

# Kremlin Challenged on Status of Soviet Jews

## Gov't Silent on Anti-Semitism; 'Clears' Writers

By Harry Ring

The Kremlin is now in the process of "rehabilitating" Jewish literary figures who fell victim to the anti-Semitic purges of the past two decades. In addition, the bureaucratic regime is reportedly making plans for the revival of Jewish culture which was wiped out during this period.

According to Chaim Suller, manager of the Jewish-language Stalinist paper, Freiheit, who just returned from the Soviet Union, projected plans include establishment of a Yiddish publishing house and a Yiddish Theatre, publication of a Yiddish paper and a literary magazine, and the convening of a conference of Yiddish writers and cultural figures.

Among the literary figures posthumously "rehabilitated" are the poets Itzik Feffer and Peretz Markish. Both had been members of the executive board of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and were among those shot when the Committee was liquidated in 1948.

These measures come in the wake of revelations in the Polish Jewish newspaper, Folksstimme, which on April 4, gave a detailed account of Stalin's campaign against the Soviet Jews. The report has been publicized throughout the world and pro-

leaders. Equally disturbing has been the reports of Khrushchev's defense of the use of the quota system in government employment of Jews.

In England, the shameful record of the Kremlin and its apologists on this issue has been denounced by Professor Hyman Levy, for many years one of the major intellectual figures around the Communist Party and author of numerous writings on Marxian philosophy.

### ATTACKS EVASION

The Jewish Clarion, a British CP paper, published the Folksstimme article in its June issue along with hollow phrases about "abuses" arising from the "cult of the individual." A letter from Professor Levy in the July issue brands the editorial statement as a "mere bandage across a deep and festering wound." Levy correctly points out that "silence or evasion on such a fundamental matter is impossible." (For the full text of Prof. Levy's statement see page 3 of this issue of The Militant.)

Similar demands for meaningful answers were expressed in this country in protesting letters to both the National Guardian and the Daily Worker. These came after the Guardian published an interview with a Kremlin official, Ekaterina Furtseva, which was nothing less than an attempt at a whitewash of official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

### THE NEED TO SPEAK OUT

The same indignation was manifest at the July 25 New York meeting for Chaim Suller of the Freiheit, where he, too, attempted to "accent the positive." During the question period he was met with angry demands for an unvarnished account of the fate of the Soviet Jews and with condemnations of the Soviet government's refusal to openly deal with the issue.

The Kremlin's record on the Jewish question has provided U.S. imperialism with a big propaganda weapon in its cold war against the Soviet Union. This must be stated candidly. If radical workers were to remain silent about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, they would make easier Wall Street's smear campaign against the entire socialist program as well.

All genuine partisans of the Soviet Union must demand complete freedom for the Soviet Jews and all other oppressed nationalities in the USSR. This is the surest way to defend the Soviet Union against capitalism and against the Kremlin bureaucrats whose reactionary policies endanger the workers' state from within.

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# THE MILITANT

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## Millions Across Middle-East Cheer Suez Nationalization

## Aluminum Plants Tied Up by Walkout; Steel Contract Negotiations Bog Down Support Egypt's Move To Take Over Control Of Own Resources

By William Bundy

AUGUST 1 — Millions of Arabs throughout the Middle East demonstrated their hatred of British, American and French Imperialism by turning out in unprecedented demonstrations to cheer the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal this week.

A crowd of "hundreds of thousands" went wild with enthusiasm as they heard Egypt's President Gamel Abdel Nasser announce the nationalization of the world's busiest waterway at the end of a three-hour speech in Alexandria July 26. This was Egypt's reply to withdrawal by the United States, Britain, and the U.S. controlled World Bank of offers to aid in the construction of the vital Aswan Dam. Nasser said the revenues from the canal would go toward building of the Aswan irrigation and hydroelectric project on the Nile River.

When Nasser returned to Cairo by rail after making the announcement, enthusiastic crowds of Egyptians lined the tracks along the route. In the capital itself more hundreds of thousands greeted Nasser with, in the words of the New York Times' correspondent: "an almost hysterical hero's welcome."

The reaction was similar in the other Arab countries. In Jordan's capital, thousands demonstrated in the streets in support of the nationalization. In Khartoum, Sudanese students marched on the Egyptian Embassy to express approval of the action.

In response to popular pressure the Syrian parliament unanimously adopted a resolution declaring Syria's "full support" of Egypt. "Crowds danced in the streets of Arab capitals," says the July 30 Christian Science Monitor.

This latest blow by the colonial revolution against imperialist domination of the Middle East brought immediate threats of force and "massive economic retaliation" from Britain, France, and the United States.

### CRY FOR BLOOD

The British Cabinet announced its decision to "be prepared to meet force with force." The U.S. Sixth Fleet, consisting of two carriers, two cruisers, a squadron of destroyers and a battalion of Marines was alerted for possible action according to the July 30 N. Y. Herald Tribune.

The French capitalists, their hands dripping with the blood of

(Continued on page 4)

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, Aug. 1 — Approximately 50,000 aluminum workers in plants throughout the country struck when negotiations for the companies and the unions failed to reach an agreement before the existing contracts expired at 12:01 A.M. today.

Involved in the shutdown were the two largest aluminum producers in the nation, the Aluminum Company of America and the Reynolds Metals Company. Holding union contracts with the two were the United Steel Workers of America and AFL-CIO Aluminum Workers Union.

Traditionally, the aluminum companies follow the pattern set in negotiations with the steel corporations. Complications arose, however, because of the disparity in wages and working conditions in the two metal industries.

### COMPANY DEMANDS

Wages in aluminum are, on the average, about 25 cents an hour less than in steel. In addition, the breakthrough in steel on premium pay for Sunday work does not affect aluminum where the contract already provided for time-and-a-half for Sunday.

Another complicating factor is the demand of the companies on both unions for a 3-year agreement although the Aluminum Workers Union contract still has another year to run. Their current negotiations are based on a wage reopening clause in their two year agreement. On the other hand the contracts with the Steelworkers Union are open for both wages and working conditions.

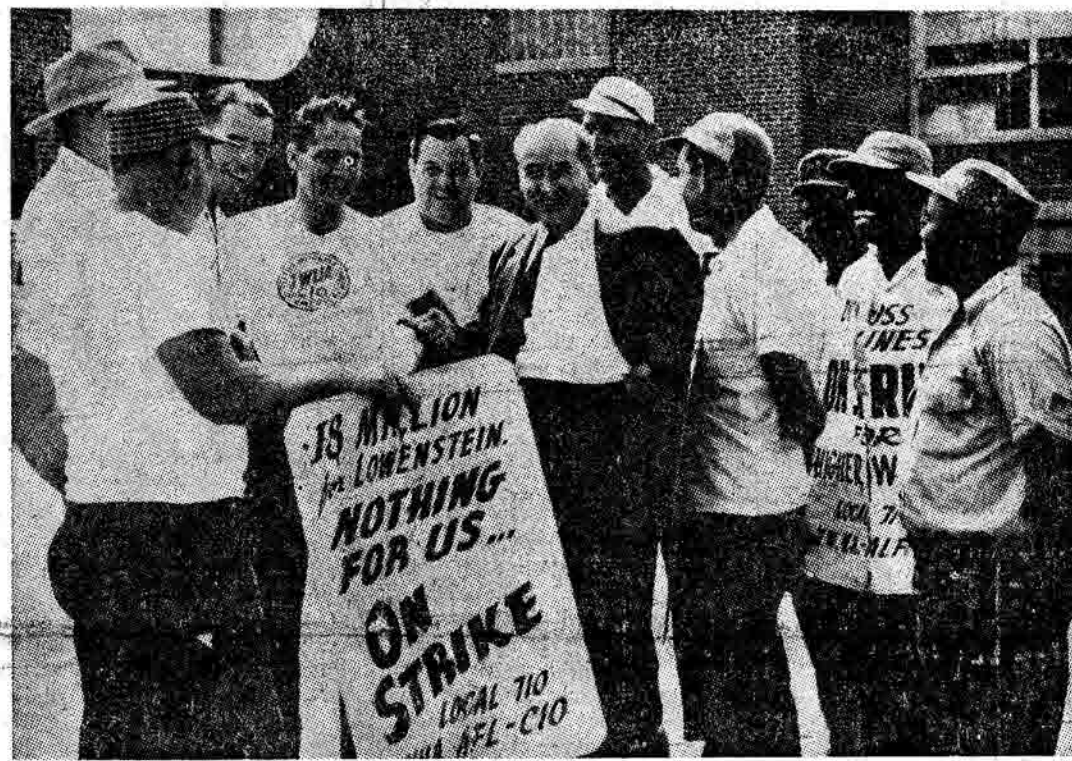
The Aluminum Workers Union is balking at signing a 3-year agreement at the present time. While the United Steel Workers are willing to sign a 3-year contract they are demanding the full "package," estimated at 15.2 cents per hour yearly over the 3-year period. This involves a readjustment of the "package" because of the different working conditions and contract terms involving so-called "fringe" benefits.

