

Bi-Partisan Bloc Gangs Up to Kill Civil Rights Bill

By William Bundy

JULY 24 — A "gentlemen's agreement" between Southern racists and Northern liberal Democrats has put another civil rights bill to a quiet death as the 84th Congress draws to a close. The bill, which would establish a Federal Civil Rights Commission and authorize the Government to bring suit against violators, was sponsored by the Republican administration to cover up its glaring failure to use existing Federal powers to protect the civil rights of Negroes.

In order to allow other bills "to get through Congress before adjournment" this week, so-called proponents of the measure first made a deal with the Southern Democrats to put off the vote in the House of Representatives until Monday, July 23. Then the liberal Democratic Senators allowed it to go directly into the grave of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by the unspeakable Senator Eastland (D-Miss.).

The hypocrisy of both liberal Democrat and Republican "supporters" of the bill is revealed by the July 20 New York Times, which says the debate in the House "was carried on despite the intensity of the fight, with a large measure of good humor." "The whole struggle," says the Times, "was exposed in argument as being a futile operation. Even though the House passes the bill... it does not have a chance for consideration by the Senate at this late stage of the adjournment rush. So it was evident the House members had made it a vehicle for putting themselves in the record for their own campaign."

An objection from the floor when the bill first hit the Senate might have kept it out of Eastland's committee, but, says the July 24 Times, "Senator Thomas

C. Hennings Jr., the Missouri Democrat chiefly in charge of strategy for Senate consideration... was not on the floor to object... Someone of the civil rights group was caught napping, and the bill went quickly and firmly under the jurisdiction of the Eastland panel."

The "firmness" of Eastland's hold was assured by a previous arrangement by that committee, a majority of whose members "support" civil rights, that a unanimous vote be required to let this particular bill out of committee. This allows all the liberals on the committee to "vote with their consciences" and blame the impasse on Eastland, who is quite ready to accept the blame, since Negroes are not allowed to vote in his constituency, anyway.

The final scene in the farce was enacted today when liberal Democratic Senator Lehman, who had been "caught napping" yesterday, when something might have been accomplished, moved to discharge the bill from Eastland's committee. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, Democrat from Texas, refused to support the motion saying that it would "bring all business to a halt, as it always has when this matter is brought up." The motion was defeated.

The results: The Republicans and liberal Democrats can campaign as "supporters" of civil rights. The Southern block successfully defended its position without having to resort to a messy and unpopular filibuster. The Congressmen can go home early. Civil rights legislation passed to date: absolutely none.

Protest Nine-Month Lockout



A delegation of wives and children of 6,000 Westinghouse strikers from the Lester, Pa. plant picket the New York office of the corporation demanding that the nine-month lockout be terminated immediately. Later the group went to Central Park for a picnic.

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Steel Trust Uses Shutdown As Peg for Big Price Boost

Fear of a "Second Poznan" Spurs Stalinist Concessions

By Murry Weiss

British Unions Strike Against Auto Layoffs

JULY 25—Violence marked the opening day of the strike of 15 unions against the British Motor Company in England. The unions called out their members, July 23, in protest over the dismissal of 6,000 workers on two days notice last month. The strike involves 51,000 workers. Mounted police rode herd into the ranks of pickets in an effort to break the strike.

The auto unions, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and others, demanded immediate reinstatement of the dismissed workers pending negotiations and compensation for those whose dismissal was proved to be unavoidable. While production cutback is the immediate excuse offered by the company for its callous dismissal of the workers, the development of automation in the automobile industry is at the base of the unemployment crisis.

The company claimed that more than half of its employees reported to work on July 23 despite the strike call. On the second day it claimed an additional 1,000 had returned to work. The unions deny these figures. However, sharp struggles continued to break out the second day between angry pickets and those who refused to respect the strike call.

The 1,300,000-member Transport and General Workers Union is organizing a boycott of all company materials with the aid of teamsters and dockers. The Trades Union Congress, representing eight million workers has called an emergency meeting of all unions involved in the strike to consider other action to be taken.

JULY 24 — The hot lava of workers' discontent in the smoldering volcano of Eastern Europe has thus far erupted most actively in Hungary and Poland. While all political symptoms continue to disclose the subsurface movement of the working class in all countries of the Soviet orbit, the most visible signs of this movement are, for the moment, strikingly observable in these two countries.

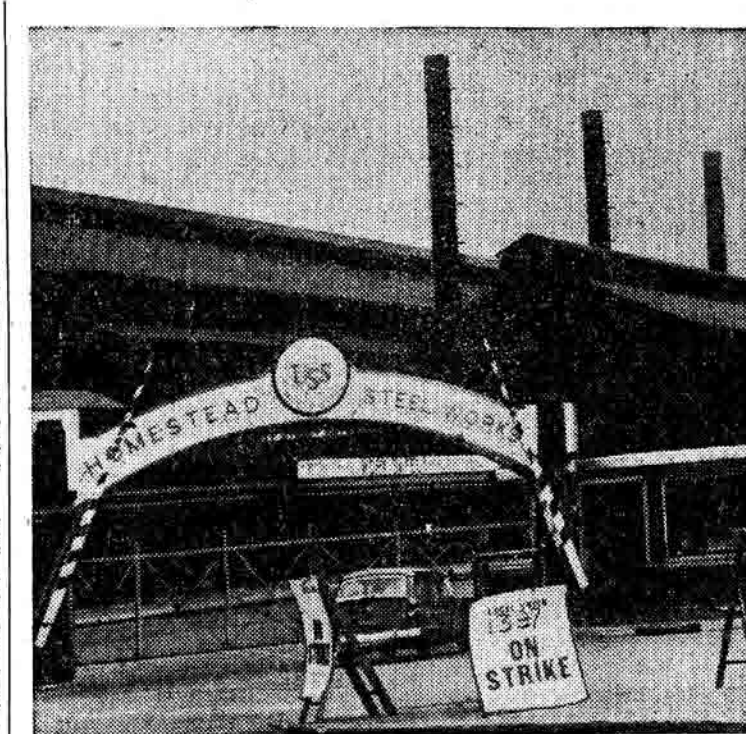
Following the July 18 "resignation" of Matyas Rakosi, the hated symbol of Stalinist tyranny in Hungary, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers (Stalinist) Party expelled General Mihaly Farkas and moved to strip him of his military rank "for breaches of Socialist legality." Farkas was one of the key figures in the organization of Stalinist frame-ups and terror in Hungary during the last eleven years.

Both those moves are part of the Hungarian regime's efforts to make far-reaching economic and political concessions to the workers in order to prevent a "second Poznan," that is, a repetition of the general-strike uprising of the workers that took place in Poznan, Poland, on June 28.

"GRAVE DANGER"

Erno Gero, who replaced Rakosi as First Secretary of the party, said July 19, "It would be a grave danger not to draw the consequences of the Poznan uprising. Our party must advocate broader democratization," he said. "Justified criticism has become stronger in Hungary. Our party must absorb the forces which are dissatisfied with the present situation."

Gero also called for a bigger police force, strong collective leadership, "iron party discipline and a fight against diversionists." Budapest radio reported, according to a July 20 Vienna dispatch to the New York Times: "When members of the Central Committee went to a factory to tell the workers about the changes [removal of Rakosi and Farkas] the workers promptly asked for shorter working hours for women, free Saturdays and better pay. When told the 'voluntary' annual peace loan, which



Picket signs posted by striking members of United Steelworkers Local 1397 in front of the Homestead plant of the U.S. Steel corporation in Pittsburgh.

New Terms Call for Long Pact

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, July 27 — With the precision of a well-rehearsed stage play the curtain appeared to be drawing on the one-month-old steel shutdown as reports emanated today from a hastily called conference that an agreement between the steel corporations and the steel workers union was imminent.

At the beginning of the tie-up it was predicted that the lockout would be brief. Authoritative Wall Street spokesmen predicted it would last from a month to five weeks. The strategy of the corporations was to force a shutdown. Their take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum to the union, hinged on a long-term 5-year pact, was calculated to force the union to strike upon the termination of the existing contract.

The object of the steel monopolists was to set the stage for another price hike in the face of a declining market and accumulating inventory. The strategy was twofold: (1) to force a shutdown in which the inventory piled up in anticipation of the lockout was depleted, and (2) to use the pretext of piddling contract concessions as justification for another price gouge which would mulct the public of millions in the form of increased prices for the thousands of steel products purchased by the consumer.

It is impossible to slake the unbridled greed of the Wall Street money-sharks who monopolize the steel industry. Every small wage increase granted in the past has been used as a means to boost their skyrocketing profits. The April issue of Steel Labor, for example, discloses how the steel corporations "made a neat profit on the wage increase last year."

"The theoretical cost" to U.S. Steel of the 1955 wage increase, reports Steel Labor, "was approximately 30 million dollars — the actual cost was zero, because of increased productivity. But the corporation, immediately following the wage increase, raised steel prices \$7.50 per ton. This price increase brought in more than 96 million dollars in additional profits for the last six months of 1955 — a clear profit of 66 million dollars over and above the theoretical cost of the wage increase."

Reports now coming through on steel profit figures for the first half of 1956 exceed the record-breaking profit levels of 1955 by substantial margins. Yet, the steel barons have already announced that a price increase of from \$10 to \$12 per ton will immediately follow the conclusion of current negotiations. The corporations follow a consistent policy of making "a neat profit" on every little concession granted the workers. This is the essence of the "free" enterprise system as practiced by the pay-trotic monopolists.

According to reports coming from the wage conference now in session here, the corporations have "retreated" from their adamant demand for a 5-year contract and are offering a 3-year pact instead. Steelworkers president David J. McDonald has indicated his "jubilation" at the new corporation offer.

