep the treacherous leadership out of the road.

This is the pressure that Thorez and Co. finally had to heed. It is no accident that the first huge CP-led demonstration against the Algerian war came in St. Nazaire (see story, page two), where already in August 1953 and last fall, the CP workers displayed greater militancy and independence than the leadership permitted elsewhere. The action shows the real source of the partial change in policy.

There is a striking parallel in the concessions given by Thorez and Co. to the CP workers in the field of Algerian policy and the concessions granted the Soviet masses by Khrushchev and Co. in liquidating the Stalin cult. In both cases, the changes are grudging and contradict the real intentions and interests of the Stalinist leaders. And in each case, the change will remain partial until the bureaucrats are removed from command.

### The Steel Union Negotiations

The contract between the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers of America and corporations producing 90% of the nation's steel expires midnight June 30. The negotiations now in progress between the companies and the union take place on the background of a down turn in steel production.

At the 64th general meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York last week, the steel barons announced that while the industry is still producing at near capacity, orders from the largest customers have started falling off "a little more pronounced than anticipated." A 15% cutback in steel production is expected in the third quarter of this year. What will happen after that is anybody's guess.

At the same meeting, Joseph L. Block, president of Inland Steel, said in a speech: "It should be possible to negotiate contracts that will be firm for a period of years . . . other industries have done this, surely steel can do likewise."

No doubt Block had the auto industry in mind. According to the U.S. Labor Department's most recent survey, 20% of the labor force in auto is now laid off. For the second time in three years, the auto workers are suffering serious unemployment while tied to a long term contract which offers them no effective protection against layoffs.

The net result of all of Reuther's guaranteed wage promises and his opposition to the movement for a shorter work week is now clear. The auto barons are still secure in their right to make the auto

workers suffer the burden of the inevitable sickening slumps in the capitalist economy.

That is what the steel barons are seeking to secure in the present negotiations. According to their own statements the next period is going to be a bumpy one for the steel industry and the economy in general. They want to put the steel workers in a position where they will have to absorb the shocks without a chance to fight back.

The steel union leaders list their major demands in the negotiations in the following order: a wage increase, a Supplemental Unemployment Benefit plan, overtime for week-end work, and health and welfare improvements.

The most effective immediate weapon against unemployment, the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, is not on the agenda. The SUB is supposed to take care of the layoff problem. We need only look at what is now happening in auto to see what a trap it can be.

The steel barons are out to end the traditional short term contracts and yearly wage reopeners in the steel industry. They are, of course, violently opposed to any substantial wage increase, or to recognizing the right of steelworkers to overtime pay for week-end work. To bargain away any important part of these in exchange for an SUB that would at best go into effect after the already anticipated layoffs, might be a way for steel workers president McDonald to maintain the carefully nurtured "mutual respect" he and the steel barons have for each other, but it won't do the steel workers any good.

## Critic of "Subversive List" to be Dumped

By John Thayer

The freeze being given Harry P. Cain, maverick member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, indicates that top administration circles contemplate no letup in the witch hunt.

Cain, a conservative Republican and a former Senator, was appointed to the SACB almost three years ago. His term expires next month. Speaking before the American Civil Liberties Union of Colorado, he admitted that he didn't expect Eisenhower to reappoint him.

He indicated this would be the

penalty for his forthright criticisms of the "loyalty" program and its cornerstone, the "subversive" list. For well over a year Cain has made news with statements and speeches against the "excesses" of the witch hunt. Moreover, he has brought a number of specific cases of injustices and deprivation of traditional American liberties to public attention. For example, he spoke out on the attempt to deprive James Kuteher, the legless veteran who belongs to the Socialist Workers Party, of his pension. Recently he brought the case of

suspended as a "security risk" for 14 months, to public attention. The resulting publicity brought about Hatkin's reinstatement.

### CAIN GETS FREEZE

Such actions, as well as his appearances before liberal and civil liberties organizations, have made Cain very unpopular with the Department of Justice witch hunters and particularly with Attorney General Brownell. This has meant that, let alone influencing Eisenhower, Cain has not even been able to get near the White House. In his May 17 speech in Denver, Air Force employee Sidney Hatkin, the maverick SACB member

revealed that over a month before he had written Eisenhower asking for an appointment to discuss civil liberties questions, but had not even received a reply. Some commentators felt that now surely the White House would speedily remedy the situation, probably pleading a mixup in correspondence. Nothing of the sort happened.

Finally at Eisenhower's press conference on May 23 a reporter from the Washington Star asked if Cain could get to see the president. The reply was a one-word "yes," which in itself is unusual from a man who is given to lengthy answers. As Roscoe Drummond, columnist for the Republican New York Herald Tribune May 27 noted, "every correspondent knew that it was not an enthusiastic or even a very cordial yes."

Thus it appears more and more certain that the administration's sole appointee, who dared even to a limited extent to criticize the current trampling of civil liberties, is soon going to be made to walk the plank.

### WITCH HUNT CONTINUES

Meanwhile the administration's brazen attempt to continue its witch hunt on the waterfront despite the fact that the federal courts have declared it unconstitutional met with defiance from the West Coast longshoremen's union.

The May 11 Dispatcher, official organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, editorially called upon its members to refuse to apply to the Coast Guard for clearances to work on the commercial docks. "Let the Coast Guard go to court," is the ILWU slogan.