For example, the memorandum of agreement signed last week by the steelworkers and the steel corporations contains the following provision for premium pay for Sunday work:

Ten per cent over the basic hourly wage for Sunday work in 1956, or 25 cents an hour; 20 per cent one year from now, or 52 cents an hour, and 25 per cent two years from now, or 68 cents an hour. Inasmuch as the contract with the aluminum companies already carries the provision for time-and-one-half for Sunday work, the union is demanding that this part of the steel "package" be applied in aluminum to an additional increase in the basic wage scale or added to some other fringe demand.

Similar complications are holding up the return of the striking steelworkers. The memorandum of agreement between the union and the corporations set forth the contract provisions in general terms. After the memorandum was signed all local negotiating committee chairmen and steelworkers staff representatives were called to New York, together with the various plant managers, to work out the con-

### Union Solidarity in the South



President William Pollock of the Textile Workers Union (wearing jacket, center) joins striking employees of a South Carolina M. Lowenstein & Sons plant. The workers have been out since June 11 in a demand for a wage increase.

crete terms of agreement for each plant. Steelworkers president, David J. McDonald, addressed the union representatives and announced that the policy was for everybody to stay out until all agreements are concluded and signed and then everybody to return to work together. Negotiations have bogged down precisely over the question of "package" readjustment to meet the varying conditions in contract terms prevailing in the various plants.

In many of the steel fabricating plants, for example, the contract already provides for premium pay for Saturday and Sunday, in some cases time-and-one-half for Saturday and double time for Sunday. The workers in these plants are demanding the full "package" with the right to apply to other fringe demands the amount of the "package" covering premium pay for those plants — primarily basic steel — which have hitherto been paid

only straight time for Sunday. In other cases, local union representatives are demanding the elimination of area wage differentials. In a number of cases, for example, in plants of the same corporation situated only several hundred miles apart, wage rates for the same classification may vary from 50 to 70 cents per hour. The corporations insist on the right to set rates according to the "prevailing wage paid in the areas." The local union representatives are demanding the same pay for the same work. These are only a few of the problems which must be ironed out before the men return to work — unless the top union officialdom reverses its stand of keeping everyone out until all contracts are signed.

### In This Issue

'The Lessons of Spain' BY LEON TROTSKY (See Page 2)

## ISL Hearing Ended -- Lays Basis For Test of Att'y-General's List

By Herman Chauka

On July, the Justice Department concluded the first hearing held so far on an appeal of an organization for removal from the Attorney General's "subversive" list. The appeal was made by the Independent Socialist League.

The hearing which stretched out over a year as arbitrary as the "subversive list" itself. The ISL succeeded in getting the hearing only after its chairman, Max Shachtman, won a passport suit against the government last year. The Attorney for the ISL in the hearing was Joseph L. Rauh Jr.

### GUILT BY INFERENCE

"Evidence" purporting to prove the ISL "subversive" was given at the hearing by a Professor G. T. Robinson of Columbia and the ex-radical turned McCarthyite, James Burnham. The government attempted to prove its case

solely on the grounds that the ISL's ideas lead "logically" to advocacy of "force and violence." Quotations from Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, as well as from the publications of the ISL were introduced to "prove" the point. Government examination of Shachtman followed the same line.

Part of the government's effort in this direction was to put into the record the fact of the ISL's split from the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP was also placed arbitrarily on the Attorney General's list and has not yet won a hearing on the listing. Presenting its case, the government put the Columbia professor on the stand to quote copiously from Lenin. Under cross-examination he admitted he knew nothing about the ISL or its activities.

Burnham was dragged in at the windup as a government rebuttal witness. His performance demonstrated that the "intel-

tual" McCarthyites are right down in the same gutter with the unvarnished S.W.P. A former member of the SWP and the ISL, Burnham admitted that after quitting the radical movement he became an informer for the FBI. He made the admission after a stumbling "philosophical" dissertation on how ISL theory leads to "violent overthrow." Under Rauh's cross-examination the following exchange took place:

"Q. (By Rauh) Did you ever say in public that the Workers Party (original name of ISL) advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence? A. I don't remember that the occasion ever arose.

### INFORMER FAVORS LIES

"Q. Since it was a violation of the law, wasn't it your duty to tell the FBI? A. I don't object to answering personally, but whatever small relations I've had with the FBI are a matter of confidence.

"Q. You testified here that ISL advocates overthrow by force and violence. Did you tell that to the FBI? A. In the same sense as I testified to this morning — Yes.

"Q. You don't talk to the FBI in that language. I know them. They want it in English; now I want to know just what you said. A. I must decline in general to discuss my relations with the FBI."

The government brought the hearing to a hasty conclusion when Burnham admitted that he advocates the use of lies in "fighting communism."

Witnesses for the ISL included Norman Thomas and a d Harry Fleischman of the Socialist Party, Daniel Bell of Fortune magazine and Dwight McDonald of the New Yorker magazine. The hearing was of key importance, because it is a preliminary in a court action the ISL intends to launch challenging the legality of the entire "subversive list."

## Capitalist Justice And the Smith Act

An Editorial

With the conviction in New York on July 31 of six so-called "second-string" Communist Party leaders for "conspiracy to advocate" overthrow of the government, the United States claims six more victims under the anti-labor, witch-hunting Smith Act, not for the commission of any overt act but merely on the charge of holding and teaching dangerous ideas.

The trial judge, with the lofty judicial "impartiality" which has characterized the Smith Act thought-control trials, commended the jury for "an excellent job." "I'm sorry that I cannot give you citations," he told them, "for your conscientious devotion to duty." The government prosecuting attorney was congratulated for his handling of the case. Everything was handled with neatness and dispatch. It was the quickest Smith Act trial on record, and sentences will be handed down next month.

With the New York conviction, reports the New York Times, "one hundred and eight Communists now have been convicted in seventeen Smith Act prosecutions across the country." These convictions, says the U.S. prosecuting attorney, "disposes of the last of the national Communist leaders who were functioning in the Nineteen Forties." One might suppose that now the government of the most powerful nation on earth could sit back and relax, content in the knowledge that the United States had been made safe for capitalist "free enterprise" and dollar democracy. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The mounting roster of thought-control victims has merely whetted the appetite of the reactionary gang who rule the roost in Washington and Wall Street. In the closing days of the session an amendment to the Smith Act was sneaked through Congress quadrupling the penalties under that notorious witch-hunting measure. From 5 years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine the penalties were lifted to 20 years and \$20,000. The amendment was adopted unanimously and signed by Eisenhower. There were no votes recorded against it. Liberal Democrat joined with Dixiecrat and Eisenhower Republican with McCarthyite, to rush the savage anti-labor measure through in record time without debate. Therein lies the true essence of capitalist politics as administered under the two-party system.



BY LEON TROTSKY

# Lessons of Spanish Revolutionary Struggle

This article is the concluding installment of an analysis made by Leon Trotsky in 1937 on the factors responsible for the defeat of the working class in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. The first installment appeared in last week's issue of *The Militant*. The article was first published in the U.S. in 1937 and was published in India in 1948 in a now out-of-print pamphlet entitled, "The Lesson of Spain — The Last Warning." We reprint this work on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War which erupted July 18, 1936, when the fascist Franco opened his drive for power.

In the previous installment Trotsky analysed the "popular front" policy of the Stalinists and Social Democrats which was an alliance of these parties in defense of private property against the socialist aspirations of the workers.

Trotsky explained that the Stalinist-Social Democratic alliance in defense of the status quo flowed from Stalin's desire to convince the English and French capitalists of his "responsibility" as well as the Social-Democrats' irrevocable commitment to a capitalist-reformist program.

Copies of last week's issue containing the original installment may be obtained free by writing to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. — Ed.

The Anarchists revealed a fatal pendent position of any kind in the Spanish revolution. They did no more than waver between Bolshevism and Menshevism. More precisely: the anarchists workers instinctively tried to go on the Bolshevik road (July 1936, the May days, 1937) while their leaders, on the contrary, with all their might drove the masses into the camp of the People's Front, i.e., the bourgeois regime.

The Anarchists revealed a fatal lack of understanding of the laws of the revolution and its problems when they tried to limit themselves to their own trade unions permeated with the routine of peaceful times, ignoring what went on outside of the bounds of the trade unions, in the masses, in the political parties and in the apparatus of the government. Were the Anarchists revolutionists, they would first of all have called for the creation of Soviets, uniting the representatives of all the workers of the city and the country, including the more oppressed strata who had never joined a trade union.

