Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course **Reflects Crisis**

By Harry Ring

JULY 17 — A series of obviously improvised and Vol. XXI - No. 29 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. unless they can achieve a meas-The present zig - zag course illuminates the powerful opposing pressures underlying the now acute crisis of the ruling bureau- vanquished bureaucrats must be

throwing up a single new execute the twists and turns supreme authority. This process is expressed in the uninterrupted July 10 the Moscow radio inpower struggles of the rival formed the world that Malenkov, cliques within the bureaucracy. Who had been ousted from the

The unique feature of this in- ager of a hydroelectric plant in ternecine warfare is the context remote East Kazakhstan and that in which it takes place—the new the other ousted chieftains. stage of the Russian revolution. Molotov, Kaganovich and She-During Stalin's bloody reign con- pilov, had been assigned to other flicts within the bureaucracy were settled swiftly and brutally. The Soviet working class had spokesman for the Soviet Forbeen crushed by the bureaucratic eign Ministry in Prague who tyrants. Workers' democracy was broadly hinted to Western cordestroyed and the workers feit respondents that the deposed politically weak and isolated. four would not be arrested or Today the bureaucracy confronts tried. An obvious expert in the a huge, culturally advanced and art of double talk, he explained politically recuperated working vaguely: "They were anti-party, class. It is a working class that not hostile. There's a difference." feels the impulses of world During the very same interrevolutionary trends. This work- view, however, it was revealed ing class is seething with dis- that while the announcement had content and hatred for the been beamed to the outer world, bureaucracy.

Each new split in the bureau- people. Queried on this, the cracy gives further elbow room Prague spokesman cynically reto the masses in their demand plied, "It is not the custom in for greater democracy and im- the Soviet Union to announce proved living standards. As the the appointment of technicians rival bureaucrats contend for the in the press." post of top-dog they face the stark fact that victory is empty forming the people of the action



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.

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.]

This campaign was given signi-

ficant new impetus July 16 with

a speech in Leningrad by Mar-

shal 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 respon-

sibility before the party, before

the people for exceeding their power and committing unlawful

Meanwhile Khrushchev was

busily making meat and butter

promises during his visit, along

with Bulganin, to Czechoslo-

improving the theory of Marx,

one throws in also a piece of

bacon and a piece of butter." He

a hungry stomach it is some-

times very difficult to under-

(Continued on page 3)

Nazis' Victim Defies

La Verite, newspaper of the French Trotskyists, has been a trial of

French 'Justice"

MEAT AND BUTTER

(Speech of Gerald Bloch)

prosecuted particularly for articles denouncing torture and concentration camps in Algeria. TRIED TWICE And if the prosecutor has been

The Judge: There has been no objection to your having spoken of tortures or of camps. Bloch: But one of my articles the opportunities for a defense which is specially objected to is allowed me now are infinitely entitled "Stop the Executioner!" It calls for protests of public 1942. That one found me guilty opinion to stop the execution of of "endangering the external Ben Boulaid who had just been security of the state by undercutor has said that Ben Boulaid commit an act against the indirected the November 1, 1954 tegrity of French territory, and attack on the barracks in Bona [Algeria]. In fact this was the making propaganda use of theme of the accusation at the pamphlets and documents death. But this was proven and that was what my article ticipating in the building of the of other prisoners, confessions

torn from them by torture and Your Honor: I am being repudiated by them in the courtroom, Ben Boulaid, himself. despite torture did not confess.

Your honor, this morning I able to criticize the perhaps re-read the verdict with which vehement tone of some of those the special section of the miliarticles, I in no way apologize tary tribunal of Lyons confor it. I myself am an old con- demned me on Sept. 9, 1942, to centration camp prisoner. I have 12 years of hard labor, 20 years' resolved to denounce without loss of the right of residence moderation concentration camps and loss of citizenship rights. I Dachau or Auschwitz [Ger- against me on that occasion. I many], Vorkuta or Karaganda was surprised to discover that Berrouaghia or Lodi the articles of the legal code invoked against me were the world tension. very same as those being used today — articles 80 and 83..

I hasten to add, however, that

greater than before the court in specifically in possessing and

(Continued on page 3)

ternational, and further in par-

THE MILITANT

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Eisenhower Seen Cooking Up 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 material interests in the scapegoats for the committed against the ruling material interests. **Representation** **Rep made the scapegoats for the

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

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

Rank and file members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the vakia. On July 13 he told Czech U.S. are once more confronted with the workers, "It is not bad if, in gravest questions about what is happening in the Soviet Union.

The dominant Khrushchev faction in then explained: "When you have 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 massmurder 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 whether they bear the names of also read the indictment brought workers' standard of living, of obstructing the resumption of relations with Yugoslavia and opposing the lessening of

> 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 condemned to death. The prose- taking by whatsoever means to 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" trial where he was sentenced to originating with the Fourth In- because they proposed the first five-year plan. Then Stalin took over the program was about — only by confessions Trotskyist movement in the 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 work- lar demand or to make only the | 82 prominent individuals, in- tion practices declared illegal by ers democracy, is a factor in the present necessary minimum concessions complex power struggles among the to it. 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 be trusted" and therefore the workers. The present wide opfundamental policy in a workers state? U.S. must be able to quickly position to the deadly explosions Or do we believe that basic policy should be determined by bureaucrats at the top and then handed down to the party ranks pretext for getting out from un- Charles O. Porter (D.-Ore.). 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 Stalin-

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. says that this deplorable fact should not today for lack of a governor's 3obscure the progressive significance of veto. Their central demand has pital employs many Negroes and crats on civil rights is the what was decided by the Khrushchev succeed the bill passed unani- Tuskegee, has received a yearly O'Mahoney of

This smacks of the same kind of reason- legislature re-drawing the map was set to receive \$400,000 this heart out of the bill's voteing that was used to justify all of cheut 12 of the 400 societated but year. The school officials, protection section by giving the Stalin's crimes for so many years. Since Negro voters. There are 600 tive Negro community, refused jury" demand. His amendment, progressive developments are taking place white voters in the city. in the Soviet Union, we were told, why bother to examine the methods used to achieve them?

Later it was discovered that the criminate against Negroes atprogressive developments took place tempting to register. despite the bureaucratic rule of Stalin THREAT TO COLLEGE and not because of it.

all who stand for workers democracy in the Soviet Union and everywhere, to has threatened to have the leg- Negroes succeed in gaining fair Since the only meaningful demand in a clear and unambiguous way islature cut off all appropria- registration, they would outnum- part of the civil rights bill left that all viewpoints be heard.

Let the purged speak. Let them present famed Negro educational institutheir position before the bar of world tion is president of the Tuskegee a fighting mood and are de-make it unnecessary for the working-class opinion. Let Khrushchev Civic Association which is lead-termined to cut through this white-supremacist Senators to 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. They would to remain silent 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. they have been forced to remain silent school, which together with a cause their actions are hurting but an empty mockery of the

Liberals in Senate Seek to Patch Up **Rotten Compromise with Southerners**

By George Lavan

JULY 18 — The self-proclaimed pro-zivil 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 nu- federal troops if necessary. clear tests to a ten-month period is now being pressed by United States representatives to the London disarmament conference. U.S. spokesmen em-9-

otiate" the ten-month proviso, will like it. which is offered as a substitute

atomic radiation on man. powerful world sentiment to hell-bombs. halt the deadly tests. They are apparently determined to make every effort to resist this popu-

MUMBO-JUMBO

phasize that they will not "neg- | der the test ban the better they

for the Soviet offer of a two to man westere which this stand three-year test suspension, Mean-represents is indicated by the PRETENDED SHOCK while the Atomic Energy Com- ALC's proposed research pro-

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 ten-month plan. They certainly do not speak for the Dritish 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 section of the bill. tion spokesmen have conceded to those demanding an end to they are flying in the face of the tests and aboution of the

that the Soviet Union is "not to president of the Communications within the scope of the bill. resume exploding the deadly was also reflected last week in liberal Democrat Wayne Morse weapons. In other words, the the introduction into Congress who wanted to send the bill to quicker Washington can find a of a bill to halt the tests by Rep. Eastland's committee for "study"

Othe filibuster. The deal for the first big surrender was heralded by a

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 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 legisla-The callous indifference to hu- tion passed after the Civil War.

