

# Newspaper Hits Subversive List In Kutcher Case

By Daniel Roberts

JAN. 18 — James Kutcher won the support last week of the influential St. Louis Post-Dispatch in his battle to regain his federal job. Following return of his disability pension on Jan. 8 under pressure of public indignation, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee stepped up its campaign to reinstate the legless veteran in his file clerk position with the Veterans Administration. Kutcher was fired in 1948 for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party, which was arbitrarily listed by

## Official Verbatim Text of Kutcher Pension Hearing (See Page Two)

the Attorney General as "subversive." In its Jan. 10 editorial the Post-Dispatch declared, "The matter of [Kutcher's] dismissal may well be questioned in the light of a statement by former Senator Harry P. Cain, now chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Mr. Cain urged that the Attorney-General's list be 'liquidated' as a criterion for determining subversion. . . . Since the light of publicity has helped clear his name perhaps it will enable [Kutcher] to get his job back."

What is significant about the Post-Dispatch's support for Kutcher is its realization that to return him to his job means to attack the subversive list itself. Under this list, the Attorney General and countless petty gov-



JAMES KUTCHER

# Still No Federal Action As Till Killers Confess

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Now the entire world knows the ghastly details of how the 14-year-old Chicago lad Emmett Louis Till was murdered last August while visiting his great-uncle in Mississippi. The confession of the killers, J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, was published in the Jan. 24 issue of Look magazine. If the published account, with direct quotations, were fabricated, Milam and Bryant could become rich men by simply suing for libel. Their silence now is final proof of their guilt. Neither the U. S. Justice Department nor Congress can hide any longer behind the "legal" whitewash of the Mississippi authorities.

Milam and Bryant beat Till on the head with the butt of a .45 Colt automatic. "We were never able to scare him," Milam explained. So they decided to "make an example" of him. "You still as good as I am?" Milam snarled. The answer was "Yeah." Even after the beating, even when Till was stripped naked on the edge of a steep river bank, with a heavy cotton gin fan on hand to weight the 14-year-old body, the answer was still "Yeah." So Milam put out the boy's life with a bullet in his right ear. (See editorial page three.)

## OTHERS DIDN'T SCARE

Three other Negroes were shot in Mississippi last year, two of them killed, because they didn't "scare." They thought they had a right to register and vote. The terrorists "made an example" of them, too, and shot them.

The federal government has done nothing to end this terror

ernment bureaucrats have acquired sweeping power to brand millions of Americans as "subversive" and deprive them of a livelihood. From the time that Democratic President Truman first created the "subversive" list by executive order in 1947 as a means of determining the "loyalty" of federal employes, the administrative witch hunt has mushroomed into a lethal cloud threatening the entire working people.

## 18 MILLION FILES

Last year SACB member Harry P. Cain reported that various branches of the government had compiled 10 million "security" files. But even this staggering figure is too low, according to Henry Paynter's Survey for the January Bluebook Magazine (quoted in the Jan. 4 Labor's Daily). Paynter says 70 agencies have drawn up "security" files on 18 million individuals — one for every four workers in the U. S. — on the basis of "information" of faceless informers plus neighborhood gossip.

The "subversive" list now applies to all federal government jobs, many state and local governmental jobs, including the teaching profession, and all private industry working on defense orders. It affects residents of public housing projects, veterans receiving disability pensions, and members of the armed forces in the type of discharge they receive.

Granting of passports has been made contingent on the purge list, and, on the basis of recent cases, the possibility exists that the Attorney-General's list will invade the whole field of social security payments. In addition, union bureaucrats use the "subversive" list for their purges against militants.

Since Kutcher openly admits membership in the Socialist Workers Party, the outcome of his case will not hinge on questions of fact (that is, whether or not there is proof he belongs) nor even procedural questions (such as the right to face his accusers) but will attack the very constitutionality of the Attorney-General's list.

Thus Kutcher's fight spearheads the whole struggle against the arbitrary power exercised by Big Business' thought-control cops over the U. S. working people. It deserves the support of all civil liberties defenders. Contributions for the fight should be sent to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, George Weissman, Secretary, 325 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

## NEUTRAL — LIKE THE BOSS

James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, and the other leaders of the union have been calling for federal intervention since the strike began. The government always replied that it would maintain a hands-off policy. But in reality it intervened twice — both times on the side of the company. This is neutrality — on the boss's side.

The Westinghouse strikers got a strong dose of government "neutrality" on the state level too. It was behind a strong statement of impartiality that the city administration of Columbus, Ohio, sent its armed police to break up the picket line on Jan. 3.

Can it be that the president is so ignorant of the facts of life in this country that this rampant terror is a mere "allegation?" Hasn't anyone ever told him that Negroes are segregated throughout the South and discriminated against often enough in the North as well? Doesn't he know that lynch-law is the way of life for the ruling white supremacists and that all this has for years constituted "economic pressure" at the very least? Can the history of this country with its poll-tax, Ku Klux Klan, and now White Citizens Councils be reduced to a disturbing allegation that must be "examined"?

## FACTS OF LIFE

Someone should tell the politicians in Washington of the "great crusade" that is being organized in Georgia. Governor Griffin, Jan. 11, at an overflow meeting of 600 in Americus, Ga., said, "The meeting here today is the beginning of a great cru-

(Continued on page 4)

# Ten Thousand Auto Workers Hit by Layoffs

DETROIT, Jan. 18 — Some 10,000 auto workers were laid off this week throughout the nation as production cut-backs continue to spread through the GM, Ford, and Chrysler sections of the industry.

The reason for the reductions is that sales are not keeping up with production. New car stocks at year end were at a record 750,000 compared with 357,000 for 1954. Before the cut-backs, production was running 700,000 units per month while sales held at around 525,000.

The one billion dollars that GM announced yesterday it would put into "expansion and improvements" this year will not offset the planned cuts in production. The money will be spent to build more efficient production facilities to improve GM's competitive position. When completed, these facilities will turn out higher production with a smaller work force.

At the same time that he made the billion dollar announcement, GM president Harlow H. Curtice said that the auto industry would produce 18% less cars this year than last. If his estimate is correct, the layoffs this week were only the beginning.

# Gov't "Neutral" in Favor Of Westinghouse Corp.

By Art Sharon

While 55,000 Westinghouse workers are battling to win their strike, now in its 14th week, the U. S. government moved in to award the country's number one strike-breaking outfit with a lush war contract. According to the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 13, Westinghouse was awarded a total of \$11,000,000 in government orders. If the 55,000 strikers have been toughing it out with less food and accumulating bills, Westinghouse credit and general standing in the banking world must be considerably improved.