For five years the ILWU fought

the Coast Guard screening procedure which was based on use of the "subversive" list and of faceless informers. Last October the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that depriving seamen and waterfront workers of employment by screening hearings in which the accused could not confront or cross-examine his accusers was unconstitutional. The government signified its intention of appealing the decision to the Supreme Court and in the meantime continued its illegal practices. At the last minute the government wrenched on the appeal and the Coast Guard announced a new set of screening regulations which, it was said, would comply with the court decision.

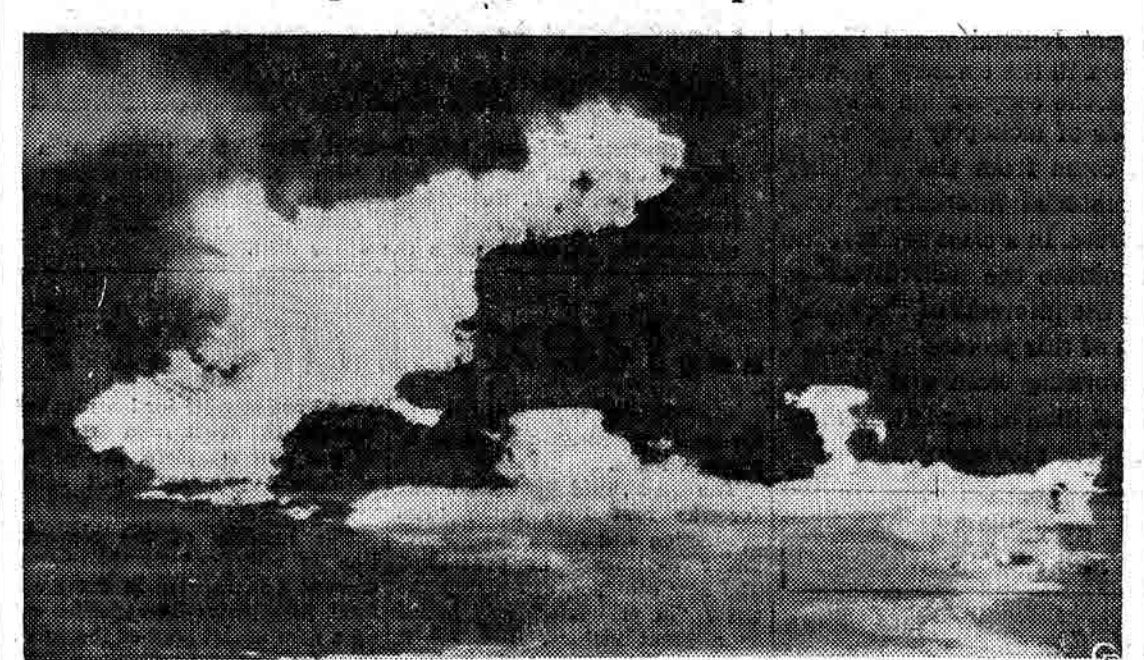
### SAME AS BEFORE

Upon examination the new regulations prove to be basically the same as the old ones. They do not assure a maritime worker that he can confront and cross-examine the faceless informers against him. They are therefore clearly unconstitutional. The witch hunters hope, however, to use them to screen militants off the ships and docks for another five years before they are in turn declared unconstitutional by the federal courts.

The ILWU, setting an example for all labor, refuses to be taken in by this trick. It advises its members to disregard the new regulations completely. Such a policy will thwart the Coast Guard witch hunters and the slyster lawyers of the Justice Department.

The magazine of the Democratic Party, the Democratic Digest, lists the ten top issues for the 1956 campaign. Civil rights is not one of them.

### The H-Bomb Exploded by U.S. Despite World Protest



The gigantic fireball from first U.S. airborne H-bomb lights up sky over Bikini Atoll, after a blast described as 500 times as luminous as the sun. Fall-out was reported on the U.S. West Coast five days later. A Japanese fisherman died as a result of previous H-bomb explosion.

## ... BOYCOTTS SPREADING FI Analyzes the Stalin Cult

(Continued from page 1)

few days and will return to their homes throughout the state. Although Tallahassee is in West Florida, where the oppression of Negroes is even worse than in other parts of the state — conditions are almost as bad as in Mississippi — yet a number of factors favor a boycott. For example, the Negro population of the city totals some 40,000. Moreover, Negroes comprise, as Mayor Fred Wintelle admitted, about 90% of the bus riders. This is even a higher percentage than in Montgomery.

When the history-making bus boycott in Montgomery began, and for many months after, the labor movement failed to throw its support behind the Montgomery Improvement Association. When help started coming it was from rank and file groups in the AFL-CIO or from individual leaders.

Recently the top leadership of the united labor movement has begun to take the first steps to aid the all-important struggle the Negro people of the South are waging against their Jim Crow, open-shop rulers.

At the Atlantic City convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union on May 14, it was announced that the top leaders of the AFL-CIO were forming a committee to aid the fight against discrimination. A fund of \$2,000,000 was set as a target and all unions were urged to contribute. A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president, speaking about the new committee singled out the bus protest movement in Montgomery as one of the fights that should receive backing.

The AFL-CIO leaders can make up for their tardiness in aiding the Montgomery fight by

swinging into action immediately on Tallahassee. Labor representatives should be dispatched there without delay to inform the Negro townspeople that if they undertake a bus boycott they will receive union moral and financial support from the beginning.