Russell's "horrible revelation" mission announced July 13 that gram which is motivated by an that the President could enforce it is planning a five-year pe- admitted need to "ill in the wide the country's law with federal riod of research to try to degaps of ignorance about atomic police and Marshal, and, if termine more fully the effect of radiation." Consistently parroting the U.S. with federal troops, was received U.S. delegates to the London conference are expressing "op-sentatives have endorsed the shock Fischbower declared it timism" about the possibility of ten-month plan. They certainly shock, Eisenhower declared it

This section - Section HI is the only part of the bill. dealing with civil rights in gen-In this country on July 7 a eral, that is with "equal protecban-the-test petition signed by tion of the law" against segregacluding some top union officials, the Constitution. To wipe out was sent to Easenhower. Among Section III thus means wiping the unionists who joined the de- out what small measure of antimand were Watter Reuther, segregation protection the bill Official arguments in favor of president of the United Auto promised. Violations of rights the ten-month limit consist of Workers, James B. Carey of the in schooling, transportation, use diplomatic mumbo-jumbo. The International Union of Electrical of public recreation facilities, "unofficial" U.S. argument is Workers and Joseph E. Beirne, etc., thus would no longer fall

> No sooner had the Senate voted - over the objections of 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 enforce civil rights laws with troops if necessary.

A further demonstration of the treachery of liberal Demo-Englehart also announced limiting federal judges to orderhowever, may be a "compromise'

Tuskegee Negroes' Right To Vote Gerrymandered

By Fred Halstead

JULY 12 - Tuskegee Negroes remain virtually 100% act empowering the president to solid in their boycott of white-owned stores this week as Quite right! But the Daily Worker also the bill which precipitated their mass protest becomes law

The Negroes are demanding,

tions to Tuskegee Institute. The dean of students at the world
All reports indicate that the of any such amendment would

now transcended the immediate provides most of the income for amendment being prepared by mously by the Alabama State State subsidy of \$350,000 and O'Mahoney is for cutting the about 12 of the 400 registered backed by the aroused and ac- Dixiecrats their phony "trial-byto buckle before the threat.

in addition to an end to the ger- plans to push through an am- ing fines or imprisonment only rymandering, a new board of mendment to the State constitu- where an official has openly registrars which will not dis- tion eliminating Macon county and indisputably refused a which includes Tuskegee by dis- qualified Negro the right to solving it into five surrounding vote. Where deprivations of the counties where the Negro pop- right to vote involve more than ulation is not so heavy. Under one person or where interpreta-Racist State Senator Sam En- the present Jim-Crow registra- tion of the state election laws is In our opinion, it is the urgent duty of glehart, head of the Alabama tion system, white voters out- involved, a jury trial, i.e., an white Citizens Councils and the number Negroes in the county automatic acquittal, would be sponsor of the city-limits bill, by 2,600 to 1,000, but should the mandatory.

Veteran's Administration Hos- individual white businessmen. Negro people.

'Global Conspiracy' Against SP-SDF?

If you want to get some insight into the fantastic workings of the right-wing social-democratic mind, read the June issue of the Socialist Call, the official organ of the Socialist Party-Social Demo-perialism. During the Thirties of the world's communists woke up one fine morning in 1929 to discover that three eminent members of the Soviet Communist Party's Political Burreau, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. Were proceed in "anti-normal territories the monolith and the more these men who cling to the power that by right belongs to the Russian workers shout about a "collective leader-reau, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky." Were proceed in "anti-normal territories the monolith and the more these men who cling to the power that by right belongs to the Russian workers shout about a "collective leader-reau, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky."

cratic Federation.

The whole world political situation is being shaken to its foundations by the turbulent events again. During the Thirties, sky, were engaged in "anti-party activities" has there been a crisis in the Kremlin so severe as able to hold the privileged updations by the turbulent events. dations by the turbulent events ment and Stalin were cordial, that amounced on July 3. The per stratum together, not bein the Soviet orbit; the workers the social-democrats and the lain the Soviet Union and Eastern bor bureaucrats worked closely independent struggle for work- peoples' fronts and in the unions. erandat posts eclipses even the inance was the period of the Rusreaucracy is in the throes of an cial-democrats often combined in the light it sheds on the iners democracy; the Soviet bu- In this period Stalinists and somunist party in the world is lutionists. Only when the inter- Soviet bureaucracy, and in its the terrible sufferings of the gripped by a seething discussion ests of American imperialism potentially unsettling effects on in which the entire structure of dictate a witch hunt against! Stalinist ideology is being rip- the Communist Party, do these nist Parties. ed to pieces. state - department "socialists"]
One would think that these discover they can have nothing

somewhat important develop- to do with united fronts. ments would have by this time The role of the SP-SDF leadshaken even the leaders of this SP-SDF from their customary Forum has been the best evi- any dirty job could be safely en and visible sign that the crisis Stalinophobic torpor. But no' The Call editors can see only one city to offer any progressive veritable coup d'etat. A genera- entered a new stage. The face of pattern to these world developments—there is a vast global process. When the Forum was reaucracy is rewarded with a troubled; massive and irresistible listinism and fear of the truth. been about improving the conconspiracy afoot, mastermindedby Khrushchev himself, to steal the pure and unsullied little pillow of "socialist integrity" from under their heads through the revival of the disbolical Leninist tactic of the united front. THE AMERICAN FORUM The keen-witted editors of the Call see as the instrument of this global conspiracy the American Forum-For Socialist Education, the institution set up by

many representative radical

tendencies and individuals to pro-

mote a free and untrammeled

discussion on the problems of

The sinister purpose of the AF-SE, according to the Call, is

same platform with the Com-

in open debate. By this device,

the editors argue, the Commu-

nist Party hopes to rehabilitate

itself appear as a legitimate or.

ganization and eventually en-

Does it enter the minds of

these strategists that perhaps

the crucial questions posed by

After all, the SP-SDF is not a

Not in the least! The SP-SDF

As if to demonstrate their ut-

The Trotskvite groups, perticu-

a primary area of operation."

This story hasn't even a re-

The SWP has vigorously op-

posed all talk about the SP-SDF

as the "center of regroupment."

The SWP sees no merit what-

ever in the attempt of some CP

leaders, like John Gates, to re-

solve the crisis of Stalinism by

convincing the SP-SDF that the

CP is more reformist and more

social-democratic than the SP-

SDF itself. The SWP has pro-

workers. And that means a re-

groupment that is politically op-

posed, not only to Stalinism, but

to state-department "socialism."

Of course the SWP is in favor

of united fronts on specific

questions like the struggle for

civil liberties confronting all

working class organizations, And

of course the SWP also favors

full, free and open debate among

all radical tendencies to clarify

differences and enable workers

to choose their political party

on the basis of their own judge-

ment and experience. What self-

respecting political organization can oppose either unity in

action or the public clarification

of differences, however deep?

SDF leaders are not really op-

posed to united fronts with the

Stalinists-when and if these

united fronts don't contradict

the foreign policy of U.S. im-

The blunt fact is that the SP-

the crisis of Stalinism?

American socialism.

activities.

Even Norman Thomas is reto lure the SP-SDF onto the garded as a "left" extremist by the clique that runs the SPmunist Party in order to engage SDF because he takes a consistent stand in behalf of the civil liberties of all, including the CP leaders. And were it not for Thomas' public stature he would doubtlessly be disciplined by these petty bureaucrats for parsnare the SP-SDF into united ticipating in debates with the CP and the SWP.

join the Forum and stand by it

when it came under witch-hunt

How can anyone who proin the course of these debates fesses to be a revolutionary sothey may influence the thinking cialist see in this SP-SDF a of thousehds of workers in and progressive force in the regrouparound the CP who are des- ment process, let alone the cenperately looking for answers to ter of a radical regroupment?

But apparently anything is possible, for we have seen Max Shachtman waiting at the gates very large organization. In view of the SP-SDF for over a yearof its tiny numbers and weakend-a-half, growing old and tired, ness, shouldn't this organizabut not despairing, and crying tion, which professes to dispense to the entire radical movement the overwhelming majority of party! Here and here alone can the radical workers? Don't they we find the path to a broad sofeel they can win in such decialist movement."

It is beyond our power to do justice to this bizarre spectacle. peddlers of "socialist integrity" Let us yield the floor to the edare standing pat. They boast iter of Labor Action, Hal that they never supported the Draper, Labor Action has sup-Soviet Union from October 1917 ported Shachtman's politics for on. That's enough proof that 17 years. Draper is opposed to they're the genuine article, isn't the kind of SP-SDF orientation that is supported by a majority of the Political Committee of ter lack of contact with polit- Shachtman's organization. Draical reality, the Call editors have per regards the SP-SDF orientadreamed up a role for the So- tion of the PC majority as a cialist Workers Party in this "systematic adaptation to social devious plot: "The Trotskyite democracy." He also regards it groups," they say, "are willing as a pipe dream. In the July 8 cooperators in the new CP line. issue of Labor Action, Draper

larly the SWP, are somewhat "IF only the SP rose to its reluctant followers of the CP opportunities, sighs the PC maview that the SP-SDF should be jority, what a wonderful movement we could build! No doubt: if only the girl were beautiful, rich, intelligent and sweet-tempered, she would make an excelmote relationship to the truth. lent wife. But under the circumstances we are not well advised to rush into matrimony."