If there is any "retreat" on this score it is on the part of the union officials. All of the objections against the 5-year pact are just as valid against the proposed 3-year agreement. For behind the corporations demand for a long-term agreement is the desire to strait-jacket the union while they modernize and automate the industry at the expense of the workers.

Int'l Socialist Review To Publish First Issue

The editors of the Marxist quarterly magazine, Fourth International, have announced that with the summer issue, soon to come off the press, the name of the magazine will be changed to International Socialist Review.

The change of name "does not signify a change in editorial policy," the editors say. "We shall continue as before to present the Trotskyist outlook on world events, emphasizing in particular questions involving Marxist theory. The new name, we hope, will help us reach a broader audience among those beginning to appreciate the significance of the world-wide upsurge of socialism that has occurred since the end of World War II."

In a letter "To Our Readers," the editors of the International Socialist Review trace the history of the magazine through the last 22 years.

The Trotskyist theoretical magazine was founded in 1934 under the name New International. In the first, July issue, Leon Trotsky sent the following greeting: "Dear Comrades, The fact that

you have established a theoretical organ, I consider a festival occasion. Its name, The New International, is a program of an entire epoch. I am convinced that your magazine will serve as an invaluable weapon in the establishment of the new international on the foundations laid by the great masters of the future: Marx, Engels, Lenin. With Communist greetings, Leon Trotsky."

THE NAME STOLEN

The ISR editors explain that at the beginning of World War II a minority section of the Trotskyist movement, headed by James Burnham and Max Schachtman, decided to split after they were defeated in a thoroughgoing discussion within the ranks of the movement. Taking advantage of their technical position, as editors of the New International the minority leaders absconded with the magazine, "changing its editorial policy to conform with their revisionist views."

"Rather than squabble over this case of petty larceny," the ISR editors say, "the majority decided to choose a new name for the magazine. Fourth International was selected as corresponding with the task of the time—to uphold the programmatic banners of the world movement created by Leon Trotsky."

The letter to our readers (Continued on page 2)

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'The Lessons of Spain' By LEON TROTSKY

(See Page 2)

U.S. Rescinds Aswan Loan; Called Liar by Egypt Leader

By Della Rossa

Financial considerations was the official reason given by the U.S. State Department, July 19, for withdrawing its offer to help Egypt build her \$1.3 billion Aswan Dam. Unofficially, it is recognized that the finances but Washington's cold war against the colonial revolution caused the change of heart.

Egypt was shocked and embittered by the withdrawal. Egypt's president, Colonel Nasser, accused the American government of lying about its reasons for the withdrawal of aid. "We Egyptians will not permit any imperialists or oppressors to rule us militarily, politically or economically; we will not submit to the dollar or to force."

Further, Nasser said, "If an uproar in Washington creates false and misleading announcements that throw 'shadows of doubt on Egypt's economy, I look at Americans and say: May you choke to death on your fury!"

The Aswan dam project would push the industrialization of Egypt by increasing her total irrigated land by one-third and greatly add to her hydro-electric power. But U. S. and British imperialism don't want to give aid for industrial development to a country that plays a leading role in the Arab struggle for national liberation.

William H. Stringer of the Christian Science Monitor July 23 revealed the real content of Washington's policy when he wrote, "The recent firebrand behavior of Colonel Nasser (President of Egypt), once considered an Arab leader of statesman caliber, is a large factor in the decision... The aim is to cut Colonel Nasser down to size."

What is meant by "firebrand behavior" are moves of the Nasser regime reflecting the nationalist struggle of the Egyptian workers and peasants. These include the recent arms deal with Czechoslovakia, a large trade agreement with China and Arab opposition to the U. S.-sponsored Baghdad military pact in the Middle East.

What the Soviet Union is going to do about helping to build Egypt's High Dam is not yet clear. Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov indicated they are "not considering" help. But this was not a definite refusal and Yevgeni D. Kiselev, Soviet Ambassador to Egypt is quoted as saying, "We are ready to finance the Aswan Dam if Egypt asks for it."

Real and Imaginary Nuclear Explosions

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Vice-President JULY 23 — While we were ducking for cover last Friday, July 20, under a mock nuclear bomb attack from the Soviet Union, the U.S. government was busy preparing the biggest real



MYRA T. WEISS

explosion yet undertaken on the testing grounds in the Pacific. On the morning of July 21 the red line that moves across the recording charts in nine Japanese meteorological stations went into "a veritable Saint Vitus dance." The microbarograph recorded an intensity of 0.5 millibars — twice the intensity of the 1954 H-bomb explosion.

Japan also announced another nuclear test in the Pacific the following day, July 22. This was the tenth explosion this spring, according to the Japanese, although the U.S. government has acknowledged only two. Each of these blasts has been given wide publicity in Japan. Two leading pro-American newspapers, Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, have demanded that the U.S. accept the Soviet offer to ban further tests.

In last year's Operation Alert it was estimated that 8,200,000 persons were "killed" in 61 "attacked" cities and 6,550,000 were "injured." In this year's civil defense test, with a presumed attack on 75 U.S. areas, no nation-wide "casualty" estimates were released by federal officials because such figures tend to "breed a sense of futility in all defensive measures."

A "sense of futility" is even more justified since the recent testimony of Lieutenant General James Gavin, Army director of research and development. He told the Senate subcommittee on the Air Force that several hundreds of millions would be killed in any large-scale nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. The dead would include the people of Asia or Western Europe depending on which way the wind blew.

While there is great doubt that many people would have survived the simulated nuclear attack last Friday even with the help of 5,400 new survey meters to determine the extent of fallout, the following facts may be "consoling":

First, President Eisenhower took virtually dictatorial powers by state of emergency and a state of

war. In last year's drill he declared "martial law," the constitutionality of which was widely questioned.

Then, the Department of Labor was on the job and "alert." It simulated an order to create a new Office of Wage Administration so that wages could be frozen at once.

Just in case anyone thinks this might have evoked protests from labor, AFL-CIO President George Meany was on hand to simulate a no-strike pledge.

Obviously Civil Defense thought of everything. Still the drill had its moments of difficulty. Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, told of one instance of "panic." "We had a bad moment on Saturday," he said, "when we discovered that one of the 'bombs' had demolished Fort Knox and distributed the nation's gold supply all over the adjacent landscape." But plans were quickly made to send crews into the area to gather up the precious stuff.

Another upset in the smooth-running drill occurred in New Jersey. The Civil Defense Director of Readington Township and the Sheriff of Hunterdon County got into trouble with the State Federation of Labor for using Civil Defense personnel to police a real strike in Milford, Louis P. Marciano, president of the federation, threatened to withdraw union members from Civil Defense unless the Governor "clearly

defined" duties of this apparatus.

New York City Civil Defense Director Robert E. Condon was lyrical, if not accurate, in his praise of this city's participation in Operation Alert. He said "It was the best exercise I've observed in this area. All persons cooperated 100 per cent." On pain of a misdemeanor charge involving jail, a fine or both; people somewhat naturally "cooperated."

But 19 pacifists repeated their annual protest and refused. They were arrested and taken to jail — this was not "simulated."

Actually, there is no defense against an all-out nuclear attack. This fact is so widely known, that the U.S. government did not seriously pretend to be testing protection against H-bombs. According to Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, Operation Alert "is designed to give the people of our nation a better understanding of the problems that might exist in the event of an attack." These problems are spelled out in the presumed casualty figures — namely, hundreds of millions dead.

The real problem, therefore, is to prevent nuclear attack. And for this it is necessary to know who it is that threatens to unleash an H-bomb war. The U.S. Big Business government organized Operation Alert in order to dramatize its own version: the Big Lie that the Kremlin threatens the peace of the world

by its alleged plans to conquer the earth. This lie has dominated U.S. politics for the last eleven years.

We socialists on the other hand say that the drive to World War III comes from U.S. Big Business, which aims to hurl back the national independence revolutions against imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. U.S. Big Business wants to reconquer China for imperialist exploitation. It also plans to destroy the planned economy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which excludes American private capital investments.

A program to protect the American people from atomic annihilation was presented by the Socialist Workers Party before the June 16 hearing of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament held in Minneapolis. The SWP representative, Dorothy Schultz, demanded an immediate halt to nuclear weapons tests. She also demanded that Congress — dominated as it is by Big Business — be deprived of its war-making powers. The people, said Mrs. Schultz, should decide the life and death question of peace or war through referendum vote.

In addition, all secret diplomacy must be abolished. The American people have a right to know what kind of deals and threats the State Department is cooking up behind closed doors.

BY LEON TROTSKY

Lessons of Spanish Revolutionary Struggle

[This article by Leon Trotsky was written in 1937 when the Spanish Civil War was at its height. It exposes to its roots the class-collaboration, "peoples front" politics of Stalinism which opened the road to a fascist victory in Spain. The article was first published in the U.S. in the Socialist Appeal, Jan. 8 and 15. It appeared in pamphlet form in India in 1948 under the title, "The Lesson of Spain — the Last Warning." We republish it now, not merely in connection with the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, but as a timely contribution to the struggle against the Stalinist politics of class peace, which is as treacherous and dangerous today as it ever was. — Ed.]

The military operations in Ethiopia, in Spain, in the Far East are being studied closely by all military staffs, preparing themselves for the great future war. The battles of the Spanish proletariat, heat lightning flashes of the future world revolution, should be no less attentively studied by the revolutionary staffs: only under this condition will coming events not take us unawares.