The revolutionary workers would naturally occupy the dominating position in these Soviets. The Stalinists would prove to be an insignificant minority. The proletariat would convince itself of its own invincible strength. The apparatus of the bourgeois state would be suspended in the air. One strong blow would be needed to pulverize this apparatus. The Socialist revolution would have received a powerful impetus. The French proletariat would not for long have permitted Leon Blum to block the proletarian revolution beyond the Pyrenees. Neither could the Moscow bureaucracy permit itself such a luxury. The most difficult questions would prove soluble of themselves.

Instead of this the Anarcho-syndicalists, attempting to hide

themselves from "politics" in the trade unions, proved to be, to the great surprise of the whole world and themselves, the fifth wheel in the cart of bourgeois democracy. But not for long: no one needs fifth wheel. After Garcia Oliver and Co. helped Stalin and his collaborators to take the power away from the workers, the anarchists themselves were driven out of the government of the People's Front.

Even then they found nothing better to do than to run behind the chariot of the victor and assure him of their devotion. The fear of the petty bourgeois before the big bourgeois, of the petty bureaucrat before the big bureaucrat, they covered up by lachrymose speeches about the holiness of the united front (between the victims and the executioners) and about the inadmissibility of every kind of dictatorship, including their own. "But we could have taken power in July 1936..." "But we could have taken power in May 1937..." The anarchists begged Negrin-Stalin to recognize and reward their treachery to the revolution. A disgusting picture!

This self-justification alone: "We did not capture power not because we could not but because we did not wish to, because we are against every kind of dictatorship" and the like, contains in itself an irrevocable condemnation of Anarchism as a fully anti-revolutionary doctrine.

To renounce the conquest of power means voluntarily to leave the power with those who have it, i.e., the exploiters. The essence of every revolution consisted and consists in the fact that it puts a new class in power and thus gives it the opportunity to realize its own program. It is impossible to lead the masses towards insurrection without preparing for the conquest of power.

the leaders of Spanish Anarchism, during the time of the Moscow and Madrid crimes of the GPU, ministers under Caballero-Negrin, i.e., servants of the bourgeoisie and Stalin? Why even now under the pretext of fighting fascism, do the anarchists remain voluntary captives of Stalin-Negrin, i.e., of the executioners of the revolution who have demonstrated their incapacity to fight fascism?

The lawyers of Anarchism, hiding behind Kronstadt and Makhno, will deceive nobody. In the Kronstadt episode and in the

struggle with Makhno we defended the proletarian revolution from the peasant counter-revolution. The Spanish Anarchists defended and defend bourgeois counter-revolution from the proletarian revolution.

No kind of sophism will erase from history the fact that Anarchism and Stalinism in the Spanish revolution were on one side of the barricades and the working masses with the revolutionary Marxists—on the other. Such is the truth which will for ever remain in the consciousness of the proletariat!

## One of the Chief Lessons

Not much better is the record of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification). Theoretically it tried, it is true, to base itself on the formula of the permanent revolution (that is why the Stalinists called the POUMists Trotskyists).

But a revolution is not satisfied with theoretical avowals. Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the Anarchists, the POUM tried to convince these gentlemen of the advantage of socialism over capitalism. On such a pitchpipe were tuned all the articles and speeches of the leaders of the POUM. In order not to quarrel with the Anarchist leaders they did not build up their nuclei and in general did not conduct any kind of work inside the CNT.

Evading sharp conflicts, they did not carry on revolutionary work in the republican army. Instead of this they built "their own" trade unions and "their own" militia which guarded "their own" buildings or occupied "their own" part of the front. Isolating the revolutionary vanguard from the class, the POUM weakened the vanguard and left the class without leadership.

Politically, the POUM remained throughout immeasurably nearer to the People's Front, whose left wing it covered, than

to Bolshevism. If the POUM nevertheless fell victim to bloody and base repressions it was because the People's Front could not fulfill its mission of stifling the socialist revolution except by cutting off, piece by piece, its own left flank.

Despite its intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party. The platonic or diplomatic defenders of the Fourth International who, like the leader of the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party, Sneevliet, demonstratively supported the POUM in its half-way measures, indecisiveness, evasiveness, in a word, in its centrism, took upon themselves the greatest responsibility. Revolution does not tolerate centrism. Revolution exposes and crushes centrism. In passing, it compromises the friends and lawyers of centrism. That is one of the chief lessons of the Spanish revolution.

The Socialists and Anarchists who tried to justify their capitulation to Stalin by the necessity of paying for the Moscow arms with principles and conscience simply lie and lie unskillfully. Of course, many of them would prefer to disentangle themselves without murders and frame-ups. But every aim demands corresponding means. Beginning with April, 1931, i.e., long before the military intervention of Moscow, the Socialists and Anarchists did what they could to throttle the proletarian revolution. Stalin taught them how to carry this work to a conclusion. They became criminal accomplices of Stalin only because they were his political co-thinkers.

If the leaders of the Anarchists had resembled revolutionists at all, they would have answered the first blackmail from Moscow not only by continuing the socialist advance, but by disclosing Stalin's counter-revolutionary conditions before the working class of the world.

Thus they would have forced the Moscow bureaucracy to choose openly between the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of Franco. (The Thermidorian) bureaucracy fears and hates revolution. But it also fears to be stifled in a fascist ring. Besides this it depends on the workers. Everything speaks for the fact that Moscow would have been forced to supply arms and, possibly, at a more reasonable price.



FRANCO

## What if Moscow Halted Arms?

But the world is not limited to Stalinist Moscow. During a year and a half of civil war, Spanish war industry could and should have been strengthened and developed, adapting a series of non-military factories to the purposes of war. This work was not carried out only because Stalin, and equally with him his Spanish allies, feared the initiative of the workers' organizations. A strong military industry would have become a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers. The leaders of the People's Front preferred dependence upon Moscow.

It is precisely on this question that the perfidious role of the "People's Front" was strikingly exposed: it thrust upon the workers' organizations the responsibility for the treacherous agreement of the bourgeoisie with Stalin. So long as the anarchists were in the minority they could not, of course, immediately hinder the ruling bloc from assuming whatever obligations they pleased toward Moscow and the masters of Moscow: London and Paris.

The 9th of Thermidor, i.e., July 27th, 1934 marked the commencement of the decline of the French Revolution when the counter-revolution effected its coup and executed the leaders of the revolutionary Jacobins, Robespierres, Lebas and others, who had been placed in power in the period of the upswing of the revolution. Trotsky drew a parallel between this and the process that,

But they could and they should have, without ceasing to be the best fighters on the front, openly kept clear from the betrayals and betrayals; explained the real situation to the masses; mobilized them against the bourgeois government; increased their own forces from day to day in order in the end to conquer power and with it the Moscow arms.

And what if Moscow, in the absence of a People's Front, should in general refuse to give arms? And what, we answer to this, if the Soviet Union in general did not exist in the world? Revolutionaries have been victorious up to this time not at all thanks to great foreign patrons who supplied them with arms. Usually the counter-revolution enjoyed foreign patronage. Must we recall the experience of the intervention of French, English, American, Japanese and other armies against the Soviets?

The proletariat of Russia over inner reaction and foreign intervention without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place with the help of a bold social

setting-in in Russia after the defeat of the German Revolution (1923) culminated in the triumph of Stalinism over the revolutionary Left Opposition. The victory of Stalinism was the victory of Soviet Thermidor. In both instances, the political counter-revolution based itself on the structural forms, economic and social, created by the revolution, thus being the essential characteristic of Thermidorian reaction.



LEON TROTSKY

program which gives to the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory, and disorganizing the army of the enemy. The Red Army seized French, English and American military provisions and drove the foreign expeditionary corps into the sea. Has this really been forgotten already?

If at the head of the armed workers and peasants, i.e., at the head of the so-called "republican" Spain there were revolutionists and not cowardly agents of the bourgeoisie, the problem of arm-

ing would in general not have played a paramount role. The army of Franco including the colonial Riffs and the soldiers of Mussolini are not at all immune to revolutionary contagion. Surrounded from all sides by the fire of the socialist uprising, the soldiers of fascism would have proved to be an insignificant quantity. Not arms and not military "geniuses" were lacking in Madrid and Barcelona; what was lacking was a revolutionary party!

## The Conditions for Victory

The conditions for victory of the masses in a civil war against the army of exploiters in its essence are very simple.

(1) The fighters of a revolutionary army should clearly be aware of the fact that they are fighting for their full social liberation and not for the reestablishment of the old ("democratic") forms of exploitation.

(2) The workers and peasants in the rear of the revolutionary army as well as in the rear of the enemy should know and understand the same thing.

(3) The propaganda on their own front as well as on the front of the adversary and in both rears should be completely permeated with the spirit of social revolution. The slogan: "first victory, then reforms," is the slogan of all oppressors and exploiters beginning with the Biblical kings and ending with Stalin.

(4) Those classes and strata who participate in the struggle determine the policy. The revolutionary masses should have a government apparatus directly and immediately expressing their will. Only the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasant deputies can act as such an apparatus.