They should also explain to union members in the South that organized labor's resolutions against Jim Crow are not dead letters but represent the firm principles of the AFL-CIO. Lack of such unequivocal statements by the labor leaders and failure to intervene in Southern unions where the White Citizens Councils have raised their reactionary heads, has already done tremendous damage. The WCC elements were emboldened when they heard no articulate opposition in the Southern unions from national labor leaders who pursued a hands-off policy.

In Montgomery itself the bus boycott is entering its seventh month as firm as ever. Trailing of the car pool's new station wagons by police and questioning of the drivers, however, made boycott leaders suspicious that "something was in the wind."

The great pride of the Montgomery boycotters in their station wagons was reported by Al Sweeney in the May 26 Afro-American. He quotes the current director of the boycott's transportation system, Rev. B. T. Simms, as saying: "The station wagons have done plenty to bolster the morale of our people. They are a symbol to our people. The riders rear back in their seats very proud as they are being transported about, while other citizens point them out as they pass as 'OUR station wagons.'"

By Fred Hart

The Spring issue of Fourth International, now off the press, has as its main features an analysis of the end of the Stalin cult and an article on the state of the Progressive Party.

Also sure to evoke keen interest is a Marxian evaluation of two recent books in the field of psychoanalysis, "The Same Society," by Erich Fromm and "Eros and Civilization, A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud," by Herbert Marcuse.

"End of the Stalin Cult," by Morris Stein, analyzes the Kremlin's current anti-Stalin campaign. He poses the question: Why have Khrushchev and Company, so deeply involved as Stalin's accomplices, decided to disclose some of Stalin's crimes? Rebutting some of the main answers provided to this question, Stein answers the Dulles' contention that U.S. pressure forced the move on Khrushchev. He reminds us that the period of the closest U.S.-Soviet collaboration was precisely during the height of Stalin's tyrannical rule.

### EXPLAINS CULT

Discussing the view that the Stalin repudiation was motivated by a desire for unity with the Social Democrats and liberals. Stein shows how the attitudes of these tendencies towards the Kremlin have consistently followed the turns in attitude of their own capitalist class.

In his own answer to why the Stalin cult is being destroyed, Stein first explains why it was created. "The bureaucracy needed this anti-Marxist bourgeois cult of the individual in usurping political power from the working class and fostering inequality and its own privileged position."

What then pushed the Kremlin to destroy the Stalin myth? "The power compelling Stalin's successors to overthrow the cult of the late dictator . . . is none other than the Soviet working class. This is the other force in the Soviet Union, the force the bureaucracy must face every day and every hour."

### PROGRESSIVE PARTY

"Which Way for Supporters of the Progressive Party," by Harry Ring, is a timely analysis of the present state of that movement and the conflicting views of its various tendencies in regard to 1956 electoral policy.

Three main propositions are being debated in the PP ranks; to support the Democrats, to abstain from voting, and to vote socialist. Discussing the arguments advanced in this debate, Ring traces the line of the Communist Party, the dominant force in the PP, of consistent opposition to genuine independent politics, and

its current moves to liquidate the

PP into the Democratic party.

Joseph Hansen's "A Psychoanalyst Looks For a Sane Society" is the magazine's first venture into this important branch of science. The article treats with the approach of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse to contemporary capitalist society which both consider "insane." In Hansen's opinion, the substantial contribution is made by Marcuse, a Freudian who employs a materialist approach, rather than by Fromm, who considers Freud superceded, and who has an essentially idealistic approach to the problem.

Also in this issue is an informative picture of "Dollar Empire in Latin America," by Theodore Edwards, a further installment of James P. Cannon's "Early Years of American Communism," the final section of G. V. Plekhanov's "Belinski and Rational Reality," and a review of the best-selling novel, "The Last Hurrah."

## JUNE SELECTION BOOK-A-MONTH PLAN

THE EXPLOSION. The Uprising Behind the Iron Curtain. By Rainer Hildebrandt. New York: Duell Sloan & Pierce, 1955, 198 pp., \$3.75. (June Book-A-Month price \$1.00 plus 15 cents mailing charge.)

Three years ago the East German working class rose up and dealt the Kremlin bureaucracy a sledge-hammer blow. It reverberated throughout the satellite countries

of East Europe and into the Soviet Union itself. The news of the events in East Berlin directly inspired the general strike in the Vorkuta slave labor camps inside the USSR and probably many more actions that are still unknown to the outside world.

### POWERFUL MOVEMENT

The power of these movements and their terrifying import for the Soviet and satellite bureaucracies are the key to understanding the economic concessions that have since emanated from the Kremlin and the demise of the Stalin cult.

No American worker can comprehend the power displayed by the East German working class in June 1953 without reading this book. This was no mere work stoppage called by well organized unions, but a spontaneous, stormy mass movement that snowballed from hour to hour till it reached the proportion of a near-insurrection. Here was a movement before which the East German puppet rulers with all their police, secret agents, and troops stood powerless. Here was a movement which, far from pleasing the American cold-war strategists and the capitalist government in Bonn, frightened them with the spectre of a workers' revolution that might spill over into West Germany.

The events are reconstructed from interviews and eye-witness accounts. By piecing these together the author achieves a chronological account of the momentous days and a representative cross-section. The story revolves mainly around seven

strikers, who later fled to West Berlin, a Russian lieutenant, who fraternized with the strikers, and a German news broadcaster in the U.S. radio station in West Berlin, who tried to circumvent his superiors and lend aid to the strikers by relaying their call for a general strike throughout East Germany.

