

Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course Reflects Crisis

By Harry Ring

JULY 17 — A series of obviously improvised and contradictory moves during the past week marked the drive of Nikita Khrushchev to consolidate his victory over the four bureaucrats whose

downfall was announced July 3. The present zig-zag course illuminates the powerful opposing pressures underlying the now acute crisis of the ruling bureaucracy.

After the death of the "supreme arbiter," Stalin, the bureaucracy had to rule through the vehicle of "collective leadership." But wracked by the inner conflict of special privileges and material interests, the ruling caste is driven along the road of throwing up a single new supreme authority. This process is expressed in the uninterrupted power struggles of the rival cliques within the bureaucracy.

A NEW STAGE
The unique feature of this internecine warfare is the context in which it takes place—the new stage of the Russian revolution. During Stalin's bloody reign conflicts within the bureaucracy were settled swiftly and brutally. The Soviet working class had been crushed by the bureaucratic tyrants. Workers' democracy was destroyed and the workers felt politically weak and isolated. Today the bureaucracy confronts a huge, culturally advanced and politically recuperated working class. It is a working class that feels the impulses of world revolutionary trends. This working class is seething with discontent and hatred for the bureaucracy.

Each new split in the bureaucracy gives further elbow room to the masses in their demand for greater democracy and improved living standards. As the rival bureaucrats contend for the post of top-dog they face the stark fact that victory is empty

unless they can achieve a measure of popular support. Therefore concessions must be promised and even granted. The vanquished bureaucrats must be made the scapegoats for the crimes committed against the people by the entire bureaucracy. The winner is driven to try to play both "hard cop" and "soft cop" at the very same time.

TWISTS AND TURNS

Last week they were trying to execute the twists and turns demanded by this situation. On July 10 the Moscow radio informed the world that Malenkov, who had been ousted from the Party Presidium for "anti-party activity," had been made manager of a hydroelectric plant in remote East Kazakhstan and that the other ousted chieftains, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov, had been assigned to other unspecified jobs. This was followed up the next day by a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Prague who broadly hinted to Western correspondents that the deposed four would not be arrested or tried. An obvious expert in the art of double talk, he explained vaguely: "They were anti-party, not hostile. There's a difference."

During the very same interview, however, it was revealed that while the announcement had been beamed to the outer world, it was not made to the Soviet people. Queried on this, the Prague spokesman cynically replied, "It is not the custom in the Soviet Union to announce the appointment of technicians in the press."

The real reason for not informing the people of the action on Malenkov is that the public campaign against the deposed group is still being carried on at full pace in the Soviet press, at meetings and over the radio. This campaign was given significant new impetus July 16 with a speech in Leningrad by Marshal Zhukov who looms as an increasingly powerful ally of the Khrushchev clique. He charged that the four "were opposed to the exposure of the lawless acts committed. They feared responsibility before the party, before the people for exceeding their power and committing unlawful actions."

MEAT AND BUTTER

Meanwhile Khrushchev was busily making meat and butter promises during his visit, along with Bulganin, to Czechoslovakia. On July 13 he told Czech workers, "It is not bad if, in improving the theory of Marx, one throws in also a piece of bacon and a piece of butter." He then explained: "When you have a hungry stomach it is sometimes very difficult to understand"

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A Soviet worker. This woman is a member of an industrial working class — the second largest in the world and growing more and more conscious of its strength. Widespread demands for workers' democracy and a better life are the source of the Kremlin crisis.

Nazis' Victim Defies French "Justice"

[The recently concluded trial of the editor and writers for La Verite, newspaper of the French Trotskyists, has been a trial of freedom of the press in France as well as of the right of Algerians to independence. In previous issues we printed excerpts from the testimony of Pierre Lambert and Daniel Renard. Here are excerpts from the closing speeches of the two other defendants, Gerard Bloch and Stephane Just. — Ed.]

(Speech of Gerald Bloch)

Your Honor: I am being prosecuted particularly for articles denouncing torture and concentration camps in Algeria. And if the prosecutor has been able to criticize the perhaps vehement tone of some of those articles, I in no way apologize for it. I myself am an old concentration camp prisoner. I have resolved to denounce without moderation concentration camps wherever they bear the names of Dachau or Auschwitz [Germany], Vorkuta or Karaganda [USSR], Berrouaghia or Lodi [Algeria].