This is the second time that the Administration has moved into the Westinghouse war. The first intervention came just before Christmas, Dec. 20. Then the U. S. Justice Department announced that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Independent, representing 10,000 of the Westinghouse strikers, would be cited as a "Communist-infiltrated organization." This charge threatens the union with the loss of its rights under the NLRB.

The Westinghouse strikers got a strong dose of government "neutrality" on the state level too. It was behind a strong statement of impartiality that the city administration of Columbus, Ohio, sent its armed police to break up the picket line on Jan. 3.

He added that there were no private toilets in more than eight million units — outhouses were still the rule. This authentic picture stands in sharp contrast to the propaganda about a prosperous nation sounded by Big Business spokesmen from President Eisenhower on down.

How seriously crisis hit the farmers in 1955 is reported by the Times Review, which reports in a headline, "Farmers pinched by falling prices and rising costs — Wholesale index at 119.4 for industry, is down to 83.3 for agriculture — Some suffering losses — Further deterioration seen as U. S. loan supports on basic crops pared." The farmers working their own land are generally the ones suffering losses, while the big agricultural producers make far better than the average rate of profit for agriculture.

How about the workers' share? An editorial in the Dec. 24 N. Y.

## Winter Can't Chill Their Spirit



Striking members of the IUE-AFL-CIO carry a picket sign honoring their murdered union brother as they picket the Westinghouse plant in Baltimore. Picket Marie Wright admires the anti-freeze equipment of sister striker Margaret Widmeyer.

These sadistic beatings with blackjacks and clubs by "neutral" cops killed the young striker, Troy Tadlock. Labor's Daily, Jan. 11, carries the story of the beatings as told by the strikers who were there. "A sheriff's deputy grabbed me by the shoulder and clubbed me over the head. . . . There were four of them beating me all the way to the cruiser [police car]. . . . I was hit several blows on the right side of my body, legs, arms and shoulders while I was down. The officers dragged me the rest of the way to the cruiser." This is only part of one account of what the local union president called, "one of the worst cases of police brutality ever seen."

# STRIKE FIGURES SHOW "TREASON" RIFE IN U. S.

The department of labor reports that there were 4,200 strikes in the United States in 1955. This is a 20% rise over 1954 but 20% less than the peak year of 1952.

The strikes averaged six days shorter this year than last, and resulted in 3% less time off. There were 5,117 strikes in 1952, a year when the nation was involved in the Korean war. This was more than any other year in history. These Korean-war-year strikes involved more workers, over three-and-a-half million, and more man days lost, 59.1 million than any other year in history save one, 1946, when 4.6 million hit the bricks for 116,000 man days.

There were over six-and-a-half million workers involved in 14,371 strikes during the World War II period between Dec. 8, 1941 and Aug. 14, 1945.

# Who Gained Most from the 1955 Boom?

By Harold Robins

"Net profits of '55 shade all others," writes the Review of the Nation's Business and Finance supplement of the Jan. 3 N. Y. Times. The increase in corporate profits after taxes is more than 30% over those in 1954. (\$22.3 billion in 1955 as against \$17 billion in 1954.) Did the workers or farmers increase their income by 30% in the last year?

The true picture of living conditions of American families is brought into focus by a three paragraph article relegated to the back pages of the Review. It reports a statement by Robert T. Morrill, president of the National Association of Plumbing Contractors, to the effect that "a recent survey by the U. S. Census Bureau indicated that more than three million non-farm dwellings in this country were substandard, structurally unsound and without private bath, toilet or running water."

Times states that "The average factory worker with three dependents now has 38% more money to spend even after he has paid his Federal income and Social Security taxes than he had in the pre-Korean years of 1947-49."

Thus while corporate net profits jumped by 30% in a single year, the workers' money income went up only 38% in a five-to-seven year span, or approximately 6% per year.

Furthermore, in order to arrive at even this modest gain in labor's money income, the Times specifically selected a group of workers about whom it could give the "happiest" kind of report. In this case, it picked "the average factory worker with three dependents."

This category was hard hit by the slump that preceded the Korean war but had a larger take-home pay and more work (less unemployment and more over-

# "Send U. S. Army To South," Says Philip Randolph

## Let the People Vote on War!

An Editorial

The war-making powers must be taken out of the hands of the irresponsible imperialist madmen in Washington and placed in the hands of the people. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the revelations of Sec. of State, John Foster Dulles, about how he took the U. S. to the brink of atomic disaster three times in three years.

Life magazine's Dulles interview Jan. 16, proves to the hilt that U. S. Big Business is bent on war. They must be stopped. The American people must reply to these war threats with the demand for a popular referendum on war.

The Democrats and U. S. allies abroad reacted with a howl of pain at Dulles' disclosures — not because they have any fundamental disagreement with the desperate plans to preserve the rotting capitalist system, but because all the propaganda efforts of the diplomats in the UN, the Voice of America, etc., to make the State Department's intentions look peaceful and defensive before the peoples of the world have gone down the drain. (See article by M. Stein on Page 3.)

In 1952 Eisenhower was elected to office because the American people believed he would stop the terrible slaughter in Korea. Eisenhower had to make a show of peace attempts but he and Dulles agreed that if the U. S. got "bogged down in stalemate," the war would be renewed. Negotiations began but soon ran into the stumbling block of the prisoners of war issue. In the meantime, Life explains, Syngman Rhee "wanted to renew" the war. So, "while negotiators were searching for a back way out of" this deadlock, "Rhee slammed the door in their faces by releasing the prisoners."

After receiving this news in the middle of the night, "Dulles picked up the direct phone to the White House . . . to awaken the President." He told Eisenhower what had happened and "found the President calm and ready." The decision to renew the war and carry it into Manchuria with nuclear weapons, if the North Koreans now broke off negotiations, "was reaffirmed. The Manchurian targets had already been carefully selected."

Despite Rhee's provocation, Life points out, "the North Koreans and the Red Chinese did not walk out of the conference." Thus we were saved from the brink. But Dulles and Eisenhower were ready to let Rhee's provocation begin a new blood-bath, this time a radioactive one.