(5) The revolutionary army should not only announce but immediately carry out the more pressing measures of social revolution in the provinces won by them: the expropriation of provisions, manufactured articles and other stores on hand and transferring them to the needy; the reversion of lodgings in the interests of the toilers and especially of the families of the fighters; the expropriation of the land and landowners' inventory in the interests of the peasants; the establishment of workers' control and of the soviet power in place of the former bureaucracy.

(6) Enemies of the socialist revolution, i.e., exploiting elements and their agents, even when covering themselves with the mask of "democrats," "rebublicans," "socialists," and "anarchists" should be mercilessly driven out from the army.

(7) At the head of each military unit there should stand a commissar possessing the irreplaceable authority of a revolutionist and a warrior.

(8) In every military unit there should be a tempered nucleus of the more self-sacrificing fighters, recommended by the workers' organizations. The members of this nucleus have but one privilege: to be the first under fire.

(9) The commanding corps of necessity includes at first many alien and unreliable elements in its staff. A verification and selection of them should be carried through on the basis of military experience, the recommendations of the commissar and testimon-

nials from the rank and file fighters. Simultaneously there should proceed an intense preparation of commanders drawn from the ranks of the revolutionary workers.

(10) The strategy of civil war should unlike the rules of military art with the tasks of the social revolution. Not only in the propaganda but in the military operations it is necessary to take into account the social composition of the different military units of the opponent (the bourgeois volunteers, the mobilized peasants, or as with Franco, the colonial slaves) and in choosing an operative line to take into consideration the social structure of the corresponding regions of the land (the industrial regions; the peasant regions, revolutionary or reactionary; the regions of the oppressed nationalities, etc.). Briefly: revolutionary policy dominates strategy.

(11) The revolutionary government as the executive committee of the workers and peasants, should be capable of winning full confidence of the army and of the toiling population.

(12) The foreign policy should have as its chief aim the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, the exploited peasants and oppressed nationalities of the whole world.

The conditions for victory, as we see, are quite simple. In their aggregate they are called the Socialist revolution. There did not exist in Spain even one of these conditions. The basic reason is that there was not a revolutionary party. Stalin tried, it is true, to transfer to the soil of Spain, the outer forms of Bolshevism: the Politburo, commissars, nuclei, the GPU, etc. But he emptied these forms of their social content.

He renounced the Bolshevik program and with it the Soviets as the necessary form of revolutionary initiative of the masses. He placed the techniques of Bolshevism at the service of bourgeois property. In his bureaucratic limitedness he imagined that the "commissars" by themselves could guarantee victory. But the commissars of private property proved capable only of guaranteeing defeat.

The Spanish proletariat displayed first class military capacities. In its specific gravity in the economy of the country, in its political and cultural level it stood in the first day of the revolution not lower but higher than the Russian proletariat at the beginning of 1917. On the road to its victory, its own organizations stood as the chief obstacles.

The commanding clique of the Stalinists, in accordance with its counter-revolutionary function, consisted of the hired agents, careerists, declassed elements and in general every kind of social refuse. The representatives of

other workers' organizations — flabby reformists, anarchist phrasemongers, helpless centrists of the POUM — grumbled, groaned, wavered, maneuvered, but in the end adapted themselves to the Stalinists.

As a result of their aggregate work the camp of social revolution — workers and peasants — proved to be subordinated to the

bourgeoisie, more correctly to its shadow, void of individuality, spirit, life. There was no lack of heroism on the part of the masses and courage on the part of individual revolutionists. But the masses were left to themselves and the revolutionists remained disunited, without program, without plan of action.

## Gravedigger of the Revolution

The "republican" military commanders occupied themselves more with crushing the social revolution than with winning military victories. The soldiers' lost confidence in their commanders, the peasants stepped aside, the workers got tired, defeat followed defeat, the demoralization grew. All this was not difficult to foresee from the beginning of the civil war.

Taking as its task the rescue of the capitalist regime, the People's Front doomed itself to military defeat. Having turned Bolshevism on its head, Stalin with full success played the role of the gravedigger of the revolution.

Incidentally, the Spanish experience again demonstrates, that Stalin did not understand either the October revolution or the Civil War. His sluggish provincial thought lagged hopelessly behind the tempestuous course of events in 1917-1921. In those of his speeches and articles in 1917 where he expressed his own thought, his later Thermidorian "doctrine" was fully lodged. In this sense Stalin in Spain in 1937 is the Stalin of the March conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917.

But in 1917 he merely feared the revolutionary workers; in 1937 he throttled them. The opportunist became the executioner.

But for victory over the governments of Caballero and Negrin a civil war would be necessary in the rear of the Republican army! — the democratic Philistine exclaims with horror.

As if in Republican Spain even without this civil war ever existed — and at that, the base and most ignominious one, a war of the owners and exploiters against the workers and peasants. This uninterrupted war finds expression in the arrests and murders of revolutionists, the crushing of the mass movement, the disarming of the workers, the arming of bourgeois police, the abandoning of workers' detachments without arms and without help on the front, finally, in the artificial impeding of the development of the military industry.

Each of these acts represents

a severe blow to the front, direct military treason, directed by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. However, the "democratic" Philistines—including the Stalinists, Socialists and Anarchists — regard the civil war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, even in the immediate rear of the front, as the natural and inevitable war, having as its task the safeguarding of the unity of the "People's Front."

On the other hand the civil war of the proletariat against the "republican" counter-revolution is in the eyes of the same Philistines a criminal, Fascist, Trotskyist war, breaking up... "the unity of the anti-fascist forces." Dozens of Norman Thomases, Major Atlees, Otto Bauers, Zyromskys, Malraux and petty traders of lies like Duranty and Louis Fischer spread this slavish wisdom along the face of the earth. At the same time the government of the "People's Front" moves from Madrid to Valencia, from Valencia to Barcelona.

If, as facts bear witness, only the socialist revolution is capable of crushing fascism, then on the other hand a successful uprising of the proletariat is conceivable only when the ruling classes are caught in the grip of the greatest difficulties. However, the democratic Philistines invoked exactly these difficulties as proof of the impossibility of the proletarian uprising.

If the worker waited until the democratic Philistines showed him the hours of his liberation, he would forever remain a slave. To teach the workers to recognize reactionary Philistines under all their masks and to despise them independently of these masks is the first and chief duty of a revolutionist!

The dictatorship of the Stalinists over the republican camp is in its essence not long-lived. If the defeats conditioned by the policies of the People's Front will once more launch the Spanish proletariat into a revolutionary assault, this time successfully, the Stalinist clique will be swept aside with an iron broom.

If, as is, unfortunately, more probable, Stalin will succeed in bringing the work of a gravedigger of the revolution to its

(Continued on Next Page)

\*At the All Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Party held at the end of March 1917, Stalin declared, "The Provisional Government has in fact taken the role of fortifier of the conquests of the revolutionary people. . . It is not to our advantage at present to force events, hastening the process of repelling bourgeois layers." This was only a continuation of the line advocated earlier in Pravda by Stalin and

Kameney who were the editors. Stalin's policy in Pravda committed the Bolshevik Party to the support of the capitalist Provisional Government and its imperialist war. It was only after the arrival in Russia of Lenin that this policy was changed. The truth about Stalin's role in 1917, long suppressed in the Soviet Union, was finally admitted in Moscow last May in the magazine Questions of History.

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\*Kronstadt is a naval fortress commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. During the revolution the sailors of Kronstadt were among the firmest supporters of the Bolsheviks. On March 5, 1921, however, the Kronstadt sailors mutinied against the Soviet Government which was compelled to crush the mutiny by force. The mutiny had its roots in the discontent of the peasantry due to the rigors of the period of war Communism (involving the requisition of grain from the peasants) and the high prices and scarcity of industrial goods.

Although not personally responsible for the suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny, Trotsky has accepted full political responsibility for this act, which he considered politically necessary for the defense of the proletarian

regime as a whole. Replying to Anarchist critics who have cited the example of Kronstadt as proof of their thesis that Stalinism is the direct product of Bolshevism, Trotsky has further pointed out that the sailors who revolted in 1921 were not, in fact, the same sailors who had supported the Bolsheviks in 1917, great changes in personnel having taken place in the years of the Civil War. The Kronstadt sailors of 1917 had been largely of proletarian origin, whereas those of 1921 were predominantly recruits from the peasantry.

Makhno was the leader, during the Civil War period, of an uprising in the Ukraine where he attempted to form an Anarchist federation in the region. Galati-Polye.



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## The Jewish Question in the USSR

On June 30 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union released a resolution supposedly providing a "Marxist" explanation of the crimes of the "Stalin cult." On July 19, the National Committee of the U.S. Communist Party, declared the CPSU statement to be "a most valuable and important contribution" to analyzing the "mistakes made by the CPSU under Stalin's leadership."