National Press Club in Wash- ing of one of the founders of the

Question: What is a "clean" H-

around to act as pallbearers.

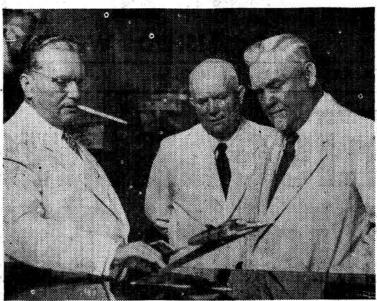
New Phase of the Stalinist Crisis

peared in the July-August issue who try to hold back historical of Labour Review, British Marx-progress always find their most

Not since the world's com- turn into their opposites; and and Malenkov from the Central sonal powers he possessed, but Committee and from their Gov- because the period of his dom-Twentieth Congress revelations sion workers' weariness and ternal stresses that rack the of the revolution in the West and Eastern Europe and on Commu-

Molotov, Lenin's "best filing- widening rapidly as the whole cleik of the revolution," Stalin's structure is shaken from below 'comrade-in-arms"-and accomplire in the murder of Lenin's mensely strong, Soviet proleers in the case of the American colleagues - the man to whom tarist. July 1957 is the outward dence of their complete incapa- trusted, at lest falls victim to a of the whole Stalinist regime has contribution to the regroupment tion's faithful service to the bu- the waters has suddenly become under attack by the capitalist pitiless indictment of his nar- currents are stirring in the press and the Congressional in-quiritors, they acted within the and "anti-party" activities. In The socialist movement like the Un- the whole voluminous compass ing as an unbearable fetter on to learn from Mao Tse-tung. | er to give concessions, what the document issued on July 3. must rebuff all attempts by imcle Toms act within the Negro of Molotov's speeches there oc- Soviet life. Its chains bite into The bureaucracy is actuated concessions to give, to whom to movement. They rushed into curs but one striking and memo- the living flesh of Soviet so- by two economic impulses. It give them, and so on. print when the witch-hunt heat rable phrese "All roads lead to ciety at a hundred and one must protect the nationalized BEHIND CLOSED DOORS was on, not to defend the Forum, communism." Perfectly true; but points. In industry and argri- property relations; it does so in but to try to knife it. They with a little foresight he might culture the tail ends of a series, its own way, of course, but do whined and whimpered about have added that for the major of unfulfilled plans litter the so it must, since these are the against SP-SDF members who had the courage and integrity to tumbles.

Still Not Close Buddies cherished dreams and illusions



Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin in Yugoslavia in 1955. Yugoslav officials were jubilant over the recent Kremlin purge of old-line Sstalinists until Khrushchev's Prague speech July 11 attacking Yugoslav workers councils. The Belgrade reaction was "shocked silence."

Not least of all, in the sphere dition of the Soviet workers, but of ideology, the ruling caste can about how best the bureaucracy The bureaucracy is now act- only mutter that it has nothing can defend its positions: wheth-

how the N.Y. Times was giving obstacle on the Russian path to planners' desks. In literature, soil that gives it life. And it testants could hear the first of the people. There is a threat too much space to the Forum. communism, the Soviet bureau- music and historiography ad- must safeguard its own privi- premonitory tappings of the between every two lines. They opened an expulsion drive cracy, all roads lead to convul- ministrative methods designed to leged position. As with every giant outside. They did not take sions, intrigues, shocks and compel uniformity and stifle parasite, this latter is its pri- the discussion outside the Cen- one between "Stalinists" and creativeness succeed only in remarks of the destiny which the vealing the bureaucracy's phisions in the Kremlin have not the ranks of their heavily buThe lines are not drawn so sim-

tional activity. tended the proscription of fac-

tional platforms as anything more than an extraordinary and cent opportunities are opening the tradition of the Bolshevik Party from its inception; the them because they cannot toledifferent from the crisis of State was menaced by foreign people thirsty for knowledge about the past of the movement. The reference to the Tenth Congress may therefore boomerang back at its authors.

The gravity of the crisis is shown above all by the tone of This is no product of a calm academic dispute between "liberalizers" and "anti-liberalizers." The dominant faction is This was a fight behind speaking not only to its ousted closed doors, at which the con- enemies, but also to the masses

Can the struggle be seen as

would have exposed their real the Khrushchev faction nor the motives. The views of those ex- Molotov faction nor the Malenpelled have nowhere appeared kov faction is homogeneous. It in documents from their own may well be that each of these hands. After one preparatory ar- factions has chosen to adopt as ticle in Pravda a fait accompli its own various popular deis presented to the Soviet peo- mands. We should beware of ple. Yet this is supposed to be over-simplified interpretations "inner-party democracy." and of a conflict whose outlines are these men have the audacity to in many ways still misty. The refer to the Tenth Congress to important thing is that the mosupport their strictures on fac- tive force of this cateelysm, and of those which will certainly fol-Lenin, however, never in- low it, is the resuscitation of the Russian working class.

For this class, new magnifitemporary measure during a out. The essential feature of this critical period. Open groupings new stage of the crisis is that and open discussion had been the workers will more and more come on to the arena. It is not ruled out that they may tem-Stalinist perties cannot tolerate porerily use reactionary members of the bureaucracy as inrate the clash of opinion. The struments, before they reach the crisis of 1957 is fundamentally stage of building their own new, revolutionary leadership. But no 1921: then an infant workers' threats, no terror, no concessions, no maneuvers can prevent intervention; now a bureacracy the discussion coming into the is menaced by an awakening factories, can prevent the emergence of political trends, can prevent the Russian workers from organizing, can prevent the rise of a rejuvenated Marxist movement in the USSR. The Labor movement of the West perialism to take advantage of the crisis, and must rally to the support of the Russian workers. The night has lasted for as

generation, for three long, dark decades. Now it is ending. The? bankruptcy and impotence of a leadership torn by internecine strife are the clear signs of an approaching dawn.

British Armaments Boom Living Costs

a new historical epoch. The old

incantations and formulas no

longer work. The cracks are

by the still inarticulate, but im-

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent flation" in a headline somewhere, eral Workers'. The Tory Government is doing

the new and iniquitous Rent Act (1,277,000) block vote at the Union, which with 853,000 mem- a "cheaper dollar" cuts millions it. But the capitalist economists has just come into force, giving annual TUC and Labor Party bers is another very powerful of dollars of real wealth off the are not at all sure that this is landlords of private houses the conferences could always be re- body, has also turned down the income of lenders of capital the real reason for inflation. go-ahead for terrific rent in- lied on to support wage freezes Government's scheme for an "im-

And at a time when British sttend; when members of the rank and file. boards of nationalized industries chairmen).

sider wages policy "in an inwages down.

ment was the opposition to this too prevalent among British scheme expressed this week by workers.)

its damnedest to wip up public the late Arthur Deakin, this in our power to protect our individuals none of whom have feeling against the growing large, rich, powerful and influ-members."

are voting themselves a pay in- conference, which has just fin- of their secretary Ernest Jones, last year. crease of 470 pounds a year; isked, while it did not show any have expressed disapproval.

trade union is expressing firm Government controls on the imopposition to the Government migration of West Indians, plan for a national "impartial urged the TUC to adopt immiand authoritative" body to con- gration control as a national policy. Not one of the 800 dele- ture (twice as much per head of flationary setting"-i.e., to keep gates voted against this resolution, which is a shocking com-A body-blow for the Govern- mentary on the charvinism all pealing the Rent Act.

one Frank Cousins, who is a In the name of his members leading member of the General Cousins delivered this warning Council of the Trades Union to the Macmillan Government: Every issue of every serious Congress, and the general sec- "While the Government or innewspaper published in Britain retary of Britain's biggest trade dustry, or both, collectively purthis past week had the word "in- union, the Transport and Gen- sue a policy which worsens the standards of the people we rep-

(One thoroughly reactionary just announced for 600,000 civil of three inches per hour for sev- about equal to the total value of Of special interest is the critiare to get higher salaries (up decision must be mentioned, servants ("to encourage the eral hours, and then a crew i all the passenger cars produced cism of Russian Trotskyism by to 10,000 pounds a year for however. The conference set an others," someone said unkindly) men vigorously began to bail the in 1956, exceedingly bad example when the Government has scarcely water out for an hour or so. No wonder trade union after it demanded "strict and orderly" chosen the best time to halt the If they discovered that the wawages movement.

pied in trying to halt price in- against it, they would have some creases by cutting arms expendithe population than that of any BLAMED ON WORKERS other European country) and re-

be a Tory Government!