Three conceptions fought—with uneven forces—in the so-called republican camp: Menshevism, Bolshevism and Anarchism. So far as the bourgeois republican parties are concerned, they had neither independent ideas nor independent political significance and maintained themselves only on the back of the reformists and anarchists.

Furthermore, it would not be any kind of exaggeration to say that the leaders of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism did everything to repudiate their doctrine and virtually reduce its significance to zero. Actually in the so-called republican camp two doctrines fought: Menshevism and Bolshevism.

In accordance with the viewpoint of the Socialists and Stalinists, i.e., Mensheviks of the first and second mobilization, the Spanish revolution was to have solved only its "democratic" tasks, for which a single front with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was necessary. From this point of view every attempt of the proletariat to go outside the limits of bourgeois democracy is not only premature but fatal.

Moreover, on the order of the day stands not the revolution but the struggle against the insurgent Franco. Fascism is "reaction." Against "reaction" it is necessary to unite all forces of "progress." Menshevism, itself a branch of bourgeois thought, does not have and does not wish to have any understanding of the fact that fascism is not feudal

but bourgeois reaction, that one can successfully fight against bourgeois reaction only with forces and methods of the proletarian revolution.

The Bolshevik point of view, consummately expressed only by the young section of the Fourth International, emanated from the theory of permanent revolution, that is, that even purely democratic problems, like the liquidation of semi-feudal land-ownership, cannot be solved without the conquest of power by the proletariat; but this in turn places the socialist revolution on the order of the day.

Moreover, the Spanish workers themselves posed practically, from the first stages of the revolution, not only those problems simply democratic but those purely socialist. The demand not to step out of the bonds of bourgeois democracy signifies in actuality not a defense of the democratic revolution but a repudiation of it.

Only through an overturn in agrarian relations could the peasantry, the great mass of the population, have been transformed into a powerful bulwark against fascism. But the land-owners are tied with indissoluble bonds to the banking commercial-industrial bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia dependent on them.

Thus the party of the proletariat faced the necessity of a choice between being with the peasant masses or with the liberal bourgeoisie. The inclusion of the bourgeoisie in a common coalition could have been done with but a single aim: to help the bourgeoisie deceive the peasantry and thus isolate the workers. The agrarian revolution could have been accomplished only against the bourgeoisie, hence only through measures of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There does not exist any kind of middle, intermediate regime.

Oblivious to Leninism

From the viewpoint of theory in Spanish politics, Stalin more than anything astounds one by his complete obliviousness to the alphabet of Leninism. After a lapse of several decades—and what decades!—the Comintern has fully re-established as proper the doctrine of Menshevism. More than that: it has contrived to give to this doctrine a more "consistent" and by that token a more absurd expression.

In Czarist Russia, on the eve of 1905, the formula of "purely democratic revolution" had behind it in any case immeasurably more arguments than in 1937 in Spain. No wonder that in contemporary Spain "the liberal workers' policy" of Menshevism became a reactionary anti-working class policy of Stalinism. At the same time the doctrine of the Mensheviks, this caricature of Marxism, was transformed into a caricature of itself.

However, it would be naive to think that at the basis of the politics of the Comintern in Spain there lies a theoretical "mistake." Stalinism rules not through the theory of Marxism, or through any kind of theory in general, but by the empirical interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. In their own circle the Soviet cynics laugh at Dimitroff's "philosophy" of the People's Front. But they have

at their disposal for deceiving the masses numerous staffs of preachers of this holy formula, sincere ones and cheats, simpletons and charlatans.

Louis Fischer with his ignorance and self-satisfaction, with his provincial reasoning and organic deafness to revolution is the most repulsive representative of this unattractive fraternity. "The union of progressive forces!" "The triumph of the idea of the People's Front!" "The assault of the Trotskyists on the unity of the anti-fascist ranks!" Who will believe that the Communist Manifesto was written 90 years ago?

The theoreticians of the People's Front in essence do not go further than the first rule of arithmetic, that is, addition: the total of "Communists," Socialists, Anarchists and liberals is greater than each one separately. Such is all their wisdom. Arithmetic, however, is not sufficient in this problem. Mechanics, at least, is necessary: the law of the parallelogram of forces has validity also in politics. The resultant, as is known, is the shortest of the more competing forces diverge from each other. When political allies pull in opposite directions, the resultant can prove equal to zero.

A bloc of different political

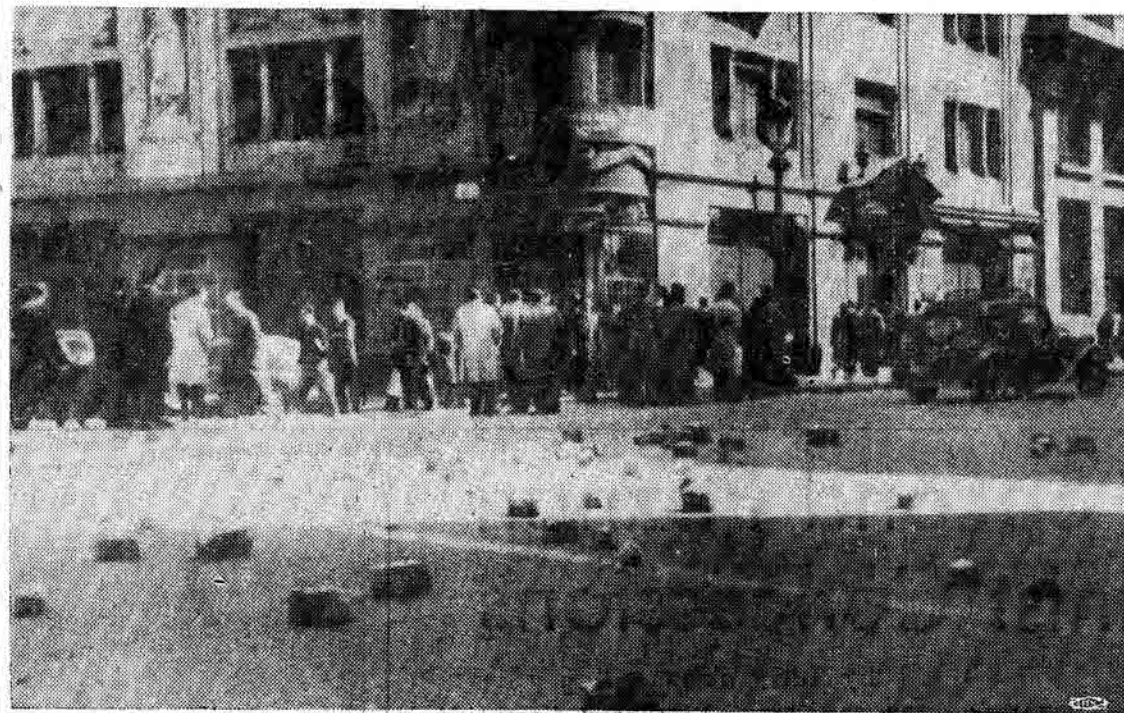
*The premise common to all trends in the Russian Social Democratic party was that Russia faced a bourgeois revolution produced by the contradiction between the development of the productive forces of capitalist society and the outlived semi-feudal relations, particularly in the countryside. From this the Mensheviks, (Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zaslitch) advanced the viewpoint that to the liberal bourgeoisie, as the claimant to power, belonged the leading role in the impending revolution. According to this the party of the working class was to be the left agency of the bourgeoisie in the creation of a bourgeois democratic framework.

The Bolsheviks on the other hand maintained that the liberation of the peasantry from the fetters of semi-feudal agrarian relations and the democratization of the State could only be realized in intransigent struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie

by the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The resulting regime Lenin characterized as the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

The third position was that of Trotsky who while agreeing with Lenin regarding the relationship of the various classes in the democratic revolution held that the democratic revolution could be consummated only by placing the proletariat in power supported by the peasantry. But the working class placed in power by the dynamics of the democratic revolution could not limit itself only to the carrying out of the democratic tasks but would proceed to accomplish its own, socialist tasks. Hence the democratic revolution develops uninterruptedly into the socialist revolution. Under the guidance of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party adopted this perspective in April 1917, thus orienting itself toward the proletarian seizure of power.

Workers Rise in Spain Against Despotism of Franco



groups of the working class is completely indispensable for the solution of common practical problems. Under certain historical conditions such a bloc is capable of attracting to itself the oppressed and petty-bourgeois masses whose interests are close to the interests of the proletariat. The general force of such a bloc can prove to be immeasurably stronger than the force of each of its component parts.

On the contrary, the political union of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, whose interests in the present epoch diverge upon basic questions at an angle of

180 degrees, is capable, as a general rule, of only paralyzing the revolutionary force of the proletariat.

Civil war, where the force of bare coercion has little validity, demands the spirit of the highest self-denial from its participants. The workers and peasants are capable of assuring victory only if they carry on a struggle for their own liberation. Under these conditions, to subordinate the proletariat to the leadership of the bourgeoisie means before-hand to assure its defeat in the civil war.

Allied With the Shadow

These simple truths are least of all the fruit of pure theoretical analysis. On the contrary, they represent the unassailable conclusion of the whole historical experience, beginning, at least, with 1848. The newest history of bourgeois society is filled with all forms of the "People's Front," i.e., with the most diverse political combinations for the deception of the toilers. The Spanish experience is but a new tragic link in this chain of crimes and betrayals.

Politically most striking is the fact that in the Spanish People's Front there was not in essence a parallelogram of forces: the place of the bourgeoisie was occupied by its shadow. Through the agency of the Socialists, Socialists, and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself, not even troubling itself to participate in the People's Front; the overwhelming majority of the exploiters of all political shades openly went over into the camp of Franco.

