

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 25 - No. 45 Monday, December 11, 1961 Price 10c

Letter to Communist Party

SWP Offers Help in Fight Against Gov't Repression

To the National Officers
Of the Communist Party
Dear Comrades:

The Socialist Workers Party supports unconditionally your defense against the government attack which in force and effect is plainly to outlaw the Communist Party. We hold that agreement or disagreement with your political views has no bearing on the case. At stake in your fight are basic democratic rights precious to the American people.

If the Communist Party can be persecuted because of its opposition to government policies, the cold warriors will become even more vicious against all opponents of their drive toward nuclear war. Labor haters will intensify their campaign for repressive laws against the trade unions. White supremacists will perpetrate even worse frame-ups against Negro freedom fighters. Witch hunters will step-up their general attack on civil liberties.

If the Communist Party can in effect be outlawed today on one pretext, a precedent will have been set whereby other parties can be outlawed tomorrow on another pretext. If the party holding governmental power can outlaw its political opponents, nothing whatever will remain of the Bill of Rights. To prevent such a dangerous turn in our country, all who believe in fighting to preserve democratic rights are duty bound to defend the rights of the Communist Party.

The Socialist Workers Party stands ready to aid the Communist Party defense in every way we can. You are welcome to use our meeting halls everywhere in the country. We hereby extend a standing invitation to your speakers to address our meetings and public forums to explain your case.

We are prepared to help build the broadest possible movement in defense of the democratic rights of the Communist Party, a defense movement based on the great American labor tradition that an injury to one is an injury to all.

Fraternally yours,
Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary



Farrell Dobbs

Call-Up of Reserves Stirs a Hornet's Nest

By John Thayer

When President Kennedy called up reservists and national guard units for active military service four months ago he did so in order to impress Khrushchev, but even more especially the American people, with his readiness to go to war over Berlin. Apparently he little reckoned then that he was opening a political hornet's nest on the domestic scene.

But the unprecedented volume of protests from those young men whose lives have been interrupted by Kennedy's cold-war maneuver, is now a major political headache for the army brass and the administration.

While complaints cover a wide range of army snafus (GI lingo politely translated as "situation normal, all fouled up"), the basic

gripe, and the one that makes all the others so infuriating, is that the called-up troops simply do not believe their call-up was necessary for the defense of the country.

"I'm disgusted and consider myself a pawn in a political game," was the way one reservist at Ft. Knox, Kentucky, who had already served two years, put it.

"Almost four months have passed since JFK's speech and confusion still exists in our minds and possibly his, too," said a GI at Ft. Devens, Mass. A reservist's wife at Ft. Hood, Tex., said: "... my husband feels that his life is just being frittered away by some high-ranking people in government who have nothing better to do than move some pegs around on a board."

"Maybe there is some big pur-

U.S. Aids Moves to Crush Dominican General Strike

By Harry Ring

DEC. 6 — While troops used guns, clubs and tear gas to smash the general strike of the Dominican people, U.S. warships, which had hovered three miles off the country's coast, quietly withdrew to 12 miles from shore. The move at the height of the military bloodletting, gave the lie to President Kennedy's claim that the ships had been sent to prevent reestablishment of dictatorial rule on the island.

Despite ferocious government attacks, and handicapped by a spineless top leadership, the general strike to topple the hated Balaguer regime is now in its ninth day. Any illusions among the Dominican masses that U.S. power would be used to help them establish democracy have been dispelled. Last Friday government troops opened fire without warning on a procession of more than a thousand women in support of the strike. Nine women were wounded. One correspondent reported that the crowd turned on U.S. newsmen and one person shouted:

"Your ships are out there to defend this government so it can machine-gun women!"

Cash Bonus

It is now revealed that U.S. efforts to save the "constitutional" government of Balaguer — he was appointed "president" by the late dictator Trujillo — include plans for a handsome cash bonus.

A Dec. 5 *Chicago Daily News* press service dispatch said:

"The Kennedy administration appears eager to bestow a \$50,000,000 windfall on Dominicans through premium prices for sugar, the crop responsible for half the income of the republic. The purpose would be to convince Latin Americans that life under the Alliance for Progress has more security than anything a bum like Castro can offer."

Who would enjoy this "security?" The report adds: "U.S. taxpayers may buy milk for fancy ladies and feed for polo ponies of the exiled members of the Trujillo mob." The vast sugar holdings of the Trujillos were supposed to have been expropriated by Balaguer, but, the report notes, opposition leaders say that as late as a week ago sugar income was being forwarded to the Trujillos.

News of the U.S. plan to pay higher prices for Dominican sugar was rushed to Balaguer last Thursday as he was preparing a radio appeal for an end of the general strike. The slated windfall became a big point in his speech.

Meanwhile, in the midst of the ferocious government attacks on the strikers, negotiations for a "settlement" are continuing between Balaguer and Viriato Fiallo,

head of the opposition National Civic Union. A spokesman for the Dominican middle class, Fiallo is bent on terminating the revolutionary struggle of the masses but, at least for the present, he is being blocked from complete capitulation by the force of that struggle.

On Nov. 29, Fiallo called for an end of the general strike. The anti-strike stand was publicly reversed the same day as a result of strong, nationwide protest.

The "compromise" offered by Balaguer adds up to a continuation of the post-Trujillo dictatorship. The terms were drawn up by Maj. Gen. Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria, head of the armed forces and the man directly responsible for the attacks on the strikers. He and

Balaguer jointly proposed that any new government must continue Balaguer as president, all members of the military must be guaranteed immunity from prosecution for crimes committed under Trujillo, the slated military budget for 1962 must be maintained and elections should be held "within two years."

The counter-proposal by Fiallo is hardly better. Reluctant to defy the mass demand for Balaguer's ouster, he is willing to settle for a seven-man junta, including a representative of the military, a representative of arch-conservative Catholic Church, plus five persons without "partisan" political affiliation.

According to press dispatches
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One of the first fruits of the government drive to outlaw the Communist Party was an administration-imposed campus ban on Party speakers at New York City Colleges. These are some of the several hundred students from Hunter, Queens and City Colleges who demonstrated at the Board of Higher Education headquarters Dec. 2 to protest the ban as a blow to their academic freedom. The picket line was sponsored by Student Government.

Attorney General Pretends He's Not Trying to Outlaw Communists

Attorney General Robert Kennedy is a rank hypocrite. This was demonstrated in his Dec. 1 announcement of the indictment of the Communist Party for not registering under the Internal Security Act as a "foreign agent." Kennedy asserted that the act "does not outlaw the Communist Party."

The party was indicted on 12 counts. Eleven were for each of the days it failed to register after the Nov. 20 deadline, and the twelfth for failing to file a list of members and a financial statement. If convicted, the party could be fined \$10,000 on each of the 12 counts.

In his claim that registering the organization was not equivalent to outlawing the organization, Kennedy said — with a straight face — "Such registration is not unusual . . . Registration is required in a number of fields, including the sale of securities, the establishment of welfare and pension plans, campaign contributions and lobbying."

The attorney general omitted a few details which don't apply to securities salesmen but which would apply to the Communist Party. Registered members would be barred from federal employment and from working for any firm holding a government contract. They could not hold union office. It would be a crime for any of them to apply for a passport. Under the Smith Act, they

could be prosecuted as admitted members of a "seditious" organization.

And, of course, there would be the extra-legal hounding by the FBI and by federal, state and local witch-hunting committees.

But Mr. Kennedy doesn't want to "outlaw" the organization. He just wants to kick it to the ground and then give it a stomping.

Asks FBI to Report On Monroe Beating

NEW YORK — Conrad Lynn counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, is demanding that Attorney General Robert Kennedy reveal the current status of the FBI investigation of the near-fatal beating of Freedom Rider Richard Griswold in the Union County, North Carolina, jail.

Lynn indicated that the timing of the committal of the self-confessed assailant, Howard Stack, to a mental institution shows an obvious attempt on the part of local authorities to side-track the investigation of possible civil-rights infringement.