Credit Expansion Increases Inflation Menace in U.S.

By Vincent Copeland

Inflation is now the top concern of the U.S. Treasury, the Federal Reserve Bank, the editorial writers of the Under Cousins' predecessor, resent, we shall do everything nation and in fact a tremendous assortment of powerful

ever shown much concern for the Naturally they use the statis-(bank mortgages, bonds, etc.) and the like.

Now a big change is taking partial" body, branding the project as "unnecessary." The dollar, measured by the consum-

ter still rose three inches per It would be far better occu- hour in spite of their battle cause for alarm,

named Eitington.

Naturally every Big Business editorial writer blames this sit-But then it would no longer uation on the "greedy" demands of labor for wage increases.

It is doing this at a time when Right-wing views. Its enormous the Amalgamated Engineering try in the past. This is because raise in wages is not good for Review.

The prevailing power of the the pressure of borrowed money opinion that each issue has been on the economy. But in spite of a great improvement on its MPs [members of parliament] place in the TGWU. Its biennial miners, too, through the mouth er price index, fell 2.9 percent all kinds of controls, credit is predecessor. . .' not contracting. It is still ex- It need only be added that the This is no greater than the panding. Consumer installment current issue is no exception. with a pay rise of five per cent ing boat were rising at the rate mobile loans. That is an amount on this page.)

These loans-this huge unstable credit situation, not to article by Leonard Hussey mention the much larger government debt which also pushes prices up in its own way-are constantly rising, and with an Trotsky. Instead of the counterexpanding economy will continue

their statesmanlike talk the fi- politicians of a past era.' Innancial authorities do not have stead of the familiar bogeythe authority to reverse this image of Trotsky as arch-militrend, and are not even quite tarist and would-be-dictator, we sure they want to in spice of the have Trotsky judged as a man crash they suspect lies at the who wanted to carry democracy end of their road.

For example, the Government's 'tight money" policy-the present higher rate of interest-is demonstrates that a fruitful and still serving his sentence in Mexico for the crime, were carried supposed to discourage borrow- objective discussion on the hisout by a deputy of the NKVD ing, restrict credit, and thus reduce the inflationary pressure. skyism and Stalinism is possible. The full details made public But this has made mortgages The British Marxists do not by the Petrovs are reported in more expensive and reduced the underestimate the importance of the summer issue of the Inter-bonanze of home construction such a discussion. They welcome national Socialist Review. The for the contractors-and the magazine also carries the Pet- banks who supply the money. rov's revelations about the fate So, simultaneously with the Tom Kemp's series (concluded in

of Karl Radek and some of their higher interest rates, down payeyewitness reports as former ments have now been reduced government officials on what is On July 1 Congress passed a law really going on inside the So- reducing minimum down-payments on FHA-insured housing with British economic developto three percent of the first 10 .-000, and 15 percent of the next; 6,000. The previous minimum was five percent of the first 9,000 policy by the Chinese Complus 25 percent of the remain- munist Party by Michael Banda, der. And that was reduced from Joseph Redman's study of the a still higher requirement last British CP from 1925 29, and a fall.

Thus a worker can now buy a \$12,000 home with a \$600 down payment, where last fall he had to pay \$1200 down, and before scription for one year (six isthat a larger amount. Thus the worker is tempted to borrow a greater amount in mortgage and at the same time is compelled to pay a higher rate of interest. Moreover the contractor may raise the total price still higher, since there is a greater demand for houses at \$600 down than at \$1200. The inflationary spiral is increased at the very time and by the very rules it is supposed to be decreased.

Of Labor Review **Now Available** By Bert Deck Perhaps the most exciting

Summer Issue

literary result thus far in the international regroupment discussion among socialists has been the appearance of the new movement for higher wages. ential union was a bastion of An editorial in the Journal of working-consumers of the counties to convince labor that a British bi monthly L a b o u r

As one of its readers writes in the July-August issue, "I have read Labour Review from They understand all too well its inception and am of the

when members of that most loosening of the bureaucratic With 100,000 out-of-London average constant decline (infla- credit alone, has now reached The featured editorial on the useless body of ermined legis- domination of this union, did busmen threatening to strike for tion) since 1946. But it comes the 32 billion dollar figure, hav- fall of Molotov is a brilliantly lators in the world, the House show that the Cousins' "new more pay on July 20; with the on top of the most strenuous ing expanded two billion last succinct statement of the new the only true brand of socialism, as it passes by: "Here is the be eager to reach the minds of gateway to a mass socialist of the entire radical movement lators in the world, the House snow that the cousins as it passes by: "Here is the be eager to reach the minds of gateway to a mass socialist of the responsiveness and needs of the inadequacy of their pay; it. Suppose the water in a leak-dollars outstanding in auto- (See reprint of this editorial

> Communist theoretician, R. W. Davies. An answer to this begins, "The article by R. W. Davies is on an altogether different plane from the traditional type of Stalinist critique of posing of 'Trotskyism' to Leninism, we have a frank bracketing The truth is, that with all of Lenin and Trotsky as those beyond the bounds of 'realism'.'

This exchange between R. W. Davies and Leonard Hussey torical differences between Trotit for the rich understanding it can yield.

this issue) on the prospects of British capitalism most useful. Although Kemp deals specifically ments, trends similar to those; in the U.S. are easily discernible.

Also included in this issue is an analysis of a new shift in discussion on Dialectics.

Copies of Labour Review, the British theoretical magazine may be obtained for 50 cents. A subsues) sells for \$2.50. Write to Militant Business Office, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS On Socialism and the Labor

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Gives New Evidence in Trotsky Murder training of the assassin who is

By Fred Hart

New evidence in the murder of Lean Trotsky, definitively litical police in the planning of The following joke is reported- York was named as the place y making the rounds in the from which the cold-blooded kill-

posed a revolutionary socialist Answer: It's a bomb that kills was proved circumstantially that regroupment of the radical you but leaves a few people the murderer was an agent of Stalin. This is now confirmed by

Soviet Union was plotted. In August 1940, when the exiled socialist leader was killed by a blow from a pick-axe, it



116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

an eyewitness report of what is in the top-secret files in Mos-

The revelations were made by linking up Stalin's secret po- Vladimir Petrov, Third Secretathe assassination, has been made Camberra, Austr. ha, whose depublic by a fermer top officer fection from Moscow in 1954 creof the dread organization. The sted an intrenational sensation. Soviet Consulate-General in New They are contained in a book which he and his wife Evdokia wrote and published recently in London. The facts were made public in this country for the first time by the International

Socialist Review. Petrov reports that as an official of Stalin's police charged with the supervision of Soviet merchant seamen on the lower Danusce, he often consulted the secret files of the Intelligence department. One day, by mistake, he was handed the file on Trotsky.

der was planned in Moscow. He years, which led up to the suc also confirms the fact that there conful assassination." was not a single item in the voluminous file that would sup- read the file quickly, with a port the false charges leveled by certain apprehensive speed, I re-Stalin in the infamous frame-up member clearly these planning trials in which Trotsky and his papers. One of them had a foot-

principal defendants.

skimmed hurriedly, for Petrov leave the U.S.S.R." risked arousing suspicion if he Other items seen by Petrov kept the incriminating evidence in the file tend to corroborate too long. However, Petrov de- the revelation made by another clares that he can confirm the former agent of Moscow's sesuspicions of Moscow's complici- cret police that the "direction of ty in the killing of Trotsky Trotsky's assassination" and the



LEON TROTSKY

"from the evidence of my own eyes," The file "contained the Petrov declares that what he detailed planning by the N. K. read proves that Trotsky's mur- V. D. experts over a period of

Petrov says that "Though I son Leon Sedov were named as note comment by a senior N. K V. D. officer that Trotsky should The file on Trotsky had to be never have been allowed to

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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. What is revealed at the same time is the magnitude of the lawlessness of the Congressional witch hunters and the Department of Justice.

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. In addition there is an untold number of other cases which were lost or dropped by the weary victims during the depths of the smear orgy.

Already two cases similar to that of Watkins have been adjudged in favor ofthe defendants by lower courts acting on the basis of the high court's decision. One of these - the Singer case - concerned academic freedom and the right of a professor to refuse to become a stool pigeon informing on the political beliefs of fellow faculty members.