In 1954, French imperialism was losing its war to hang on to its Asian colony of Indo-China. "On April 4, Dulles went to the White House," reports Life, "with Admiral Arthur Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to present Eisenhower with a proposal for action. If Britain would join the U. S., and France would agree to stand firm . . . the three Western states could combine with friendly Asian nations to oppose the Communist forces on the ground in Indo-China just as the UN stepped in against the North Korean aggression in 1950. . . . Eisenhower concurred." Then followed trans-Atlantic cables, conferences, dispatching of war ships armed with "atomic weapons" and preparations for a final conference with Asian puppets.

"But all plans were suddenly arrested on the afternoon of Easter Sunday," Life reports, "when it became apparent that the British had had a change of heart. The British ambassador, Sir Roger Makins, called the State Department to report that he had new instructions from London directing him not to attend the Tuesday meeting."

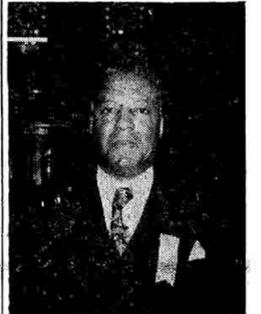
Dulles suffered "frustration" because this war didn't come off. Was he also disappointed when China didn't move to claim its off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu? The power to decide the fate of humanity must not be left in hands like these.

# Quill Backs Demand to End Terror

By Carl Goodman

JAN. 18 — A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, yesterday demanded that President Eisenhower call out federal troops "to liberate the Negro in the South."

"If we can send our Army to Korea for the protection of Koreans 6,000 miles away," he told a luncheon of the Urban League in New York, "the time has come when the President must



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

send some armed forces to protect American citizens in the South."

## QUILL SECONDS PROPOSAL

Randolph was seconded in his demand by Transport Workers Union President Michael J. Quill. "If Federal troops can be used against labor during strikes," said Quill, "they certainly can be used to implement decisions of the Supreme Court." Last December the Pittsburgh Courier, leading Negro newspaper in the country, addressed an open letter to Eisenhower, calling for federal troops to protect Negroes from the white-supremacist terror.

In 1941, Randolph and Walter White headed a movement for a March on Washington of 10,000 Negroes to compel passage of fair employment legislation in war industries. It was reported that 100,000 were prepared to march. Although the demonstration was called off by its leaders, threat of the action forced President Roosevelt to enact the FEPC executive order.

Currently, Dr. T. R. M. Howard of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., is campaigning for a march on the nation's capital to compel federal action against the racists.

In a telegram to Attorney General Brownell on Nov. 25, Dr. Howard said, "I am asking one million red-blooded Americans to march on Washington in protest to the deaf ear that you and the Administration have turned to the violence in Mississippi against Negroes." Dr. Howard is touring U. S. cities in the North and South speaking for his action proposal.

## WHERE IS THE RALLY?

Last November, President Reuther of the United Auto Workers announced a nation-wide civil-rights mobilization of labor and the NAACP to take place in Washington at the beginning of the year. But neither the labor officials nor the NAACP leaders did anything to implement the plan.

The 1956 Legislative Program adopted last week by the IAW International Executive Board — while challenging those "who, in the name of party unity, did not raise the issue of the filibuster a year ago, now in 1956 to make good on their civil rights promises" — remained silent as the tomb about Reuther's failure to "make good" on his promise for a Washington mobilization.

Excerpts from Verbatim Text

# Official Transcript of Kutcher's VA Hearing

[The following are excerpts from the official transcript of James Kutcher's public hearing held on Dec. 30 before the Veterans Administration's Central Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures. — Ed.]

**ACTING CHAIRMAN:** Gentlemen, we will proceed with the hearing. Mr. Kutcher, my name is Peyton H. Moss. I am acting as chairman of the committee. This is Mr. John A. Camberland, a member and this is Mr. George Hunter, also a member.

Mr. Kutcher, the records of the Veterans Administration show that since your honorable discharge from military service on September 27, 1945, you have been suffering from severe disabilities incurred in combat in the active military service and, therefore, have been awarded maximum benefits for such disabilities. All persons receiving, or entitled to receive, compensation from the Veterans Administration are subject to the provisions of Section 4, Public Law 144, 78th Congress (Section

728, Title 38, U.S. Code), which provides:

"Any person shown by evidence satisfactory to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to be guilty of mutiny, treason, sabotage, or rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States or of its allies shall forfeit all accrued or future benefits under laws administered by the Veterans Administration pertaining to gratuities for veterans and their dependents."

Officials of the Veterans Administration are reluctant to invoke the forfeiture provisions of the law in any honorably discharged veteran's case, more particularly a seriously disabled combat veteran, unless the evidence shows beyond a reasonable doubt that the veteran has committed one of the offenses specified in said Section 4.

This is not a trial. The sole purpose of this proceeding is to afford you an opportunity to furnish any evidence which in your opinion will answer the charges set forth in the letter addressed to you by this Committee under date of December 12, 1955.

## Charges Become "Evidence"

"The evidence shows that you are and have been an active member of the Socialist Workers' Party since 1938; that the Socialist Workers' Party has been determined to be... an organization which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States of America by unconstitutional means; that [by] your numerous activities over the years it also appears that you rendered aid and assistance to an enemy of the United States or of its allies by espousing and defending the Socialist Workers' Party's cause and thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemy by... undermining public... confidence in the United States Government's administration of the war effort and hampering and

obstructing such effort.

"The evidence also shows that in July 1950 and the summer of 1951 you attended a camp... [in] New Jersey, at which time you stated that you liked the 'red' system of government; that in this country half of what a worker earns goes to the Government and under the 'red' government the worker gets all he earns; that the government of the United States is composed of people who are cheaters and crooks who oppress the working people.

"It is further shown that you urged and advocated that the members in attendance at the camp cause strikes and get in key positions and get the Socialist Workers' Party in con-

trol of the Government of the United States. It is further shown that you stated that the Party members couldn't wish them in, think them in, or vote them in; therefore, they should be overthrown and killed and then get a new Government.

"In view of the above, it appears that you have violated the provisions of the above-cited statute."

With reference to the request in the letter of December 22, 1955, from your attorneys "that at such hearing you produce any witness or witnesses upon whose testimony the Government intends to rely before the Veterans Administration Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures," you are informed that under the directive of the President of the United States dated May 17, 1954, the sources of the evidence on which the charges in this case are based will not be disclosed. . . . You may proceed to answer the charges as set forth in the charges.

