



# The "Elements" Pravda Fears

By Tom Kerry

In an article bristling with denunciation of "rotten elements," Pravda, official organ of the Russian Communist Party castigated critics in the Soviet Union who presumed to go beyond the limits imposed by the Kremlin bureaucracy in the discussion organized to demolish the "Stalin cult."

The April 5 issue of the paper lashed out in all directions showering derogatory epithets on those who sought to take advantage of the "discussion" to criticize party policy and leadership. Cracking the bureaucratic whip, Pravda called for "Bolshevik martial irreconcilability toward these anti-party sallies."

The language of Pravda under Khrushchev is little different from that employed under the murderous Stalin regime. The language is similar but the situation is altogether different. Under Stalin, also, there were periodic campaigns of "criticism and self-criticism" usually terminating in a bloody purge and a reshuffling of the bureaucracy.

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# Reaction of the Fringe Stalinists To Moscow's Ending of the Cult

By Daniel Roberts

During the last several weeks The Militant has reported the reaction in the Stalinist press to the junking of the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union. On the fringes of the Stalinist movement there are groupings that proclaim themselves "independent socialists" although sympathetic to the CP.

The April Monthly Review greets the 20th Congress with utter silence. This is not to be wondered at. In junking the Stalin cult, the Kremlin bureaucrats were compelled to expose the frame-up character of a number of blood purges engineered by Stalin. This happens to place the Monthly Review editors — Huberman and Sweezy — in a highly embarrassing position.

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### ON THE RECORD

Now Stalin's accomplices — the present Soviet rulers — say confessions in a number of trials were fake. The self-styled "independent" editors of Monthly Review have for the time being nothing more to say. As with their support of Stalin's frame-ups so with their adulation of Stalin. In 1953, echoing the pronouncements of the Stalin cult, Huberman and Sweezy stated, "There can be little doubt that history will . . . honor him as long as the human race survives."

Stalinist-minded workers and youth in the Communist party or periphery who are making the end of the Stalin cult a starting point for serious examination of revolutionary politics have nothing to learn from the Monthly Review. These "independent socialists" know only how to tailor the Kremlin line.

## Picket Circus



Members of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters and the American Guild of Variety Artists picket the Ringling Bros. Barnum & Bailey Circus outside Madison Square Garden in drive to organize circus employes. Injunction ordered pickets removed for the opening night performance of the show's one-month stand in New York.

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zealous promotion of the Stalin cult, not so the editors of the American Socialist. It is true that Cochran and his colleagues say nothing about their desertion from revolutionary socialism when they split in 1953 from the Socialist Workers Party. This included abandonment of revolutionary opposition to Stalinism.

uttered when the "mellowing" Kremlin overlords began to crack down on what they called "rotten elements" — namely, the Soviet masses — who are not satisfied with paper promises of democracy and a bureaucratically conducted liquidation of the Stalin cult but want genuine political freedom.

The Cochranites present an entirely perverted picture of the true relations between the Soviet masses and the bureaucracy. They present the Kremlin dictators as setting the pace in the transition to political democracy and the people as eventually catching up. But reality shows that it is the Soviet working people who are fed up with the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste.

Revolutionary socialists have every reason to welcome the junking of the Stalin cult as an indication of the powerful stirring of the Soviet working class and as a harbinger of a political revolution. They do not flatter the cynical bureaucrats who seek to perpetuate the hated dictatorship, but make ever greater demands upon them.

The revolutionary socialists believe in the regeneration of the Soviet Union and have struggled for it unwaveringly since the emergence of Stalin's bloody rule. But unlike the Cochranites and other apologists for Stalinism, they do not look to Stalin's heirs to accomplish the task. They rely solely on the revolutionary action of the Soviet and international working class.

# General Strike In Spain

APRIL 11 — A general strike is in progress in the northern Spanish city of Pamplona, capital of the Navarre region. Thousands of workers are defying the Franco regime's labor laws which forbid them to strike.

According to today's New York Times, the Pamplona strike is spreading to other towns of the region. Furthermore, "it is expected that later today the main centers will have followed the Pamplona lead."

Everything in Pamplona is shut down tight. The strike began yesterday when several hundred workers in shoe factories quit in protest against a too meager wage increase granted by the government. In fascist Spain, the government regulates wages.

Then the strike spread to 35 other factories and industrial enterprises including a construction company employing 2,000 workers. Stores are closed down and transportation suspended services when bus conductors quit.

The present militancy of Spain's workers was clearly foreshadowed last August at a national labor congress. Even though handicapped by the government, the union leaders yielded to the pressure of the workers and voted demands for a minimum living wage, greater participation in profits and a voice in management policy. These demands have not been met by the government.

### READY TO STRUGGLE

Referring to an earlier manifestation this year of the Spanish people's readiness to struggle, the Jan. 9 Militant said: "Throughout the world this report of the indomitable revolutionary temper of the Spanish people will be joyfully received by all those fighting to eliminate capitalist oppression. By the same token it comes as the worst kind of news for the focal point of world reaction — the American capitalist class and its government. . . . The U.S. government has poured millions of dollars into a desperate effort to maintain the 'stability' of Franco's hated regime. . . . The report from Madrid constitutes due notice that Wall Street's reactionary efforts, in this case as in many others, is headed down the drain."