The Judge: There has been no objection to your having spoken of tortures or of camps. Bloch: But one of my articles which is specially objected to is entitled "Stop the Executioner!" It calls for protests of public opinion to stop the execution of Ben Boulaid who had just been condemned to death. The prosecutor has said that Ben Boulaid directed the November 1, 1954 attack on the barracks in Bona [Algeria]. In fact this was the theme of the accusation at the trial where he was sentenced to death. But this was proven — and that was what my article was about — only by confessions of other prisoners, confessions

from them by torture and repudiated by them in the courtroom. Ben Boulaid, himself, despite torture did not confess.

TRIED TWICE

Your Honor, this morning I re-read the verdict with which the special section of the military tribunal of Lyons condemned me on Sept. 9, 1942, to 12 years of hard labor, 20 years' loss of the right of residence and loss of citizenship rights. I also read the indictment brought against me on that occasion. I was surprised to discover that the articles of the legal code invoked against me were the very same as those being used today — articles 80 and 83. . . I hasten to add, however, that the opportunities for a defense allowed me now are infinitely greater than before the court in 1942. That one found me guilty of "endangering the external security of the state by undertaking by whatsoever means to commit an act against the integrity of French territory, and specifically in possessing and making propaganda use of pamphlets and documents originating with the Fourth International, and further in participating in the building of the Trotskyist movement in the

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 29

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 22, 1957

PRICE 10c

Eisenhower Seen Cooking Up Rights Bill Deal with Racists

Putting the Pressure On Congress



A major reason why, for the first time in 80 years, a civil rights bill — though only a token one — has a chance in the U.S. Senate this session. These are part of the estimated 25,000 persons who last May 17 conducted the first historic march on Washington in behalf of civil rights.

An End to Rule by Purge - Let Soviet People Speak!

An Editorial

Rank and file members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the U.S. are once more confronted with the gravest questions about what is happening in the Soviet Union.

The dominant Khrushchev faction in the "collective leadership" that inherited Stalin's dictatorial power has accused three of the top-ranking officials of the Soviet government and Communist Party, Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, of a whole series of "mistakes" and crimes, expelled them from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, removed them from their government posts and sent the purged leaders into exile and disgraced obscurity.

Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov have been accused by the Khrushchev group of complicity in Stalin's mass-murder crimes. If there is indeed evidence that just these former partners of Stalin, and none others, are guilty as charged, why isn't this evidence presented? Why the blanket charges without evidence? Why aren't the accused heard from? Is it because a full and free discussion would reveal that the entire "collective leadership" shared in Stalin's crimes and continue to cling to the methods of Stalinism? If so, shouldn't the truth about this be known to the Soviet workers and the world working class?

The purged officials are accused of opposing the post-Stalin "democratization" of opposing improvements in the workers' standard of living, of obstructing the resumption of relations with Yugoslavia and opposing the lessening of world tension.

But how can Communist workers who are seeking the truth judge the validity of these charges when all they hear is Khrushchev's version of what the purged and silenced opponents proposed?

We know that one of the techniques of the Stalin system of rule was to take over the program of an opposition, and then denounce the opposition for being opposed to precisely this program.

This was the case when Stalin denounced the Trotskyists as "super-industrializers" because they proposed the first five-year plan. Then Stalin took over the program of the Trotskyist opposition, applied it in bureaucratic fashion — and charged the

Trotskyists with being opposed to industrialization!

Isn't it possible that this method, perfected during the struggle to crush workers' democracy, is a factor in the present complex power struggles among the bureaucratic chiefs in the Kremlin?

The issue boils down to a very simple choice: do we believe that the broad membership of the Communist parties and the working class as a whole should play the decisive role in deciding questions of fundamental policy in a workers state? Or do we believe that basic policy should be determined by bureaucrats at the top and then handed down to the party ranks and the working class?

We must make a choice between these two concepts. It is a choice between workers' democracy and bureaucratic tyranny; between Leninism and Stalinism.

We read in the Daily Worker that it is deplorable that a full and free discussion involving the whole working class of the Soviet Union did not take place. Quite right! But the Daily Worker also says that this deplorable fact should not obscure the progressive significance of what was decided by the Khrushchev victory over his opponents.

This smacks of the same kind of reasoning that was used to justify all of Stalin's crimes for so many years. Since progressive developments are taking place in the Soviet Union, we were told, why bother to examine the methods used to achieve them?