The CAMD attorney based these charges on oral statements of Warden Reid of the Union County jail in Monroe, N.C., that Stack's
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(Continued on Page 3)

FBI Watches Racists Attack Freedom Riders in McComb

DEC. 5 — In the presence of agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, white racists in McComb, Mississippi, have engaged in a week-long series of violent attacks on Southern Negro Freedom Riders and white newsmen covering the story.

The Freedom Riders, residents of McComb or nearby Southern cities, have been testing a federal court order which was served on McComb city officials Nov. 28 requiring desegregation of the city's interstate passenger facilities. City officials had said they would enforce compliance.

Six young men and women Freedom Riders, led by Jerome Smith, 22, president of the New Orleans branch of the Congress of Racial Equality, arrived in McComb by bus Nov. 30. FBI agents were in town as observers.

The operator of the bus station acting in clear violation of the Federal order, ordered the Negroes out of the previously all-white waiting room. (So far, the FBI has taken no action against the operator.) When the Negroes refused to leave, they were attacked and beaten by about a dozen white men who shouted "Kill 'em! Kill 'em!" After receiving treatment for their wounds, the Negro youths were escorted to an outgoing bus

by city police as FBI agents looked on.

That evening, Attorney General Kennedy issued a statement from Washington that "the matter will be vigorously pursued." McComb police arrested four white youths accused of being in the attacking mob, on the relatively minor charges of "fighting and disorderly conduct." The FBI took no action.

On Nov. 30, McComb Mayor C. H. Douglas denounced the Freedom Riders declaring: "Our resources are taxed by a sudden influx of outside agitators who come with the announced intention of remaining in our city until an incident is provoked and photographed."

The following day, six more Southern Negro Freedom Riders used the bus terminal while waiting between buses, this time successfully. But outside, a mob of white racists attacked several newsmen, including a *Time* magazine reporter, an *Associated Press* photographer and a TV cameraman.

Dom Uhrbrock, a photographer for *Life* magazine, was slugged, kicked and knocked through a plate glass window, miraculously escaping serious injury. Federal agents took no action.

On Sunday, Dec. 3, a white mob beat at the windows of a car carrying three CORE Freedom Riders who had just arrived at the bus station. Police pulled the attackers away, but made no arrests. The federal agents took no action.

The three Freedom Riders were McComb residents, part of a group of 56 Negro youths expelled from Burglund High School last month after they refused to sign pledges to refrain from participating in anti-segregation demonstrations.

Also on Dec. 3, a federal district judge rewarded the racist mobs by enjoining CORE from sponsoring any more freedom rides to McComb. CORE has announced it will appeal the injunction.

Sobell Supporters Slate 2-Day Vigil At White House



Morton Sobell

NEW YORK — A round-the-clock vigil will be held at the White House Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 16-17, by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

The action will climax a series of demonstrations in major cities to rally public support for clemency for Sobell who was railroaded to prison for a 30-year term on a nebulous charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage" and convicted largely on the testimony of admitted perjurers.

Scores of public figures and thousands of ordinary citizens have expressed grave doubts as to the fairness of Sobell's trial and urged clemency for him. So far, these appeals have fallen on deaf ears.

Special busses will leave here for the Washington vigil on Saturday and Sunday mornings and will return Sunday night. The committee will arrange hotel accommodations or free housing, as desired.

For reservations and information call or write: Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. AL 4-9983.

... Asks FBI to Report on Monroe

(Continued from Page 1) fit of "insanity" occurring in the course of the FBI investigation was a police-staged "fake" designed to make it appear that he was insane at the time he attacked the young Freedom Rider in his cell.

Griswold, of Brooklyn, N.Y., was one of the Freedom Riders arrested Aug. 27 in Monroe when a police-encouraged mob, estimated at between two and five thousand, rioted against 17 white and Negro Freedom Riders and local anti-segregation pickets.

It was out of this disturbance that a white couple was briefly detained by an excited crowd in Newtown, the Negro district, before being released unharmed. This incident serves as the basis for the "kidnap" charges against Negro civil-rights leader Robert F. Williams and four others. Williams is now in Havana where he recently was accorded political asylum.

Three Others Jailed

Three others were arrested in Monroe and are now out on \$15,000 bail furnished by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. They are: John C. Lowry, 20, Freedom Rider from New York; Richard Crowder, 19, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and Harold Reape, 17, a member of the Monroe committee. A fourth defendant, Mrs. Mae Mallory, 34, is fighting extradition from Ohio.

The beating of Griswold was interrupted only when another arrested Freedom Rider, Kenneth Shilman of Oceanside, N.Y., happened to be led past the cell in which Griswold was lying blood-covered and semi-conscious. Shilman raised an outcry, demanding Griswold's removal from the cell before he was killed. A turnkey, fearing that Griswold might be killed, complied.

Confession

Subsequently, Stack voluntarily gave the CAMD a handwritten, signed confession stating that the Monroe police and Union County sheriff's deputies had promised him immunity from pending charges of forgery and assault in return for beating Griswold.

His confession said: "On or about the 4th Sunday of Aug. 1961 I was in the Union County jail on 5 charges of worthless checks and 2 assault charges. The Monroe police and deputy [deputy] forces of the city of Monroe put to me a proposition if I would by force assault one of the freedom riders Griswold they would see I went free from my charges. This beating I did in the bottom cell in the union county jail. I went free for 2 weeks and was picked back up and was sentenced for the crimes which was supposed to be dropped for the assault I did for them. They turned their backs on me is why I confess to this."

Howard Stack." [Spelling and punctuation are as in original.]

It is this confession, forwarded in the original by Attorney Lynn, which forms the basis for the FBI investigation of police brutality. FBI agents in recent weeks have interviewed Griswold and Shilman. Lynn is requesting prompt and complete action on behalf of his client, Richard Griswold. The following is the text of Lynn's Nov. 24 letter to Attorney General Kennedy:

"On Oct. 6, 1961, I forwarded to you the original of a confession by Howard Stack, a prisoner in the Union County jail in Monroe, North Carolina, which stated that he had been persuaded in return for promises of amnesty for himself, to beat up my client, Richard Griswold, a Freedom Rider imprisoned in the same cell.

No Reply

"I have never received any acknowledgement of the enclosure or of any action that your office proposed to undertake. However, in talking with the Sheriff of Union County last month and Warden Reid of the Jail, I understand that your agents questioned them. In addition Richard Griswold and the parents of Ken Shilman of this State, report that the FBI have taken their depositions. However, on November 2, 1961, Howard Stack faked a fit of insanity and was sent to a mental institution by Judge Gwyn, Superior Court, Union County.

"I said 'faked' and advisedly, since Warden Reid told me later that it was quite apparent that it was a fake. The purpose of this maneuver was transparently to make it appear that Stack, from the beginning of his difficulty with Griswold, was insane.

I believe that the aggrieved parties are entitled to some account of what the Government is doing in this matter."

Hotel Cancels Contract For Rights Day Dinner

NEW YORK, Dec. 5 — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee filed suit in the New York Supreme Court yesterday for an injunction to compel the Commodore Hotel to fulfill its contract for the group's annual Bill of Rights dinner on Dec. 15. The Commodore Hotel was used for the dinner last year and reserved nine months ago for this Bill of Rights Day.

The hotel gave as its reason that it had been subjected to pressure from "patriotic" groups, and was unyielding to arguments either with respect to the Bill of Rights, validity of contracts, or elementary decency.

The ECLC said it is determined to fight to maintain its rights "with the hope that every fight against the bigotry of hate groups and the irresponsibility of managerial cowards is important in the fight for our liberty."

Memorial Meeting For John McManus

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for John T. McManus will be held Tuesday, Dec. 12, 8 p.m., at the Hotel Diplomat, Grand Ballroom, 108 W. 43rd St. The meeting will be presented by the staff of the *National Guardian*, of which McManus was general manager since its inception 13 years ago.