Without any recourse to the theory of "permanent revolution," the Spanish bourgeoisie from the very beginning understood that the revolutionary movement of the masses, no matter what its initial point, is directed against private property, in land and in the means of production and that it is utterly impossible to cope with this movement by democratic measures.

In the republican camp re-

mained, therefore, only insignificant splinters from the possessing classes, Messrs. Azana, Companys, and their like—political lawyers of the bourgeoisie but not the bourgeoisie itself. Having placed its stake fully upon a military dictatorship, the possessing classes were able at the same time to make use of their political representatives of yesterday in order to paralyze, disorganize and afterward stifle the socialist movement of the masses upon "republican" territory.

No longer representing in the slightest degree the Spanish bourgeoisie, the left Republicans still less represented the workers and peasants. They represented no one but themselves. However, thanks to their allies the Socialists, Stalinists and Anarchists, these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply: in the capacity of incarnating the principle of the "democratic revolution," i.e., the inviolability of private property.

The reasons for the rise of the Spanish People's Front and its inner mechanics are entirely clear. The problem facing the retired leaders of the left wing of the bourgeoisie consisted in stopping the revolution of the masses and thus gaining the lost confidence of the exploiters: "Why do you need Franco if we, the Republicans, can do the same thing?"

Secret of Stalin's Power in Spain

The interests of Azana and Companys fully coincided at this central point with the interests of Stalin who needed to gain the confidence of the French and British bourgeoisie by proving to them in action his ability to preserve "order" against "anarchy." Stalin needed Azana and Companys as a covering before the workers: Stalin himself, of course, is for socialism, but one should not push aside the republican bourgeoisie!

Azana and Companys needed Stalin as an experienced executioner with the authority of a revolutionist: without this they, an insignificant lot, would never have been capable of attacking the workers. They would not have dared. The traditional reformists of the Second International, long ago thrown off the rails by the course of the class struggle, began to feel a new tide of confidence, thanks to the support of Moscow. However, this support was given not to all reformists but only to the more reactionary ones. Caballero represented that face of the Socialist Party which was turned toward the workers' aristocracy, Negrin and Prieto always looked towards the bourgeoisie.

Negrin won over Caballero with the help of Moscow. The left socialists and anarchists, the captives of the People's Front, tried it is true, to save what could be saved of democracy. But since

they did not dare to mobilize the masses against the gendarmes of the People's Front, their efforts at the end were reduced to woe-filled jeremiads. The Stalinists thus proved to be in alliance with the more rightist, openly bourgeois, wing of the Socialist Party. They directed their repressions against the left: the POUM, the Anarchists, the "left" Socialists, i.e., against the centrist groupings who reflected, though in a remote degree, the pressure of the revolutionary masses.

This political fact, very significant in itself, reveals at the same time the extent of the degeneration of the Comintern during the past years. We once defined Stalinism as bureaucratic centrism, and events gave a series of proofs as to the correctness of this definition. But now it has obviously become obsolete. Already the interests of the Bonapartist bureaucracy will not reconcile with the centrist half-way policy.

Searching for reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, the Stalinist clique is capable of entering an alliance only with the more conservative groupings of the international workers' aristocracy. Thus the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism on an international arena expressed itself definitively.

We thus closely approach the solution of the enigma of how and why the leadership of the

"Communist" Party of Spain, insignificant in numbers and level, proved capable of gathering into its hands all levers of power, in face of the incomparably more powerful organizations of the Socialists and Anarchists. The usual explanation that the Stalinists merely bartered Soviet weapons for power is extremely superficial. For the supply of arms Moscow received Spanish gold. According to the laws of the capitalist market, this is sufficient. How then did Stalin contrive to get power also into the bargain? In reply to this we are commonly told: having raised its authority in the eyes of the masses by furnishing military supplies, the Soviet government asked as the conditions of its "collaboration" drastic measures against revolutionists and thus removed dangerous opponents from its path.

All this is completely indisputable but this is but one, and at that the less important, aspect of the matter. In spite of the "authority" created by the Soviet supplies, the Spanish Communist Party remained a small minority

Two Irreconcilable Programs

Only from this wider point of view does that angelic toleration which such knights of right and freedom as Azana, Negrin, Companys, Caballero, Garcia Oliver and others showed toward the crimes of the GPU become clear to us. If they had no other choice as they affirm, it was not at all because they could not pay for the airplanes and tanks other than with the heads of the revolutionists and rights of the workers, but because their own "purely democratic," i.e., anti-socialist program, could not be realized by other measures except through terror.

When the workers and peasants enter on the path of THEIR revolution i.e., to take possession of the factories, property, drive out the old owners, seize power in the provinces, then the bourgeois counter-revolution—democratic, Stalinist, or Fascist, there is no difference—has no other means to stop this movement except by bloody force, complemented by lies and deceit. The advantage enjoyed by the Stalinist clique on this road consisted in its ability to use at once methods which were not within the capacity of Azana, Companys, Negrin and their left allies.

Two irreconcilable programs thus fought on the territory of republican Spain. On the one hand, the program of saving private property from the proletariat at any cost and—to the extent possible—saving democracy from Franco; on the other hand, the program of abolishing private property through the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The first program expressed the interests of capital through the agency of the workers' aristocracy, the top circles of the petty bourgeoisie and especially

"Appointed Atheists"

The Warsaw student newspaper, *Po Prostu*, charged July 18 that many Communist Party members, officials and others in Poland are "atheists by appointment." Rejecting religion only to further a career, the newspaper said, the official atheist "frequenters church in disguise, is married at night in an empty chapel, baptizes his children by sending them to visit relatives and prays behind closed shutters and under the quilt."

A general strike in Barcelona in the spring of 1951 involving 300,000 workers showed that the militant spirit of the Spanish workers still lived after over a decade of Franco's barbarous rule. In this strike scene, two strikers had been killed by the fascist police. On Feb. 7 of this year students at the University of Madrid battled the fascists with rocks and sticks. In April, the northern provinces of Spain were hit with general strikes that revealed the deep crisis that is rocking Franco's Spain.

and met with ever-growing hatred on the part of the workers. On the other hand, it is insufficient that Moscow put up conditions; it was necessary that Valencia accept them. In this is the essence of the matter.

Not only Zamora, Companys and Negrin, but Caballero, during his incumbency as premier, all of them more or less readily met the demands of Moscow. Why? Because these gentlemen themselves wished to keep the revolution within bourgeois limits. Not only the socialists but the Anarchists as well did not seriously oppose the Stalinist program. They feared a break with the bourgeoisie. They were deathly afraid of every revolutionary onslaught of the workers.

Stalin with his arms and with his counter-revolutionary ultimatum was a savior for these groups. He guaranteed them, as they hoped, military victory over Franco and at the same time he freed them from responsibility for the course of the revolution. They hastened to put their socialist and anarchist masks into the closet in the hope of making use of them again when Moscow re-established bourgeois democracy for them.

As the finishing touch to their comfort, these gentlemen could from now on justify their betrayal to the workers by the necessity for a military agreement with Stalin. Stalin on his part justified his counter-revolutionary policies by the necessity for an agreement with the republican bourgeoisie.

20th Anniversary Spanish Civil War

An Editorial

On this 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, which Franco began July 18, 1936, we reprint "The Lesson of Spain — The Last Warning." This penetrating analysis of the Spanish events is fully relevant for today. It has significance for the Spanish workers who earlier this year gave inspiring evidence that 20 years of the fascist boot have not crushed their revolutionary spirit. And it has equal value for the workers living under "democratic" capitalism.

For the Spanish workers, the civil war was not simply an "anti-fascist" struggle. They began with the correct perspective of defeating fascism by abolishing the capitalist system from which it springs. But their official leaders — Stalinist, Social Democrats, Anarchists — diverted them from that aim for the sake of "unity" with the liberal capitalists. It was this fatal course that assured Franco's victory.

Spain proved the bankruptcy of the Stalinist "popular front" policy. Yet it remains the basic policy of the Communist parties, under the new label, "peoples' coalition." To justify this continued advocacy of class collaboration, the CP leaders must still defend its consequences in Spain.

Writing on the 20th anniversary of the Civil War in the July 22 Worker, Joseph North proudly proclaims that the Popular Front government gave the revolution "a direction roughly approximating our New Deal. It did not seek a socialist solution or an anarchist solution."

When the fascist uprising began the workers realized they could not rely on the capitalist government to smash it and they swiftly organized the union and party militias that dealt Franco his initial setbacks. But North boastfully confirms that "The Spanish Communists became the first protagonists of a unified army command responsible to the Popular Front government and to it alone."

There is one significant omission from North's recitation of the Stalinists' pro-capitalist record in Spain. Now absent is the once standard Stalinist slander that the defeat in Spain was due to the activities of "Franco's Trotskyite fifth column." True, Khrushchev's admission that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups makes difficult the further spread of this poisonous slander which was conceived in the atmosphere of the trials.

But the "fifth column" charge was more than a frame-up of the Trotskyists who were a political minority in Spain. It was the cloak for the criminal Stalinist campaign to smash all revolutionary acts of the mass of the Spanish workers. Tens of thousands of revolutionary Spanish workers were jailed and shot behind the lines under the infamous banner of "combatting the fifth column."

This is one of the most bitter lessons of the Spanish Civil War. "Coalition" of workers parties with the capitalists is betrayal at any time. In revolutionary periods it becomes a gang-up for the suppression of the revolutionary workers movement.

