

Liberal Democrats Help Knife Civil Rights Bill

Morse in Move To Deliver Bill To Eastland

By Fred Halstead

JULY 10 — A sell-out on civil rights legislation is proceeding in the United States Senate this week. Two liberal Democrats, Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and

A Report From The Tuskegee Freedom Front

By Ronald Jones

TUSKEGEE, ALA., July 2— "Don't You Let Nobody Turn You Around," a soul-stirring, spirited spiritual with a great message and a pulsatingly rhythmic beat emerged spontaneously from the very depths of the inspired and determined gathering of more than 3,500 Tuskegee Negroes and scores of out-of-town visitors tonight at the historic Washington Chapel AME Church. This song accurately reflected the unfolding spirit and mood of the second weekly mass meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association, which is leading the Negroes in this predominantly Negro area in a Crusade for Citizenship.

The Crusade began formally last week as a reaction to the unanimous passing in both houses of the Alabama Legislature of State Senator Sam Engelhardt's bill to gerrymander all but 10 voting Negroes out of the city limits of Tuskegee and not a single one of the 600 white voters. [Engelhardt is also secretary of the Alabama Association of (White) Citizens' Councils.] The Crusade has as its immediate aims (1) halting the enactment of the city limits bill, (2) getting a functioning board of registrars which will register all qualified citizens, and (3) stimulating a greater interest among local Negroes in

Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming have taken the lead in the betrayal. Their actions play into the hands of Republican forces who are pushing the Civil Rights bill in a bid for Negro votes in the Congressional elections next year, leaving it to the Democrats to water down the already weak measure.

The bill authorizes the Federal Government to intervene on behalf of individuals whose civil rights have been violated, to obtain injunctions against such violations and to try violators of these injunctions before Federal judges on charges of contempt of court. The "trial by Federal judge" provision of the bill is the only serious section in it. It is an attempt to get around the Jim-Crow jury system which prevails in the South and which automatically acquits racists (as in the case of the murderers of Emmett Till).

MORSE ACTION

The liberal Democrat Morse announced his intention today to get the bill referred to the Senate Judiciary committee headed by racist Senator Eastland of Mississippi. This would deal the bill a mortal blow. Morse said he would make his motion when the present debate on whether the bill should be introduced on the Senate floor is concluded, as it is expected

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Kremlin Chiefs Utilize Purge In Bid for Popular Support

This Photograph is Now Out of Date



Three of these eight top Soviet officials have now been kicked out of their high posts and subjected to a "unanimous" campaign of condemnation as an "anti-party" group. In the place of honor in Red Square during a May Day parade, from left to right are: Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, Defense Minister Marshal G. K. Zhukov, Premier Marshal N. A. Bulganin, CPSU head N. S. Khrushchev, Minister of Power Stations G. M. Malenkov (ousted), Building Materials Minister L. M. Kaganovich (ousted), Deputy A. I. Mikoyan and the former Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov (ousted). The three purged officials have not yet been expelled from the party. But their future does not look bright.

Denounce Ousted Four; Pledge More Butter and Less Terror

By Harry Ring

JULY 10 — The ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, whose vast material privileges bring it into irreconcilable conflict with the growing demand of the Soviet workers for workers' democracy and improved living conditions, is in a state of deepening crisis. It is now feverishly seeking a measure of popular support for its dictatorial regime. The extent of its crisis is reflected in the scope of the attack it launched against the now-deposed members of the ruling clique, Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov.

In the original announcement, July 3, of the ouster of the four from the all-powerful Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party, the indictment against them was limited essentially to charges of "resisting" and "hampering" the reform program promised the Soviet people at the 20th Congress. Within 72 hours of that communique, the bill of particulars had been expanded to include charges which evoke the image of a purge trial.

1949 PURGE RECALLED

In his July 6 speech at an organized Leningrad demonstration before one of the giant factories, Khrushchev branded the four as "reactionaries who have cut themselves off from the party." He declared that "all members of this group were especially guilty of the past errors and failures, and Malenkov was one of the leading organizers of the so-called Leningrad affair." This refers to a 1949 trial in which a number of prominent bureaucrats went to their death on charges of fomenting "Great-Russian chauvinism." At the 20th Congress Khrushchev pinned responsibility for this purge on Stalin.