## "No Rules -- Just Answer!"

**Acting Chairman:** Certainly we have rules.

**Mr. Rauh:** Can we get them?

**Acting Chairman:** No.

**Mr. Rauh:** Thank you.

**Acting Chairman:** You cannot get them. Mr. Kutcher may now answer the charges.

**Mr. Lipps:** [Acting General Counsel for the VA:] Perhaps Mr. Rauh can be a little more specific as to what he means by "rules and regulations."

**Mr. Rauh:** This is the first time in my life I have ever been to a hearing of an administrative tribunal in which there were not rules governing the conduct of the hearing. Even at a security case, where I must say the rules are bad enough, they always hand you a document saying: "These are the rules we will be guided by. This is the procedure we will follow. This is what we will do."

Now I am saying: May I please have the similar documents in this particular instance? I don't think there are any. That is the point I am trying to make here. If you will just tell me there aren't any rules for this hearing that will satisfy me.

**Mr. Rauh:** [Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., attorney for Kutcher:] . . . May I please have a copy of the rules and regulations governing this hearing?

**Acting Chairman:** A copy of the rules and regulations governing this hearing?

**Mr. Rauh:** Yes, sir.

**Acting Chairman:** No, sir. I don't think there are — there are too many rules and regulations. We couldn't give you that to cover any particular hearing. Sorry, we can't do that.

**Mr. Rauh:** Do I understand that there are no rules governing this hearing?

**Acting Chairman:** Certainly. I am the Acting Chairman of this Committee, and I will, in a sense determine what shall be done at the hearing. We are now giving you an opportunity to answer the charges. . . .

**Mr. Rauh:** Isn't it a fact, Mr. Chairman, that you don't have any rules for this hearing?

**Acting Chairman:** Certainly we have rules.

**Mr. Rauh:** Can we get them?

**Acting Chairman:** No.

**Mr. Rauh:** Thank you.

**Acting Chairman:** You cannot get them. Mr. Kutcher may now answer the charges.

**Mr. Lipps:** There are Veterans regulations which set up this committee and give them the jurisdiction to hear the cases. There are no written published rules for guidance. . . .

**Mr. Rauh:** In other words, there are no rules for the conducting of this hearing. That is all I am trying to get at. Is that correct?

**Mr. Lipps:** That is correct.

**Mr. Rauh:** Thank you.

**Acting Chairman:** Okay. I will make the rules as I go along then. Now go ahead.

**Mr. Rauh:** We will contend as the afternoon goes along, and demonstrate, that the charges are not true, but before getting to that it seems to me perfectly

clear that even if they were true there is no warrant for a withdrawal of Mr. Kutcher's pension.

The first reason is that. . . I do not believe that this body, the Veterans Administration, has any authority to find a man guilty of treason or rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States. What it has authority to do is to decide if a court has convicted a man and if the court has not convicted the man it has no authority to find him guilty here.

## Not Treason, But Thought Control

**Acting Chairman:** Your request for dismissal of the case on the ground as stated by you is denied, and I will ask the General Counsel to answer his questions with authority under the law we have and regulations to consider forfeiture in a case of this kind.

**Mr. Lipps:** To have an interpretation of the law the Veterans Administration is authorized to make a finding of guilty of its own for the purposes of denying benefits or taking away benefits.

**Mr. Rauh:** . . . In the last four years there has been no case in the United States where a man has lost his pension except after a conviction in a court of law, is that correct?

**Acting Chairman:** I think that is correct.

**Mr. Rauh:** I might suggest to the committee that a legless veteran is hardly the place to start changing the rules.

The second ground for dismissal, even if everything in the

document is true — this document of December 12 — is that no crime has been alleged. . . . No crime is alleged without an allegation that Mr. Kutcher intended to help an enemy of the United States. There is no crime of rendering assistance to an enemy, apart from an intent to help an enemy. . . .

What this amounts to — what these charges amount to — is very simple: if you are a pensioner, don't exercise your right of free speech, for "if we, the Veterans Administration, think that something you said is hurting the war effort, then we, the Veterans Administration, will take your pension away."

I want to read you statements that were made during the Korean war which were every bit as detrimental to the war effort as anything Mr. Kutcher said — anything that is in these charges. [Reads statements by General Eisenhower before he became President.]

## Who Has the Burden of Proof?

I suggest to you that when you start censoring what people have to say you can't stop. Those statements in the judgment of some people hurt the war effort. I would defend the President's right to have made those statements but I also say to you that nothing in the letter of charges could possibly have done as much to undermine the war effort in Korea as those two statements did.

What the Veterans Administration is doing here is setting itself up as a right to censor what pensioners may say because if they say something that the Veterans Administration thinks is harmful to the Korean war, that is a ground for taking away a pension.

There is no allegation that Mr. Kutcher intended to help the enemy, there is no allegation of a particular act of helping the enemy, there is nothing in here except a censorship of Mr. Kutcher's public statements, and I say, and I believe that the courts will bear us out if we have to go there, that there is no allegation in this letter of December 12 of any crime within the meaning of the section under which you are acting, and we ask that the charges be dismissed.

**Acting Chairman:** Your motion is denied. . . .

**Mr. Rauh:** . . . Now we are going ahead with the trial of Mr. Kutcher for either treason or rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States. There has been no clear differentiation made here. We ask the government to proceed and prove that Mr. Kutcher did these things. Now look at the situation we are in. In the United States of America a man is innocent until proved guilty.

If I rest my case right now, if the Veterans Administration believed in the presumption of innocence it would have to terminate the case because it hasn't put in one iota of evidence challenging Mr. Kutcher, and therefore I ask you now: On who is the burden of proof in this hearing? Is the burden of proof on Mr. Kutcher to prove he hasn't committed rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States or is the burden of proof on the Veterans Administration to prove that he has done it. . . .

If it is our burden to go forward at least I want the record to show that the Veterans Administration is putting the burden on a legless veteran to prove his innocence on a charge as serious as treason.

## "Aid and Comfort to the Enemy"

**Acting Chairman:** As I stated at the outset we are affording Mr. Kutcher, and naturally his attorneys, an opportunity to answer the charges. We feel that there is a prima facie showing of guilt under Section 4 of Public Law No. 144, 78th Congress. To that extent the burden is upon him now to answer the charges.

**Mr. Rauh:** Mr. Moss, not a whit of evidence has been put in this letter is evidence, this letter is charges, and I say that unless you are reversing the presumption of innocence, unless you are saying that we have the burden of proof, you must put on some evidence to show that he is guilty.