A former president of the New York Newspaper Guild and a spokesman for radical causes, McManus died of a heart attack Nov. 22, three days before his 57th birthday. He had been a founding leader of the Progressive Party and was twice candidate for governor of New York on the American Labor Party slate. In 1958 he ran for the same office as nominee of the Independent-Socialist Party.

Speakers at the memorial meeting will include Dr. Corliss Lamont, A. J. Muste, C. B. Baldwin, John J. Abt, Karen Morley, Melitta del Villar, R. Alec Jones, William A. Price, James Aronson and Robert E. Light. Admission is \$1.50.

... Dominican

(Continued from Page 1)

today, leaders of the 14th of June Movement and the Dominican Revolutionary Party — both of which are said to include left-wing groupings — have declared they will support any agreement Fiallo makes with the government. Precise information is not available here as to the strength of the left-wing groupings which are described as partisans of the Cuban revolution. This makes it difficult to estimate if they would be able to prevent the kind of a sellout that Fiallo's record indicates he is capable of.

Meanwhile, the possibility also exists that Rodriguez Echavarria may push Balaguer aside and attempt a direct take-over.

Last Friday, five officers resigned from the Dominican Air Force, charging that Rodriguez Echavarria was plotting to establish "a military dictatorship." Two of the officers said they had been handed 10,000 pesos "to silence our protest" against the plot.

While the immediate outcome of the Dominican struggle is uncertain, one fact is clear. The workers and peasants of that long-oppressed country are demonstrating an inspiring capacity to wage a revolutionary struggle for freedom. In the end, they will win.

Minneapolis Symposium On Backing CP Rights

MINNEAPOLIS — Labor's duty to defend the civil liberties of the Communist Party will be the subject of a Bill of Rights Day symposium here Friday, Dec. 15.

Speakers include Henry Mayville, secretary of the Minnesota Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Mulford Q. Sibley, University of Minnesota professor; Lucille Olson, chairman of the U of M Socialist Club; Joseph Johnson, Local Organizer, Socialist Workers Party; and George Tseleas, chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. The American Civil Liberties Union has also been invited to participate.

The symposium will be held at 8 p.m. at the Minneapolis Labor Temple, Room 211, 117 S.E. Fourth St., under the auspices of the Twin Cities Labor Forum. The door contribution is 75 cents and 50 cents for students.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

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Weekly Calendar

BROOKLYN
Cuba and Socialism — An analysis by James O'Connor, economist and author, just returned from Cuba. Sat., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. Downtown Center, 305 Schermerhorn St. (Corner Nevins). Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Brooklyn Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

LOS ANGELES
HOLD THE DATE for the gala New Year's Eve Dance of the Socialist Workers Party. Music by a top-flight band.

NEW YORK
CUBA SINCE THE INVASION. A first-hand account by economist James O'Connor. Mon., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Cure or Crisis? The U.S. and the European Common Market. Speaker, Lynn Marcus. Fri., Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum

FELICIDADES A CUBA! Pre-Xmas Party for Fair Players. Sat., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m. at 54 West 16th St., Apt. 1A. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment. Informal panel discussion by American observers at Cuban Congress of Artists and Writers. Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Local Directory

- BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St. Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.
- CLEVELAND.** Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.
- DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.
- DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES.** Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.
- NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.
- NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.
- OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.
- PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.
- SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.
- SEATTLE.** 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

Facts Behind Stalin's Frame-Up Trials

This article consists of excerpts from Leon Trotsky's summary speech in April 1937 before the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. The full text of Trotsky's speech is currently available in the book, *Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials* (Pioneer Publishers, \$1).

The oft-encountered, semi-official objection that the work of the Commission can "politically harm" the U.S.S.R. and help fascism constitutes — to put it mildly — a compound of stupidity and hypocrisy. Let us for a moment grant that the charges of the Court against the Opposition have some basis — that is, that dozens of men were not shot for nothing. In that case, it can be little trouble for a powerful government to produce the materials from the preliminary investigation, to fill in the gaps in the

soundness of their case. They cover their secret fears with completely contradictory and unworthy arguments. An investigation, they say, is "intervention in the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R.!" But has not the world proletariat the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the U.S.S.R.? In the ranks of the Comintern they still repeat: "The U.S.S.R. is the fatherland of all the toilers." A strange fatherland in whose affairs nobody dares intervene! If the working masses are suspicious of the acts of their leaders, the latter are under obligation to give them full explanations and every facility for an investigation. Neither the state prosecutor, nor the judges, nor the members of the Political Bureau of the U.S.S.R. are exempt from this elementary rule. Whoever tries to raise himself above workers' democracy, by that very act betrays it.

To the above it must be added that the question is not an "internal" affair of the U.S.S.R., even when viewed purely formally. It is already five years since the Moscow bureaucracy deprived me, my wife and our elder son of Soviet citizenship. Thereby they also robbed themselves of every special right with respect to us. We have been bereft of a "fatherland" which could defend us. It is but natural that we should place ourselves under the protection of international public opinion

The crudest part of the judicial frame-up, alike in design and execution, is the charge of sabotage against the "Trotskyites." This aspect of the trial, which constitutes one of the most important elements of the whole amalgam, has convinced nobody (if one excludes gentlemen of the type of Duranty and Company). The world learned, from the indictment and the proceedings, that all Soviet industry was virtually in the control of "a handful of Trotskyites." Nor were matters any better as regards transportation. But of what did the Trotskyite acts of sabotage really consist? In Pyatakov's confessions, corroborated by the testimony of his former subordinates who sat beside him on the prisoners' bench, it was revealed that (a) plans for new factories were too slowly drafted, and revised time and again; (b) the construction of factories took far too long, and caused the immobilization of colossal sums; (c) enterprises were put into operation in an unfinished state and consequently were quickly ruined; (d) there were disproportions among the various sections of new plants, with the result that the productive capacity of the factories was reduced in the extreme; (e) the plants accumulated superfluous reserves of raw materials and supplies, thus transforming living capital into dead capital; (f) supplies were wildly squandered, etc. All these phenomena, long known as the *chronic diseases* of Soviet economic life, are now put forward as the fruits of a malicious conspiracy which Pyatakov led—naturally, under my orders. . . .

What has just been said about industry applies wholly to transportation as well. Railroad specialists calculate that the carrying capacity of a railroad has certain technical limits. From the time when Kaganovich took over the management of the transportation system, the "theory of limits" was officially declared to be a bourgeois prejudice; worse yet, the invention of saboteurs. Hundreds of engineers and technicians had to atone for their direct or indirect support of the "theory of limits." Undoubtedly many old specialists, trained under the conditions of capitalist economy, flagrantly underestimated the possibilities inherent in planned methods, and were consequently inclined to set extremely low norms. But that

does not at all mean that the tempos of the economy depend solely on the inspiration and energy of the bureaucracy. The general industrial equipment of the country, the reciprocal interdependence of the various branches of industry, transportation and agriculture, the level of skill of the workers, the percentage of experienced engineers, and lastly, the general material and cultural level of the population — these are the essential factors which have the last word in the fixing of limits. The effort of the bureaucracy to violate these factors by naked commands, reprisals and premiums ("Stakhanovism") inevitably exacts harsh penalties in the form of disorganization of plants, damage of machinery, a high proportion of damaged goods, accidents and disasters. There is not the slightest ground for dragging a "Trotskyite conspiracy" into this matter.

The task of the prosecution is extremely complicated by the additional fact that from February, 1930, onwards, I exposed in the press, systematically and persistently, year in and year out, from one month to the next, the self-same vices of bureaucratized economy which are now being charged against a fantastic "Trotskyist" organization. I proved that Soviet industry required not *maximum* but *optimum* tempos — i.e., such tempos as would, by resting upon mutual correspondence among various sections of one and the same enterprise and among various enterprises, insure the uninterrupted growth of economy in the future. I wrote in the *Bulletin of the Opposition* on February 13th, 1930:

Industry is racing towards a crisis, above all because of the monstrous bureaucratic methods of collating the plan. A five-year plan can be drafted, preserving the necessary proportions and guarantees, only on the condition of a free discussion of the tempos and the terms set, with the participation in the discussion of all the interested forces in industry, the working class, all its organizations, and



GREGORY ZINOVIEV. First president of the Communist International. He was executed as "a fascist dog gone mad."

above all the Party itself; with the free verification of the entire experience of Soviet economy in the recent period, including the monstrous mistakes of the leadership . . . A plan of socialist construction cannot be arrived at in the guise of an *a priori* departmental directive.