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. In an important decision in this case, Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl specifically recognized the witch-hunters' attempts on the freedom of the press. "To inhibit the freedom of thought and association of newspapermen is to infringe upon freedom of the press," he ruled. "It is also a temptation to those investigating newspapermen to wander into the field of press content and at times during these hearings the subcommittee was unable to resist even this direct invasion."

Thus the high court's Watkins decision restored as the law of the land.

which declared that Congressional committees could not act as unrestrained. persecutors of all those holding "forbidden" social and political views, "exposing election rally in Dortmund, a for the sake of exposing" and unleashing ten plank platform was unfurled 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 platform calls for "Reunifica law but that their testimony was open to examination by defendants just as is the the discussion raging over retic, Junker, landed aristocracy, perialist wars for their aggrantestimony of ordinary witnesses. This unification in Germany it is hard have found broad support and dizement. Thus it came about threatens the whole dirty FBI paid- to imagine a formulation with approval in West Germany. Is that the same men who backed informer system which depends on pro- less content. In his speech, a tected secret testimony.

Already James Matles, a leader of the additional clarification on his independent United Electrical Workers party's stand. 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 Department on the other hand takes a clear of Justice must now either give back Matles' citizenship or see its paid informers subjected to effective crossexamination. The Department of Justice are only puppets, he says that will be faced with the same heart-rending unity must be negotiated with decision in many more cases, unless the fers him to the East German Congressional witch hunters and the FBI lobby soon succeed in their plan to back where he wants to be-a override the Jencks decision with a new deadlock. He does not want unity law "protecting" the "holy" FBI files and its unholy stable of informers.

The recent civil liberties victories are important, but no one should be misled tiated agreement is likely to zation of the basic industries. plained that economic restora- the great economic concentra- the expropiation of farms larger into the belief that they mean the end of the witch hunt. A few stones have been the Eastern zone and are conpried loose from the Bastille that the tent to wait for the opportune witch hunters began to erect in this military and political situation. country, but unfortunately the grim structure still stands. Unremitting struggle and education is required before it will be leveled and the Bill of Rights

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. There are plenty of corrupt bosses many that make a piker out of Dave Beck. But none of them so far have been treated to the notoriety of the Teamster's boss, despite Reuther's plea for equality

of exposure. 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. Anyone invoking the Fifth Amendment would automatically be removed from office.

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. The Senate "rackets" committee has adopted a

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. The stand the theory of Marxism- Yugoslav workers councils with secondary boycott investigation is un-Leninism." doubtedly aimed at the UAW's long In the grotesque language of world, he declared that such struggle against the union-busting Kohler the well-larged bureaucrat, countries and you get American meat mark the beginning of the end Company in Wisconsin.

Aren't the anti-labor objectives of the are finding it "difficult to under- morning the Soviet government bureaucracy. The final outcome "rackets" committee clear enough? Isn't stand" why they must tolerate paper, Izvestia, declared edi- of its crisis was foreshadowed it obvious that, at the very least, these grows fatter while they remain Molotov would lead to improved events. In Poland the swings investigations have the effect of distracting the unions from what should be their main function - fighting the bosses for Czech bureaucrats who have shorter hours and better pay?

There are many things wrong with the chev took time to lash out at the tensions of the Kremlin shakeup The present ferment among the labor movement today. But these evils Yugoslavs who he declared into the East European satellite Soviet workers, students and inwill not be eliminated by a Senate com- would not get back into the "so- governments. In Rumania two tellectuals will be further fanned mittee. There is still only one answer to cialist front" except on the con- officials associated with old-line by the bureaucratic crisis. When Senate interference in the labor move- arguments about "who is smarter "anti-party activity." In Bul- takes place the despotic bureaument: 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. Erich Offenhauer SDP Chairman, banks on the multitude of pent-up grievances against the Bonn regime and keeps one eye towards the non-clerical, liberal middle-class Free Democratic Party with an election coalition clearly in mind. At the opening which revealed the not too-subtle hand of the executive committee's right wingers, Erler and Carlo Schmidt.

On the overshadowing issue of reunification, the point of the tion in Freedom-An end to the do-nothing policy." In view of methodical elaboration of the platform, Ollenhauer added no

CLEAR POSITION

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer representing the conservatives position. He refuses to negotiate with the East German Pankow regime. Starting with the premise that Ulbricht and Grotewohl government and Adenauer is at this time. The German capitalists whom Adenauer represents want much more out of reunification than any negobring them. They want the complete capitalist restoration in

In the past SPD leaders have castigated Adenauer for his refusal to deal with the East Ger-



ADENAUER

reunification going to mean the both the Kaiser and Hitler (the restoration of the expropriated Krupps, Flicks, Abs and such),

these national assets with their Germany. former West German capitalist The SPD of the immediate the West German workers to nain the period of military occupation and before the consolidation tered majorities for nationali-It was the veto of the U.S. milivented the fulfillment of that wish.

On this question the Adenauer program is clear too. On-Minister Brentano, in an interin the event of SPD victory he weekly, Aufbau, explained that bate in Germany has focused Germany under the new prop-

negotiations with the East Ger-

Perhaps one should not expect the SPD to project too detailed a social program for the Eastern zone in a reunified Germany. Does the platform do any better for West Germany?

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. Only the intervention of the U.S. military high command prevented the expropriations of the West German industrial fortunes and thus permitted the reconcentration of economic power in the hands of the same group which had led economic basis of the militaris- Germany into two predatory imestates to the Junkers? The plat- Ruhrbarons and finance magform and Ollenhauer fail to take nates, succeeded once again in reconstituting their economic The nationalization of the key and political power in West Gerindustries-probably the most many. The occupation forces of deep-going change in East Ger- the Soviets forced the social exmany-would the SPD "reunify" tinction of that class in East

monopoly owners? This would be post-war period, reconstituted inconceivable to the West Ger- under the leadership of its now man workers as well as to their deceased Chairman Dr. Kurt brothers in the Eastern zone. Schumacher, was well aware It has been the deep desire of that the return of the capitalist monopolies to their old power tionalize the basic industries in would mean the revival of an their sector too. Plebiscites in authoritarian capitalist political West German states conducted dictatorship as well. At the 1947 was layed down. "The nationaliof the Adenauer regime, regis- zation of big industry is an absolute necessity." Schumacher ex ism and regimentation for the German workers.

ly last May German Foreign the capitalist politicians to coun- that the capitalists need not fear madness, the grand election. mans; now Ollenhauer says that view with the German American lic sentiment on this question is platform. There is no mention ers is the desire to "appeal" to would submit new proposals to even concerns that had never Constitution of West Germany in or expropriation of either indus- outlawing of the Communist the Big Four powers and at- known private ownership, that article 15. "Real estate and land, trial or agrarian resources. tempt to bring about a confer- is, new industries and concerns natural resources and means of ence on the matter. But the de- that have been created in East production, can be transformed form calls for "property accumuon the nature of reunification. erty forms, would be given to er forms of common ownership end to preferential treatment for What is to happen to the social the monopoly capitalists if he by law. . . ." The Constitution Big Business." Ollenhauer elab- other left rival for the SPD virgains made in East Germany and Adenauer have their way. states also explicitly in article orates by urging anti-cartel leg- tually impossible at this time, since the end of the war? For That is at any rate a clear stand. 14 that the expropriation of pri-

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. His vast industries were then restored to him. With West Germany now in a key NATO role. Krupp and his fellow German capitalists are amassing huge new

Menzel who helped to draft the never-revoked 1947 demand is Constitution promised: "We still valid and taken for gramted know that this demand is an im- were brought back to reality, portant and perhaps the crucial SPD style, by the economic exaim of our political struggle for pert of the party, Deist (He took the liberation of labor from the over the positions held by injustices of this social sys- Agartz) who said: "The nationtem. . ."

ing defeat in the coming elec- Democratic Program." tions, wants to eliminate this article of the constitution while bankruptcy to over 100,000 small it can still muster the necessary farmers in West Germany. Capvotes in Parliament. Where the ital requirements brought about article says that property "can" by the technological revolution convention the party program be socialized by law, they want on the land and government subto add the word "not."