The American CP statement pleads, however, that two questions need "further discussion and study." These are the questions of "bureaucratic distortions in a Socialist society, as well as the happenings in the sphere of Jewish cultural institutions and their leadership."

Still, Dennis and Co. proclaim "important steps have been taken to correct the mistakes of the past . . . and to establish guarantees that such harmful injustices will never happen again."

### Vital Questions

We would like to ask the American CP leaders a few questions: Does Khrushchev's continued silence about Stalin's anti-Jewish atrocities constitute a guarantee against anti-Semitism? How about Khrushchev's defense of the quota system for government employment of Jews? Does a guarantee lie in the persistently reported — and still unaltered — Soviet practice of stamping internal passports and even high school diplomas of Jewish citizens with the word "Jew"? Doesn't this show that the Kremlin is engaging in anti-Semitism and not giving "guarantees" against it?

Anti-Semitism is the hallmark of reaction. Unless the present Soviet rulers prove themselves free of the slightest taint of it, on what possible basis can they merit the confidence of any self respecting Communist-minded worker?

The fact is that anti-Semitism has been an inescapable by-product of the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy — a social formation which in the 1920's under Stalin's leadership usurped political power from the Soviet workers. From its inception the Stalinist faction utilized Great Russian chauvinism as a weapon in the struggle to consolidate its power.

The Jews were not the only minority to suffer at Stalin's hands. In his 20th Congress speech, Khrushchev confirmed that during World War II five national minorities were deported in mass from their homelands. Where there is such virulent national oppression, can the Jews hope to escape persecution?

### Source of Oppression

The reactionary stand of the bureaucracy on the national question flowed from social contradictions which confronted it — contradictions that it always tries to resolve with a whip or a bullet.

From Czarist Russia, the workers' state inherited a "prison house of nations." The October Revolution offered cultural freedom to the long-oppressed nationalities and the right to self-determination. But realization of national cultural aspirations demands a maximum of autonomy. At the same time, development of industry demands the subjecting of all parts of the Soviet Union to a general, centralized plan.

These two contradictory tendencies can and do come into conflict. Revolutionary Marxist leaders, however, know how to provide a harmonious resolution to these contradictions. Bureaucrats, on the other hand, know only the methods of repression and compulsion.

In the Revolution Betrayed (1937), Leon Trotsky wrote: "Although there can be no once-and-for-all prepared formula to solve the USSR's national problem, still there is the resilient will of the interested masses themselves. Only their actual participation in the administration of their own destinies can at each new stage draw the necessary lines between the legitimate demands of economic centralism and the living gravitations of national culture."

"The trouble is," Trotsky added, "the will of the population of the Soviet Union in all its national divisions is now wholly replaced by the will of a bureaucracy which approaches both economy and culture from the point of view of convenience of administration and the specific interests of the ruling stratum."

The "ruling stratum" — the entrenched privilege-devouring bureaucracy — has been especially brutal in dealing with the more advanced national cultures, which struggle in the bureaucratic straitjacket. The Jewish-speaking culture has been one of the more highly developed cultures in the Soviet Union. And that meant that sooner or later it had to run afoul of Stalinist monolithism.

### Post-War Purge

The Jews became a major target during the post-war purge of the intellectuals. During the war, Russian nationalistic propaganda was already raised to a frenzied pitch. Afterwards, when the U.S. government launched the cold war, the Kremlin stepped up its chauvinism to incredible degrees.

This gave rise to the "struggle against cosmopolitanism," with its anti-Semitic practice of publishing the real names of denounced Jewish writers alongside their pen names. The drive came to its climax with the dissolution of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and a blood bath including the execution of leading Jewish-language writers like Feffer, Markish, Bergelson and others.

In 1952 came the "doctors' case," in which six of the nine doctors selected to "confess" to plotting the death of Soviet functionaries had unmistakably Jewish-sounding names. Khrushchev discussed the case at the 20th Congress, but studiously avoided mention of the fact that throughout the world the case was known as the "Jewish Doctors' Case."

After all these horrible deeds — many of them continued to this day — Dennis and his fellow American Stalinist leaders still offer to give "guarantees" that the current Soviet rulers will correct anti-Semitism in the USSR.

But Marxist study such as Dennis and Co. give lip service to establishes the opposite conclusion: There is but one guarantee against anti-Semitism and other horrors of the Soviet bureaucracy's rule. That is the elimination by the Soviet workers of the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste and the firm re-establishment of Soviet democracy.

By Morris Stein

The Kremlin bureaucracy and its servile agents throughout the world are fighting desperately to control and contain the renunciation of Stalin's tyrannical rule so that the totalitarian regimes of which Stalin was the architect do not collapse with the downfall of the Stalin myth.

In Poland, where the crisis of the bureaucracy came to the surface most dramatically with the Poznan uprising in June, Soviet Premier Bulganin and Defense Minister Zhukov, came to attend the 12th anniversary of the country's liberation from the Nazis. The two heads of state spent eight days touring the country and spoke in a number of cities. In Cracow, Bulganin told an audience of workers and students that "you must believe we are your friends." In Stalino, he told a group of workers that "no one would dare to raise his hand against Stalino, which is Polish forever."

The Trybuna Robotnicza Communist Party newspaper published a statement to the same effect issued by Marshal Bulganin and Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, (N. Y. Times July 27.)

But the protestations of friendship and the attempt to cater to Polish nationalist sentiment goes hand in hand with the drive to

curb the masses in their struggle for freedom and democracy. In his speeches, Bulganin ascribed the Poznan events to imperialist agents and he counseled that the freedom of the Polish press be curbed. Similar advice was echoed by Ochab, First Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of Poland. At the party's Seventh Plenum, which ended ten days' deliberations, July 28, Ochab referred sarcastically to the "anti-party sallies and bourgeois contraband expressed by certain of our periodicals."

The attempt to pass off Poznan as an imperialist provocation has made no headway and the proposals to curb the press has only met with resistance.

In reporting the decisions of the plenum, of which the Poznan general strike was the central theme, the N.Y. Times correspondent, John MacCormac, states in a Warsaw dispatch, July 29, that "The example set by Soviet Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin during the eight-day visit of a Soviet delegation here in ascribing the recent Poznan rioting to imperialist agents was disregarded."

### TWO ITEMS

"The Central Committee also did not heed his advice to Poland to curb the freedom of her press. Instead it decided against the voices of only a few dissenters,

that the rioting at Poznan had resulted from legitimate grievances of the workers. The critical Polish press found many defendants and no disciplinary action against it was resolved."

Two items in the Polish press make it amply clear why the plenary meeting of the Polish ruling party felt it could not tighten the reins at this juncture. The first item is reported in the July 22 N.Y. Times as follows: "Po Prostu, a student newspaper, which has been one of the most frequently deviating periodicals, showed itself undismayed today by this attack [by Ochab]. It said that while it was true that criticism from below might awaken pessimism and depression, this would happen only when such criticism was ineffective in that it was not followed by deeds."

"The criticism from below is still too narrow and does not penetrate sufficiently to all strata."

"[Po Prostu] urged more democratization in the workers' direct control over production. 'The completion of people's rule through control by workers,' it asserted 'would curb the dignitaries and petty despots who are still lordling it with impunity.'"

### COPS SLANDERED?

The second item, from the Polish press has to do with the

weakened and discredited condition of the security police upon which the regime must depend for support. The central organ of the Polish Communist Party, Trybuna Ludu, complains editorially in its July 27 issue, that the Security Police has become a "scapegoat" and a symbol of evil. Trybuna Ludu admits that the Security Police had been "a state within a state, above party and social supervision and criticism."

But it goes on to say that the changes carried out 18 months ago reduced the security apparatus to its proper role within the state. Despite this, complaints Trybuna Ludu, a successful "slander campaign" is being waged against the Security Police.

It cited the case of an employee of the Security Police, dropped during the reorganization, who tried and failed to obtain manual work in 12 different institutions. He got a job in the 13th by representing himself as having been released from prison in the recent amnesty.

### UNCLEAN

Another policeman, conducting an investigation of suspected espionage, asked a high official for permission to see some official records. The reply he got was: "I wouldn't talk to you. You have dirty hands." It is evident that the security police is hated not only by the popular masses but also by sections of the bureaucracy closest to the masses.

Mass resistance to the bureaucracy is not confined to Poland. In Poland it has only reached the most explosive stage. But similar resistance has manifested itself to one degree or another in all the countries of the Soviet orbit.

In Hungary, for example, the dismissal of Rakosi who personified the most brutal features of Stalinism in that country, has not allayed popular discontent. As a consequence, the regime is promising more concessions, and it is resorting to further shuffling of personnel. Among seven named to high posts last week, is included the name of Marosani, a former Social Democratic leader, who was arrested in 1950 and has only recently been released and appointed to the Party's Central

Committee and Political Bureau. He has now been named Deputy Prime Minister, in addition.