... SOCIALIST REVIEW

(Continued from page 1)

traces the history of the magazine through the difficult war years and details the key role it played in consolidating the new forces of Trotskyism that emerged from the Second World War. After discussing some of the considerations that have prompted the current change of name the ISR editors give a vivid account of the history of the original International Socialist Review from which the new name was taken. The "old" ISR first appeared in July 1900 and ran until February 1918. The history of the magazine reads like a history of the world socialist movement throughout those crucial 18 years. A fascinating story is told of the reflection of the great tides of world socialist thought and action in the pages of the magazine.

In its early period the magazine was under the editorship of A. M. Simons and then Charles H. Kerr. Contributors of that period "constitute a roster of the great figures in the Second International."

The magazine then passed through a period which reflected

the rise of the IWW movement. "A new galaxy of revolutionary figures appeared among its writers."

The history of the magazine is further traced through the crisis of the outbreak of World War I, the struggle for revolutionary internationalism during the war and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

"Not until January 1918 do the names of Lenin and Trotsky show up" the ISR editors report, "but then they at once dominate the magazine. In the February issue the lead article is a reprint of the preface to Trotsky's 'The Bolsheviks and World Peace.'"

The summer issue of the "new" International Socialist Review will feature a number of articles under the general heading of the "Vindication of Trotskyism." Articles analyzing the Poznan events, the Khrushchev speech, the new developments in the Soviet Union are among its contents. Trotsky's important theoretical article on the concept of the USSR as a workers' state appears in the magazine's Arsenal of Marxism. The article, first published in the July 1935 New Internationalist, deals with the problem of Thermidor and Bonapartism. Another installment of J. P. Cannon's invaluable letters to a historian on the history of American Communism is also in the table of contents. The ISR will continue to sell for 35¢ per copy and can be obtained by writing to the International Socialist Review, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. Subscription rate is \$1.25 for one year.

tempt at military (or "fascist") dictatorship.

The Spanish revolution again demonstrates that it is impossible to defend democracy against the revolutionary masses other than by the methods of fascist reaction. And vice versa, it is impossible to lead the actual struggle against fascism other than by methods of the proletarian revolution. Stalin waged war against "Trotskyism" (proletarian revolution), destroying democracy by the Bonapartist measures of the GPU.

By this, again and definitively is overturned the old Menshevik theory, adopted by the Comintern, which divides the democratic and socialist revolutions into two independent historical chapters, separated in time from each other. The work of the Moscow executioners confirms, in its own way, the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution.

(To be concluded next week)

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American Dollar Democracy

We have in the past commented on the crocodile tears so copiously shed in Washington on behalf of the East European countries. We have never been taken in by the State Department's pretended concern for the freedom of the Kremlin's satellites. U.S. imperialism has its own satellites whose peoples it dominates, and plunders.

All of this was underscored again last week at President Eisenhower's "informal" Panama conference with the Latin American heads of state. The purpose of the conference was to exchange ideas on what is needed to make U.S.-Latin American ties "stronger."

How much stronger Washington wants to make the "ties" is rather difficult to determine since American Big Business has Central and South America pretty well tied up already. Back in 1938, 37% of Latin American imports came from the U.S. By 1953, it was 50%. Between 1949 and 1954, U.S. investments in Latin America rose from about \$4.5 billion to over \$6 billion.

Today, the U.S. grip on Latin American economy is even tighter. And the misery of the people has risen proportionately. According to the July 22 N. Y. Times, the situation there is "translated into the inflation and a skyrocketing cost of living which sap the strength and development capacity of a majority of the republics."

When the Times speaks of "republics" it is admittedly using the word a bit loosely. According to the paper's own estimate, only five of the 20 Latin American countries are what it calls "stable democracies," while the rest are either dictatorships or "unsettled regimes."

A list of those attending the conference

included some of the bloodiest tyrants in contemporary history. Among those present, for instance, were Col. Armas of Guatemala, who with U.S. government backing last year overthrew the legally-elected government of his country by force and violence. Last month, Armas' cops shot into a crowd of demonstrating students, killing five.

Also present was Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. It is at least doubtful whether Eisenhower enquired of Trujillo as to the whereabouts of the missing Professor Galindez. Opponents of Trujillo have repeatedly charged that the dictator's agents in the U.S. abducted and murdered Galindez.

Late in arriving for the get-together was Pinilla, military dictator of Columbia. Press reports indicate widespread popular opposition to his regime. The July 22 N. Y. Times publicized a letter from a U.S. business man in Columbia confirming accounts of how on Feb. 5, the police in Bogota threw opponents of Pinilla into a bull ring.

Crowds at the bull fight were vocally expressing their opposition to the regime when the business man saw "a body flying through the air. It started from the highest concrete steps in the bull ring, drew an arc and landed abruptly on the concrete steps ten feet below."

Police picked the body up and continued to toss it further down the stairs. The letter then told of hearing "inhuman shrieks" from other parts of the bull ring and the writer later learned that police had "seized demonstrators and tossed them over the side of the outer rim" to fall about 75 feet below.

Such in the condition of freedom in Washington's satellites.

Stuck With a Frame-Up

After three days of silence about the Poznan workers' uprising of June 28, the Daily Worker, July 2, ran a story and an editorial about this momentous event. The editorial, called "The Poznan Tragedy," offered the poison of slander in a sweet and syrupy brew. "Our deepest sympathy," it said, "goes out to the Poznan workers whose long-neglected needs were manipulated to explode into violence." (our emphasis.)

The editorial went on to repeat the official Stalinist frame-up lie point for point. "There is considerable evidence," it said, "from the fact that the riots occurred in Poznan at the time of the international fair when many westerners would be present, also from the availability of arms and the targets of the riots, that this was no 'spontaneous' uprising but a long-planned instigation."

This "considerable evidence" is no evidence at all. It is a set of amalgams, the linking of unrelated things to create a sinister appearance. In other words, a frame-up.

Point one of the "considerable evidence" amassed by the Daily Worker editors is the pure assertion that because a trade fair took place in Poznan at the time of the workers' general strike, and because this brought "many westerners" into the city, therefore the workers were "manipulated" into their uprising by imperialist agents.

When the June 17, 1953 East German workers' uprising took place, the Stalinists claimed that the proximity of East Berlin to West Berlin was "considerable evidence" that spies and provocateurs had played the leading role in the workers' struggle.

What kind of reasoning and what kind of evidence is this if not the kind used in the Moscow Frame-Up Trials? And how does this kind of evidence differ from that used to "prove" Lenin was a "German spy" because he travelled through Germany in order to return to Russia in 1917?

It so happens that everything the Polish Government has published since June 28 explodes the contention that the timing of the general strike uprising was connected with the trade fair. The Polish Stalinists admit that the strikes erupted when they did because the workers' patience reached the breaking point; they had exhausted every means at their disposal to get a hearing for their grievances and had run into a bureaucratic stone wall.

But what if the Poznan workers had decided to utilize the presence of the trade fair in their struggle for their demands?

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

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MR Breaks 4-Month Silence on Stalin Cult

By Harry Ring

Monthly Review, a self-styled "independent socialist magazine," edited by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, devotes its July-August issue to the question, "What Is Happening in the USSR?" The analysis comes after a four-month silence on the issues raised by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

For eight years Monthly Review has been a friendly critic of the American Communist Party and a tireless apologist for the Kremlin bureaucracy. It now chides the CP for not making an independent analysis of the problems posed by the 20th Congress.

While we hold no brief for the CP leadership or its conduct of the present discussion, the fact is that the Khrushchev revelations so profoundly affected the CP ranks that its leaders have been compelled to admit some of their crimes as servile pawns of the Kremlin. Precisely little as this is, it's more than MR can point to.

Monthly Review has defended every major crime of Stalinism. It upheld the Moscow Trials and the East European "Titoist" purge trials. In March 1953 it hit the newstands with a defense of the anti-Semitic Doctors Case within hours of Beria's revelation that the doctors had been framed and the "confessions" beaten out of them. In April 1953, the MR editors, writing on Stalin's death, lauded the tyrant's memory in the most sickening manner of the Stalin Cult.

With such a sordid record, one might expect an "independent socialist" publication to engage in serious self-examination before demanding it of others. One might also expect them to settle accounts with what they wrote previously on the topic of Stalin

and the Soviet Union before passing on to new pronouncements on the subject.

OBLITERATE OWN PAST

The MR editors, however, don't seem to feel that way about it. The current issue of the magazine is dated Volume VIII, Number 3. From the contents one could easily get the impression that it is Volume I, Number 1. There is not a word about the editors' past positions or how and why they swallowed the Stalin cult and the Stalinist frame-ups — anti-Semitism and all.

The four months silence was evidently spent not in re-examination but in shopping around for a suitable "theory" to explain the new events in a way favorable to the Soviet bureaucracy.

After rejecting the official Communist Party explanation that the Stalin cult and frame-ups were simply a matter of "errors" which have now been corrected and after rejecting the State Department thesis that nothing has changed, MR bought for resale the theory that what is going on in the Soviet Union is the self-reform of the Stalinist dictatorship. Stalin's successors in the Kremlin are setting matters right — this is the contention of the MR editors. This theory is not original with them. It was first elaborated in 1953 by Isaac Deutscher — commentator on Soviet affairs and author of biographies of Trotsky and Stalin — to explain reform measures introduced at the time under Malenkov and Beria.

IT'S HISTORY'S FAULT

The Deutscher theory permits one to criticize frame-ups and the like, while still apologizing for their practitioners. Thus according to Huberman and Sweezy, "Stalinism was an extremely dynamic and profoundly self-contradictory phenomena. Grow-

ing up under one set of conditions, it completely altered these conditions and thereby made its own existence impossible."