### INSPIRING ACCOUNT

The author is a West German liberal, who worked for and with U.S. propaganda agencies. Nonetheless the stories of the East German strikers, even though refracted through his interviewing and writing, show that there was no pro-U.S. or pro-capitalist content to the uprising. On the contrary the picture emerges clearly of an independent working class uprising — anti-Stalinist and anti-capitalist as well. It is for this reason, no doubt, that the publishers felt it necessary to add an introduction and postscript by one Norbert Mühlen which bewails the "West's" missed opportunity.

However, this crude, cold-war, propaganda effort weighs but little against the stirring, inspiring account by participants of the first act in the workers' revolution in Germany.

— G. L.

A One-Year Subscription to THE MILITANT Only \$3 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

### Book - A - Month

#### The Explosion

A factual report of the June, 1953 uprising of the East German workers

By Rainer Hildebrandt

Published at \$3.75

Special price

\$1.00

(plus 15c. mailing charge)

Payments must accompany order

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, New York

## Franco Regime Is Shaken By Internal Conflict

By John Black

The slogan of the Falange, Spain's only legal party, "Bread, Country and Justice" rings hollow in the ears of the Spanish people. Franco's 17 year old regime has brought them no bread, no justice and their country is rapidly being turned into a satellite of the U.S.

Franco's regime rests on the support of army, church and the fascist Falange. These came to power with the defeat of the workers after a bloody civil war which ended in 1939.

This year's student demonstrations and massive strike waves revealed the chasm between ruling circles and the people. As the crisis deepens, cracks are beginning to appear in the army, the Falange and the Church.

Franco himself comes from the army. Nonetheless, he has had to take cognizance of the unrest in the armed forces. In his speech to the assembled Falange in Seville last April, he referred to "grumbling and dissatisfaction" in the armed forces. He added that "we must denounce and expel those that are dissatisfied." This threat was followed up with substantial wage increases to the officer corps in May.

The fascist Falange is restless because Franco has announced his intention to restore the monarchy. During the student unrest, Falange youth demonstrated in the streets of Madrid shouting: "We don't want an idiot king." The Falange fears curtailment of its power in the event of a restoration. Moreover, young Falangists are demanding the fulfillment of the official program of the party which is demagogically "anti-capitalist." They criticize the bureaucratization and corruption of the regime. In April Franco replaced the Secretary general of the party and clamped down on public celebrations of the party.

But it is in the lower ranks of the clergy, especially among those serving in working class sections of the country, that the hatred of the people for Franco is most clearly reflected. The priests have made to feel the hatred of the workers for anyone connected with the government.

The Basque regions, scene of the recent strikes, have strong religious traditions. Church attendance has dropped sharply, alarming the priests. Many have urged their superiors to permit them to voice public support in their sermons of the workers

wage demands. Fifty priests from the industrial suburbs of Bilbao wrote a signed letter to Pablo Gurrutia Beope, Bishop of Bilbao, as follows:

"The general opinion, which is shared by a considerable number of experts, is that the workers are right in protesting. Figures confirm it. They show that the difference between the purchasing power of the present salary and what should be the minimum earning power of the workers is appallingly unjust."

The letter continues: "For the last twenty years Spain's workers have reaped nothing but, disillusion. The last wage increase, preceded by much ostentatious propaganda, has been received by them as an insulting disregard of their needs and as a final blow to their hopes." The Bishop turned down their request for permission to support the wage demands of the workers.

Priests, when interviewed, have stated that the people look on the Bishops as "collaborationists who seek to avoid antagonizing the government." Anti-clericalism is spreading. In one mining area in the Viscaya Province workers attendance at Sunday mass fell to 10% of what it had been a few years ago.

Although Franco is hated in Spain, he has good friends in the State Department and among the U.S. military. Since the signing of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program in 1954, over 130 ships have discharged thousands of tons of military equipment in Spanish ports. Franco recently received a whole squadron of Sabrejets.

The Pentagon planners see a fascist Spain as the ideal base for operations. The Strategic Air Command completed the construction of airbases near Zaragoza which can handle B 47's and intercontinental B 52's. Three other bases are under construction. The reported cost is \$500 million. The U.S. Navy has built installations at Rota, across the bay from Cadiz.

U.S. military investments in Spain operate to the detriment of the Spanish people. In 1954 alone, the first year of construction, Spanish prices in coal rose 40%, steel products rose 50%, railroad fares 30% and bread went up 10%. Spanish economy is increasingly tied to the U.S. while Spanish exports to the U.S. were to the value of 46 million dollars last year, imports from the U.S. amounted to 134 million dollars. The general sickness of the Spanish economy is illustrated by

the fact that the agricultural output in 1955 was 2% below that of 1929 when the population was six million less than the present 28 million.

While the farmers and workers are hungry a thin layer of landed aristocrats and industrial profiteers are growing fat. A recent Congress of Psychiatrists in Barcelona seriously discussed obesity as the major psychic problem of the Hispanic world.

But the future of Spain looks brighter today than at any time in the last seventeen years. For once more, a regrouped and revitalized working class is in open conflict with the parasitic ruling classes of the country.