The obvious truth of this made only ten years after the Schu- us." it impossible at that time for macher public declaration, shows ter the argument head on. Pub- at any rate the drafters of the strategy of the SPD right wingreflected in the postwar Federal of nationalization, socialization the FDP (Free Democrats). The

The relevant plank in the platinto public property or into oth-lation for everyone" and "an criminatory election law which islation and-how radical can he leave the SPD free to maneuver example the deep-going agrarian But the Social Democrats say vate property in the interest of get—democratic control of nu-toward the liberal bourgeois reforms, which broke up the no more on the social character the common good is permissible. Clear and mining industries. At that time Social Democrat Those who thought that the outflanking on the left.

alization of any branch of the The Adenauer coalition fear- economy is not in the Social

The last four years brought sidies which go to the large-scale The capitalist class wants to farmers, wiped them out. The make it unconstitutional to place original SPD program called for tion of big business meant the tions with their vital political than 100 hectares. The SPD tary occupation army that pre- political restoration of militar- power into the hands of the farm specialist Kriedemann says workers. But an examination of on this question: "Land reform, the SPD 1957 election platform, is no longer on the agenda for

> The method to all this SPD Party of Germany by the Supreme Court's decision of last year, coupled with the new dismakes the appearance of any

. Khrushchev's Zig-Zag Course

(Continued from page 1)

on desperately meager rations. relations with Yugoslavia. and who is more stupid."

Linking the existence of on the identical charge; but aid received from the capitalist pro-Titoist sympathies. the well-larded bureaucrat, councils "may be all right pro- to achieve a new equilibrium the fact that the Soviet workers and American wheat." The next of the Soviet and East European

gazia, two others were deposed cratic caste will be finished.

These almost frantic efforts

between repressions and conces-In an apparent sop to the INCONSISTENCY OF PURGE sions were the spark for Poznan and Warsaw. In Hungary the remained steadfast in their This same contradictory pro- same course paved the road for servility to the Kremlin, Khrush- cess accompanies the first ex- the great revolutionary uprising. dition that there were no Stalinism were booted out for the inevitable mass eruption

Letters from Readers

Encouragement

Mr. Dobbs:

radio broadcasts of last autumn during the Presidential election campaign of your views with CONCRETE ADVICE which I agree 100%. Your radio

Keep up the good work and never become discouraged. Remember, there are thousands, it up? Push resolutions? My exand there will be more thousands as time goes on and more people wake up, who are counting on you and others like you stdel union, dues-protest moveto be their spokesman.

Pittsburgh

Russian Revolution In your editorial on the an

niversary of the Poznan uprising, you state that the frame-up system "can flourish only on the compse of a defeated revolution and a terrorized working class." Perhaps you were not aware formulation in the June 24 edithat you were making a gen- torial referred to by R. F. is eralization that could be applied to other places besides Poznan. subject to misunderstanding. For instance, the USSR. Does The Russian Revolution of 1917 your statement mean that the was never defeated as far as the revolution of 1917 was defeated, transformation of property relasince the frame-up system did tions is concerned. But the politflourish under Stalin? I agree that the Russian working class was probably terrorized, but you destroyed by the bureaucratic said that frame-ups can occur caste. That is why the historic only over a defeated revolution task of the Soviet workers is

Please clarify.

hope this is only because there were no letters to the editor. I think that the popularity and vitality of a newspaper depend, I am writing in regard to your for one thing, on the size of such a column.

At the end of many articles. broadcasts certainly had a lot of in the Militant, there is a short good common sense and it is too conclusion which shows in a few bad that millions of other voters words how one can do something couldn't have realized it and about what he has read if he voted for you instead of voting agrees with the article. It's good for the rich man's figurehead, to suggest to people how to do Eisenhower, and the Republican things, but the conclusions are politicians who fight to keep the too short; for instance, "so orlittle people, the working people, ganize a rank-and-file caucus," down both in this country and or "only Negro and white labor the rest of the world wherever together can win," etc. In the they can do so. Thank God for San Francisco general strike, you and every man and women there was an internal struggle who has brains enough to real- over leadership and strategy in ize that the rich man's politi- the unions involved. Perhaps a cians, the Republicans and history of events like these can Southern Republicans who call show more on how to do, as well themselves Democrats, aren't for as what to do, in getting the them, never were and never will rank and file sentiment organized.

How should workers go about building a labor party? Just talk amples may be poor, but I hope you see my point. Perhaps at the end of an article about the ment, you could write: "Steel workers interested in this problem of union democracy, etc., come to 116 University Place, and let's talk it over," or something like that, so that the advice of what to do that is given in the Militant can be more than words to an interested party.

> Detroit R.F.

[We are agreed that the and a terrorized working class. a political revolution to restore Also, there is no letter to the workers' democracy rather than editor column in this (June a social revolution, our task in 24th) issue of the Militant. I the capitalist world. - Ed.1

Victim of Nazis Defies French "Justice" there has been a mention in the the realm of religion. That is an | beyond all of us. Our pride is | 1956 elections, gave it to be | Algeria, are defending the prin-

unoccupied zone, particularly in the region of Lyons."

Very well. I must admit that the court was right. Not about French territory" - frankly it seemed to me in that epoch that plied before me that Marxism life of society, know that. "Trotskyist propaganda."

is but the present-day expres- Gospels. I seem to remember, there was obviously in his mind that can enable us to escape the important to testify to one's barbarism threatening civiliza- faith by one's life and one's issues of La Verite. tion — the barbarism which first deeds than by verbal statements took form in the Hitlerian con- of loyalty to that faith. centration camps, then in atomic war. The events of the past 20 years have but strengthened my reasoned conviction. And for me Trotskvism has been the very source of my moral life. After I was condemned [by the Vichy government] I did two years in in the camps of the Nazi SS. 80? For they incontestably went prison in France, then one year Upon my return in 1945 I immediately began again to engage in "Trotskyist propaganda." I have continued since, and I shall continue. I cannot do otherwise. tinue. I cannot do otherwise.

prosecutor's speech of a distinct other matter. tion between theory, which is considered legal, and practice the impossibility of separating ousness.

it was the Nazis and their in particular does not separate [Vichy government] allies who theory from practice, philosophy had committed such acts. But from action. But this is true not the court was right about only of Marxism. Permit me to

> 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 from the stage of theory to that

propaganda, action, which is to theory from practice is not a lf you will permit me, your

A "PLOT"

One point more needs to be clarified. The prosecutor has At the age of 18 I reached the familiar to me than the Marx- and my co-defendants of a proconclusion that revolutionary ist classics. It is certainly a ject, a plan. While he did not 1942 - overruled. Marxism of which Trotskyism long time since I have read the actually pronounce the word, sion, is the only political philo- however, that Jesus is repre- the idea of a "plot." Rather as sophy corresponding to the sented as emphasizing on several if all four of us had met on needs of humanity, the only one occasions that it is much more November 1, 1954 and had drawn up a plan for the 27 subsequent

That is an error of perspective If you wanted to link our acts positively to some plan, you would have had to trace the origin of that plan back to two young men, then completely unknown to the great public, who at the end of 1847 were drawing up a pamphlet — a pamphlet which for a long time remained unknown to the masses - the Communist Manifesto:

As to the project, it had already begun before them. Millions of men participated in it, WISHES OF THE PEOPLE then hundreds of millions. It It is noteworthy that all of deals with an irresistible his- them, and especially during the

court, that we should be found guilty. If, however, it should turn out otherwise, then I am against the Algerian war. convinced that history will subsequently write on the margin the verdict condemning me in

(Excerpts from speech of Stephane Just)

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. Just a little while ago Messteurs Dechezelles and Juffa (defense attorneys) piled quotation upon quotation from politicians, some of whom yesterday occupied high office, others of whom occupy such office today.

Your honor, several times The Prosecutor: All that is in toric movement, which goes far campaign preceding the Jan. 2,

that we participate in it with understood and even said clearly ciples of democracy: that is our eyes open and in full consci- that the Algerian people had respect for the will of the peorights and that the war should ple. And after two years, rather be ended. Why? Simply because than abandon those principles the court was right. Not about be prosecuted and falls under religious or abstract viewpoint. honor, I should like to add a last they knew as we do, what the we shall more than tacts against the integrity of the penalty of Article 80. My It is a fact. All those who wish word. It seems to me unthinkable wishes of the Algerian and the tinue to uphold them. honor, I should like to add a last they knew as we do, what the we shall more than ever conco-defendants have already re- to intervene, in any way in the after the testimony before this French people are. The Algerian I am going to speak some people want to decide their own words that perhaps are unac-

destiny; the French people are customed in this chamber. Excuse me, Mr. Attorney General The political regime under but while you were talking I which we live pretends to base was wondering if you could pro cite to you a text which is less spoken in connection with me of that verdict what it wrote on itself on the principles of duce one argument that would democracy. In that case the justify in the eyes of the hunwishes of the French and the dreds and thousands of men and Algerian people should be re- women in the plant where I work, spected. The men who are run- the prosecution of the war in ning the government, on the Algeria in the name of Article contrary, persist in the war, and 80. And I got no answer from we, by opposing the war in you.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

By James P. Cannon

25 Cents

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THE MILITANT

I suppose every worker could write about the bosses he or she has known for the class struggle contains within it an inexhaustible wealth of material. But there is no market in the bourgeois press for class struggle stories. Perhaps these articles will encourage others to write for the Militant.