Just as the Polish ex-police officer had to masquerade as a political prisoner in order to get a factory job, so the Hungarian cabinet is trying to put on a masquerade by adding to its numbers one of the recent victims of its police regime.

In the Soviet Union itself, there is mounting pressure for fundamental change. The most recent evidence is to be seen on the literary front. The latest issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta, for example, reveals editorially "there are people who call upon us to revert to the state of affairs in the early and middle twenties and who affirm that everything was right and perhaps even ideal at that time."

By repudiating Stalin the Kremlin bureaucracy had hoped to confine itself to a series of controlled administrative measures: Review the cases of political prisoners and release some of them, rehabilitate the names of some of the countless men and women murdered by Stalin, curb the most arbitrary powers of the secret police, revise the legal code; liberalize the stringent labor laws, improve somewhat living standards and social legislation.

### VAIN HOPES

Stalin's comrades-in-arms had hoped they could thereby secure their position of power and privileges and perhaps even gain some popularity as reformers. Above all they had hoped thereby to keep the masses off the political arena. The bureaucracy has sought to substitute itself for the mass even in the process of destroying the Stalin myth.

But all of this is to no avail. The bureaucracy cannot cleanse itself. It cannot go far enough to satisfy mass discontent and at the same time survive as a ruling caste. Instead of appearing as leaders of the reform movement, the bureaucracy reveals itself once again as the main force in the countries of the Soviet orbit resisting mass pressure for genuine and far reaching change. Instead of gaining in prestige and popularity, the bureaucracy is becoming more discredited.

## Noted British Pro-Soviet Writer Wants Truth About Anti-Semitism

[We reprint herewith a letter by Professor Hyman Levy, noted for his writings on Marxist philosophy. The letter appeared in the British Stalinist journal, The Jewish Clarion. — Ed.]

To the Editor "Jewish Clarion"—

The "Jewish Clarion" is intended as a call to Jews to play their part in the struggle for human liberty. In the June issue you give a translation of an article from the Polish Jewish "Folksztyme" which must strike every one of us with dismay. The last thing that Jewish Socialists have expected in the country of Nationalism is the arousing of national bitterness, and the extermination of the cream of Jewish intellectuals. In the face of this, your brief editorial comment is a mere bandage across a deep and festering wound.

If its brevity was due to the need for reporting on the local elections, the new Mosley tactics, and the Poujadist movement, I can only conclude that you consider these matters of greater importance. But I, in common with other Jews, want urgently to know what you have to say about this blot on the history of Socialism.

If 24 Jewish writers had been merely imprisoned in the United States we would have shouted to the high heavens about such a criminal action. When they are shot in the Soviet Union, and the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee liquidated, all you can tell us is that it is an abuse arising from the Cult of the Individual — and you pass on to discuss other matters. There is no space to deal with the one subject that burns up the heart of every Jewish Socialist.

As fighters for Socialism WE EXPECT NOT ONLY LEADERSHIP ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, BUT HONESTY AND

FRANKNESS ON MORAL RIGHTS AND HUMAN JUSTICE. When inhumanity raises its vicious head in the country in which economic exploitation has been swept aside, it is doubly important that our detestation be expressed in no measured terms. Failing this where do we stand? Do we not become guilty of treachery to our own beliefs? We cannot shelter behind a mere phrase like the Cult of the Individual.

In the history of struggle 24 Jewish intellectuals who have faced the firing squad are nothing; we will produce another 24 for each one of these. BUT THESE 24 ARE MARTYRS WHO HAVE DIED FOR THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM, MARTYRED ON SOCIALIST SOIL FOR THE RIGHT TO JEWISH CULTURAL FREEDOM IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY. That is the stark truth of the matter; and it is the moral and political duty of the "Jewish Clarion" to honour these men, and to do so openly and courageously. Their blood shows through the bandage with which your leading article feebly obscures the wound.

Of course they were not alone. Many others have gone to their graves, the victims of forces that would never have found a place in a Socialist country if the basic principles of its development had been strictly followed. Moral values blossom and expand in an atmosphere of social and economic freedom. If political assassination, whether by individuals or through the medium of a Secret Police, still persists in a Socialist Society, then either that society has not yet achieved its economic freedom or our Marxist analysis is false somewhere.

We are being fobbed off with superficial explanation — the Cult of the Individual and the Breaches of Soviet Law by the Beria Gang. Are we now to

depend on the good faith of the individuals who have exposed this, that history will not repeat itself? Since it must take some time for a social atmosphere, once poisoned, to clear itself, the future of Socialism cannot rest securely in the hands of individuals. If Soviet Law has been re-established, are the Soviet people, and we also, to have the records of the Beria trial, and the dossier of evidence? OR WAS BERIA TRIED AND EXECUTED IN THE SAME SUMMARY WAY AS HE IS SAID TO HAVE DEALT WITH HIS OWN VICTIMS?

These are terrible questions to have to raise — but they must be raised and answered. In the past we have accepted the good faith of individuals and groups both here and in the Soviet Union, and now these very individuals and groups have proved that we were wrong in doing so. Where then do we stand? Silence or evasion on such a fundamental matter is impossible.

The building of the Soviet State is the first great historical experiment in Socialism. In the face of slanders and misrepresentation — even of threats of atomic war, we have fought for that experiment. We must know the facts of this development. If they are not available — and clearly it must take time to collect them — LET US BE TOLD FRANKLY. We have a right to know that at least. Or is it the case that no word must pass the lips of even the "Jewish Clarion" until it has been passed through a fine mesh to ensure that no error or deviation lies buried in it?

It would be a denial of reason for a party which stands confessed in error to adopt such an attitude of infallibility. It would be a denial of the historic road to truth. Speak up!

## ...Lessons of Spanish Revolutionary Struggle

(Continued from Page 2)  
conclusion, he will not even in this case earn thanks. The Spanish bourgeoisie needed him as an executioner but he is not at all necessary to it as a patron and a tutor. London and Paris on the one hand and Berlin and Rome on the other are in its eyes considerably more stable firms than Moscow.

It is possible that Stalin himself wants to cover his traces in Spain before final catastrophe; he thus hopes to put the responsibility for the defeat on his closest allies. After this Litvinov will

plead with Franco for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. All this we have seen more than once.

However, even a full military victory of the so-called republic camp over general Franco would not signify the triumph of "democracy." The workers and peasants twice placed the bourgeois republicans and their left agents in power: in April, 1931, and in February, 1936. Both times the heroes of the People's Front ceded the victory of the people to the more reactionary and more serious representatives

of the bourgeoisie. The third victory gained by the generals of the People's Front, will signify their inevitable agreement with the fascist bourgeoisie on the backs of the workers and peasants. Such a regime will be but a different form of a military dictatorship, perhaps without monarchy and without an



INDALECIO PRIETO, right-wing "socialist," Basque industrialist and ally of Stalinists in Spanish Civil War.

openly dominating Catholic Church.

Finally, it is possible that the partial victories of the republicans will be utilized by the "disinterested" Anglo-French intermediaries in order to reconcile the fighting camps. It is not difficult to understand that in the case of this variant the final remnants of the democracy will prove to be stifled in the fraternal embrace of the generals Miaja (Communist!) and Franco (Fascist!). Once again: victory will go either to the socialist revolution, or to fascism.

It is not excluded, incidentally, that tragedy will yet at the last moment give place to farce. When the heroes of the People's Front have to desert their last capital they will, before embarking on steamers and airplanes, perhaps announce a series of "Socialist" reforms in order to leave a "good

\* It was precisely in this fashion that the Civil War came to an end on March 28, 1939. After ousting the Stalinists from the Popular Front cabinet on March 5, and crushing their organizations by violence, General Miaja — once touted by the Stalinists throughout the world as one of their adherents — made peace with Franco.

memory" with the people. Nothing, will help them. The workers of the whole world will remember with hatred and scorn the parties that ruined the heroic revolution.

The tragic experience of Spain is a threatening — perhaps the last warning before still greater events — addressed to all the advanced workers of the world. "Revolutions," according to the words of Marx, "are the locomotives of history." They move faster than the thought of half-revolutionary or quarter-revolutionary parties. Whoever lingers falls under the wheels of the locomotive, whereby — and this is the chief danger — the locomotive itself is also not infrequently wrecked.

It is necessary to think out the problem of the revolution to the end, to its final concrete conclusion. It is necessary to adapt policy to the basic laws of the revolution, i.e., to the movement of the classes in conflict and not the prejudices and fears of the superficial petty-bourgeois groups who call themselves "people's" and all kinds of other fronts.

The line of least resistance proves in a revolution to be the line of greatest disaster. The fear of "isolation" from the bourgeoisie means isolation from the

masses. Adaptation to the conservative prejudices of the workers' aristocracy signifies the betrayal of the workers and the revolution. A superfluity of "caution" is the most baneful rashness.