According to Huberman and Sweezy's reasoning, Stalin was history's instrument for transforming Soviet society in a progressive direction even if by the most brutal means. Stalin's heirs are history's instrument for correcting the brutality. History takes care of everything, and no one is to blame. "Take the cult of the personality which grew up around Stalin, for example," says MR. "Was this something for which Stalin, or for that matter any identifiable group of individuals was responsible? We do not believe that any serious student of Russian history would claim that it is."

However, this pseudo-Marxist method turns out to be too slick for its users' good. Historical conditions did produce Stalin, Khrushchev and indeed the entire Stalinist dictatorship. But historical conditions produced the Trotskyist opposition to the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste as well. "A necessity has two ends: the reactionary and the progressive," wrote Trotsky in the Revolution Betrayed (1937). "History teaches that persons and parties which drag at opposite ends of a necessity turn out in the long run on opposite sides of the barricade."

At which end did Trotskyism and Stalinism pull respectively? A thorough analysis of the history of the fight between Trotskyism and Stalinism shows that the Trotskyist Left Opposition arose in 1923 out of the historical necessity to combat the reactionary program of Stalinism. The Trotskyists waged a struggle to remove the bureaucracy as a parasitic growth on Soviet society, while the Stalinists fought to consolidate and extend the

power, prestige and revenue of the bureaucracy.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

But the MR editors want to refer to historical necessity only in order to apologize for the bureaucratic status quo. Since history confronts them with both Stalinism and its revolutionary opposition, they solve the problem by falsifying what the struggle was about.

According to Huberman and Sweezy, the Soviet leaders during the 20's "were divided three ways: there were those who looked to a world revolution for salvation (Trotsky), those who favored going slow and hoping for the best (Bukharin), and those who called for a tremendous effort to develop the country's resources and strength to enable it to come through whatever tests might lie ahead (Stalin)."

This is pure Stalinist invention. While relying on Deutscher for "theory," they simply discarded the historical facts he presents. For Deutscher at least has a scholarly concern for the documents of the Trotsky-Stalin fight. The record explodes such falsifications of history as that peddled by Huberman and Sweezy.

The documents of the struggle show that the Trotskyist opposition launched the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely by advancing a bold program of planned development of industry and collectivization of agriculture. This the Trotskyists tied to demands for workers' democracy and an international class-struggle policy.

STALIN'S RECORD

Basing themselves on Marx and Lenin, the Trotskyists rejected the revisionist notion defended by Stalin of "building socialism" in one country, and a backward one at that. They defended the traditional Bolshevik idea that the USSR could establish socialism only through the extension of the workers' revolution to the advanced industrial countries. In the meantime they believed in making the Soviet Union as strong as possible by an optimum tempo of industrial growth.

This program was violently opposed by Stalin in alliance with Bukharin. Jointly these two and their factional supporters denounced the Trotskyists as "super-industrializers." The Stalin-Bukharin faction advocated building socialism in backward Russia with the aid of the rich peasant and at a "tortoise pace."

Then in 1929, as the industrial machine threatened to grind to a halt and the countryside was gripped by sabotage by the kulaks (rich peasants), Stalin broke with Bukharin. He took over Trotsky's program of planned industrial development but carried it out with enormous bureaucratic mismanagement and by means of blood purges that drenched the entire country.

The amazing development of Soviet industry is a double tribute to the superiority of nationalized economy over capitalism. For industry grew despite the heavy obstacles that both imperialism and Stalinism placed in its path. To credit Stalin for this development is to stand everything upside down.

But it is quite in keeping with the MR editors' outlook. For to them only the actions of the Soviet rulers are decisive. The workers and peasants exist for them only as a mass to be shaped.

The only point where the masses enter MR's analysis is as scapegoats for Stalin's crimes. The editors state that they find it hard "to improve on the declaration of the Chinese CP that 'The cult of the individual is . . . a force of habit of millions and tens of millions. Since this force of habit still exists in society, it can influence many government functionaries, and even such a leader as Stalin was no exception'."

THE CRUCIAL POINT

But, argue the MR editors, history finally made new demands on the "leaders." With the establishment of "socialism," the "leaders" had to bring "the socio-political superstructure up to reasonably civilized standards." And here we get to the very heart of MR's thesis. "Conceivably, this might have entailed a political revolution . . . but fortunately it did not." (Emphasis in original.)

Why does MR so airily dismiss the need for a political revolution? Because, according to them, "the Soviet leadership was, to be sure, trained in Stalinist methods, but it also retained its basic Marxian ideas and perspectives . . . and when the time came, when change could no longer be put off, the leadership showed itself capable of adapting to the new situation."

By such continuing changes, "in the long run," full socialist democracy will be achieved, we are told, because "under socialism the leadership prospers with society and not against it; and by continuously raising the level of society, the leadership must sooner or later transform itself from master into servant."

What exists in the Soviet Union today is not "socialism" as MR contends but a severely degenerated workers state in which the material interests of the ruling caste is in violent conflict with that of the working people. Khrushchev and Co. are not a group of "basically Marxist" dead-end kids who are recognizing the need to change their ways. They are the representatives of a rapacious bureaucracy that has grown fat at the expense of the working people.

They are making concessions now under mass pressure but will not surrender their stranglehold on political power, since that is the source of their revenue and means of protecting it. "No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws," said Trotsky in the Revolution Betrayed. A political revolution is therefore inescapable.

Huberman and Sweezy may prattle all they like about the "leadership" raising the level of society, but the Soviet "leaders" themselves are faced with the stark fact that in good time the Soviet masses will hoist them out of their seats of privilege and power.

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... Stalinist Concessions Spurred

ing also rehabilitated a large number of those who had been purged during recent years. A reported 474 cases have been examined and practically all have been cleared of charges.

WHY?

One big question arises: What prompts these concessions?

The capitalist press has made much of the Kremlin's overtures to Tito as a basic motivation for the concessions. While this is undoubtedly a factor, it is a secondary one. The primary impulse comes from the pressure of the working masses. Under this pressure the bureaucratic caste strives to save its power by combining its ruthless repressions with efforts to conciliate and concede to the demands of the workers.

The removal of Rakosi can be made to appear primarily as a diplomatic concession to Tito, only if the basic social conflict between the industrial workers and the privileged bureaucracy is ignored. The fact is that the Kremlin and the Stalinist regime in Hungary tried desperately to save Rakosi. His downfall was precipitated by the Poznan uprising. That is what Erno Gero meant by pointing to the "grave danger" of ignoring "the consequences of the Poznan uprising."

The presence of Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan in Budapest last week indicates the close supervision of the Kremlin in this ticklish operation of trying to avert an explosion of working-class mass action in Hungary on the model of June 17, 1953 in East Germany and June 28, 1956 in Poland.

At the same time two other top-flight Kremlin bureaucrats arrived in Warsaw July 21—Soviet Premier Bulganin and Marshal Zhukov. In a speech shortly after his arrival, Bulganin referred to the Poznan uprising as having been "provoked by hostile agents" of capitalism.

"SOULLESSNESS"
This slander is evidently not so easily peddled by the Polish Stalinists themselves. In contrast to three weeks of the monotonously repeated frame-up lie that the Poznan workers were instigated and led by spies, Edward Ochab, head of the Polish CP, said at the July 20 meeting of the Central Committee:

"In assessing the reason for these incidents [Poznan] it would be an error to concentrate attention on the machinations of provocateurs and agents of imperialism. The social roots of these incidents, evincing serious trouble in the relations between the party and a section of the working class, should be sought first of all. . . From an analysis made of the events in Poznan it appears that a considerable part was played by bureaucracy and soullessness of the authorities, both central and local."

Why wasn't this statement reported in the Daily Worker? Every other paper carried it. Is it because the editors are apprehensive that a shift is taking place, that the Polish regime will be forced to retreat from its frame-up of the Poznan workers to which the Daily Worker is now committed?

treat of the Polish Stalinist regime from its original intention to inflict severe reprisals on the leaders of the Poznan workers. In the days immediately following the uprising the Stalinists ranted against "spies and provocateurs" without, of course, producing a single shred of evidence to support their charge that such elements instigated and led the general strike. Premier Gyrankiewicz said June 29: "Every one who raises his hand against the people [read: bureaucrats] may be sure that it will be hacked off."

It appears now that the regime is under such enormous pressure that it may be forced to back down from its frame-up plans and even admit that its own "soullessness" and bureaucratic mismanagement were the "primary" causes of the revolt. In this kind of formula the canard about "spies and provocateurs" leading the workers' uprising is not abandoned but shelved for a more propitious moment.

LOGIC OF CONCESSIONS

The interrelation between the workers' upsurge and the concessions of the Stalinist regimes is graphically illustrated in this situation. Under conditions of a mass revolutionary ferment, heading towards the political overthrow of the bureaucratic caste by the workers, each concession and admission by the regime can become the starting point for a fresh outburst of the mass movement; this in turn can force new concessions. The process can, of course, be interrupted by the bureaucratic caste launching fierce repressions. Severe losses can be suffered by the workers as a result, but the general tendency of development towards the political revolution cannot be halted.

New information, uncovered since June 28, reveals that an outstanding feature of the struggle in Poznan was the organization of a strike committee at the Zispo works. It also appears that the delegation that presented the demands of the Poznan workers also originated at the Zispo factories. This type of committee and delegation is evidently widespread in Poland. Such committees were discussed recently by the official trade union paper in Poland, Glos Prace. The N. Y. Times reports, July 20, that Glos Prace "criticized the trade unions for having alienated the confidence of the workers by their failure to represent their interests against the bureaucratic apparatus of the state." The paper said "this was the reason why workers chose non-union members as spokesmen in presenting demands for more pay and lower prices to the government."