The same charge was hurled at Malenkov the following day by Nikolai Shvernik, one of Stalin's proteges, who has now filled one of the four new vacancies on the Presidium. Shvernik also carried the charges a step further when he pointedly referred to "the breaches of revolutionary legality committed by Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov during the period of mass repressions." (The infamous Moscow Trials of the 1930's which devoured tens of thousands of frame-up victims.)

(On July 8, the Italian Communist Party paper, L'Unita, published a report from Moscow which said that the ousted four had unsuccessfully tried to use a temporary majority in the Presidium to depose Khrushchev

and that Molotov had characterized him as "a Trotskyite and an opportunist." This report has been given wide circulation in the American press.)

20TH CONGRESS UPHELD

Within the Soviet Union, the most emphasized charge against the four is that of opposing the reforms pledged at the 20th Congress. The rest of the accusations hurled against the four are closely patterned after Khrushchev's indictment of Stalin at the Congress. This is a decisive indication of the factors behind the present purge. For regardless how the charges may fit each of the accused, they represent a reaffirmation by the victorious faction of the line of concessions pledged at the 20th Congress. This means a recognition on the part of Khrushchev and Co. that the concessions cannot be cancelled without risking the outbreak of working class struggle.

Indeed, the winning group could not just stand pat. It had to couple its attack on the deposed four with glowing new promises to the Soviet working people. Khrushchev grandly announced in Leningrad that "We want the Soviet People to have enough meat, butter, milk and fruit, and that our shops be filled with

(Continued on page 2)

Khrushchev and 'Revolutionary Law'

An Editorial

In announcing the purge of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the official communique of the Soviet Communist Party said that one of the main reasons why they were being ousted was because they were guilty of "stubborn resistance to the measures . . . to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed."

Genuine revolutionary law, which is the law of workers' democracy, surely does not offer less than capitalist law which guarantees the accused the right to be heard and places upon the accusers the responsibility to back up charges with evidence. Workers' democracy is much more. It is the rule of the working people. Where they are denied a voice in the exercise of that law, it ceases to exist.

All of these concepts of working-class legality have been brutally trampled upon by Khrushchev in this purge. Following the original charges against the four, new and graver charges are heaped promiscuously upon them. Following the "unanimous" expulsion vote in the Central Committee comes the announcement of the "unanimous" support to the move by the Soviet people, an announcement issued in virtually the same breath as the news of the ouster itself. The entire bureaucratic procedure is best summed up in Khrushchev's cynical explanation to the Czechs: "We took the black sheep by the tail and threw them out."

Accusers and Accused Are Guilty

Our own condemnation of this odious business does not spring from any political sympathy for the now fallen bureaucrats. As far back as 1937, the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by the late Professor John Dewey, proved conclusively that all of the associates of Stalin — the present accusers and the present accused alike — were guilty of the destruction of Soviet legality. For this we believe they deserve punishment by a revolutionary court of the Soviet working people.

However, the current moves to make the deposed four the scapegoats for crimes of which the rest of the bureaucracy is equally guilty serves only to preserve the whole frame-up system which Stalin created.

If Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov are to be put on trial by their former partners in crime — and despite the present show of "leniency" to Malenkov this remains a distinct possibility — the trial must at least be an open one. The accused must be permitted to select attorneys of their choice. Finally, international representatives of the socialist and labor movements should be permitted to observe the procedure at first hand.

If the four are not to be brought to trial, they should be permitted to present their defense to the Soviet people through newspaper, radio, etc. Let the Soviet people judge for themselves the validity of the present charges.

In urging such a stand, we address ourselves particularly to the membership of the Communist Party and to the editors of the Daily Worker. On July 9, that paper editorially deplored the lack of public discussion prior to the expulsions and declared that "The process of democratization requires such public debate." The Daily Worker should follow up on this correct statement by demanding an end to the process of guilt by denunciation and the full application of democratic procedures.