The "Trotskyites," we are told at every step, constitute an insignificant handful, isolated from and hated by the masses. It is for this very reason that they allegedly resorted to the methods of individual terror. The picture alters completely, however, when we come to sabotage. To be sure, a single man can throw sand into a machine or blow up a bridge. But in the court we hear of such methods of sabotage as would be possible only if the entire admin-

Let the Truth Be Known

An Editorial

At a recent plenum of the Polish Communist Party Dr. Oskar Lange, a minister in the Gomulka government, called upon the Soviet leaders to provide a Marxist analysis of Stalinism. His request echoes a growing demand throughout the world Communist parties for the whole truth about Stalin's frame-up trials of 1936-38.

While it is clearly the duty of the Soviet leaders to furnish the demanded explanation, Communist militants need not await action by Khrushchev to get a Marxist analysis of Stalinism. They will find it in the writings of Leon Trotsky across the whole period from the time Stalin took power until the death of Trotsky at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940.

On this page we print excerpts from an analysis of the Moscow Trials presented in 1938 by Trotsky who was the main target of Stalin's frame-up attack on the members of Lenin's Central Committee. They are taken from Trotsky's summary speech in Mexico to a Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

The Commission, made up of prominent figures with a reputation for intellectual integrity, was headed by the late John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and teacher. Its legal adviser was John Finerty, famous for his defense of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In its verdict the Commission held that Trotsky and his co-defendants in Stalin's purge trials were not guilty. That verdict has now been confirmed by Khrushchev's admissions at the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

If John Dewey were alive he would no doubt solidarize himself with the Communist militants demanding from the Soviet leaders a full explanation of the Stalinist frame-up system. He would no doubt be foremost in calling for the rehabilitation of all Stalin's victims.

Today's situation calls for men and women of intellectual integrity to step forward in the spirit of John Dewey and to follow his splendid example in acting courageously to uphold historic truth.

istrative apparatus were in the hands of the saboteurs

The most vicious manifestations of "sabotage" are now discovered in the chemical industry, where the internal proportions were especially grossly violated. Yet seven years ago, when the Soviet power first really began building this branch of industry, I wrote:

For example, the solution of the question as to what place the *chemical industry* should occupy in the plan for the years immediately ahead can be prepared only by an open struggle among the various economic groupings and various branches of industry for their share of chemistry in the national economy. Soviet democracy is not the demand of abstract politics, and still less of morality. It has become a matter of economic necessity.

What was the real situation in this respect? "Industrialization," I wrote in the same article, "is more and more kept going by the administrative whip. *Equipment and labor forces are being strained. The disproportions between the individual branches of industry are accumulating.*"

I do not intend to burden the record with citations. But I am ready to demonstrate with a collection of my articles in my hand that for seven years, on the basis of the official Soviet press reports, I untiringly warned against the ruinous consequences of skipping the period of laboratory preparation, of putting incomplete plants into operation, of supplanting technical training and correct organization by frantic and senseless reprisals, and, not infrequently, fantastic premiums. All the economic "crimes" referred to at the last trial were analyzed by me countless times — beginning in February, 1930, and ending in my latest book, "The Revolution Betrayed" — as the inevitable consequences of the bureaucratic system. I have not the slightest ground for boasting of my perspicacity. All I had to do was to follow attentively the official reports and draw rudimentary conclusions from the incontestable facts.

If the "sabotage" of Pyatakov

and the others, as the indictment states, began actively only around the year 1934, how is one to explain the fact that already in the four preceding years I demanded the radical remedying of those diseases of Soviet industry which are now represented as due to the malicious activities of "Trotskyites"? But perhaps my critical work was mere "camouflage"? According to the real sense of that term, such camouflage could only have been intended to conceal crimes. Yet my criticism, on the contrary, exposed them. It thus transpires that while secretly organizing sabotage, I did everything in my power to draw the attention of the Government to the acts of "sabotage" and thereby — to the perpetrators. All this would have been extremely clever — if it were not so utterly nonsensical

The extent of the shamelessness of the inquisitors, moreover, is seen in the fact that the accused, on the persistent demand of the prosecution, declared — though, to be sure, not without reluctance — that they deliberately strove to cause as many human victims as possible, in order thus to inspire discontent among the workers. But that is not all. On March 24th — that is, just a few days ago — a dispatch from Moscow related the shooting of three "Trotskyites" for malicious arson of a school in Novosibirsk in which many children were burned to death. Permit me also to recall that my younger son, Sergei Sedov, was arrested on the charge of attempting the mass poisoning of workers. Let us for a moment imagine that the Government of the United States had, on the heels of the Texas school disaster which shocked the entire world, launched throughout the country a rabid campaign against the Comintern and charged it with the malicious extermination of children, and we get an approximate notion of the current policy of Stalin. Such vile charges, possible only in the polluted atmosphere of a totalitarian régime, bear their refutation within themselves. . . .

The second fantastic theory which is put into circulation by the friends of the G.P.U. declares that in view of my general posi-



KARL RADEK. Brilliant Bolshevik journalist. Stalin sent him to the wall as a "fascist agent."

records of the court proceedings, explain the contradictions, and dispel doubts. In such case an examination could only increase the authority of the Soviet Government.

But what if the Commission laid bare the premeditated fraud of the Moscow charges? Would not political caution then dictate avoiding the risk of an investigation? Such a consideration, seldom expressed candidly and fully, is based on the craven notion that one can fight the forces of reaction with fictions, humbug and lies, as if the best remedy for curing a sickness consisted in refraining from calling it by name. If the present Soviet Government is capable of resorting to bloody judicial frame-ups to deceive its own people, it cannot be the ally of the world proletariat in the struggle against reaction. Its internal inadequacy must in this event reveal itself at the first major historic shock. The sooner the infection is exposed, the sooner the inevitable crisis comes, the greater the hope that it can still be overcome in time by the living forces of the organism. On the other hand, closing one's eyes to disease means only to drive it deeper internally. This would lead to a great historic catastrophe.

Stalin rendered his first great service to Hitler through the theory and practice of "social-fascism." He rendered his second service through the Moscow trials. These trials, in which the greatest moral values are crushed and violated, cannot be blotted out from the consciousness of mankind. It is possible to help the masses recover from the wound inflicted upon them by the trials only through complete clarity and the full truth.

The opposition of a certain type of "friends" to the investigation which in itself is a crying scandal, arises from the fact that even the most zealous defenders of Moscow justice lack inner conviction of the

'... Faith in the Bright Future of Mankind'

tion I am presumably politically interested in expediting war. The usual line of argument is as follows: Trotsky is for the international revolution. It is well known that war often produces revolution. Ergo, Trotsky must be interested in expediting war.

People who believe this, or who ascribe such ideas to me, have a very feeble conception of revolution, war, and their interdependence.

War has in fact often expedited revolution. But precisely for this reason it has often led to abortive results. War sharpens social contradictions and mass discontent. But that is insufficient for the triumph of the proletarian revolution. Without a revolutionary party rooted in the masses, the revolutionary situation leads to the most cruel defeats. The task is not to "expedite" war — for this, unfortunately, the imperialists of all countries are working, not unsuccessfully. The task is to utilize the time which the imperialists still leave to the working masses for the building of a revolutionary party and revolutionary trade unions.