By "non-union" members Glos Prace obviously refers to workers who are independent of the trade union bureaucracy. That such worker-leaders are being selected by the ranks from

among the boldest and most militant in the factories, is the surest sign of the growing maturity of the movement. Out of these committees will undoubtedly grow the new fighting organizations of the Polish proletariat. Attempts by the regime to isolate these militants and keep them under lock and key will prove fruitless. Moreover, such efforts will provide fuel to the flames of revolutionary discontent. Let us recall that one of the first impulses of the mass movement, both in Poznan and in the earlier East German uprising was to free the prisoners held by the Security Police.

A BOLSHEVIK PARTY

The committees of factory workers are also the arena in which a new Bolshevik party of the Polish working class will be born. Among the most experienced and tested elements the need will be felt to give organization and direction to the broad movement of the working class. Lessons will be learned from the Poznan uprising. The need to plan the offensive against the bureaucracy, to prevent needless bloodshed, to time the actions on a nationwide scale at a moment best calculated to secure victory, will provide the burning incentive to create a vanguard party organization.

Such an organization will base itself on the programmatic foundations of Leninism. The literature of the long struggle of Trotskyism to defend Leninism from bureaucratic reaction will be the theoretical manual for the young Polish Bolsheviks. They will unite the irrepressible fighting power of the workers with a broad theoretical outlook—thus firmly tying a knot between Poland's revolutionary past and future.

In this historic work the students and intellectuals of Poland will play their part. Ample evidence exists that a deep ideological ferment is taking place among them.

When Edward Ochab recently attacked "anti-party sallies and bourgeois contraband expressed in certain of our periodicals," the student newspaper, Po Prostu, firmly replied that criticism from below might awaken pessimism and depression only when such criticism was ineffective in that it was not followed by deeds. "The criticism from below," the student weekly added, "is still too narrow and does not penetrate sufficiently to all strata." Po Prostu urged more democratization through workers' control of production, declaring that "the completion of peoples rule through control by workers would curb the dignitaries and petty despots who are still lording it with impunity."

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Dawson's Vote: A Lesson in Politics

Those of us who have heard Congressman Adam Clayton Powell tell Negro audiences to "Vote Black" would like to hear his explanation of why Congressman William L. Dawson, his fellow colored Democrat, opposed the anti-segregation amendments to the federal school bill.

Dawson's color didn't prevent him from voting with the while supremacists and "moderates" in favor of granting federal funds to help maintain segregated schools. Regardless of his personal feelings, as a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he has to do the dirty work of the Democratic Party.

In the same way, Mr. Val Washington, director of the "minority division" of the Republican national committee, Judge Joseph H. Rainey of Philadelphia, and others are demonstrating that a politician's color is no guarantee of loyalty to the struggle against Jim Crow.

Many Negro leaders who recognize this and are groping for a way out of the blind alley of the two-party system are urging a so-called non-partisan policy for colored voters. "Don't be tied to either party," they say. Vote for good men in either party.

But "independents," either on one of the two party tickets or off, are powerless. If they do not subscribe to the program of the party whose label they bear, they must fight the political machines for election. In the rare cases where they are elected despite the opposition of the "regulars," they are soon subjected to so much pressure that they either compromise their principles or are unable to accomplish anything in the face of the combined boycott of both parties.

There is only one way out of the dilemma, and that is to build an independent party with the complete abolition of Jim Crow as a basic element in its program. In American politics today the only mass party that could be built with such a program is an independent labor party, a party of workingmen and women dedicated to the advancement of their interests as opposed to those of the ruling class which exploits all workers regardless of race, creed or color.

Some Negro working-class leaders readily admit that is the most reasonable course — but not this year. Some day, they say, when such a party is organized, we will support it, along with millions of others. But until then, they will "make the best of things" within the two-party system.

It was a different kind of thinking that made the people of Montgomery and Tallahassee and many other cities rise up against segregation this year. They got tired of waiting for the old leaders to tell them when it would be time to act. They came together and said, "Right now is the time to start boycotting Jim Crow."

Now is the time to stop voting for the two parties opposed to change, too. The way to do it in 1956 is to vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the only candidates with a record and program of uncompromising struggle against discrimination and exploitation, and for the building of a mass party dedicated to that program.

That is the only way to avoid voting for candidates, black or white, who will maintain segregation.

Local 600 Resolution Calls For 30-Hour Week Fight

DETROIT, July 16—The membership of Ford Local 600 has unanimously adopted a resolution opening a campaign for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. The resolution, introduced by President Carl Stellato, points to the growing menace of unemployment and cites the shorter work-week demand as the only meaningful answer.

The resolution also reviewed the recent struggles within the UAW to make the 30-for-40 demand the number-one goal of negotiations. It reminded the top UAW leadership of the resolution passed at last year's UAW convention calling for the struggle for the shorter work week as next on the agenda after the achievement of the so-called Guaranteed Annual Wage (supplementary unemployment compensation).

The Local 600 resolution called for an all-out campaign to win 30-for-40 in the 1956 contract. As a beginning, copies of the resolution are to be sent to every UAW local in the country.

The action by Local 600 takes on significance, even though it failed to properly recognize the need for re-opening contracts now, in view of various currents of thought circulating among

sections of the top UAW leadership. According to reliable reports, sentiment in leading circles exists for an end to so-called "pioneering" for fringe demands, among which apparently are included the GAW and the shorter work-week, and concentrating instead on straight wage increases. Some of this thinking tends towards accepting the possibility of a shorter work-week "within ten years" while concentrating on improving the admittedly inadequate and gimmick-loaded GAW.

In addition to 30-for-40, Stellato has called for unemployment compensation at 100% of wages for the duration of unemployment. There was, he stated, no reason for any worker to be without a job in this immensely wealthy country. If the employers pleaded inability to pay, he said, it would then be high time to revive Reuther's 1947 slogan of "Open the Books."

As background for the action of Local 600, we should take note of the following: In the nation as a whole, production in January was maintained at the peak rates established towards the end of December 1955. But a full 1.3 million fewer men and women were at work in January than last December.

In the automobile industry, by last May 210,000 workers had been laid off. The total unemployment in Michigan stood at 207,000. A recent UAW press release asking that the state legislature in Michigan act immediately, noted that by July "unemployment in Michigan increased by approximately 13,000 in a single month to a total of 220,000, and that unemployment in Detroit increased by approximately 6,000 in the same period to a total of 139,000."

"In the first six months of this year," the statement continued, approximately 38,000 people exhausted their unemployment benefits due to the "inadequate duration provisions of the present law. The Michigan Employment Security Commission estimates that the rate of exhaustion will increase to about 18,000 or 20,000 a month later this summer."

Added to this is the increasing pressure of speed-up. Corporations have always utilized times of layoffs to increase the speed of the production lines.

As a result, despite the attempt of the International leadership to discourage them, wildcat strikes have increased somewhat in the past several months. In Detroit alone, at Dodge Local 3 and Local 212, such actions have taken place. Even at the Ford Rouge plant—heretofore hardly noted for such actions—the workers in the Dearborn Assembly plant struck for several days. In this case the action against speed-up took the form of striking against the company for permitting a supervisor who had pushed a woman to go unpunished.

Negro workers, in addition, to suffering the effects of unemployment and speed-up, have also expressed dissatisfaction with the failure of the UAW leadership, including that of Ford Local 600, to take adequate measures in relation to White Citizens Councils which had the audacity to attempt to set up a headquarters in Dearborn, across from the Dearborn City Hall.

The combination of all these factors has led to increased rumblings of rank-and-file discontent within the UAW. In a surprising number of locals during the past several months, incumbent slates—many running with open International UAW support—have been defeated. A new slate won at Cadillac Local 22. There were big turnovers in the leadership of Oldsmobile and Fisher Body locals in Lansing. Both have new presidents. At Flint there were significant changes in the six big GM locals. Traditionally left-wing Dodge Local 3—second largest in the UAW—recently reelected an anti-Reuther slate. Pat Quinn, newly elected president of the Hamtramck local, aligned himself with Stellato.

The press quotes Stellato as saying that Reuther "goes around making speeches that we'll have a short work week in ten years. This causes a bad reaction among the rank and file. We need a short work week now. The workers realize it would have helped cut unemployment." Stellato predicted that his forces would have a "sizeable representation" at the coming convention. "We're ready to fight for the 30-for-40 idea," he said.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1956

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Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 825.00	\$ 681.00	80%
Twin Cities	1,320.00	1,022.00	77
Chicago	1,560.00	1,094.60	70
Allentown	85.00	60.00	70
Cleveland	350.00	226.00	63
Youngstown	250.00	150.00	60
Los Angeles	3,300.00	1,929.29	58
San Francisco	650.00	365.00	56
New York	4,000.00	1,934.40	48
Milwaukee	250.00	102.00	48
Buffalo	1,760.00	800.00	46
Boston	500.00	220.00	44
Newark	200.00	63.00	31
Seattle	300.00	85.00	28
St. Louis	85.00	25.00	28
Oakland	200.00	30.00	15
Philadelphia	400.00	52.00	12
General		155.00	
Totals	\$16,175.00	\$8,994.29	55%

FUNDS DEADLINE NEARS; QUOTA PAYMENTS LAG

The Socialist Publications Campaign Fund continues to lag. Payments are coming in at only a slightly accelerated rate.

Communications from all parts of the country are uniform in expressing vigorous determination to complete the drive in full and on time. Everyone assures us that, despite difficulties, their particular quota will be met.