**Acting Chairman:** This is not a court trial.

**Mr. Rauh:** That is obvious but my question is: Are you willing to let the record show in the year 1955, in the democratic states of America, that a legless veteran had the burden of proof of showing his innocence before the Veterans Administration which was set up for the purpose of protecting veterans? Is that the way you are ready for the record to go?

**Acting Chairman:** We are ready for it to go. Proceed. . . .

**Mr. Rauh:** Now there are two separate problems we have been discussing, Mr. Moss and Mr. Counsel. One is whether the burden of proof is on you. You said it is not a treason trial, however.

Now I call to your attention your own words. . . . Take your opening statement and go up nine lines from the bottom on page 2 and there you say of Mr. Kutcher: "Giving aid and comfort to the enemy," and that is the language of treason in the Constitution and I say you are accusing him of treason.

**Acting Chairman:** I have to disagree with you on that.

**Mr. Rauh:** Will you tell me whether you used the words "Giving aid and comfort to the enemy"?

**Acting Chairman:** Because we used that language doesn't mean that we are charging him with

treason. We have no authority to do that. I don't think we are getting anywhere discussing this about treason. That doesn't come into it at all. . . .

**Mr. Rauh:** Now since you and your counsel make a distinction between treason and rendering aid and assistance to an enemy of the United States, and since I have spent the last two days hounding you on treason and am unable to find the crime of rendering aid and assistance to [an enemy of] the United States apart from treason, would you do us the honor of defining the crime with which Mr. Kutcher is now charged?

**Acting Chairman:** The charges have been set forth in the charge letter, and I don't think I am called upon to define the crime except to repeat what I have said before, that he is charged with rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States or of their satellites.

**Mr. Rauh:** Mr. Moss, would you like to strike out of your charges the words "giving aid and comfort to the enemy"?

**Acting Chairman:** No, I am not striking out anything.

**Mr. Rauh:** So you are leaving the charge of the Constitutional language on treason in the charges, is that right?

**Acting Chairman:** We will leave it there.

**Mr. Rauh:** I say this is a charge of treason. You refuse to define the separate crime and I will leave it to the gentlemen of the press to decide whether this is a treason trial or not. . . .

(To be continued)

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 825	\$ 886	107
Seattle	200	212	106
Allentown	85	85	100
Cleveland	350	350	100
Milwaukee	250	250	100
Buffalo	1,760	1,705	97
New York	3,520	3,125	89
Twin Cities	1,320	1,144	87
Philadelphia	440	357	81
Youngstown	250	200	80
Chicago	1,760	1,386	79
Akron	140	96	68
San Francisco	800	516	65
Boston	500	314	63
Oakland	300	187	62
Los Angeles	3,300	1,977	60
Newark	200	106	53
St. Louis	85	35	41
Pittsburgh	100	10	10
General	—	23	—
Total through Jan. 17	\$16,185	\$12,963	80

## FIVE CITIES TOP 100% IN PRESS FUND DRIVE

By Reba Aubrey  
Five cities — Detroit, Seattle, Allentown, Cleveland and Milwaukee — have now reached 100% or better in the Socialist Publication and Press Fund campaign to raise \$16,185 by Jan. 31.

Detroit holds top place with 107%. Janet McGreager explains that their total of \$886 includes \$4 from a friend who "donated it to the press fund he had been reading about in the Militant, saying: 'We need more works like the Militant and the pamphlets of Cannon — they are the only things that explain what is going on in the world today.'"

A telegram from Seattle informing us that \$31 is on its way shot them over the goal line and into second place with 106%. The telegram promises "more will follow next week."

R. French sent this comment with the \$65 contribution that put Allentown among the 100%ers: "I suppose this remittance will come as something of a surprise. I wasn't completely positive that we would be able to come through in time to beat the deadline, but I can see now that I should have had more confidence in us."

Cleveland's \$50 pushed them to 100%, but "we are endeavoring to exceed our pledge," says T. Wilson.

L. Young airmailed \$200 which increases Buffalo's score to 97%. Another 3% and Buffalo will reach its \$1,760 goal.

New York's \$324 contribution raised their total paid to \$3,125 or 89%. This city's steady pace from the beginning of the campaign will enable them to reach their goal without a last-minute crisis.

Fannie Carter sent in the Twin Cities' weekly check which keeps them on-schedule in the campaign with 87%. Realizing that the campaign deadline of Jan. 31 is only two weeks away, Fannie says: "I imagine fund supporters are really stepping it up to fulfill the national total."

In addition to these top-bracket scorers, 8 other cities upped their percentages, raising the national total paid to \$12,963 as of Jan. 17, which is 80% of the national goal.

Pearl Spangler sent \$26 for Philadelphia, saying: "It looks pretty good right now. I think we will finish on time."

Youngstown boosted its score to 89% with \$50 and Chicago hit 79% with a \$20 contribution.

Akron's \$40 increased its score from 39 to 68%. San Francisco made a big gain also — from 26 to 65% — with a check for \$107.50. Ed Harris "anticipates" that San Francisco "will be paid in on time."

"Starting last week," writes F. Franklin for Boston, "we seemed to get into the swing again and it appears that we will finish 100% as usual." He sent \$109.

Los Angeles mailed in \$140, increasing their total to \$1,976.50 or 60% of their \$3,300 quota.

Bill Morgan's remittance of \$95 for Oakland came with this note: "We will make it just under the wire — don't worry."

## Press Comment on Kutcher Case

[We publish below excerpts from editorial comment on the Kutcher case that appeared recently in the U.S. press. They take in all phases of the case from Dec. 23, when the N. Y. Post broke the story of the Veterans Administration's move to take away Kutcher's pension, to Jan. 8, when the VA dropped the attempt under pressure of public indignation.

The following excerpts are in addition to editorial comment in the N. Y. Post, N. Y. Times and Washington Post quoted in the Jan. 2, 9 and 16 issues of the Militant. "Millions of Americans will feel a sense of shame and apprehension," said the Dec. 23 N. Y. Post, "about the condition of a government which can move to deprive this man of his disability pension." The Dec. 29 N. Y. Times called the VA's action "as little less than retaliation for extremist political views," and added, "That isn't the kind of action that sits well in a free democracy." The Dec. 24 Washington Post declared, "What has freedom of speech come to in this land if men are to be deprived of rights on such a charge and such evidence as this!" (Also see story on p. 1 of this issue for reaction of St. Louis Post-Dispatch. — Ed.)

**Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Dec. 30**  
The VA was wrong to cut off Mr. Kutcher's pension so arbitrarily, as it virtually admitted when it reinstated the pension, pending a hearing, out of a "sense of fair play and a desire to prevent hardship." What's more, the law under which it did cut off the pension is wrong if Mr. Kutcher is guilty of no more than membership in the Socialist Workers Party. For Mr. Kutcher did lose two legs in the service of his country; surely, for that, his private political opinion may be indulged, however "screwball" the rest of us regard them.

**N. Y. World-Telegram, Inez Robb, Jan. 3**  
It is no news that we live in perilous times, but surely not so perilous that men and women can be summarily tarred as

disloyal — a charge that dwarfs murder — without ever knowing on what the charges are based or having the inalienable right to face their accusers. . . .

In some quarters, "civil rights" and "civil liberties" have even become dirty words. But I am unalterably opposed to tossing the baby away with the water. It is not likely that Mr. Kutcher will get to face his accusers as he did the enemy in Italy 13 years ago, on the stale excuse that baring "sources of information will hamper the effort to rout subversives from government service."

What about routing justice? Is not that important, too? . . .

**The Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 6**  
The law . . . says that no one guilty of acts which would add up to treason can receive (disability) benefits. But it empowers the Veterans Administration, on evidence satisfactory to itself alone, to adjudge someone guilty of treason, although the perils in such a procedure are reflected in constitutional precautions.

The VA has declared Mr. Kutcher guilty, in effect, of treasonable leanings. It is on the ground that he belongs to an organization which on evidence satisfactory to another office alone — that of the Attorney General — has been listed as suspect. Also that he has been accused of expressing anti-government sentiments. But his accusers remain nameless, faceless persons whose veracity, therefore, he cannot challenge.

One of the very foundation stones of American justice is the presumption of innocence — that the burden of proof rests upon the accuser. Yet under the shadow of an accusation imputing treason and a penalty amounting to withdrawal of his livelihood, Mr. Kutcher's lawyer is told by the VA board: "We feel there is a prima facie showing of guilt, and to that extent the burden is on him now to answer the charges."

This newspaper is not in sympathy with Mr. Kutcher's party — the Socialist Workers. It is

in strong disagreement with any denunciations of the American system of government he may have made. But we are convinced that, however extreme, they can do less harm than the erosion of liberties exemplified in the Kutcher case."

**N. Y. Post, "Dear Editor" Column**  
Dec. 28: Restoring James Kutcher's pension after the protest of an aroused citizenry does not restore the government the honor and dignity it forfeited in revoking these rights. Vets like Kutcher and others, no matter what their beliefs, deserve better of the government they offered their lives to protect.

**—RALPH GROSSMAN**  
Jan. 1: I like the way The Post handled the Kutcher case. I was blacklisted and discharged while in the Federal Service. I have never been given the chance to face my accusers. I have submitted important documents, black on white, to the Senate Civil Service Committee. The committee wrote me that after Jan. 3 it will make plans about the order in which hearings will be held, and in what cities.

I did not lose my legs. But I lost the respect and love I had for our government. —F. Brammer.

**Racine Labor, published by the AFL-CIO, Racine, Wis., Jan. 2**  
As a double amputee Kutcher received a monthly pension from the VA. On Nov. 30 this was cut off and he was given until Jan. 12 to try to convince the VA that his unpopular views are not treasonable and that he didn't say something which some faceless, unknown witness alleges he said about the government.

Such a protest arose, however, that his pension check was restored until the case is disposed of.

In addition to all this, the Newark Housing Authority is trying to evict his parents. Tenants of public housing now have to sign an oath that no member of the family belongs to a blacklisted organization. Kutcher's parents had no such affiliations but they can't sign the oath and either must get out or kick their crippled son out of their home. This, too, is in the courts and the New Jersey Supreme Court has upheld a superior court ruling against the eviction, but indications are that the Housing Authority plans to appeal to the federal courts.

Such are the lengths to which some people will go to persecute people holding unpopular views. Whatever became of the old libertarian slogan, "I disagree with what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it?"

(Note: Since this was written the VA has announced that Kutcher can continue to receive his pension since it must be established beyond reasonable doubt that the veteran knowingly and intentionally rendered assistance to an enemy of the United States. But the implication remains that the VA can cut off such pensions if it has a whim or disagrees with the political views of the veteran. This is a view that should be opposed vigorously.)

**Daily Worker, Dec. 30**  
We join with what we are certain must be the desire of most Americans, in the demand that the Eisenhower Administration halt this contemptible effort to take the bread from the mouth of an American who served his country.

That Kutcher is a member of a Trotskyite group is no concern of ours in this matter nor should it be of the bureaucrats trying to rob him of his pension as an alleged subversive. . . .

There are other veterans, like the Communist leaders Robert Thompson and Saul Wellman, deprived of their war pension rights in (as the N. Y. Times puts it about Kutcher) "retaliation for their extremist political views."

The VA should hold public hearings on these cases, too.

**Daily Worker, Joseph North's column on "Hitler Officers Land," Jan. 8**  
You look at these former Hitler officers and you think of the legless veteran James Kutcher who is dragged from tribunal to tribunal, his veteran's compensation taken from him by men who doubtless sat the war out heroically behind desks. They got sudden qualms thinking of the natural reaction the millions of our people would have to their cold-blooded action and they erased their ukase, but they continue to harass and threaten him.

**The Louisville Courier Journal, Jan. 15**  
Suppose James Kutcher said all that the informants said he said: Why shouldn't he say it? When did it become treasonous for any American to criticize the government, to argue against it, to express a hope of changing it? . . . He himself made the relevant point about his plight back in 1949 when he was first beginning his struggle to live in the country he fought for. . . . The significant thing in my case is not that I lost my legs but that I lost my rights which are infinitely dearer and more precious to me. . . . Among those rights would seem to be the one . . . clearly guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. . . .

**THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN**

His fight for his job and civil rights

by JAMES KUTCHER

178 pages \$1.00

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**THE MILITANT ARMY**

Letters of appreciation of the Militant continue to come in from our readers. "While working temporarily in a St. Louis plant," writes A. S., "a fellow worker gave me a copy of the Militant and I found it very interesting." He enclosed a six-month subscription. "I think your paper is grand" writes an 84-year-old man from Detroit, and M. M. sends us a hard-to-spare dollar from Minneapolis "for your work. Am very glad to see you take up the struggle for what is right. You keep on doing it."