It is in the vital interest of the proletarian revolution that the outbreak of war be delayed as long as possible, that the maximum possible time be gained for preparation. The more firm, the more courageous, the more revolutionary the conduct of the toilers, the more the imperialists will hesitate, the more surely will it be possible to postpone war, the greater will be the chances that the revolution will occur prior to war and perhaps make war itself impossible.

It is precisely because the Fourth International stands for the international revolution that it is one of the factors working against war; for — I repeat — the only check to a new world war is the fear, among the propertied classes, of revolution . . .

Grave Phenomena

War and revolution are the gravest and most tragic phenomena in human history. You cannot joke with them. They do not tolerate dilettantism. We must understand clearly the interrelationship of war and revolution. We must understand no less clearly the interrelationship of the objective revolutionary factors, which cannot be induced at will, and the subjective factor of the revolution — the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, its party. It is necessary to prepare this party with the utmost energy.

Can one admit for a moment that the so-called "Trotskyites," the extreme left wing, hounded and persecuted by all other tendencies, would devote their forces to contemptible adventures, sabotage and war provocation, instead of building a new revolutionary party capable of meeting the revolutionary situation well armed? Only the cynical contempt of Stalin and his school for world public opinion, together with Stalin's primitive police cunning, are capable of creating such a monstrous and nonsensical accusation!

I have explained in scores of articles and hundreds of letters that a military defeat of the U.S.S.R. would inevitably signify the restoration of capitalism in a semi-colonial form under a fascist political régime, the dismemberment of the country, and the wrecking of the October Revolution. Indignant at the policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, many of my former political friends in various countries arrived at the conclusion that we cannot take upon ourselves the obligation "unconditionally" to defend the U.S.S.R. Opposing this attitude, I argued that it is impermissible to identify the bureaucracy with the U.S.S.R.; that the new social foundation of the U.S.S.R. must be unconditionally defended against imperialism; that the Bonapartist bureaucracy will be overthrown by

the toiling masses only on condition that the foundation of the new economic régime of the U.S.S.R. is preserved. On this question I broke publicly and demonstratively with dozens of old and hundreds of new friends. My archives contain an enormous correspondence devoted to the question of the defense of the U.S.S.R. Finally, my latest book, "The Revolution Betrayed," gives a detailed analysis of the military and diplomatic policies of the U.S.S.R., expressly from the standpoint of the defense of the country. Now, by the grace of the G.P.U., it appears that while breaking with many close friends who did not understand the necessity of unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R. against imperialism, I was actually concluding alliances with the imperialists and urging the destruction of the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. . . .

An American writer complained to me in a conversation: "It is difficult for me to believe," he said, "that you entered into an alliance with fascism; but it is equally difficult for me to believe that Stalin carried out such horrible frame-ups." I can only pity the author of this remark. It is, in fact, difficult to find a solution if one approaches the question exclusively from an individual psychological and not political viewpoint. I do not wish to deny by this the importance of the individual element in history. Neither Stalin nor I find ourselves in our present positions by accident. But we did not create these positions. Each of us is drawn into this drama as the representative of definite ideas and principles. In their turn, the ideas and principles do not fall from the sky, but have profound social roots. That is why one must take, not the psychological abstraction of Stalin as a "man," but his concrete, historical personality as leader of the Soviet bureaucracy. One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its positions, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition.

The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn — which laid bare all social falsehood — to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the Thermidorian lies. It is, consequently, a question not simply of the individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity. In the struggle for its newly gained positions this caste has reeducated itself and simultaneously reeducated — or rather, demoralized — its leaders. It raised upon its shoulders the man who best, most



Trotsky (left), Lenin (center) and Kamenev during the early days of the Russian Revolution when the Bolsheviks freely argued out differing views and the party ranks made the final decisions.

resolutely and most ruthlessly expresses its interests. Thus Stalin, who was once a revolutionist, became the leader of the Thermidorian caste.

The formulas of Marxism, expressing the interests of the masses, more and more inconvenienced the bureaucracy, in so far as they were inevitably directed against its interests. From the time that I entered into opposition to the bureaucracy, its courtier-theoreticians began to call the revolutionary essence of Marxism — "Trotskyism." At the same time, the official conception of Leninism changed from year to year, becoming more and more adapted to the needs of the ruling caste. Books devoted to Party history, to the October Revolution, or to the theory of Leninism, were revised annually. I have adduced an example from the literary activity of Stalin himself. In 1918 he wrote that the victory of the October insurrection was "principally and above all" assured by Trotsky's leadership. In 1924 Stalin wrote that Trotsky could not have played any special rôle in the October Revolution. To this tune the whole historiography was adjusted. This signifies in practice that hundreds of young scholars and thousands of journalists were systematically trained in the spirit of falsification. Whoever resisted was stifled. This applies in a still greater measure to the propagandists, functionaries, judges, not to speak of the examining magistrates of the G.P.U. The incessant Party purges were directed above all toward the uprooting of "Trotskyism," and during these purges not only discontented workers were called "Trotskyites," but also all writers who honestly presented historical facts or citations which contradicted the latest official standardization. Novelists and artists were subject to the same régime. The spiritual atmosphere of the country became completely impregnated with the poison of conventionalities, lies and direct frame-ups.

All the possibilities along this road were soon exhausted. The theoretical and historical falsifications no longer attained their aims — people grew too accustomed to them. It was necessary to give to bureaucratic repression a more massive foundation. To bolster up the literary falsifications, accusations of a criminal character were brought in.

My exile from the U.S.S.R. was officially motivated by the allegation that I had prepared an "armed insurrection." However, the accusation launched against me was not even published in the press. Today it may seem incredible, but already in 1929 we were confronted with accusations against the Trotskyites of "sabotage," "espionage," "preparation of railroad wrecks," etc., in the Soviet press. However, there was not a single trial involving these accusations. The matter was limited to a literary calumny which represented, nevertheless, the first link in the preparation of the future judicial frame-ups. To justify the repressions, it was necessary to have framed accusations. To give weight to the false accusations, it was necessary to reinforce them with more brutal repressions. Thus the logic of the struggle drove Stalin along the road of gigantic judicial amalgams.

International Reasons

They also became necessary to him for international reasons. If the Soviet bureaucracy does not want revolutions and fears them, it cannot, at the same time, openly renounce the revolutionary traditions without definitely undermining its prestige within the U.S.S.R. However, the obvious bankruptcy of the Comintern opens the way for a new International. Since 1933, the idea of new revolutionary parties under the banner of the Fourth International has met with great success in the Old and New Worlds. Only with difficulty can an outside observer appreciate the real dimensions of this success. It cannot be measured by membership statistics alone. The general tendency of development is of much greater importance. Deep, internal fissures are spreading throughout all the sections of the Comintern, which at the first historic shock will result in splits and debacles. If Stalin fears the little *Bulletin of the Opposition* and punishes its introduction into the U.S.S.R. with death, it is not difficult to understand what fright seizes the bureaucracy at the possibility that news of the self-sacrificing work of the Fourth International in the service of the working class may penetrate into the U.S.S.R.

The moral authority of the leaders of the bureaucracy and, above all, of Stalin, rests in large measure upon the Tower of Babel of slanders and falsifications erected over a period of thirteen years. The moral authority of the Com-

intern rests entirely and exclusively on the moral authority of the Soviet bureaucracy. In its turn, the authority of the Comintern as well as its support, is necessary for Stalin before the Russian workers. This Tower of Babel, which frightens its own builders, is maintained inside the U.S.S.R. with the aid of more and more terrible repressions, and outside the U.S.S.R. with the aid of a gigantic apparatus which, through resources drawn from the labor of the Soviet workers and peasants, poisons world public opinion with the virus of lies, falsifications and blackmail. Millions of people throughout the world identify the October Revolution with the Thermidorian bureaucracy, the Soviet Union with Stalin's clique, the revolutionary workers with the utterly demoralized Comintern apparatus.