Some of the bosses I have known were beauts. But I think one of the prizewinners was a hotel owner who shall be nameless only because I don't remember his name. The story happened a long time ago but present day conditions are hardly improved although unionization has begun to make a dent in the summer resort hotel field.

It was during the Great Depression.

The summer resorts still offered some employment especially in the height of the season. I was used to the slave conditions, having worked as a bus boy and waiter for several seasons. It was a way to get a few bucks together to tide you over for a little while. All you had to do was put in a 14 hour working day seven days a week and help entertain the guests at night. You also had to overlook the slop they served for meals and don't get too fussy about sleeping quarters.

One fine day in the late thirties (I believe it was a Labor Day weekend) I got a hurry call to get up to a hotel at once.

I arrived late at night and the proprietor showed me to my quarters. He descended a narrow stairway leading to a cellar and I braced myself for the worst. But I didn't brace myself enough. As we clambered over some debris the owner led me to an army cot with no mattress on it. In the dim light I noticed some piles of coal

"We start to work at 6 o'clock in the morning," the owner said as he left.

I put my bag down and sat on the cot, debating what to do. It was late: I was tired. I lay down to sleep.

In a few minutes I was itching and scratching like mad. I could feel the bugs crawling over me. I jumped up and put on the light. The cot was literally swarming with the bugs.

I never got out of a place so fast in my life. It was pitch black outside but I felt as though I had just been released from a cell. Since I am here to tell the story I suppose I reached the main highway and made my way back to "civilization." After all these years I might think it was a nightmare except that every detail is still in my memory.

I'm not sure if this story belongs in a series entitled "Bosses I Have Known." This was one boss I never did get to

Striking So. California California Court Rules 'Right to **Plumbers Hold Firm** By Don Phoenix

LOS ANGELES - On July 1 throughout Southern

California fifteen thousand members of the Pipe Trades District Council 16 went out on strike. Work of the Pipe Trades has stopped on every 9union job that has not signed ers Council are new flocking

contracts.

a "short form" contract. The Plumbing, Heating and Piping Employers Council of Southern California which rep- trict Council 16 have divided resents less than a third of the their territories into sections proposed by the union but, in patrolling their territories. In an attempt to coerce the inde-

pendent contractors from signing the "short form" contracts with the union, had its lawyer July 2 present a "restraining order" judge ruled that the restraining the job they all walked off. order only applied to members of the Employers Council.

independent contractors who harassment from the Employ- Northern part of the state.

Chicago Public

Meeting

Justice for Morton Sobell

hear

Haven P. Perkins

Rhodes scholar, teacher at Har-

vard University and Episcopal

Seminary New York

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(Proceeds will go to Committee to Secure Justice for Morton

Sobell.)

All the union locals of Dispickets from the Pipe Trades employed. locals have met with full co-

down to union offices to sign

The morale of the strikers is

Ready to Fill Orders

On New Edition

Third International

Work' Law Illegal

HOLLISTER, CALIF., July 6 - Superior Judge Stanley Lawson ruled San Benito county's "right to work" ordinance unconstitutional here yesterday. The ruling was handed down just 48 hours after the ordinance went into effect. Judge Lawson granted an injunction against contractors in this area not only and have squads of members of the ordinance to a paint conrefused to sign the agreements the local strike committees tractor who complained that the few instances where scabs painters would not work on jobs were introduced on a union job where non-union painters were

This is the second time in operation from the other union recent weeks that California upon all the contractors in this crafts on the jobs. As soon as courts have struck down emarea from signing the "short these building trades members ployer attempts to get their antiform" contract. On July 5 a saw the pipe trades pickets on union bills passed on a local level. Right-to-scab ordinances port itself, or of admitting Nethe Employers Council.

With the clarification of the straining order many order ma restraining order many of the from sixty to seventy five cents of movie actors and oil moguls. new pastor. The Palm Springs ordinance has below the scale of wages en- already been declared unconstiwere reluctant to sign the "short form" contract from fear of joyed by sister locals in the way in Tehama county.

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Labor Tops Back Tammany NEW YORK, July 17 - By endorsing Mayor Wagner

Jim Crow **Stopped** In Church

VOLUME XXI

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, July 7 - Almost 1,000 people, including a sizeable number of whites, turned out Sunday morning to hear a Negro minister preach his first sermon at a church whose white leaders had resigned when they learned of his

They had never met the new pastor, but opposed him because he is a Negro.

The old frame church, the Normandie Avenue Methodist Church, hadn't seen such a turnout for many years, since, in fact, Negroes began moving into the area and whites started moving away.

Every seat in the church, which has a capacity of about 250, was occupied. People lined the walls, two and three deep. Others filled the adjoining Fellowship Hall, while still others, several hundred, sat or stood in the church yard, listening to the services over a public address

In the past 20 years, total membership of the church had shrunk to 46 from a high of some 250. The dwindling band of white members could no longer provide adequate financial support for the church, but at the same time refused to accept their Negro neighbors into the congregation.

Last year the church was operating in the red. The Methodist Conference had to subsidize the minister's salary by

END BIAS OR CLOSE DOORS Early in June, Bishop Gerald off because of the Air Force

H. Kennedy decided that the Normandie Avenue Church faced the alternative of closing its doors because it could not suphave been passed in San Benito groes. He chose the latter course. The decision stemmed from a rec-

ognition of the changing pattern of the neighborhod, and in no

The action, however, brought from airplanes to guided mis- square feet in 1961. forth an angry response from siles at an accelerated pace. most of the church's members. All nine trustees and about 30 Force is scrapping its older mis-

Their spokesman, 77-year-old J. H. Seal, accused the local Methodist hierarchy of being honeycombed with subversives. The large turnout Sunday was, in effect, an expression of sympathy toward the Rev. Higgins

in his uphill struggle to rebuild the dying church, and, still By 1961 the Air Force which coming on top of short-time the Daily Worker.

more, a humiliating rebuke to buys 70% of the aircraft and and layoffs in some of the auto Gordon dutifully takes this opthe racist policies of the small group of whites who refused to admit Negroes into their con-

was one of the first postwar peak next spring.

are shaking up the whole air- down is completed. craft industry, which is the na- Los Angeles is the leading more than are working in auto. engaged in aircraft.

missile contract.

BEHIND LAYOFFS

North American employs 51,-

and engines by one-half. Spending for missiles, by contrast, which has been rising fast, fornia's workers.

cancellation of its Navaho guided will soar. By 1961 projected missile purchases are to increase 000 persons in this state, so the lions in 1956 to a 3 billion anlayoffs will slice one-fifth of its nual level. working force. This represents

aircraft to missiles and from airover a million-dollar loss in the weekly payroll of the Los An- frames and parts to electronic equipment involve a tremendous of whose churches continue to be en-billion dollar budget in this pacity now in production will the Liberal sellout. field, the Pentagon is shifting dwindle to about 15 million

At the same time, the Air MORE AHEAD

JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for

Mayor of New York. She writes regularly for the Militant and

is author of the pamphlet, "The Santana Case" dealing with

the tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth who, without a trial, was

railroaded to prison in 1955 by callous and prejudiced city

Ten Thousand Aircraft

Workers Laid Off in L.A.

LOS ANGELES - The aircraft industry in Southern

Californai was jolted July 12 by the announcement that

10.000 North American aviation workers are to be laid

lay members resigned in protest. sile designs to make way for new store for the big aircraft plants arguments of the Liberal Party uinely independent ticket can go They stripped the church of its intercontinental missiles. The which will bring unemployment leadership without taking ex- to the working people of this city altar furnishings, and demon- Navaho, which reportedly cost to many more thousands. The ception to them. The editors of and expose the fraud being perstrably turned their backs on half-a-billion dollars to develop, layoffs are expected to hit their the Daily Worker don't bluntly petrated by those who yearly

These cutbacks and changes be out of jobs when the shake-

tion's foremost employer of man- producer of aircraft and parts plaining this stand to the many pases to do exactly this in the ufacturing workers. About 900,- and second only to Detroit in 000 people are now on aircraft auto assembly. Almost one-third who want no part of this deal the record of the two capitalist payrolls, almost ten percent of the workers in this area are was undertaken by Max Gordon

Negro and Puerto Rican people in this city. Its support to the Wagner's Record hand-picked Tammany Hall slate ends the Liberal Party's last pretense to existence as an "independent" political force. Chapter and verse could be

and his running mates, Stark and Gerosa, the Liberal

Party has committed a brazen sellout against labor, the

cited from the Liberal Party itself to prove that the record of the Wagner administration on housing, Jim Crow, civil liberties, schools, hospitals, transportation and social services is one that demands repudiation and opposition by labor and every other progressive force in the

The utterly shameless nature of the Liberal's back-room deal is most glaringly evident in that organization's endorsement of John Cashmore for reelection as Brooklyn Borough President. One of the most discredited of the well-broken-in Tammany wheel horses, Cashmore will now go to the polls with the support of the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals.