Later it was discovered that the progressive developments took place despite the bureaucratic rule of Stalin and not because of it.

In our opinion, it is the urgent duty of all who stand for workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and everywhere, to demand in a clear and unambiguous way that all viewpoints be heard.

Let the purged speak. Let them present their position before the bar of world working-class opinion. Let Khrushchev and his supporters attempt to prove their charges in the light of day. And above all, let the Soviet workers be heard; they have been forced to remain silent too long.

Liberals in Senate Seek to Patch Up Rotten Compromise with Southerners

By George Lavan

JULY 18 — The self-proclaimed pro-civil rights Democrats and Republicans are falling over one another in their eagerness to whittle down the civil rights bill even before the expected Dixiecrat filibuster has begun.

The surrender by Northern politicians in both Big Business parties of sections of the bill explains the "good behavior" of the Southern Democrats who allowed the bill to reach the Senate floor on July 16. They could have prevented this by a filibuster then but they found it more advantageous to accept the concessions offered. Their strategy is to weaken the bill even further by accepting more "compromises" and then, if anything remains that would hamper Jim Crow rule in the South, to begin

U. S. Tries to Evade Permanent A-Test Ban

By Herman Chauka

JULY 15 — A proposal to limit any suspension of nuclear tests to a ten-month period is now being pressed by United States representatives to the London disarmament conference. U.S. spokesmen emphasize that they will not "negotiate" the ten-month proviso, which is offered as a substitute for the Soviet offer of a two to three-year test suspension. Meanwhile the Atomic Energy Commission announced July 13 that it is planning a five-year period of research to try to determine more fully the effect of atomic radiation on man.

U.S. delegates to the London conference are expressing "optimism" about the possibility of forcing the Soviet Union to "water down" its proposal for a longer suspension period for the tests. In standing hard on the ten-month limit, administration spokesmen have conceded they are flying in the face of powerful world sentiment to halt the deadly tests. They are apparently determined to make every effort to resist this popular demand or to make only the necessary minimum concessions to it.

Official arguments in favor of the ten-month limit consist of diplomatic mumbo-jumbo. The "unofficial" U.S. argument is that the Soviet Union is "not to be trusted" and therefore the U.S. must be able to quickly resume exploding the deadly weapons. In other words, the quicker Washington can find a pretext for getting out from un-

MUMBO-JUMBO

der the test ban the better they will like it. The callous indifference to human welfare which this stand represents is indicated by the AEC's proposed research program which is motivated by an admitted need to "fill in the wide gaps of ignorance about atomic radiation."

Consistently parroting the U.S. line, British disarmament representatives have endorsed the ten-month plan. They certainly do not speak for the British people on this issue. On July 11 the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest union in Britain, added its voice to those demanding an end to the tests and abolition of the hell-bombs.

In this country on July 7 a ban-the-test petition signed by 82 prominent individuals, including some top union officials, was sent to Eisenhower. Among the unionists who joined the demand were Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers and Josepa E. Betnes, president of the Communications Workers. The present wide opposition to the deadly explosions was also reflected last week in the introduction into Congress of a bill to halt the tests by Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.).

Tuskegee Negroes' Right To Vote Gerrymandered

By Fred Halstead

JULY 12 — Tuskegee Negroes remain virtually 100% solid in their boycott of white-owned stores this week as the bill which precipitated their mass protest becomes law today for lack of a governor's veto. Their central demand has now transcended the immediate issue—the bill passed unanimously by the Alabama State legislature re-drawing the map of Tuskegee to exclude all but about 12 of the 400 registered Negro voters. There are 600 white voters in the city.

The Negroes are demanding, in addition to an end to the gerrymandering, a new board of registrars which will not discriminate against Negroes attempting to register.

THREAT TO COLLEGE

Racist State Senator Sam Englehart, head of the Alabama White Citizens Councils and the sponsor of the city-limits bill, has threatened to have the legislature cut off all appropriations to Tuskegee Institute. The dean of students at the world-famed Negro educational institution is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which is leading the mass protest movement. Many of its faculty members and students are active participants in the struggle. The school, which together with a Veteran's Administration Hos-

pital employs many Negroes and provides most of the income for Tuskegee, has received a yearly State subsidy of \$350,000 and was set to receive \$400,000 this year. The school officials, backed by the aroused and active Negro community, refused to buckle before the threat.