Such is the chief lesson of the destruction of the most honest political organization in Spain, that is, the centrist POUM. The parties and groups of the London Bureau evidently do not wish or are not capable of drawing the necessary conclusions from the last warning of history. By this token they doom themselves to catastrophe.

But then a new generation of revolutionists is now being educated by the lessons of the defeats. It has in action verified the base reputation of the Second International. It has learned how to judge the Anarchists not by their words but by their actions. It is a great inestimable school, paid for with the blood of innumerable fighters! The revolutionary cadres now gather under the banner of the Fourth International. Born amid great defeats, it will lead the toilers to victory.

December 17th, 1937  
Coyoacán, México

### Tributes to John G. Wright

#### From Ceylon:

"In the air-mail Militant, which we received today, we saw the obituary notice of Comrade John G. Wright. It came as a deep shock to me as I did not know that he had been ill for some time. He was always very helpful to us when we wrote to him, and we were looking forward not only for further advice on our publication ventures but also for more of his brilliant translations of the works of L. T. Please convey to his family our deepest condolences. "May I also suggest that you turn your attention to the publication of a selection

of his articles when the occasion permits."

#### From England:

"The death of John G. Wright is a terrible blow. We would like you to accept our deepest sympathies for the enormous loss of this great comrade, who so many of us have to thank for that basic education on Stalinism which serves our movement in such good stead at the present time. "If our work is firmly rooted today it is thanks to comrades such as John G. Wright. Their priceless contribution will always live with us."

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# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Tactics in the School Fight

At the recent San Francisco convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, suggested the use of a tactic which some NAACP leaders consider too radical in the fight against Jim Crow schools. He suggested boycotting segregated schools.

The proposal was referred to the leadership for investigation and further consideration. If the delegates had included more rank and file members of the organization and less incumbent officers and lawyers, the convention could have discussed action instead of investigation of the boycott technique.

After the Court decision of May 1954, the first place the boycott was used to "implement" the federal ruling was in Hillsboro, Ohio. In September 1954, when a group of colored children were denied admission to the formerly "white" schools of that community, their parents instituted what developed into a model of principled action to win integration. They announced that their children would attend unsegregated schools or no schools.

For two years the boycott was maintained. Unlike Montgomery, Alabama, where a Negro population of 50,000 supports the bus boycott, the Hillsboro militants were a relatively small group in an isolated little town in Southern Ohio, and without even the solid support of the local Negro community.

But what the Hillsboro movement lacked in numerical and economic strength was more than compensated for in other ways: the participants were working class families with militancy, determination to stick to principles, and confidence in class struggle methods.

When the school board continued to put legal roadblocks in the way of integration after a full school year of the boycott, something new was added in the fall of 1955: picket demonstrations against the refusal of school authorities to admit the colored children.

Each day the boys and girls marched to school with their parents. When they were denied admission, they paraded around the school with signs protesting segregation, through the downtown streets, and back home where they studied with tutors the subjects they should have been taught in school.

All kinds of public and private pressure, including rulings by a federal judge which were worthy of Dixie, could not make the Hillsboro parents give up their boycott and picketing.

When a three-man appeals court reversed the decision of the federal judge, the school board still refused to comply, and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Even when the high court refused to hear the appeal, the local bigots sought ways of delaying integration.

Only when the parents and children staged a "sit-in" on two successive days at the school where they were denied admission, did the local authorities finally give up and agree to immediate integration.

If a small group of determined fighters in Hillsboro, Ohio can use the boycott successfully, think what larger communities with experienced trade unionists in the leadership of a boycott movement could do!

Planning now for a few well organized boycotts this fall would do more to convince local school boards to integrate than a dozen law suits.

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## Out of Jail



Int'l. Longshoremen's Association President William Bradley greets his wife after serving 15-day jail sentence for contempt of court resulting from an injunction against last September's East Coast dock strike. AFL-CIO officials announced, July 19, abandonment for the present of support for the ILA-AFL-CIO in its attempt to replace the ILA. Longshore militants twice defeated the ILA-AFL-CIO in NLRB elections because of its support of Government blacklisting.

# THE MILITANT

## Democratic Congress Knives Labor, Negroes

By Fred Talbot

"It is to be hoped that the 84th Congress, during its second session, will heed the people's voice and enact a program responsive to the people's good." That is what

Walter Reuther said when summing up the record of the 84th's first session last year.

The second session of that Democrat-controlled Congress ended July 28, and it is clear that the only people who gained were the billionaire owners of America's huge corporations. From the standpoint of the working people and its allies, however, Reuther's hope came to less than nothing. Here is the record.

On all major domestic issues, the position of the labor movement, of the Negro people and of the small farmers, was defeated across the board.

Taft-Hartley was not touched, despite the fact that its repeal was a major Democratic Campaign slogan and its amendment was promised by Eisenhower. Passage of the civil rights bill was never fought for by the Administration nor by any congressman in the House or Senate. The farm bill eliminated 90% of parity and established a plan which continues, on an aggravated scale, the system where the

lion's share of government subsidy goes to the big non-operator-owned farms — the very ones who show hefty profits without government aid.

### WITH BOTH HANDS

The give-away of natural resources to the profit hungry utility corporations was — according to Reuther's hopes for the 84th Congress — to have been slowed down. But Congress voted with the corporations in every case. The worst of the give-away deals — the natural gas bill — was sponsored by Democrats, including prominent liberals. It failed to become law only because lobbyists for the bill were caught red-handed trying to buy votes for its passage. The resulting scandal forced Eisenhower to veto the give-away although it had his avowed support.

Federal aid to school construction was allowed to die in a Senate committee. Public housing was practically eliminated. The Walter-McCarran Immigration act was left intact in spite of

campaign promises by Eisenhower and the liberal Democrats to wipe out its discriminatory racial quotas.

The only measure which offers even the slightest improvement or reform for the working people is the Social Security law, which lowers the eligibility age for women from 65 to 62 and for disabled workers from 65 to 50.

### ALL FOR COLD WAR

This meager concession was then used by liberal Democrats as a pretext for failing to make a fight on civil rights. Thus, Senators Neuberger (D-Ore.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) explained that they allowed the civil rights bill to slip uncontested into the clutches of Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to avert the "danger of delaying the social security bill."

On foreign policy, there was never any question about support by all Congressmen — liberals included — for the Administration's prosecution of the cold war against the Soviet bloc and the colonial revolution.

The Congress also passed — without a single opposition vote recorded — a measure to increase drastically the prison-term penalties under the Smith Act. The completely pro-Big Business record of the second session of the 84th Congress — as of the first session — highlights the need for the working people to form their own political party.

### VOTE AS CLASS

The mass of organized workers have already shown their readiness to vote as a disciplined class bloc for candidates recom-

mended by the union leaders. All indications are that they will vote that way again this year in key union areas throughout the country.

In light of the record of the 84th Congress, it wouldn't be at all difficult for the top labor leaders to mobilize the union membership behind the formation of a labor party. A labor party would quickly receive the backing of the Negro people and large sections of the middle class. It would become a major political force in a short time.

The present labor leaders are afraid that a labor-party development might upset their bureaucratic hold on the unions. They want above all to leave things just as they are — that is, maintain their alliance with the Democratic Party, no matter how much the workers suffer from such class-collaborationist policies.

The initiative for building a labor party will therefore have to come from the ranks. Sentiment for it must be prepared today by socialist-minded workers and other union militants who already agree in principle that it is wrong to cross class lines in politics and who believe that labor must form its own party. They must use the unmistakably pro-Big Business record of the 84th Congress to demonstrate throughout the union ranks the need for a labor party.

## Fund Lags--Two Weeks to Go!

Despite new contributions, the Socialist Publication Campaign Fund continues to run far behind schedule. As of July 31, 62% of the fund had been collected. To be on schedule 85% should have been paid in. The deadline is Aug. 15.

Ever since the 20th Congress of the CPSU and subsequent developments in the Soviet Union, the radical movement has been in ideological ferment and a process of regroupment is taking place. The literature of the Trotskyist movement alone provides fundamental Marxist answers to the questions posed in the radical movement by the crisis of Stalinism.

Interest in discussions of these questions is getting ever keener. It is now that we should exert ourselves to the maximum to make generally available books and pamphlets dealing with the Russian Revolution, the Soviet Union, Stalinism, independent working class politics and other major theoretical problems of the socialist movement.