The sole function that placing the Tammany nominees on the Liberal ballot line will serve is that of corralling votes of working people too disgusted to pull down the lever on the Democratic line.

So malodorous is the deal to delegates to the nominating convention voted against it. Reviewing Wagner's record, one delegate said, "We thought he would eral and progressive" circles are be easy picking for Tammany. Who can say we were wrong? Another pointed out that so dis- for either Council President or credited a figure as ex-Mayor comptroller, instead of support-O'Dwyer had "a better record at ing the Democratic-Liberal nothe end of his first term" than Wagner.

The New York Post, perhaps unwittingly, but accurately, reported that this opposition was 'squelched." Needless to say the grouping supporting the Demosix-fold, from about 500 mil- ranks of the needle trades unions who are pressured on the job into coughing up the bulk of the this "coalition" policy, Gordon These shifts in spending from Liberal Party cash were not even lists the impressive labor and consulted as to their desires in minority forces in the city availthe matter.

Just as disgraceful as the Libshrinkage in aircraft facilities. eral decision to provide a "labor" Missiles require much less fac- cover for the Tammany ticket pendent political expression. . . . Behind the cancellation and tory and storage space than is the decision of the Commu- are limited. In the current city the layoffs is a massive change huge bombers and fighters. Ac- nist Party, as expressed edito- campaign, for instance, no such way indicated a new race policy in the pattern of arms produc- cording to Air Force sources, the rially in the Daily Worker, to system exists as far as a cityfor local Methodism, almost all tion. Without reducing its sev- 40 million square feet of ca- provide a "progressive" cover for wide slate is concerned."

> The whole setup is so rotten such independent that the Daily Worker endorse- political action "cannot, ment of July 12 is couched in course, be created artificially by shamefaced double talk. It is ad- a Left ticket." True, it cannot Still greater shutdowns are in vanced by simply repeating the be done "artificially," but a gendeclare "Vote for Wagner." They advise that "the time is not ripe' models of an atomic warhead It is estimated that from simply point out that the Re- for a break with the capitalist 100,000 to 400,000 persons will publican candidate deserves no parties. consideration and wind up with an appeal to register.

The distasteful chore of ex-Communist Party supporters in the July 14 and 15 issues of

missile output plans to cut its plants here owing to speed-up, position into account, reporting will help to educate the work-current expenditures for planes automation and slow sales, it that some people feel that "this ers to the need for a break with looks like tough sledding ahead makes the Liberal Party a tail the labor bureaucrats who keep for these key sections of Cali- to the Tammany tiger." But, he replies, the Liberals are ac- ties.

On Civil Liberties "New York City has the worst witch-hunting municipal government in the land. Its political persecutions of teachers and civil service em-

ployes continue unabated. Such have been the excesses in this persecution that the city has been slapped down by the U.S. Supreme Court . . . by the State Court of Appeals . . . by the State Commissioner of Education . . . by the Governor's Commission on Security Procedures. . ." This is an excerpt from an editorial in the Daily Worker July 17. On July 12 the Daily Worker gave its tacit but unmistakable endorsement to the Liberal Party's decision to help reelect the Wagner administration which has been carrying on this witch hunt.

tually manifesting a growing independence in this campaign. How? After endorsing the entire top Democratic slate and 1 of its 5 candidates for Borough back Wagner in return for an President, they very daringly anticipated share of City Hall named 20 candidates for the City patronage by the labor bureau- Council. (The Council was accrats who run the Liberal Party curately described by one Libthat 23 of the carefully selected eral Party delegate as "a rubber stamp" for the mayor.) Gordon offers further solace

when he reports that some "libdiscussing the possibility of entering an independent candidate minee. However, he gives the pitch away by pointing out that such an "independent" campaign would not be in "isolation from the general liberal-labor-Negro cratic-Liberal campaign."

To further placate critics of able for a powerful independent political movement. "And yet," he sighs, "the channels of inde-

Gordon further asserts that

The Socialist Workers Party ticket headed by its mayoralty candidate, Joyce Cowley, propresent campaign. It will bare parties and the Liberal tail and present a program expressing the needs of labor and the minority people. The SWP campaign

Delegation Demands Integration in N.Y. Schools students academically. erans Association. Weekly meet- here," one mother said,

Socialist Workers Party

tions charged that the Board of ers. Education has deliberately mentary schools that are pre-

schools. Guidance counselors, the delegation said, do not recommend PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY

tered-down curriculum in ele- After their late afternoon con- York." ference with the Mayor, they dominately Negro or Puerto hurried home to cook dinner and Rican. They pointed out that the put the children to bed. Then inferior academic program and they met again at the Midteaching staff in these schools Harlem Parish to plan an allprevent Negro students from out drive for action on integraqualifying for academic high tion before the schools open next fall.

an academic high school even to Organizations represented at but suggest vocational training Brooklyn, Jamaica and Manhatneeded for Negro boys and girls Education, the Negro Teachers the floor. now two to three years behind Association and the 369th Vet- "The fathers ought to be cake inscribed, "To Baby 184,"

They gave example after examings were scheduled throughout their fight, too." Candidate for Mayor of New York ple of the over-crowding in mi- the summer-a central meeting nority districts and the poor one week, followed by area meet- fathers were baby-sitting. In a two-hour conference with physical facilities of the schools ings in all four boroughs the Mayor Wagner, a delegation of compared with those in white following week. Street meetings at home just because they have myself out for the children. I sixty parents and representa- areas. They asked for a fair dis- and a wide distribution of week- to mind the children. We need tives of community organiza- tribution of experienced teach- ly bulletins will precede the area them here. They can bring the ter way of life." Mayor Wagner promised to the school fight and draw more a nursery." slowed down plans for school check up and find out if the parents into the work. Negro integration in New York City. Board of Education has been churches will be approached to Mothers from schools in the stalling. But these parents want devote one Sunday to school in-Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and action, not promises. After con- tegration in New York. "By next Manhattan presented their griev- ducting a three-year fight for September," said Paul Zuber of ances. They demanded immedi- the passage of the integration the Parents Committee for Betate integration at the Junior program, they don't want to wait ter Education, "this issue will High School level and a com- another three years—or even be on the mind of every Negro plete reevaluation of the wa- longer- to see it carried out. and Puerto Rican parent in New

> a city-wide demonstration is planned, as a mass protest to tell the Mayor and the Board of Education just how parents feel fall." about polite promises, halfmeasures and interminable de-

fully qualified Negro students, this meeting were the Bronx, mothers showed remarkable mil- 184 delegation to the Mayor's of- Tests. Speaker: John Severn, instead. They insisted that in- tan chapters of the NAACP, the taneous suggestions and high- ning meeting to make plans for tensive remedial programs are Parents Committee for Better spirited discussion came from the summer months. The other

Another pointed out that the

meetings in order to publicize children down and we'll set up

NO PARTIAL REFORM

One woman suggested they postpone plans for a mass demonstration until they found out just what the Mayor intended to do about implementing integration. No one agreed with her.

"You know he won't do everything we asked, and we don't want our schools thirty percent integrated, or forty percent. We'll keep fighting for a hundred percent. We want to see all of our demands carried out next

One attractive young woman summed up the fighting spirit of the mothers. She has four Organizational plans were children and another is expected carefully worked out and the any day. But she led the P.S. itancy and determination. Spon- fice, and was back at the eve- member of the Students Commothers presented her with a

of their thanks and appreciation for all her work.

"I haven't done you any favors," she replied. "I knocked want to give our children a bet-

Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Friday Night Socialist Forum, Fri., July 26, 8 P.M., "Radioactive Fallout - Fact and Fiction." 3737 Woodward.

Seattle

Seattle Forum: Saturday, July 27, 8 P.M., Report on Students' Petition Drive against A-Bomb mittee against Bomb Test. 655 Main St. Refreshments served.