Englehart also announced plans to push through an amendment to the State constitution eliminating Macon county which includes Tuskegee by dissolving it into five surrounding counties where the Negro population is not so heavy. Under the present Jim-Crow registration system, white voters outnumber Negroes in the county by 2,600 to 1,000, but should the Negroes succeed in gaining fair registration, they would outnumber white voters by six to one.

All reports indicate that the Negro people of Tuskegee are in a fighting mood and are determined to cut through this Southern Democratic trickery by mass action—whatever the cost. The boycotters have been threatened and widely criticized because their actions are hurting individual white businessmen.

The deal for the first big surrender was heralded by a speech of Georgia Senator Richard Russell, who pretended to discover a sinister wording in the bill enabling the President to enforce the anti-segregation section of the law with federal troops if necessary. Actually such power for enforcing the "law of the land" has been on U.S. lawbooks since 1795. In a number of laws this power is set forth — for example in the civil-rights legislation passed after the Civil War.

PRETENDED SHOCK
Russell's "horrible revelation" that the President could enforce the country's law with federal police and Marshal, and, if they were successfully defied, with federal troops, was received by Eisenhower and by the Northern press with pretended shock. Eisenhower declared it was unimaginable that he would ever enforce Negroes' civil rights with troops. The N. Y. Times and other liberal papers called for the elimination of that whole section of the bill.

This section — Section III — is the only part of the bill dealing with civil rights in general, that is with "equal protection of the law" against segregation practices declared illegal by the Constitution. To wipe out Section III thus means wiping out what small measure of anti-segregation protection the bill promised. Violations of rights in schooling, transportation, use of public recreation facilities, etc., thus would no longer fall within the scope of the bill.

No sooner had the Senate voted — over the objections of liberal Democrat Wayne Morse who wanted to send the bill to Eastland's committee for "study" and butchery — to take up the civil rights bill, than liberal Democrat Anderson (N.M.) and liberal Republican Aiken (V.) introduced an amendment to delete Section III from the bill.

The next day Senators Knowland (R-Cal.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) introduced an amendment to strike from the lawbooks the Reconstruction era act empowering the president to enforce civil rights laws with troops if necessary.

A further demonstration of the treachery of liberal Democrats on civil rights is the amendment being prepared by O'Mahoney of Wyoming. O'Mahoney is for cutting the heart out of the bill's vote-protection section by giving the Dixiecrats their phony "trial-by-jury" demand. His amendment, however, may be a "compromise" limiting federal judges to ordering fines or imprisonment only where an official has openly and indisputably refused a qualified Negro the right to vote. Where deprivations of the right to vote involve more than one person or where interpretation of the state election laws is involved, a jury trial, i.e., an automatic acquittal, would be mandatory.

Since the only meaningful part of the civil rights bill left is the voting section, passage of any such amendment would make it unnecessary for the white-supremacist Senators to stage a filibuster. They would have won the battle beforehand. The civil rights bill would be but an empty mockery of the Negro people.

Subscription \$2 per year... 41.50 for 6 months...

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People... THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION...

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XXI - No. 29

Monday, July 22, 1957

More Gains for Civil Liberties

The effect of the gains registered by defenders of civil liberties in the Jencks and Watkins cases is just beginning to be seen in the form of lower court decisions.

There are at this moment no less than 23 cases pending in the federal courts of witch-hunt victims sentenced for contempt of Congress on the same grounds that were proven illegal in the Watkins case.

Already two cases similar to that of Watkins have been adjudged in favor of the defendants by lower courts acting on the basis of the high court's decision.

The other was that of Seymour Peck, a newspaperman who similarly had refused to become an informer tool of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its designs against freedom of the press.

Thus the high court's Watkins decision

which declared that Congressional committees could not act as unrestrained persecutors of all those holding "forbidden" social and political views, "exposing for the sake of exposing" and unleashing persecution on those it "investigated," has been strengthened by Youngdahl's decision in the specific field of freedom of the press.

The Jencks decision said in essence that FBI informers were not above the law but that their testimony was open to examination by defendants just as is the testimony of ordinary witnesses.

Already James Matley, a leader of the independent United Electrical Workers union, who was deprived of his U.S. citizenship by methods declared unconstitutional in the Jencks case, has won a reopening of his case.