John Collins sends two Militant subs and one for the FI from Detroit. He writes: "We have organized sales and distributions of the Kutcher issues on campus and before plant gates so that Jim's inspiring efforts will reach working people in Detroit."

Chicago's Hildegard Swaback says: "\$1.50 enclosed to cover this new six-month sub. This was obtained at our New Year's affair which, by the way, was a very good and successful social."

Winifred Nelson informs us from the Twin Cities: "Enclosed are three subs for the Militant with accompanying check. Even upon completion of a sub campaign you can't let down. I find that we have 50 expirations to get. You'll be interested to know that I received one of the enclosed subs from a woman I used to work with, enclosed in a Christmas card. Nice way to say Merry Xmas, isn't it?"

A report from John Taber: "Here in New York we sold about 200 copies of the issue

Subscription \$2 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.50 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single Copies: 5¢ each in U.S., 10¢ each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 23, 1956

Support CP Pension Cases!

The federal government has added an ugly new weapon to its witch-hunting arsenal with its infamous practice of cutting off veteran and old-age pensions from those it deems "un-American."

This latest thought-control device is in some ways even more lethal than the subversive list, the purge of government employes, congressional "investigations," etc. Several million disabled war veterans and their dependents rely largely or exclusively on their pensions for subsistence.

James Kutcher's successful fight to complete restoration of his disability pension by the Veterans Administration constitutes an important setback to this new totalitarian practice. But the victory cannot realistically be considered definitive until the practice of political tampering with anyone's pension rights is completely eliminated.

The next immediate step in the fight to get the government's hand out of the pockets of pensioners is to win restoration of the pensions of the Communist Party ex-GI's, Robert Thompson and Saul Wellman.

The attempt to paint the case of Thompson and Wellman as different from that of Kutcher is completely fraudulent. Their cases are fundamentally identical and their right to reinstatement of their pension is dictated by the VA's decision in the Kutcher case.

The pensions of Thompson and Wellman were revoked by the VA under the same

law as was Kutcher's. Basing themselves on this 1943 statute, the VA has proclaimed its right to revoke the pension of any veteran it decides is guilty of "treason." The unconstitutionality of an administrative agency finding a citizen guilty of treason without due process of law is not even debatable.

The VA tries to bolster its flimsy case against Wellman and Thompson by pointing to their conviction under the Smith "Gag" Act. This is a double frame-up. The convictions obtained under this Act of both the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party leaders are in themselves frame-ups. Each conviction was based solely and exclusively on the expression of ideas. This original frame-up is now given an additional twist with the VA's attempt to equate the Smith Act convictions with proof of treason. The charge of treason never entered into a single Smith Act trial.

The basis for withdrawing the old-age pension of William Z. Foster, Alexander Bittleman and other Communist Party figures is so blatantly crude that a veteran ambulance chaser would be hard pressed to defend it. Although no court has so ruled, the Social Security Administration arbitrarily decided that the Communist Party is an agency of a foreign government and that Foster as chairman of the Party is an employe of a foreign government and therefore ineligible for pension.

Pensions earned by a lifetime of labor or the sacrifice in war of physical capacities are not "privileges" to be doled out or revoked on the basis of political orthodoxy. They are hard-earned legal rights and the American people must make the government understand this to be the fact.

The Taylor Case

How much harm has been done to our basic rights by the widespread and reckless use of star chamber methods in "loyalty" hearings? The government retreat in the pension case of James Kutcher and the clearance of William Henry Taylor on Jan. 5 gives us an inkling of the extent of the damage.

Taylor, a former employe of the Treasury Department and now on the staff of the International Monetary Fund, a United Nations agency, won his case after eight years of agonizing harassment.

In 1945 Elizabeth Bentley, a notorious government paid witness, mentioned Taylor's name in connection with Harry Dexter White and other Treasury Department officials as part of a "Soviet espionage ring." Taylor's name was also included in two reports submitted by the FBI to the White House. Attorney General Brownell claimed the reports identified Taylor as part of an espionage ring, but the contents were never divulged.

Taylor was fingered again by Elizabeth Bentley before Congressional committees, even though he publicly and categorically denied the charges and demanded the right to confront his accuser at a public hearing. The right was never granted.

Only in the course of a libel suit against the Washington Daily News did Taylor and his lawyer have the chance to confront professional witness Bentley. She admitted on the witness stand that she had never seen William Taylor or known him personally.

Last July the Board, without presenting the evidence for its findings, issued its verdict: "this board is convinced that the

employe has engaged in espionage and subversive activities..."

When Taylor continued the fight at a new hearing on Oct. 19, 1955, he was forced to limit his evidence to only a few points — whether he was a Communist in Hawaii in the 1930's; how he obtained his treasury job; and whether he was unfaithful to his trust on that job.

The witch-hunt victim was forced to accede to the arbitrary restrictions. He presented a number of character references by prominent Hawaiians who knew him there, repeated in detail the means whereby he was offered the job with the Treasury, and repeated once again his denial of any espionage activity.

On the basis of this testimony, which was merely a repetition of all his past claims, the Board reversed itself and wrote Taylor on Jan. 5, 1956 that "on all the evidence there is not a reasonable doubt as to your loyalty."

On the basis of what now evidence? None whatsoever. Bentley's testimony, the FBI reports and the Attorney-General's charges are exposed as a pack of flimsy lies.

It becomes clear that the only reason for Taylor's vindication was his persistence in fighting for his rights. But what of the tens of thousands of workers who are accused but do not have the resources to carry on such a fight? They are forced out of their jobs, blacklisted, hounded and persecuted.

Away with this foul procedure that has ripped apart the very fabric of the Bill of Rights! We have the right and the duty to demand: No more star chamber proceedings! Give the accused the right to face his accuser!

The Martyrdom of Emmett Till

Is it possible to justify the murder of Emmett Till? J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, the perpetrators of the fiendish murder, think it is. In their own words: "We were never able to scare him. They had filled him so full of that poison he was hopeless."

What poison? The child said, "I'm as good as you are. I'm not afraid of you." He kept saying it as they beat him in the face with the heavy .45. They couldn't beat it out of him. Whether the details are accurate or not, this explanation from Milam and Bryant is important. It is their justification for the crime. In their eyes and in the eyes of the rich and powerful few who profit from the Jim Crow system in the South, and of the demoralized and depraved who follow them, a Negro who is not afraid, who believes he is equal, is a poisoned enemy who must be destroyed.