Yet the scoreboard still shows that without a very sharp increase in the rate of payments the deadline for the end of the drive will find us with the total goal far from realized. To date 55% has been paid in, but over 75% should have been received by now. If we are to avoid a time extension in the drive, a stepped-up pace is essential.

The fact is that the sale and distribution of our socialist literature is being conducted at an all time high. Stocks of many of the most important items are moving very rapidly and are nearing the point of depletion. A large number of urgently needed works by Trotsky have long been out of print. Soon, other important books and pamphlets will also be in the out-of-print category.

Meanwhile our publication plans are proceeding with the fullest possible speed. The financial lag can endanger the entire socialist press and publications project. We are in the position of an army fighting a critical battle, with considerable success but with a fast diminishing store of ammunition.

We must now turn our full attention to the ammunition supply problem. That is the number one task for the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States. That's the situation as we see it from here; it's necessary for all our supporters and readers to draw the necessary conclusions and act upon them.

P. S. Friends in Connecticut continue to back up their support with cash—\$10 this time.

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Union Leaders Demand Role in Witch-Hunt

By Herman Chauka

Officials of the AFL-CIO are becoming aware that the ever-spreading government "security program" constitutes a threat to the union movement and to civil liberties generally. The reasons for this justified concern are documented in a 52-page survey entitled, "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions," published by the AFL-CIO in collaboration with the National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee.

The survey shows the mushroom growth of the "security program," presents case histories of victimizations under it, reveals the anti-labor bias of many who administer it, and shows how it is used by employers as an anti-union weapon and how it lays the basis for even more dangerous attacks against labor.

In a foreword to the report, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzer proposes as a solution to the problem that "Instead of being excluded from it, labor should be invited to take part in the administration of our Government's Industrial Security Program as it applies to workers in industry."

This proposal flies in the face of the report, whose facts constitute a strong argument in favor of the unions opening an all-out attack on the entire "security" program, not to assume responsibility for it.

TEN MILLION 'RISKS'

"Since 1947," the report says, "the number of Americans under security screening has swelled from less than one million to approximately ten million. And the number of reasons for which one could be tagged a 'security risk' has grown steadily. Today, about ten million Americans and their families are covered by government security programs. Many have suffered injustice in the screening process."

The report cites many unjust and anti-labor actions under the security program. It begins with the story of James Schuetz, a shop steward at Bell Aircraft in Niagara Falls, N. Y., who was branded a "security risk" because of "picket line offenses" in the Bell Aircraft strike of

1949. The "offense" finally specified was picketing in service uniform.

The government security program has inspired many non-defense employers to establish unofficial "security programs." The advantages are cited in a 1952 report by the National Industrial Conference:

"Even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, Industrial Security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote labor grievances, slowdowns and strikes and encourage worker antipathy toward management. . . Furthermore, while Communism is a great threat to America today, who knows in this unsettled world what the color, nationality or political philosophy of our next enemy may be?"

Some employers are demanding contract clauses excluding the union from taking up "security case" grievances. A picture of what this means is given in the survey's report of the attitude of the Security Director at Republican Aviation in Farmingdale, N. Y., as expressed in a trade magazine:

EVERYBODY'S A 'RISK'

"Fire 'em. That's my answer to anyone who asks me how to handle security risks in his plant. And that's exactly what we did with 250 of them this year. Of these 250, only 15 were known Communists. No matter. They all got the same treatment. . . All security risks are not Communists, not necessarily subversives, not necessarily disloyal. In fact the most patriotic American could be your biggest risk! Maybe he tells his wife everything about his job and she talks too much. . ."

The survey analyzes the Butler Bill, first introduced in Congress in 1954 and which may come up again. The bill, as its supporters point out, closes the last "gap" in the "security" ring. It provides that with Presidential declaration of an "emergency," workers in just about any plant could be fired on "reasonable grounds" that they might some day commit espionage or sabotage. AFL-CIO officials have correctly branded the bill as rep-

Lackawanna Steel Tieup Recalls Depression Days

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, July 20 — A warning from President Eisenhower that his Big Business government will intervene in the steel strike if an early settlement isn't reached was received by Lack-

awanna steel workers with skepticism and humor. As they waited to file applications for surplus food in their new union headquarters on Ridge Road, one striker wanted to know, "what took Ike so long to speak up?" Someone answered, "Maybe the 'Cadillac Cabinet' didn't let him know about the strike. After all, he's a sick man and they didn't want to upset him in an election year."

Another worker joshed back, "No, he waited for the word from his sidekicks, Wilson and Humphrey." (Humphrey is Secretary of the Treasury, and the largest shareholder in the National Steel Company and their subsidiaries like Hanna Furnace which supplies coke to the giant blast furnaces of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Lackawanna, N. Y.)

Meanwhile, the 28,000 steel workers on the Niagara Frontier will be waiting to see how the steel leaders will react to the strong ultimatum of the corporation-minded government.

As the strike rolls through its third week, the holiday spirit is beginning to wear off. And in a sense it was a vacation without pay. It was good to get away from the hot mills and dirty furnaces. Some workers took their families to nearby beaches, others could be seen with their kids fishing, and some just caught up on repairs around the house.

HARDSHIPS BEGIN

All felt the pleasures of being up by day and sleeping at night instead of the grueling rotation of three shifts and week-end work. Even the pickets outside the sprawling Bethlehem and Republic Steel plants relaxed. At some gates they took sun baths, while at others they threw a ball around. It was a far cry from the bitter strikebreaking struggles of a few years back.

But as the rank and file passed through their second payless Friday many families were facing some hardship. Throughout the week, hundreds of workers in Buffalo lined up in front of bank tellers windows with withdrawal slips in their hands. The big steel corporations watched this trend carefully as they planned their "starve them to break them" tactics. In Lackawanna, the steel-smoked city surrounding the Bethlehem plant where nearly 20,000 work, it was clear that the workers were tightening up their belts.

A slow paralysis was setting in on the industrial life of the city. As one walked down Ridge Road, the dust-covered main street of Lackawanna, many comments by storekeepers could be heard as they stood idly by their stores. One clothing merchant stood in front of a big sign, "STRIKE SALE. NO DOWN PAYMENT UNTIL STRIKE IS SETTLED."

Further down the street, a gas station attendant told one of his customers that he is pumping 50% less gas since the strike began. A tavern owner said that he would close down until the strike ended. "I haven't seen some of my best customers for weeks. You've got to hand it to them. They're spending their money where it counts."

Many workers with large families haven't been able to save a dime. For them there is no relief in sight. Strike benefits don't begin until the eighth week. Many have applied for relief. The Erie County Home Relief Bureau reported that there were as many as 600 applications for home relief since the start of the strike.

Requirements are rigid and the red tape of bureaucracy draws out investigations for weeks. Not only does a steel worker have to prove that he

has exhausted every source of income, including borrowing on life insurance, but he must prove that his relatives through blood or marriage living in the household are in the same fix. He must even turn in his car license plates. This is a slap in the face of the workers who pay the taxes that support the relief agencies.

More than 5,000 steel workers in Erie County have signed up at their union headquarters for federal surplus food. The foods distributed will be butter, cheese, dry milk, flour, and corn meal. This token assistance will not be available for nearly two weeks.

In the streets of Lackawanna, huddles of workers can be seen throughout the day. One worker, wearing a Ryerson Steel Company button remarked, "There's still plenty of steel around the warehouse I work. The company won't talk terms until it's used up." An older worker in the group chipped back, "Yeah, and the government reports that the economy is still in good shape. Why, Lackawanna reminds me of the depression days. Nobody working, nobody buying. Must be the company the government is talking about. I read about their stock dividends going up since the strike began."

However, much of the talk among steelworkers reflects uncertainty as to what is going on in negotiations. Joseph P. Molony, Director of District Four (whose members in the Buffalo-Lackawanna area produce more steel than all of Western Germany) must face up to this problem. Molony, defeated candidate in the bitter struggle for the international vice-presidency, as well as other officials have often complained that not enough members attend meetings. Unfortunately, due to shift work and other problems, this is usually true.

But it certainly isn't true now. Area-wide meetings with progress reports on negotiations would draw steel workers by the thousands to their union halls.

SWP Candidate Answers Voters League Questions

NEWARK, July 23—Daniel

Roberts, Socialist Workers Party

candidate for Congress from the 12th Congressional District, today sent the following answers to questions directed to him and other candidates by the League of Women Voters of New Jersey.

Q. Please indicate the aspects of U.S. Foreign policy with which you are most in agreement; those of which you are most critical.

A. I oppose all aspects of the foreign policy pursued by both Democratic and Republican Administrations. It is a policy of attempted world domination, for the sake of Big Business profits and actual domination in Latin America. It gave us World War II, the Korean War, U. S. intervention in Indo-China and the Formosa Straits. It backs French imperialism in Algeria and British imperialism in Asia and the Middle East. It upholds such tyrants as Franco, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. It aims at restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China and ultimately launching World War III to achieve this objective. I believe that peace can only be brought about through the working people establishing socialism all over the world.

Q. In what domestic legislation do you especially interest? Please state your support or opposition?

A. I favor immediate repeal of the Smith Act and all other measures punishing persons by jail, deportation, or firing for the expression of political beliefs. I favor the Powell amendment which would deny Federal education funds to school districts that continue racial segregation. Also any other measure that would aid the Negro people and its labor allies to win the struggle for Negro equality. I favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. I favor federal unemployment compensation at 100% of wages (at union rates) for the duration of unemployment, a 30-hour maximum work week, nationalization of all monopoly enterprises and their operation under workers' control.

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