The recent civil liberties victories are important, but no one should be misled into the belief that they mean the end of the witch hunt.

Servility Doesn't Pay

The basic strategy of Walter Reuther, president of the powerful auto union, to meet the attack of Senate probers on the labor movement has been to accept the government's intervention — even hail it — but to demand that corrupt bosses also be hauled into the limelight.

As we have pointed out, however, "exposure of corruption" is not the real intent of the Senate "rackets" committee. Its objective is to create an atmosphere for passing anti-labor legislation.

Reuther's "cooperation" with the Senate committee's efforts even went so far as an edict to UAW officers to "talk" or else.

But all this subservience to a committee obviously engaged in a smear attack on labor has not kept the probe away from the UAW's door.

schedule for future investigations. On this eleven-point list are two items that, as the N. Y. Times reported July 16, "will assure an inquiry into certain activities of Walter P. Reuther and his United Automobile Workers."

These two areas for the "corrupt practices" probe are political expenditures and the secondary boycott. The UAW is already fighting a charge of violating the Corrupt Practices Act in the federal courts for its political activity.

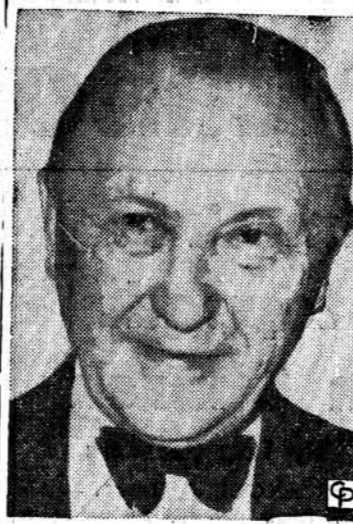
Aren't the anti-labor objectives of the "rackets" committee clear enough? Isn't it obvious that, at the very least, these investigations have the effect of distracting the unions from what should be their main function — fighting the bosses for shorter hours and better pay?

There are many things wrong with the labor movement today. But these evils will not be eliminated by a Senate committee. There is still only one answer to Senate interference in the labor movement: Hands off.

West German Election Fight

By John Black

The Social Democratic Party is campaigning for the September West German elections on only the shadow of a program for the allegiance of the voters.



ADENAUER

On the overshadowing issue of reunification, the point of the platform calls for "Reunification in Freedom—An end to the do-nothing policy."

CLEAR POSITION

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer representing the conservatives on the other hand takes a clear position. He refuses to negotiate with the East German Pankow regime.

In the past SPD leaders have castigated Adenauer for his refusal to deal with the East Germans; now Ollenhauer says that in the event of SPD victory he would submit new proposals to the Big Four powers and attempt to bring about a conference on the matter.

economic basis of the militaristic, Junker, landed aristocracy, have found broad support and approval in West Germany. Is reunification going to mean the restoration of the expropriated estates to the Junkers?

The nationalization of the key industries—probably the most deep-going change in East Germany—would the SPD "reunify" these national assets with their former West German capitalist monopoly owners?

On this question the Adenauer program is clear too. Only last May German Foreign Minister Brentano, in an interview with the German American weekly, Aufbau, explained that even concerns that had never known private ownership, that is, new industries and concerns that have been created in East Germany under the new property forms, would be given to the monopoly capitalists if he and Adenauer have their way.

they do on the question of direct negotiations with the East Germans.

Perhaps one should not expect the SPD to project too detailed a social program for the Eastern zone in a reunified Germany.

Here the omissions in the party program speak louder than Ollenhauer does. There has never been any doubt in the minds of the German workers that the political future of the country evolves around the question of the ownership and control of the industrial apparatus.

The SPD of the immediate post-war period, reconstituted under the leadership of its now deceased Chairman Dr. Kurt Schumacher, was well aware that the return of the capitalist monopolies to their old power would mean the revival of an authoritarian capitalist political dictatorship as well.

The obvious truth of this made it impossible at that time for the capitalist politicians to counter the argument head on. Public sentiment on this question is reflected in the postwar Federal Constitution of West Germany in article 15.

At that time Social Democrat

Back at the Old Stand



German munitions king Alfred Krupp and his wife at time of his release after serving six years of a 12-year prison term as a Nazi war criminal.

never-revoked 1947 demand is still valid and taken for granted were brought back to reality, SPD style, by the economic expert of the party, Deist (He took over the positions held by Agartz) who said: "The nationalization of any branch of the economy is not in the Social Democratic Program."