### MOUNTING UNREST

Then on Jan. 1, Dictator Franco himself disclosed the mounting rebellion against his regime, when he devoted his entire New Year's message to the need for "national solidarity." He admitted that there was unrest among workers, students and intellectuals.

### THE MILITANT TROTSKYISTS

Nothing but enthusiastic reports have been coming in from all over the country on the excellent articles being printed in The Militant.

Ruth Aaron says: "San Francisco and Oakland have really been pitching recently. Last week four of us sold 21 papers on the streets of a working class area. Last Sunday at a meeting in Oakland called by the Ministerial Alliance together with the NAACP a total of 232 Militants and 87 Desegregation pamphlets were sold by ten people. Frank B. was tops with the sale of 55 papers, and Bill Morgan headed the pamphlet sellers with a total of 35. The meeting was called in solidarity with the Alabama bus boycott. We got a terrific response to both the paper and the pamphlet."

Howard Mayhew writes from Chicago that everyone there is delighted with the exceedingly fine quality of the recent issues. They have been doing well enough in that city to have sent rush orders for 500 copies of one issue, and a thousand of another.

Here in New York, John Tabor reports that "300 papers were sold at the Manhattan Center meeting. The spirit of Montgomery seemed to be lacking here. However, E. D. Nixon was given the most applause because he was the symbol of struggle."

Los Angeles "sold 564 copies of the March 19 issue with 24 salespeople, three of whom were tops. The work that had been done on street sales and other meetings showed up here. Many people knew The Militant and were pleased to see us. We were asked to sell the paper to one of the trade unions. We are all pleased as Punch with the results."

# When the Storm Broke in Ceylon

HARTAL! By Colvin R. de Silva. Ceylon. 20 pp. 15 cents. American distributors: Pioneer Publishers.

The masses of Ceylon, to the dismay of the U.S. State Department, have just kicked out of office the capitalist United National Party in a landslide election. A principal agent in the debacle of the UNP was the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), which has emerged from the election as the country's second party and leading representative of the working class.

The American reader has no better way of understanding the recent election and the continuously unfolding social revolution in Ceylon than by reading the

pamphlet "Hartal!" The author, Colvin R. de Silva, is a founder and leader of the LSSP. During World War II he was imprisoned by the British for his unyielding demands for Ceylon's independence and denunciation of the imperialist slaughter. He and other LSSP leaders made a dramatic escape from prison and carried on their revolutionary work from India. After the war he, with other LSSP leaders were elected to Ceylon's parliament. There, as well as in the struggle to unionize workers and educate them to socialism, he has done brilliant work. In August 1953, on the LSSP general staff, he helped lead the hartal — the greatest class battle the Asian island has yet seen.

The direct connection of the hartal with last week's momentous elections is stated in the pamphlet's opening paragraph: "The vast upsurge of the masses which August 12th witnessed in

village and town together, represented nothing less than an active vote of no-confidence in the UNP government and a demand that it should resign immediately. It was a notice served on the UNP government that the people could tolerate it no longer."

The capitalist United National Party, backed by British and U.S. imperialism, tried to cheat history but succeeded only for a year and a half. The police repressions and reprisals and all the political tricks and bribery served only to reinforce the people of Ceylon in the resounding verdict they had given in the 1953 hartal — out with the UNP government. Last week's election was but a formal registering on ballots of what the masses had demonstrated physically a year before — out with the UNP government.

Hartal is an Indian word meaning non-cooperation. But if anyone has been misled by pacifist and Quaker wishful thinking into believing that this method of struggle developed by the masses of Asia is passive or pacifistic, a reading of "Hartal!" will soon disabuse him. Among workers the equivalent of the hartal is the general strike. And in Ceylon's hartal, the working class shut down the factories and workshops and prevented scabs from going in. But in Asian countries there are great masses of small peasants, shopkeepers, etc. These and other elements — unemployed, students, housewives and others without unions — participate by engaging in the hartal.

The hartal means a cessation of all work and transportation as a means of political protest. Those engaged in the hartal stop trains and buses — by pacific means, if possible, by fighting back, if attacked by scabs, police or troops.

Asian hartalists do not turn the other cheek, but defend themselves militantly. In Ceylon the fighting reached almost in-

surrectionary heights in many parts of the island. The great hartal was precipitated by the deceit of the capitalist UNP which had held office since the country achieved political independence. Shortly before, the UNP had won the general elections on a program of promises it had no intention of keeping. On the contrary, it tried to solve the problem of the country's creaking capitalist economy at the expense of the poor. Food and clothing prices were increased, the rice ration cut, the free lunch and milk program for school children was abolished, and the price of rice was raised from 25 to 70 cents a measure.

Then the storm broke. All classes, except the native capitalists, and all races, castes, and religions, except the white foreigners, were drawn into the hartal. This pamphlet not only describes the course of the hartal, how the UNP cabinet hiding out on a British warship in Colombo harbor, tried to master it with martial law, but how the LSSP succeeded in forging a united front of all working class parties and unions to sponsor the great struggle.

The recent election results bear out the conclusions reached in 1953 by the author, a few samples of which follow: "Thus on August 12th a new factor reentered our politics. This is the factor of direct mass intervention in the political arena; itself the basic factor in the revolutionary process. Our politics can never be the same as before. The sense of mass power generated in the masses themselves as well as in their opponents ensures this. . . . "But the UNP government has been struck a blow from which it can never recover. August 12th not only set it reeling but also shattered its moral basis. August 12th also narrowed its mass base irreparably."

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