The New Factors in the Purge System

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Those who took seriously Khrushchev's promise of "collective leadership" given to the 20th Congress were naturally shocked at the purge of his opponents, the so-called "anti-party" group. But they were reckoning without considering the nature of the bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet orbit. The purge of the dead Stalin in February of 1956 was not the result of a democratic re-evaluation of the past history of the Soviet Union. Nor was it an adoption of democratic procedures. The destruction of the Stalin myth grew out of the crisis of the Kremlin bureaucracy — a crisis born in the mounting anger of the working class at the continued repressions and miserable existence to which they were condemned by bureaucratic rule.

The bureaucrats, in a desperate struggle for survival, attempted to pass off all the sins of the past into the corpse of the "infallible leader." They met the crisis with a scapegoat, conciliation, promises and of course — unanimity. But the crisis was not resolved. Instead it deepened, extended and intensified. And therefore it finds expression in a new internal crisis and new purges.

DISCUSSION A MENACE

The bureaucracy is constitutionally incapable of collective

leadership. The many similarities between the present purge and those of Stalin arise out of the fact that the bureaucracy which Khrushchev now heads is the same social formation that Stalin represented. Collective leadership is impossible without a genuine discussion of programmatic differences at least within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But the moment controversy of any kind comes close to the powerful and politically conscious working class, this class seeks to intervene and to win the right of discussing and deciding all questions. The very existence of the bureaucratic caste would then be challenged.

Yet those who think that Khrushchev is stepping into Stalin's shoes and can restore the system of terror that existed before the 20th Congress, do not understand the fundamental difference between two quite opposite epochs in the history of the bureaucratic caste — its rise and its decline.

Stalin came into power with the receding of the revolutionary tide of the working class. Exhausted by years of war for survival in an imperialist encirclement, confronted with the consuming struggle for subsistence in the economic backwardness of the young workers' state, the working class was compelled to retreat from the center of the political life of

the country. The bureaucrats and careerists came to the fore and over a period of many years were able to destroy democratic Soviets and the Communist Party as it existed under Lenin and Trotsky. The party was physically destroyed in the bloody purges of the 1930's. Each defeat of the working class in the capitalist world — and there were many in the pre-World War II years — strengthened the bureaucracy and tightened Stalin's hold on the political life of the country.

RIISING MOVEMENT

Today the working class of the Soviet Union is on the ascendancy. It is preparing to re-enter the political arena where it will pit its socialist

aspirations against the privilege-seeking of the usurping oligarchy. The bureaucratic caste is doomed. It is no longer possible to maintain the working class in subjection through a system of police terror. The working class, 48 million strong, steeped in the revolutionary tradition of its origin, will no longer tolerate the abuses of the past — economic or political.

That is why Khrushchev's purge is only a weak echo of the blood-bath periodically unleashed by Stalin. The problem of the bureaucracy today is to stem the tide, to postpone as long as possible the day of final reckoning.

While neither side in the controversy between the two groups of top Kremlin functionaries can bring their differences to the

Soviet people for a democratic resolution, it is equally clear that the crisis cannot be resolved by resort to the old methods of Stalinist rule. The idea that mass opposition can be crushed in the same way as in the past is as unrealistic as the dream of isolationist Republicans that the United States can return to an economy "free" of state subsidization and international entanglements.

History cannot move backward. The Soviet bureaucracy confronts the preparatory stages of the political revolution. In its struggle for survival, it will oscillate wildly between repression and concession with the latter becoming increasingly necessary as the working class gains in confidence and understanding of its historic task.

Fryer Writes to Aptheker On the Truth About Hungary

Dear Comrade Aptheker,

I have just finished reading your book, *The Truth About Hungary*, on the Hungarian revolution. It seems to me that the best sentence in it appears on page 153, where you write:

"The whole content of Marxism-Leninism is so revolutionary, its whole outlook and spirit and essence are so contrary to dogmatism and elitism that adherence to it in however limited and partial and distorted a form brings protest against injustice and tyranny."