The last four years brought bankruptcy to over 100,000 small farmers in West Germany. Capital requirements brought about by the technological revolution on the land and government subsidies which go to the large-scale farmers, wiped them out.

The method to all this SPD madness, the grand election strategy of the SPD right wingers is the desire to "appeal" to the FDP (Free Democrats). The outlawing of the Communist Party of Germany by the Supreme Court's decision of last year, coupled with the new discriminatory election law which makes the appearance of any other left rival for the SPD virtually impossible at this time, leave the SPD free to maneuver toward the liberal bourgeois party without having to fear any outflanking on the left.

... Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course

(Continued from page 1)

stand the theory of Marxism-Leninism. In the grotesque language of the well-larded bureaucrat, Khrushchev was reflecting here the fact that the Soviet workers are finding it "difficult to understand" why they must tolerate the parasitic bureaucracy that grows fatter while they remain on desperately meager rations.

Linking the existence of Yugoslav workers councils with aid received from the capitalist world, he declared that such councils "may be all right provided you get American meat and American wheat."

on the identical charge; but these two were known for their pro-Titoist sympathies. These almost frantic efforts to achieve a new equilibrium mark the beginning of the end of the Soviet and East European bureaucracy.

... Victim of Nazis Defies French "Justice"

(Continued from page 1)

there has been a mention in the prosecutor's speech of a distinction between theory, which is considered legal, and practice propaganda, action, which is to be prosecuted and falls under the penalty of Article 80.

One point more needs to be clarified. The prosecutor has spoken in connection with me and my co-defendants of a project, a plan. While he did not actually pronounce the word, there was obviously in his mind the idea of a "plot." Rather as if all four of us had met on November 1, 1954 and had drawn up a plan for the 27 subsequent issues of La Verite.

The Judge: One could reply to you that there are grounds for distinguishing between the Gospels and gospel-preaching. Bloch: Should it therefore be concluded, your honor, that the twelve apostles would have come under the penalties of Article 80?

the realm of religion. That is another matter. Bloch: Whatever it may be, the impossibility of separating theory from practice is not a religious or abstract viewpoint. It is a fact. All those who wish to intervene, in any way in the life of society, know that.

The Prosecutor: All that is in

beyond all of us. Our pride is that we participate in it with our eyes open and in full consciousness. If you will permit me, your honor, I should like to add a last word. It seems to me unthinkable after the testimony before this court, that we should be found guilty. If, however, it should turn out otherwise, then I am convinced that history will subsequently write on the margin of that verdict what it wrote on the verdict condemning me in 1942 — overruled.

My comrades and I wrote these articles in 1955, two years ago. While the Attorney General was speaking I asked myself: "With the experience of the two past years is there anything in these articles we now would write differently?" And despite Article 80, it is obvious to me that we would not.

1956 elections, gave it to be understood and even said clearly that the Algerian people had rights and that the war should be ended. Why? Simply because they knew as we do, what the wishes of the Algerian and the French people are.

It is noteworthy that all of them, and especially during the campaign preceding the Jan. 2,

Algeria, are defending the principles of democracy: that is respect for the will of the people. And after two years, rather than abandon those principles we shall more than ever continue to uphold them.

WISHES OF THE PEOPLE

Algeria, are defending the principles of democracy: that is respect for the will of the people. And after two years, rather than abandon those principles we shall more than ever continue to uphold them.

Letters from Readers

Encouragement

Mr. Dobbs: I am writing in regard to your radio broadcasts of last autumn during the Presidential election campaign of your views with which I agree 100%.

CONCRETE ADVICE

At the end of many articles in the Militant, there is a short conclusion which shows in a few words how one can do something about what he has read if he agrees with the article. It's good to suggest to people how to do things, but the conclusions are too short; for instance, "so organize a rank-and-file caucus, or 'only Negro and white labor together can win,' etc. In the San Francisco general strike, there was an internal struggle over leadership and strategy in the unions involved.

Russian Revolution

In your editorial on the anniversary of the Poznan uprising, you state that the frame-up system "can flourish only on the corpse of a defeated revolution and a terrorized working class."

Also, there is no letter to the editor column in this (June 24th) issue of the Militant.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

By James P. Cannon

25 Cents

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