The first great breach in this Tower of Babel will necessarily cause it to collapse entirely, and bury beneath its debris the authority of the Thermidorian chiefs. That is why it is for Stalin a life-and-death question to kill the Fourth International while it is still in embryo! Now, as we are here examining the Moscow trials, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, according to information in the press, is sitting in Moscow. Its agenda is: *The struggle against world Trotskyism*. The session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is not only a link in the long chain of the Moscow frame-ups, but also the projection of the latter on the world arena. Tomorrow we shall hear about new misdeeds of the Trotskyites in Spain of their direct or indirect support of the fascists . . .

Prowling the World

Emissaries of the G.P.U. are prowling in all countries of the Old and the New World. They do not lack money. What does it mean to the ruling clique to spend twenty or fifty millions of dollars more or less, to sustain its authority and its power? These gentlemen buy human consciences like sacks of potatoes. We shall see this in many instances.

Fortunately, not everybody can be bought. Otherwise humanity would have rotted away a long time ago. Here, in the person of the Commission, we have a precious cell of unmarketable public conscience. All those who thirst for purification of the social atmosphere will turn instinctively toward the Commission. In spite of intrigues, bribes and calumny, it will be rapidly protected by the armor of the sympathy of broad, popular masses.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Commission! Already for five years — I repeat, five years! — I have incessantly demanded the creation of an international commission of inquiry. The day I received the telegram about the creation of your sub-commission was a great holiday in my life . . .

Esteemed Commissioners! The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolaiev — this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent. In the very fact of your Commission's formation — in the fact that, at its head, is a man of unshakable authority, a man who by virtue of his age should have the right to remain outside of the skirmishes in the political arena — in this fact I see a new and truly magnificent reinforcement of the revolutionary optimism which constitutes the fundamental element of my life.

Books and Pamphlets By Leon Trotsky

The Third International After Lenin	Cloth, \$4. Paper, \$2.50
The Revolution Betrayed	Cloth, \$3. Paper, \$2
Stalin, a Biography	Cloth, \$3.50, Paper, \$1.95
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin	25c
The Kirov Assassination	25c
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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 25 - No. 45 Monday, December 11, 1961

Fidel Castro and Marxism

In a Dec. 2 speech Fidel Castro, describing the evolution of his own political thinking, declared he had become a convinced Marxist-Leninist. He placed the great change in his political thinking after his movement had come to power.

Castro's political development mirrors that of the Cuban Revolution itself. Starting as a middle-class, liberal movement to replace Batista's tyranny with a democratic and humanitarian society, it faced defeat in victory. Barring the accomplishment of its aims stood the colossal power of imperialism and the ugly realities of capitalism in an underdeveloped country.

Had the Cuban Revolution remained within the confines of its original political perspectives, Cuba would have been a repetition of the same, old, sad Latin-American story: An idealistic revolt against despotism, a moment of great popular hope for a better life, some months of bourgeois political democracy followed by corruption and disillusion, the thumbs-down signal from Washington and Wall Street for removal of the political "idealists" tolerated perforce till the storm had abated, then an authoritarian regime or military dictatorship.

Cuba's leaders' turn towards Marxist thought and practice broke this familiar pattern and created something new and hopeful under the Western Hemisphere's sun.

Persecution of Black Muslims

In the first of a series of trials in Monroe, Louisiana, of the religious movement known as the Black Muslims, minister Troy X has been sentenced to ten years on a charge of criminal anarchy. The prosecution claimed he advocated violent overthrow of the government by displaying on the wall of the mosque a blackboard showing an American flag, a black man hanging from a tree and the inscription, "Slavery, hell and death."

The case against Troy X is on the same plane as that against Asbury Howard in Birmingham in 1959. Howard had reproduced on a poster a cartoon from a Negro newspaper depicting a handcuffed Negro praying for equal rights. Attached to the handcuffs was a tag reading: "You can't enter here, ride here, work here, play here, study here, eat here, drink here, walk here, worship here."

The sentencing of Howard to six months on an Alabama chain gang justly aroused a national furor. Why is there hardly any mention of, let alone protest against, the sentencing of Troy X to ten years of hell in a Louisiana prison?

We believe the principal reason is that most liberals, and even radicals, are not sympathetic to the teachings of Troy X and the other Black Muslims now being persecuted (three other ministers were jailed in various cities last month) and haven't bestirred themselves to protest.

The test of principal regarding civil liberties is not simply defense of those whose ideas one finds agreeable but defense also of people like the Black Muslims, with whom one may disagree strongly, but who in their own way are sincerely seeking freedom for their people.

... Reserve Call-Up Stirs Hornet's Nest

(Continued from Page 1)
dent was discussed and he said: "If I ever find out who did a thing like that, those men will be dealt with properly. That's almost sedition."

Gen. Train, who boasts that he has studied communism and communist tactics at various command schools, says he is concerned about subversive influences in the current situation.

Reservists' anger is so widespread and vocal that numerous politicians with an eye to next year's elections are getting in on the act. Thus Rep. Alvin O'Koniski (R.-Wis.) visited a national guard division from his state stationed in the Pacific Northwest. Afterwards he said, "the words 'why are we here' are still ringing in my head." He also said the men were being intimidated and silenced, and accused the army of starting a "whitewash." Wisconsin's Democratic Senator Proxmire quickly betook himself to the camp and for three days lived and talked with his GI constituents. Though trying to absolve the administration, he listed at the head of the complaints a desire to know why they had been called up.

Two letters, signed by 176 men

at Ft. Polk, Louisiana, were sent to the papers. Opposite the signature of a GI named Coleman appeared the following notation: "Pfc Coleman is pending court martial for this letter which is only another of the wrongs we endure at this place."

Specialist Fifth Class W.M. Miller at Ft. Devens sent the *Boston Herald* a protest letter and was thereupon given two weeks of punishment.

At his Nov. 29 press conference Kennedy got quite agitated over the question about the reservists' morale. He said the men would not be kept in over a year and that efforts would be made to get them out sooner.

On Dec. 4 Army Secretary Elvis J. Stahr announced that the cause of GI griping had been corrected. He quoted inspecting generals who said morale was "high" and "magnificent." It was also announced that the called-up men will get more indoctrination about their vital role in the defense effort even though they think they are just killing time picking up cigarette butts and painting barracks. Finally an order went from Washington to Ft. Devens countermanding the punishment of Miller, the letter-to-the-editor writer.

Fresh Ideas by Polish, Italian Communists

By George Lavan

Reverberations of the exposure of Stalin's crimes by the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party continue and are going deeper in the Communist Parties inside and outside the Soviet bloc.

Both in Poland and Italy CP leaders are making speeches and statements about Stalinism which go beyond the limits of the de-Stalinization mapped out by Khrushchev. They are calling upon the Kremlin leaders to explain how Stalinism developed and are seeking ways of preventing its recurrence.

At the recent meeting of the Polish CP Central Committee, party chief, Wladyslaw Gomulka reported on the 22nd Congress which he had attended. He called upon the Soviet leaders to give a fuller explanation of how a social phenomenon like Stalinism could arise. He himself advanced an explanation of how the rule by terror, which he compared to the Inquisition, had developed in the USSR. The purges, he said, were Stalin's paranoid reaction to resistance by peasants and workers to the forced collectivization of the early 1930's.

"It appears that the overstepping of this limit began when Soviet rural areas were put on the path of collectivization," Gomulka said. "This time must also be regarded as the beginning of the process of growing lawlessness, violation of Soviet legality, the establishment of an atmosphere of fear, and the growth under these conditions of the personality cult, the cult of Stalin."

When *Pravda* on Nov. 25 printed Gomulka's speech the above two points were among the sections omitted.

Left Opposition View

From 1924 to 1928 in the Soviet Union the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, had stood for the introduction of planned industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. Stalin opposed both and by 1928 succeeded in destroying democracy in the USSR and crushed the Left Opposition. An economic crisis which broke out the very next year, however, brought the Soviet Union to the verge of disaster.