In spite of the terrible blood-letting of the 30's which the desperate capitalists and landlords of Spain inflicted on the people, with the help of the fascist legions of Hitler and Mussolini; in spite of the betrayals of the Kremlin in the Civil War and the misleadership of their Republican reformist spokesmen; in the face of seventeen years of unchecked fascist terror, the workers of Spain are once more standing up and showing their tremendous ability and willingness to fight on their own behalf. Tens of thousands of militant



# Wall Street and the Schools

By Della Rossa

Marxists have long explained that the school system under capitalism is one of the props of the so-called "free enterprise system." Its function is to impose a pattern of thought upon the majority, in order to get that majority to tolerate its subjugation by the capitalist ruling minority.

Added confirmation now comes from Akron where the Chamber of Commerce has for some years been running a Business and Industry Day, conniving with the Akron Board of Education to corral Akron teachers as a captive audience. Now the Akron C of C announces that it is going to pay a large sum of money to finance a "history book" to be used as a text in Akron schools, a project to be co-sponsored by the Board of Education.

When the Chamber of Commerce sponsors a "history" it isn't history they want to present but justification for the capitalist system of exploitation, heavily larded with attacks on organized labor and working class political and economic thought.

Akron labor became alarmed at this move by the C of C, and rightly so. Their counter-action was the organization of a Joint AFL-CIO Committee on Schools and Education, set up "to combat business pressure," according to the May 16 Labor's Daily.

Background for the accelerated drive for more capitalist propaganda in school text books, and an indication of its national scope, is the series on school textbooks by John Chamberlain in the Wall Street Journal, the outstanding organ of Big Business opinion in this country.

Chamberlain "reviews" a number of college textbooks on economics. He complains that the texts tolerate the concept of a "mixed economy" in which there is some government participation in business. What the Wall Street Journal wants is not only that the textbooks be harsh with "mixed economy" but, the editors complain, in such texts "the student hears no brief for the undiluted free market economy."

The Wall Street Journal would like to see every textbook in the country tailored, like a brief from the corporation lawyers, to meet the needs of monopoly capital.

Ideas do not come from the air. They represent the material interests of conflicting social forces. In a class society, the ideas which dominate the institutions of learning, reflect the interests of the ruling class. The victim of this process of thought control is the working class and that is why the healthiest kind of opposition must come from the labor movement.

# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Vote Against Jim Crow in '56

The hottest issue in the election this year, all political commentators agree, is civil rights in general and segregation in particular. Every analyst, pollster and propagandist, from the powerful Wall Street Journal to the smallest Southern Negro weekly newspaper is debating the question: Which way will the Negro vote go?

The Negro masses want to vote against Jim Crow. All Negro leaders — trade unionists, ministers, NAACP officials, editors, businessmen and professional politicians — are shouting in chorus: Register and vote!

### THE BIG QUESTION

But the great big question that none of the Democratic or Republican politicians, professional or amateur, can answer is: How can a vote for either of the two parties dedicated to maintaining the status quo express my condemnation of them and my determination to uproot and destroy the vicious institution of oppression, look, stock and barrel?

The Negro politicians have three main ways of dealing with this question. One is to ignore it or evade it, pretend it doesn't exist. Another is to lie about or whitewash one party and blame all the crimes against colored people on the other party. The third course is to admit both parties come to the Negro voter with dirty hands but to advocate support of friendlier enemies. These "smart" politicians say: "If we stick together and get out a big vote for the party, the party bosses will grant us concessions. They'll be afraid they'll lose the election to the Democrats (or Republicans) if they don't give us what we want."

Some of these "smart" politicians are talking pretty big. They're going to "put pressure" on both the Democratic and Re-

publican conventions, they say. They quote friends in the labor movement like Walter Reuther who play the same game. "The Democratic Party must make a choice between the Dixiecrats and the support of organized labor," he said.

### PERTINENT QUESTIONS

But if the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy is so good, how come it hasn't helped labor get rid of Taft-Hartley and other anti-union legislation? And what if both party conventions adopt a "moderate" stand on segregation? Which Jim Crow party should we vote for then?

Southern Negroes, who have less illusions about the two-party system and the American "democratic process" are beginning to speak sharply on the question. Last month the most quoted editorial was one from the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide which pointed out: "All but 27 of the 128 members of Congress from eleven Southern States signed the Southern Manifesto against the Supreme Court."

"What do Negroes in the South have to look forward to from their representatives in Congress when nineteen senators and eighty-two representatives in the House from 11 states present to Congress a joint 'declaration of principles,' which has for its purpose stripping Negroes of all legal or personal rights?" "Virginia has two Republican representatives in Congress, Messrs. Broyhill and Poff. They signed the manifesto along with their Democratic colleagues. North Carolina has one Republican, Mr. Jonas, of the Charlotte district. He also signed. The lone Republican from Florida signed."

### EVEN MORE EXPLICIT

In an even more explicit edi-

torial, entitled "Negro Needs Directed Ballot," the Savannah (Ga.) Herald of April 19 said: "The South has brought this issue (segregation) to the forefront as the leading political football, but all the candidates have lined up on the same team. There has not been a single political aspirant in all the southern primaries, who has rallied to the defense of an integrated citizenry. On the other hand, there have been any number that have advanced ideas of how segregation can be continued. The irony of this... is that they are soliciting the vote of the Negro to assist in preparing his degradation."

The voter, continues the Savannah Herald, "has gradually become a part of the political rat race, and a pawn of the rabble rouser. The Negro voter has been viciously included in this system and now finds himself at the point where he must cast his ballot for candidates and issues that he knows to be detrimental to his progress."