The demand for reprints and publication of new material may

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 825.00	\$ 721.50	87%
Chicago	1,560.00	1,316.60	84
Seattle	300.00	240.00	80
Twin Cities	1,320.00	1,022.00	77
Allentown	85.00	60.00	70
Youngstown	250.00	150.00	64
Cleveland	350.00	226.00	60
Los Angeles	3,300.00	1,929.29	58
Boston	500.00	298.00	58
San Francisco	650.00	365.00	56
St. Louis	85.00	45.00	52
New York	4,000.00	2,046.40	51
Buffalo	1,760.00	900.00	51
Milwaukee	250.00	102.00	40
Newark	200.00	68.00	31
Oakland	200.00	50.00	25
Philadelphia	400.00	52.00	13
Akron	140.00	0	0
General		155.00	
Totals	\$16,175.00	\$9,741.79	62%

be judged by the increased volume of sales of such literature as we have in stock. Propagandists in the branches anxious to keep providing Trotskyist material to interested workers and students are eagerly awaiting the

fulfillment of the Publication Campaign. All that is lacking now is an adequate supply of funds to gratify their demands. That is why it is imperative that the fund be completed in full and on time.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### CP Discusses Negro Question

July 25, 1956

Dear Editor: The Communist Party is conducting a discussion within its ranks on the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people and whether it should retain it as part of the CP program.

At a forum at the Jefferson School of Social Science last night, James E. Jackson and Dorey Wilkerson presented two different points of view now being discussed within the CP.

Both agreed that it was not correct now to call for self-determination or to advocate a

separate state for Negroes in the "Black Belt" of the South. Their differences centered over whether this program should ever have been advocated by the Communist Party.

Jackson said that self-determination had been a good slogan in the 1930's when the Negroes constituted a majority of the population throughout a large section of the South (the so-called Black Belt). Since then, he said, there had been a gradual contraction of the "Black Belt" so that today advocacy of self-determination is unfeasible.

Wilkerson, on the other hand, stated that he never did think that self-determination for the Negro people was a good program.

A spirited discussion followed the two presentations and revolved around the following question: What do the Negro people want — separation (that is, a nation of their own) or integration as equals into American society?

One position presented from the floor, was especially well received. Separation, the speaker said, is not a Marxist answer to the Negro problem, for socialists do not advocate setting up new state boundaries. They work toward the elimination of these boundaries. However, the right of self-determination for the Negro people must be defended. No party has the right to decide for the Negro people whether its struggle should be for integration or for setting up a nation of its own. Today, the Negro people are consistently fighting for full economic, political and social equality. They are striving for complete integration in all phases of American life, and they must be supported in this struggle.

A woman in the audience posed the following challenge to Jackson. "You admit," she said, "that your approach to the Negro ques-

L. K.  
New York

### Break Own Legs in Chain Gang Protest

Thirty-six Georgia convicts found their prison conditions so horrible that, rather than continue to endure them, they deliberately chose to break their own legs.

On July 30, the 29 white and 7 Negro inmates at Rock Quarry State Prison sat down during their afternoon rest period, placed their legs on rocks, and began hitting them with the 10-pound sledge hammers they had been using to crush rocks. There were no cries of pain.

At this same "Little Alcatraz" 30 inmates on Christmas Day, 1951, slashed their heel tendons with razor blades.

## The Torture of Tantalus

By Henry Gitano

Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey refers to the current slump in various industries as a "refreshing pause," while newspapers reported that Howard Pyle, deputy assistant to President Eisenhower, "smilingly" commented that "the right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy, just as the right to prosper is."

The "refreshing pause" of unemployment and the "joys" of suffering under capitalism have been harpooned in a study conducted by Duquesne University of Pittsburgh in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor. Titled "Survey of Unemployment Compensation Beneficiaries in Pittsburgh, Pa.," this two volume report is a first attempt to find out what happens to unemployed workers collecting jobless benefits. The survey using 400 sample cases contains the following highlights:

In all cases, spending decreased after unemployment. Still, weekly benefits covered less than 60% of the reduced expenditures for most single claimants, and less than 45% for most families whose principal wage earner is out of work.

Forty-six per cent of main wage earners in four-person families made up the difference by going into debt. Such loans were incurred at extremely high interest rates and often renewed. In some instances, the borrowers were unable to meet the monthly plan for repayment, and

what they did repay was applied to interest and fee charges without reducing the original loan due.

One third lowered or surrendered insurance policies. Substantial gifts, mostly clothing outfits from friends, relatives and agencies were received by 40% of family wage earners. One fourth applied for and received government surplus food packages. A small but significant number of jobless sold their cars or items of furniture. One fourth of all claimants were planning to move or had already moved to lower rentals.

In Greek mythology, Tantalus was tormented in Hades by being placed thirsty in a pool of water up to his chin. When he tried to drink the water receded. Placed hungry under fruit trees the wind tossed the branches aside when he tried to pick the fruit.

That is also the position of the American worker under capitalism, who produces an abundance of goods that are then snatched out of his reach.

Under Socialism, the plenty produced will be used to enrich the lives of the working people. Greater productivity will give rise to more leisure time adding impetus for developing human potentialities. The Tantalus torture of the unemployed — forced to go needy amid plenty — will be ended once for all.

## ...SUEZ NATIONALIZATION HAILED

(Continued from page 1)

fighters for Algerian freedom, urged "decisive military action" to prevent the Egyptian move from giving new impetus to the Algerian nationalist revolt.

The British, and French governments froze all Egyptian funds in their banks, and the United States Government froze the assets of the Suez Canal company and the Egyptian Government.

Egypt has announced that the canal will remain open for use to all ships that pay tolls in such a manner that the Egyptian government can get the money. Checks drawn on French or British banks would, because of the freeze, not be cashable by Egypt.

British, French and U.S. officials are meeting to decide the best way to defend their im-

perialist interests against this latest development in the colonial revolution. The tremendous popular support of the Arab masses for Egypt's action makes direct military intervention very risky.

### MAKE RULES AS GO ALONG

At this writing, the three powers seem to be pushing for an international commission to operate the canal, set the tolls, and distribute the revenues. Egypt's ownership of the canal would be recognized under this "solution" and she would get part of the revenues. The imperialists claim that the canal must not be controlled by any single country, since it is used by many: This "principle of international law" was simply invented to suit the occasion.

The canal was controlled before by only one country, since the British Government holds the largest block of stock (44%) in the Canal Company. (Most of the remainder is owned by individual French capitalists.) The Panama canal, which is used by many countries, is controlled completely by the U.S. government operating on what is in effect conquered soil.

Aside from direct invasion of Egypt by the imperialist armies, two other "solutions" are possible. One: let the nationalization stand. Two: Continue "massive economic retaliation" against Egypt in hopes of bringing on and immediate crisis and a fall of the government.

The imperialists have excluded the first alternative, claiming that Egypt cannot be trusted to maintain the canal open to all

shipping. The July 30 Wall Street Journal however, gives the real reason. "Egypt's seizure," says WSJ "created great uncertainty for all Western nations with big investments in the Middle East — principally in oil. If Egypt makes the canal take-over stick, other Arab states may be encouraged to nationalize foreign-held property within their borders. This prospect was reflected in price declines of several oil company stocks on Friday."

The alternative to "massive economic retaliation" is also very risky for imperialism. In the present white heat of the Arab masses, an economic squeeze may force Nasser to extend the movement, or his fall may result in a government directly voicing the aspirations of the masses.

"If economic warfare," says the July 27 New York Times, "should be limited strictly to the British and Egyptians, the ultimate advantage would be clearly on the side of the British. However, there was reason to believe that if the present situation should deteriorate, President Nasser would use the full force of the prestige he has built up in the Arab world to try to engineer a general seizure of Britain's oil interests throughout the Middle East. Extreme nationalists in Cairo, Damascus, and other Middle East capitals already were giving full cry to such a move."

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## Rita Shaw Slated to Speak Before Local 600 Meeting

DETROIT, Aug. 1 — Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, will discuss her party's program and policies before the next meeting of the General Council of Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers, to be held on Sunday, Aug. 12.

Republican and Democratic spokesmen were given an opportunity to explain their policies to Local 600 at a meeting last month.

On Friday night, Aug. 17, Rita Shaw will analyze the outcome of the Democratic national convention, to be held in Chicago earlier that week. This meeting will be held at 8 P. M., at SWP campaign headquarters, 3737 Woodward.

A key plank in Rita Shaw's platform is establishment of the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. In a recent issue of the SWP campaign publication, the Michigan Socialist Voice, she declared: "Layoffs and automation make it necessary to shorten the work week without cutting weekly take-home pay. The 30-hour week can be won in two ways — by fighting at the bargaining table, and by passing a federal law to start overtime pay after 30 hours. No party or candidate that refuses to support such a law deserves any union endorsement."

"But the Republicans and Democrats are both against 30-for-40. Union members who want such a law should vote socialist and begin building a labor party to fight for it."

Copies of the Socialist Voice may be obtained from SWP campaign headquarters, 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Michigan.



RITA SHAW

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Fri., Aug. 10:  
**GEORGE BERNARD SHAW**  
The Writer, The Man,  
The Socialist  
Fri., Aug. 17:  
**THE OUTCOME OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION**  
Fri., Aug. 24:  
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