Out of desperation, Stalin now embraced measures of industrialization and agricultural collectivization. His policies, however, were a brutal caricature of the planning and collectivization proposed by the Left Opposition. It had proposed a gradual collectivization based on the amount of mechanization then possible with peasants joining the collectives voluntarily as they saw it meant an improvement in their living standards.

Stalin, however, forced the peasants against their will into collectives where no machinery could be provided. Farm productivity dropped disastrously. The livestock of the USSR was almost completely destroyed in a matter of months as peasants slaughtered their animals for food or sale prior to the dreaded day of their forced collectivization.

The calamity of Stalin's forced collectivization brought mass starvation and open peasant rebellion. Tens of thousands were shot and millions deported to Siberia and other remote areas. To this day agriculture remains the weakest sector of the Soviet economy.

The strongest condemnations of Stalin's crimes by any of the leaders of the important Communist Parties in the capitalist countries were probably those made by Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian CP. But they were not strong enough for the majority of his central committee. Despite his pleas for moderation, the Italian CP secretariat issued the strongest blast yet in a document published Nov. 28 in the party newspaper, *L'Unita*. Commending the 22nd Congress' denunciation of "errors and aberrations of the past," the article continued: "The question

cannot exhaust itself in a simple denunciation of Stalin's negative qualities and his errors. How was it possible that in the construction of a socialist society there were so many errors and deformations and what can be done to guarantee that they will not be repeated?"

The article declared that the Italian Communist Party itself had been "co-responsible" for Stalin's abuses of power because it had (1) accepted without criticism Stalin's contention that class warfare in the USSR must become harsher as the country neared communism; and (2) it had exalted Stalin's personality.

The issuance of this official CP statement confirms the report of the sessions of the Central Committee of the Italian CP printed in the independent French socialist newspaper *France Observateur* (Nov. 16). According to it the Italian leadership was split into three groupings: a Stalinist current headed by M. Scoccimarro, which tried to postpone debate on the 22nd Congress; a moderate Khrushchevite grouping headed by Togliatti, which wished to confine the party position to the limits of de-Stalinization already pronounced; and a third "autonomist" grouping, supported by the majority of the Central Committee, which wished to draw more far-reaching conclusions about Stalinism. This latter has as leaders Amendola, Pajetta, Alicata and Trombadori.

The following are excerpts from a speech by Amendola, one of the "autonomist" leaders at the Central Committee plenum, as reported in *France Observateur*.

"The political struggle revealed by the 22nd Congress as well as the dissensions which exist among

the communist parties underlines the need of surmounting this situation. The supposed unanimity expressed in certain documents does not correspond to an actual unity. It is necessary for us to take cognizance of the multiplicity of situations and positions — that of the USSR, that of China, that of Italy, that of France, that of Yugoslavia and that of Cuba . . .

"Our whole party, moreover, is asking to participate in such a debate. We cannot tolerate that the publicity given to the disagreements comes only from other parties and we cannot accept the position of always being confronted by *faits accomplis* (accomplished facts). Discussion, for example, with all the other communist parties of Western Europe is for us a discussion of basic importance because we shall not be able to advance much in Italy without a resurgence of the workers' movement in the whole of the European capitalist world. It is a matter of returning to Leninism by returning political discussion to the international level. This naturally implies that debate on the problems raised take place in realistic terms and not in ritualistic language. This equally requires a critical study of the political documents presented by the communist parties of other countries . . .

"In our own party, the discussion should develop if necessary right up to the formation on various problems, from time to time, of minorities and majorities; this doesn't mean the formation of tendencies which become crystallized and render discussion sterile as has happened in other parties; but it means the ever more marked development of a democratic internal dialogue."

Xmas Book List

THE COOL WORLD, by Warren Miller. An excellent novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *90 Miles from Home*. Special price, \$1.49.

THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES, by Juan Jose Arevalo. Already a classic in Latin America, this brilliant indictment of U.S. imperialism has just been translated into English. \$4.95.

THE REVOLT OF THE MIND, by Tamas Aczel and Tibor Meray. A gripping, invaluable account of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the events that brought it about. Published at \$5. Special price, \$1.49.

THE INTERNATIONAL, by Alfred Maund. A noteworthy novel about the contemporary union officialdom. \$5.95.

THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER, by George Orwell. Available for the first time in a U.S. edition, this is a masterful account of the jobless in an English mining town. Paper, 50c.

THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE, by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. \$3.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH, by Daniel Guerin. Based on an extensive tour of the Southern U.S. Special price, cloth, \$1. paper, 50c.

ISLAND IN THE CITY, by Dan Wakefield. An invaluable account of Puerto Ricans in New York. Paper, \$1.75.

REVOLT IN THE SOUTH, by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising Southern Negro struggle. Paper, 95c.

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, by Martin Luther King. An account of the non-violent resistance movement. Paper, 50c.

THE UN-AMERICANS, by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil liberties attorney provides a devastating documentation of the fruits of the House witch-hunters' activities. Paper, 60c.

GRAND INQUEST, by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to *The Un-Americans* by a constitutional lawyer. Paper, 75c.

SOUL OF BLACK FOLK, by W. E. B. DuBois. A new reprint of one of the earliest and best works of the famed scholar. Paper, 50c.

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MAY DAY SPEECH, by Fidel Castro and ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CUBA, by Che Guevara. 50c.

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MARXIST CLASSICS

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City of Brotherly Love: Victims Get Jailed

"Justice" at work — a group of people exercise their democratic, legal right to stage a peaceful picket line. Onlookers attack the pickets. Cops join the fracas. The dust clears and four pickets are under arrest, charged with assault and battery, inciting to riot, interfering with and assaulting an officer. Those who attacked the picket line go scot free.

It happened in Philadelphia last April 19 when the Fair Play for Cuba Committee called for a demonstration in the downtown area to protest the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba.

The police were notified in advance that the picket line would be held. Curiously, when the demonstration began the cops, who are usually thick as fleas during such actions were nowhere to be seen.

Some bystanders began screaming invectives, jostling and pushing the pickets. Still no cops. A man who later identified himself as "James Burke" tried to grab a placard from a young picket, Daniel Rodell.

Cops Appear

Leroy McCrae, a picket captain, intervened to restore order. Another man charged at him. Suddenly patrol cars and motorcycle cops appeared out of nowhere. The pickets were forced to disperse. At this point the man who had jumped to "Burke's" assistance revealed himself as a plainclothesman. Rodell and McCrae were arrested — Rodell charged with inciting to riot and assault and battery, McCrae the same, plus interfering with and assaulting an officer.

For good measure, Richard Roth, who was standing at least 30 feet from the scene of the outbreak with a box of leaflets in his hands, was also arrested. He too was charged with assault and battery.

Meanwhile, the pickets reassembled and began walking toward City Hall to protest. Squad cars and motorcycles followed them, with some actually mounting the sidewalk to ride herd on the pickets. One of the walkers, Gary Laison, stopped to take the badge number of a particularly offensive cop. He was arrested and put in a squad car. Later it was charged he sang *God Bless America* and swung at a cop from inside the car. Laison finds this somewhat amusing on two counts. 1) He's strongly inclined to the philosophy of pacifism. 2) He finds it difficult to sing without stammering.

Meanwhile, the man "Burke"



The young man with his arms pinned was one of a group of Philadelphia Fair Play for Cuba supporters who were conducting a peaceful picket line when cops and bystanders ganged up on them.

who started the fight and then launched the assault charge was found to have checked in and out of the YMCA address he gave to the police shortly after filing the complaint. His present whereabouts are unknown.

All of this isn't simply the picketers' version of what happened. Each essential fact in their story is confirmed by a series of newspaper photographs (like the one above) and by a film of the fracas taken by Philadelphia station WRCV-TV.

Yet a grand jury has indicted the four pickets and they face trial early next year. If convicted, they could draw prison terms up to 10 years, plus stiff fines.

To help see to it that this doesn't happen, a Pickets Defense Committee has been organized with Gordon Marker, an economics instructor at Rutgers University, as chairman.