"The issues and candidates involved in this year's campaign pose a complex problem which defies any solution now in sight. Yet in the not too distant future, we will find those of our race, who will find or make reasons why these candidates merit the support of the Negro voter. The time for this type of influence peddling is past. Today, we must so organize as to direct our ballot against the things which we know to be counter to progress. This can be done effectively and when it is known that such a campaign is in force someone will be ready to listen. We have too long been 'joiners' without knowing what we were joining... The Negro vote which was at one time a supplemental vote to the election must today become the barometer by which the turn of the tide is reckoned..."

The Georgia editor is right. If the Negro voter casts his ballot for any of the candidates presented by the two capitalist parties, he votes for "candidates and issues that he knows to be detrimental to his progress."

### ONLY REAL ALTERNATIVE

But in the 1956 election he does have an alternative, and this should be broadcast throughout the South. There is a party in the national election campaign with a clear platform and record of uncompromising opposition to all forms of segregation and discrimination. It is the only party in the national election race that campaigns the year around, and not just in election years, for full social, economic and political equality for Negroes.

It is not a large party, and its candidates are not likely to be elected this year. It will probably not be able to meet the legal requirements to be placed on the ballot in more than half a dozen states.

But for voters in the South, and in other states where the ballot is monopolized by the Democratic and Republican parties, the only way to cast a ballot without voting for candidates and issues detrimental to progress is to WRITE IN THE NAMES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATES: FARRELL DOBBS FOR PRESIDENT, MYRA TANNER WEISS FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

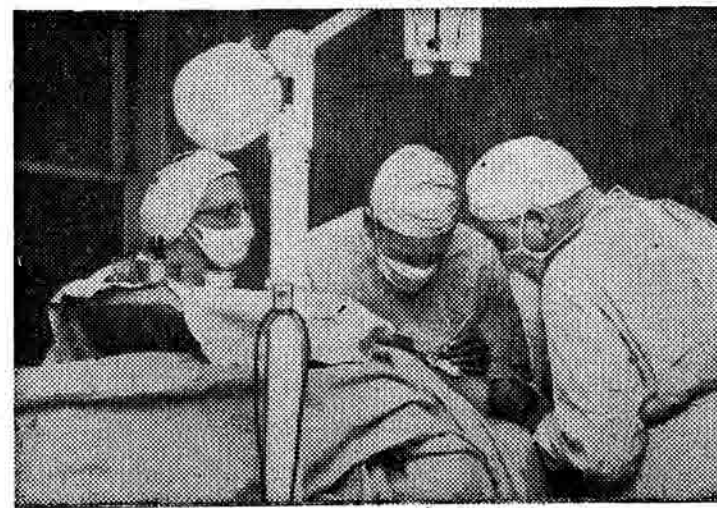
# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1956

NUMBER 23

## How Science Can Serve Humanity



Surgeons at Lenox Hill Hospital, New York, transplant a donated cornea in the left eye of John Kolor, a machinist from Ballston Spa, N. Y. Kolor, who lost the sight of his eye in an industrial accident, rushed the cornea to New York in a refrigerated container when the donor died.

## Carnegie Hall Debate

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, May 28 — Carnegie Hall reverberated with some peculiar harmony as a group of notables unused to sharing the same stage performed before an audience of 2500 last night. The occasion was a debate between Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, W. E. B. DuBois, famous Negro historian, and A. J. Muste, pacifist leader. The subject was "America's Road to Peace and Democracy."

The affair, sponsored by Muste's Fellowship of Reconciliation was advertised as a good old-fashioned free speech jam session with diverse and original talents participating. It turned out, however, to be an attempt at a romantic duet,

with Dennis as the ardent crooner and Thomas as the reluctant object of his affections. DuBois accompanied Dennis with some well executed background while Muste seemed a little out of place with a recital all his own.

All four of the speakers gave America's capitalist rulers some free advice. Continuing war preparations, failure to insure civil rights and liberties to all Americans are alienating world public opinion, they said. All implied that a different set of "good" capitalist rulers might follow different policies. None made the point that the policies of the present government on those issues are strictly bi-partisan and far from being the result of short sightedness or stupidity, are carefully calculated in the interests of capitalist class rule.

The dissonance was provided by Thomas who made the body of his presentation an attack on the crimes of Stalinism. However, he said, these are the logical outcome of Leninism, "although Lenin's writings show that he didn't expect it to come out that way." Thomas did not mention the fact that Lenin wrote at length on the danger of bureaucracy or that he spent the last year of his life in a fight against Stalinism. Nor did he point out that the major crime of Stalinism consists precisely in the physical destruction of Lenin's party.

Thomas called for the Soviet Union to rehabilitate social democrats and release political prisoners. He mentioned Trotsky in passing, but said nothing about the frame-up of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Moscow Trials.

He held fast to the State Department pro-imperialist position on China saying that Communist China should be considered for UN membership only after it recognizes the puppet governments of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

A. J. Muste presented the pacifist position of opposition to all wars and all violence. He corrected Thomas who had said: "When World War II began, I like all Americans supported it." Muste pointed out that members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation had opposed it as they oppose all wars. He failed to mention that the Socialist Workers Party had also opposed the war, not for pacifist reasons, but in the Leninist tradition of revolutionary opposition to all capitalist wars fought for imperialist aims.

Muste dodged the question of Stalinism in the Soviet Union in his presentation and echoed Thomas, with some reservations,

in further remarks. He replied to Dennis' appeal for peaceful co-existence by saying "it must include the concept of social change."