If this were the spirit that informed your book; if this were the epitaph you had written on the victims of Russian intervention last October and of Kadar's repression since then; if this were your summary of the roots and driving forces of Hungary's revolt; how wise and how splendid your book would be.

A HASH

But you have chosen to take one aspect of the "truth about Hungary" and inflate it to monstrous proportions by stuffing your pages to satiety with a hash of press clippings, tag-ends of quotations, scraps of documents,

The author of this open letter to Herbert Aptheker is Peter Fryer, former special correspondent for the London Daily Worker in Budapest, Hungary and author of "Hungarian Tragedy," an eyewitness account of the Hungarian revolution. Peter Fryer is now the Militant's London Special Correspondent.

lumps of speeches, odds and ends of statistics—an undigested, indigestible ragbag parading as historical scholarship.

Your name is respected on this side of the Atlantic, Comrade Aptheker, among those who know and admire the brave resistance that American Marxist intellectuals have put up to the witch hunt.

You are known as a scholar and a fighter for truth and liberty. I am bound to tell you that your book will do nothing to enhance your reputation. I venture to predict that within less than a decade you yourself will bitterly repent of it.

For you have chosen to produce an apologia for the crushing of a revolution. With flailing scissors and a bucket of paste you have slapped together every gleeful, gloating word you

could find, from every conceivable reactionary source, hailing the Hungarian events as the fulfillment of imperialist dreams.

Was it hard to find such comment? Not in the least. "Extremes meet," in politics as elsewhere, and the reactionaries of the Right and "Left" find common ground in characterizing the Hungarian events as counter-revolution.

Their common interest was to magnify to the utmost every negative and disagreeable strand in the pattern.

Anti-Semitism: of course it existed, but on so small a scale (remarkably small, considering Hungary's years under Horthy) that the Budapest Board of Rabbis could broadcast on November 2:

"Hungarian Jewry enthusiastically salutes the achievements of the revolution, pays reverent homage to the heroes, and identifies itself with the free and independent homeland."

On so small a scale that the newspaper *Igazsag* could report on October 30: "Meeting an AVO officer, a raging crowd was about to strike him, but realizing that he was a Jew, several of the armed demonstrators took his defense. Those 'fascists' rose in defense of an officer so that

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New York

Militant Labor Forum

"The Kremlin Purge — Its Real Significance"

Wednesday, July 17, 8 P.M.

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74 Fifth Avenue

(Near 14th Street)

Contribution 50 cents

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Ten Years of Taft-Hartley

What has been happening to the American labor movement since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law ten years ago on June 23, 1947...

strikes is widespread. Picketing has been restricted. Secondary boycotts are outlawed. The federal government can move with all its power on the side of the employers...

A Union Official Views His Associates

(We publish below excerpts from a speech given by George W. Brooks, a representative of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers Union...)

an arrogant official attitude, a fundamental mistake in judgment, or a failure to respond to local wishes, a local union could leave the national union...

Young Socialist League Holds Nat'l Convention

NEW YORK, July 3 — The Third National Convention of the Young Socialist League concluded here today after three days of sharp debate on issues involving the fate of the socialist youth movement...

Khrushchev Indicts Rivals

(The following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Nikita Khrushchev, Communist Party boss, in Leningrad on July 6...)

Ideological Struggle Versus Wrecking Tactics

By Murry Weiss I attended several sessions of the Young Socialist League convention held in New York City the first three days of July...

endorsed by the labor bureaucracy. I had felt in 1955 that the fundamental struggle the Socialist Workers Party majority had conducted on the eve of World War II against Shachtman and his supporters had significance for the new generation...

Party, on the basis of its record under the domination of the bureaucratic machine of Stalinism. Ironically, the SP-SDF leaders have kept Shachtman's ISL and his supporters in the YSL out of their party for over a year, despite all urging and pleading...

their approach to revolutionary theory and practice. Speaking specifically of the Young Socialist League, it has during the three years of its existence maintained its independence as a socialist youth movement...