The committee is in serious need of funds to conduct the defense. Send a contribution to: Pickets

Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8721, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

NEW YORK — Richard Gibson, acting national executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, announced that the committee will be represented at the World Peace Council meeting in Stockholm Dec. 16-21.

The Fair Play delegate will be Allan Isakson, A Palo Alto, Calif., building contractor and member of the Bay Area FPCC.

Gibson said the committee decided to send a delegate to the conference "because we consider that the threat of a second invasion of Cuba, if it materialized, could be a key factor in triggering a world war.

"We hope that Isakson's presence at the conference," he continued, "will focus the eyes of world peace forces on the threat of U.S. aggression in Cuba and will also let the world know there are many Americans who oppose Washington's war-breeding policies."

falsifications in the original narration. The union hopes to circulate the film nationally.

Tractor Deal Revived — Cuban counter-revolutionaries are still working on the plan to secure the release of prisoners captured in the April 17 invasion of Cuba in exchange for farm tractors equal in value to 500 bulldozers. They said they are planning to buy the tractors in Italy with funds raised here. The original U.S. committee set up to meet the Cuban reparations offer disbanded after reneging on agreed-upon terms.

Sacred Right — A Toledo ordinance banning housing discrimination was declared unconstitutional by Commons Pleas Judge Harvey Straub. The judge said that attempts to regulate the "rights" of private property owners was contrary to the state constitution's bill of rights.

What Suppression? — Grove Press and author Henry Miller have filed damage suits of \$600,000 each against eight law enforcement officers in two Cleveland-area counties on a charge that

they unlawfully suppressed Miller's novel, *Tropic of Cancer*. Summit County prosecutor John S. Ballard denied there was any suppression. All they did, he said, was to tell dealers that they considered the book obscene and that if the dealers persisted in selling it the matter would be taken to a grand jury for action.

Message Doesn't Carry — "When you've got 100,000 people sleeping on the streets of Calcutta, you don't worry about Berlin or Cuba." — Henry B. Ollendorf, director of the Cleveland International Program for Youth Leadership, explaining the difficulties confronting the U.S. in winning over "uncommitted" nations.

Dixie Way of Life — A federal grand jury is holding hearings in New Orleans following a two-month probe by the Justice Department into extensive telephone tapping in Baton Rouge, La. The main use of the tapped calls was to tape and play them back before church laymen in attempts to force the ouster of 53 Baton Rouge ministers who signed an "Affirmation of Religious Principles" which condemned racial discrimination.

Letters from Our Readers

Colgate Workers Still Out

San Francisco, Calif.

You might be interested in knowing that the workers striking at the Berkeley, Calif., plant of Colgate-Palmolive were pleased with *The Militant's* stories of the strike.

One of the workers on the strike committee has written me:

"The pickets and all the Colgate strikers sincerely appreciate the publicity you have given their struggle against the Colgate Company and the Union as a whole feels that the facts were very aptly stated. We are most grateful to you."

The latest news of this strike is that the company representatives didn't show up at the last negotiation meeting. No meeting, no negotiation, and the strike continues.

Maria di Savio

[Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is striking for a new contract at the Colgate-Palmolive plant. To help win the strike they have called for a boycott of the company's products which include: Ajax, Fab, Vel, Wildroot Cream Oil, Halo Shampoo, Cashmere Bouquet, Lustre Creme and Poise. Letters and cards announcing support of the boycott should be sent to: George Lesch, President, Colgate-Palmolive Co., 300 Park Ave., New York 22, N.Y. EDITOR.]

Return Shelter Pamphlets

Berkeley, Calif.

More than 50 Berkeley women in association with many others in the East Bay, have joined together to encourage householders across the nation to return the proposed fallout shelter pamphlets to President Kennedy with a note asking for a more positive approach to world problems. We have formed ourselves into an ad hoc committee to create as much notice and discussion of our project as possible.

The motivation for our project arises from our common unease over the fact that survival of our individual families, our cities and our nation has increasingly become a topic for debate. None of us believe that digging a hole with the tenuous hope for survival will solve in any constructive manner our current political tensions. Shelters only raise new problems, but do not appropriately solve any of the existing ones. Therefore, we reject the push by our government for fallout shelters.

It is our hope that if sufficient numbers of the pamphlet are returned in a stamped envelope to President Kennedy, White House, Washington 25, D.C., it will serve as notice for our desire for peace and an indication that we do not accept the unrealism encouraged by shelter-building programs.

Mrs. Jackye Hutchins
Women for Peace
P. O. Box 1028
Berkeley 1, Calif.

Rats in Formosa

Detroit, Mich.

A report in the *Detroit Free Press* (Nov. 30) says there are four times as many rats as people on Formosa and that they consume enough rice to feed two million people.

Did you realize there were that many rats at Chiang's headquarters?

A.K.

From a British Friend

Bradford, England

In the Year of Our Lord 1961, the world cost of monstrous suicidal nuclear weapons is over

\$250-million — while millions of humans are starving.

Friendship with Russia is common sense. Remember Japan — one atom bomb killed over 80,000 innocent people and human wrecks survived. One hydrogen bomb equals 750 atom bombs.

Surely Germany, France, Russia and Italy have suffered enough through two world wars. A nuclear war means the end of Germany, East and West. East Germany should have been recognized years ago.

I hope everyone protests now against the most shameful persecution of the American Communist Party. America is supposed to be a democratic country. But while there is a notorious Nazi party in America the government continues to persecute the Communist Party.

In America, numerous people have been driven to suicide (murdered) by the work of the Un-American Activities Committee. One victim was a brilliant cancer research specialist.

British Friend

Sees an Identity

Long Beach, Calif.

One thing's for sure about the Republicans and Democrats — both are one and the same party.

Keep up the good work and give 'em hell.

H.B.

Prostitute Press

San Antonio, Texas

Was it incumbent on Daniel James, a Hearst neophyte, to write the book, *Cuba, the First Soviet Satellite in the Americas*? James accuses Castro of betraying the Cuban people.

Prostitution in newspaperdom is no new thing and this writer would have been less surprised had James been other than a Hearst subject.

Even at the time of Castro's overthrow of Batista, Mr. Hearst's papers were antagonistic to the enemies of Batista.

Paul Dennie

Truth Dollars

New York, N.Y.

Please accept this \$2 as a token of my desire to see that your newspaper continues to print a more truthful account of today's world events.

CCNY Student

Unreported Cuban Event

New York, N.Y.

Manuel Ascunce, a 16-year-old volunteer in the anti-illiteracy campaign in Cuba, was tortured and killed by counter-revolutionaries in Las Villas province Nov. 28 while teaching a peasant family how to read. Along with Manuel the counter-revolutionaries killed Pedro Lantigua Ortega the father of the family Manuel was helping learn to read.

Ortega's wife and one of her seven sons attempted to follow the counter-revolutionaries when they took the two men with them. They threatened to kill her son if she persisted in following them. She then went to the nearest neighbor three kilometers away. When the local peasants finally found Manuel and Pedro they were hanging from a tree.

The yellow press in this country couldn't find the room to report this murder which gave a good indication of the treatment the Cuban people can expect from the counter-revolutionaries if they should ever get power again.

P.C.

It Was Reported in the Press

Pint-Sized Persecutors — Yonkers, N.Y. cops arrested Communist Party general secretary Gus Hall Dec. 1 for driving a car they claimed was improperly registered. Two other violations were added for good measure and the car impounded. The cops later told newsmen they had acted on a tip and that Hall's home had been staked out by police for two days before the arrest was made.

It May Well Be — The Portuguese government has been imposing new taxes to finance its efforts to crush the Angolan independence movement. The taxes include a 15 per cent levy on manicures and rinses. "Society women are complaining," reports the *New York Times*. "To many, this seems the beginning of the end."

Correction — The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has obtained its own print of the notorious *Operation Abolition*, a crudely doctored film version of the 1960 San Francisco student demonstration during a House Un-American Activities Committee session. The ACLU has prepared a new narrative for the film answering, point by point, the