The 88 year old DuBois impressed the audience with a 20 minute survey of the history of the human race from primitive communism to a projection into America's socialist future. He touched upon subjects controversial among socialists only in passing, referring to China and the USSR as "socialist states," and dodging the issue of Stalinism with the broad historical generalization that the backwardness and isolation of the Soviet Union gave rise to "difficulties."

In the rebuttal, DuBois came to Dennis' rescue by saying that the questions about the Soviet Union and Stalinism had nothing to do with the subject: "America's Road to Peace and Democracy." This was in direct contradiction to his own presentation which had reviewed the march of revolution across the world, and correctly characterized the Russian Revolution as the point of departure for all present political tendencies. He was simply dodging to avoid taking a position on the crisis of Stalinism.

Eugene Dennis said that the Communist Party considers socialism to be the "final solution" for America, but at the present time, a policy of "peaceful competition and peaceful co-existence with the other nations is the only road to progress for America."

In answer to Muste, he admitted that social change, "for example colonial freedom," should be allowed to take place within the framework of peaceful co-existence.

The fact that the maintenance of colonial rule is a life or death question for capitalists as a class, and that their price for even a temporary end of the cold war is a sell-out of the colonial revolutions was not mentioned by Dennis. He was not entirely inconsistent, however, since in reply to Thomas, he said that Lenin's views on imperialism are now "obsolete."

He stated flatly that socialism can come to America through peaceful means, not mentioning that the capitalists would probably oppose such change by force.

In complying with Thomas' demand to repudiate the revolutionary writings of Lenin and of one of Foster's early works, Dennis called the Foster book "ancient and outmoded." The question arises in view of the "death of the Stalin cult," what book by Foster, Dennis, or any other Stalinist, isn't?

## ...Next Target For UAW

(Continued from page 1)

the seemingly inexorable sweep of the pestilence.

The GAW, said Reuther, would for the first time bring "full production and full employment" under capitalism in peacetime. The new contract, embodying the GAW "in principle," was hailed as a great victory. How did it work out in practice? In practice the principle of GAW became the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit plan. A majority of those laid off since the first of the year are ineligible. Those laid off after

May 2 are eligible for benefits but because the trust fund was only 25 per cent complete, the period of benefit payments will cover only a few weeks.

The liability of the corporation is restricted to the actual amount accumulated in the trust fund. Administrative expenses eat up a substantial part of the fund. "Indeed," comments the Wall Street Journal, "if auto layoffs mount appreciably in coming months, all company payments may have to cease." And the forecast is for mounting layoffs. In view of how the GAW has worked in practice, says the same paper, the auto workers "may well wonder whether the leaders were wise in denying them more practical benefits for the sake of this unwieldy and unrewarding principle."

### A "LIVING DOCUMENT"

Two years is a long time to wait for "more practical benefits." Life itself has demonstrated the failure of Reuther's GAW to protect the auto workers from the scourge of unemployment and reduced income due to short work weeks. By the same token it has demonstrated the validity of the 30-for-40 demand. Once before, when the occasion required it, Reuther spoke out in support of the principle that the union agreement was a "living document."

In his report to the 1953 UAW convention in Atlantic City, Reuther declared: "It is the rights and equities, the spirit and intent of the contract that are important, not the literal language in which the parties clothe their intentions under a set of circum-

stances that time and change may make obsolete."

His declaration of principle was buttressed by a policy statement adopted by the Policy Committee of the International Executive Board. "It has been the established policy of the UAW-CIO," read the statement, "that long term agreements are possible and practical only to the extent that both management and labor consider such agreements as living documents. Such living documents must not, during their lifetime, foreclose the working out of such practical problems that may arise which the parties could not anticipate at the time such agreements were negotiated."

"Any approach," continues the policy statement, "which regards the contract as a legalistic, static document, and which fails to deal with practical problems when they develop, makes long-term agreements unworkable, impractical, impossible, and unacceptable."

### NOW IS THE TIME!

The above stated principle was adopted two years before the expiration of the 5-year agreement signed in 1950. Reuther reported that General Motors had accepted the "living documents" principle and the agreement was amended. Presumably, on the basis of this principle, Reuther again signed the present long-term 3-year agreement. If words mean anything, the time has now arrived to invoke the principle of the "living document" as the first step in winning the too-long delayed demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

# Casualties of U. S. War Training Program

By Henry Gitano

To train professional killers ready to carry out all orders without question they must be dehumanized. That is a rule applied in all capitalist military establishments—to both men and animals.

American army sentry dogs in Okinawa used to be the friendliest of animals, now, no humans, except the handlers dare approach them. A canine platoon sergeant explained that a gentle dog can be converted into a man-hating fury in six weeks of intensive training.

Never off a heavy chain, which undergoes daily inspection, these dogs have graduated the army's "agitation" course. The pet's transformation begins by being chained to a stake. He is then tormented by systematic harassment. Food is offered then jerked away before he can reach it. "He is teased, badgered and cuffed unceasingly, day after day," reports the May 13 New York Times. At the end of the course, the wild dogs are ready to charge with fangs bared at all strangers, only the thick chain halts them in flight.

### SWIM OR DROWN

The Marine Corps Way-Of-Life resulting in a similar brutal transformation of human beings was spotlighted through the accidental drowning of six marine recruits on April 8, when Sergeant Matthew C. McKeon disciplined his platoon with a Sunday night march into a swamp tidal stream at Parris Island in South Carolina. A special court of inquiry found that McKeon drank vodka before the march and had told some of his men that those who couldn't swim would drown and those who could would be eaten by sharks. The Navy ordered McKeon court-martialed on four charges, including manslaughter.

More recently a 17-year-old Navy recruit died after prolonged "physical drill under arms," at

the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in North Chicago, Ill. After a preliminary investigation a Navy officer declared that the young recruit had undergone nothing more than "normal" training. When the boy, Apprentice Seaman Maurice G. Everett of McKenzie, Tenn. complained of a cramp in his left arm he was sent to the barracks and ordered to clean a washroom. He was found semi-conscious on the washroom floor and died at the hospital a few hours later.

### A LIVING HELL

The Parris Island incident in which six Marine recruits lost their lives has focused nationwide attention on how the marines build men. One of those who died had written a friend that he was forced to drink 19 bottles of soda after he had been caught drinking an "unauthorized" bottle of pop. Another on the ill-fated march wrote that one of the boys was caught smoking "and we had to lift our rifles over our heads 200 times." On the day he marched to his death, Pvt. Thomas wrote: "It's like living in hell down here... Some of the words I have for the island you can't write."

Joe Strawderman who left the platoon seven days before the death march said: "Lots of times the DI (drill instructor) got his point across by whacking me on the head with a sawed-off mop handle. Another boot was knocked down and then kicked by the DI. He asked the recruit what happened to him and the recruit said, 'You kicked me, Sir.' The DI kept kicking him until the recruit said he hadn't been kicked, that he had fallen over a locker box."

Brutalized drill instructors transform civilians into marines by addressing them as "maggots" and "knuckleheads." If recruits don't slap their rifle with sufficient vigor, they are forced to slap their hands against the gravel walk 200 times. Whispering in formation is punished

by singing the Marine Corps Hymn for half an hour with a bucket over one's head. Badgering includes "field days"—the platoon scrubs every inch of the barracks with hand brushes; the DI inspects the finished product. "Very good," he says, "do it again."

A noncommissioned officer said: "The worst thing that ever happened to the Corps was when Mother was invented." Don McLean reports that a marine DI was found guilty of kicking a recruit's chest, jumping on another's stomach, beating one with a swagger stick and hitting a recruit 19 times in the stomach. A witness said the sergeant learned it was the recruit's 19th birthday, hit him 19 times in the stomach and knocked him to the ground, not as punishment, but as a "birthday present."

Colonel W. McKeon describes the storm trooper atmosphere: "Once I personally saw a DI slap a boot so hard that the boot's head snapped back. The DI was standing on the boot's toes at the time. I immediately ordered the DI up for court-martial. He was acquitted. The officers on the court-martial ruled that this action was not maltreatment."

### MADE A SCAPEGOAT

That Sgt. McKeon's march ended in death, was sheer bad luck; might marches were an accepted part of the DI's arsenal of intimidation and mass punishment. Now McKeon is to be made a scapegoat. General Randolph McCall Pate, Commandant of the Marine Corps wrote on May 9 that its officers are not to blame for the death march. He attributed the incident to "acts of an individual."

Pate promised to assign more officers to supervise DIs and to guard against hazing and indignities. He ordered a wholesale transfer of officials from Parris Island "to facilitate a fresh approach." The new recruit depot commandant Brig. General Wal-

lace M. Greene has given orders to the DIs: "Don't lay a hand on a new recruit."

To Parris Island this sounded like old hat Standard Operational Procedure (SOP). One officer recalling a similar situation in 1952, said: "Took us damn near a year to straighten the thing out after it was all over. A DI told New York Post reporter Opatowsky: 'Things'll get back to normal in a year.' 'A year?' scoffed the other. 'A month, you mean.'"

Like the agitation course of Okinawa's dogs, marine training aims to convert naive volunteers into man-hating furies. In return, they are awarded the dubious distinction of being told they are part of an "elite group which is the envy of every general staff in the world."

**Chicago**  
THE MILITANT  
LABOR FORUM  
presents  
Myra Tanner Weiss  
Socialist Workers Party  
Candidate for U.S.  
Vice-President  
who will speak on  
"The United States and the Soviet Union in 1956"  
Sat., June 9, 8 P.M.  
777 W. Adams

**America's Road to Socialism**  
by  
JAMES P. CANNON  
80 pages 35 cents  
Order from  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

**Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum**

REVIEWS OF TWO NEW BOOKS

1. Daniel Guerin: Negroes on the March
2. C. Wright Mills: The Power Elite

Friday, June 8, 8 P.M.

3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor  
Donation 25c.  
Free for Unemployed

**Twin Cities**  
Hear  
Myra Tanner Weiss  
Socialist Workers Party  
Vice-Presidential Candidate  
Speak on  
"THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN 1956"

Friday, June 8 — 8 P.M.  
10 South Fourth Street  
Minneapolis, Minn.  
Donation 25c.

Just Out — Spring Issue  
Of the Marxist Quarterly

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

### Contents

The End of the Stalin Cult  
by M. Stein

Which Way for Supporters of the Progressive Party?  
by Harry Ring

Early Years of the American Communist Movement  
The Passaic Strike  
After 1925  
by James P. Cannon

Dollar Empire in Latin America  
by Theodore Edwards

Belinski and Rational Reality  
by G. V. Plekhanov

Books:  
A Psychoanalyst Looks for a Sane Society.  
by Joseph Hansen

The Last Hurrah  
by Jack Bustelo

35 cents a copy \$1.25 a year  
Order from  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.