To justify the torture killing of a child these men tell a story which shows their victim acting as if "freedom" and "equality" were words to live by, as if self respect were as important as life itself. To anyone with an ounce of decency in his heart, such sentiments and such actions are the mark of a hero. To the racists of this country they are the supreme justification for murder, the mark of a poisoned mind which must be destroyed or it will destroy their "way of life."

Milam and Bryant are not psychopaths.

Their crime was no unreasoned act of madness, unless it be the madness of the economic and social system of the South. Such crimes are the logical outcome of an attempt to maintain a system of exploitation based on race. Human dignity itself is the arch enemy of Milam's, Bryant's — and Sen. Eastland's "way of life."

Fighters for human dignity are the finest things a nation can produce. Precisely these fighters, who refused to scare, were victims of the recent wave of violence in the South. Their names bear repeating. They shall never be forgotten:

Harry and Harriet Moore, blown to bits by a bomb in Mims, Florida, on Christmas night 1951 for organizing for the NAACP; Rev. George E. Lee, killed by a shotgun blast in Belzoni, Miss., on May 7, 1955, for urging Negroes to vote; Lamar Smith, shot and killed on the courthouse steps in Brookhaven, Miss., for urging Negroes to vote; Carl Braden, a white man from Louisville, Ky., who served 8 months in prison and faces 15 more for buying a house for a Negro in a restricted neighborhood; Gus Courts, maimed by a shotgun blast in Belzoni, Miss., on Nov. 25, 1955, for urging Negroes to vote.

Emmett Till, though he never expected it, has a place on this list. For his cruel fate has focused the world's attention on a system where human dignity is punished by torture and death.

Bureaucracy and the Socialist Revolution

By Murry Weiss

[Last of a series of four review-articles. Previous installments were in the Nov. 14, Nov. 28 and Dec. 12, 1955 issues of the Militant.]

In his review of N. N. Sukhanov's The Russian Revolution 1917, A Personal Record (N. Y. Times Book Review May 15) Bertram D. Wolfe, a former apologist for Stalinism, who is currently a pace setter in American imperialism's stable of Russian experts, commits a number of characteristic falsifications.

Wolfe says that Sukhanov "begins by being more Bolshevik than the Bolsheviks, welcomes Lenin as 'the most authoritative leader of the Soviet proletarian left,' but before long he has caught a terrifying glimpse of the 'hateful countenance of Bolshevism.' Not one to conceal his inconsistencies or retouch his memoirs to conciliate the powerful who hold his fate in their hands, he has the foolhardy courage to publish his praise and criticism side by side and to portray Lenin as an arbitrary dictator ignorant of economic laws, Trotsky as highhanded, Stalin as a 'gray blur.'"

Leaving aside the politically illiterate notion that Sukhanov was "more Bolshevik than the Bolsheviks," merely because he stated the incontestable fact that Lenin was the most authoritative leader of the left wing of the Russian working class, it is useful to examine Wolfe's contention that Sukhanov showed "foolhardy courage" in publishing his memoirs in 1922 without fear of displeasing the Bolshevik "dictators" "who hold his fate in their hands."

ACCEPTED MOSCOW TRIALS

Wolfe may think that since he himself failed to become aware of the police tyranny of Stalinism until after he had swallowed the decimation of the Trotskyist opposition and the Moscow trials, that he is now privileged to backdate the practices of the Stalinist counter-revolution to the period of Lenin and Trotsky's leadership of the Soviet state.

But there is both an internal inconsistency and a direct historical refutation to Wolfe's declaration that it took "foolhardy courage" to criticize Lenin and Trotsky.

How does Wolfe explain the fact that Lenin the "dictator" allowed the distribution of Sukhanov's book — a book which bitterly attacks Bolshevism from beginning to end? Instead of suppressing the book or punishing the author, Lenin engaged in a theoretical discussion with him. He wrote two articles in which he took up Sukhanov's Menshevik theory that Russia was unready for the proletarian revolution.

The translator-editor of the English version of Sukhanov's book, Joel Carmichael, who certainly cannot be accused of Bolshevik bias, says, "When published in the Soviet Union in 1922 it created a great stir; it was required reading for party circles and considered an indispensable source-book for the study of the revolution."

WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

That's the way it was in the workers' democracy created by the Russian revolution before the Stalinist bureaucracy came to power. Sukhanov, who unlike most of the right wing Mensheviks refused to work with the imperialist and white-guard counter-revolution against the young Soviet state, was regarded as a political opponent by the Bolsheviks. What was of value in his book as data on the revolution, materials for historians and scholars, was duly noted; his criticism and theoretical attacks were met politically and ideologically — as a matter of course.

Thus, contrary to Wolfe's falsifications the reception Sukhanov's book met in the Soviet Union of 1922, proves exactly the opposite of what Wolfe intended — it is a refutation of the slander that the regime of Stalinism is but a continuation of the "dictatorship of Lenin."

Wolfe points out that Sukhanov was paid off for his unflattering descriptions of the Bolshevik leaders when he was swallowed up in the Stalinist blood purges of the 1930's. It is undoubtedly true that Stalin was not one to forget that while Sukhanov described Lenin and Trotsky as "cosmic titans" he said of Stalin: "At this time Stalin appeared in the Executive Committee (of the Soviet) for the Bolsheviks, in addition to Kamenev. . . . During his modest activity in the Executive Committee Stalin produced — and not only on me — the impression of a gray blur, looming up now and then dimly and not leaving any trace. There is really nothing more to be said about him."

Nevertheless, it would be ridiculous to regard Sukhanov's fate as merely a result of Stalin's



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revenge. The whole generation of Bolshevik leaders, practically the entire Central Committee of Lenin's time and tens of thousands of party militants were wiped out in the Stalinist purges. Left Mensheviks like Sukhanov and others were simply caught up in the general sweep of the Stalinist dictatorship's iron broom.

The function of Wolfe's falsifications is as follows: Capitalist propaganda against socialism and passing off Stalinism as the natural outcome of any attempt to overthrow the capitalist system. For everyday purposes it is enough for the propagandists to draw an equal sign between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Russian revolution.

The difficulty, however, is that the memory of the time when workers' democracy flourished in the years immediately following the 1917 revolution cannot be erased. Workers can understand that the Soviet Republic, after winning its first victory in a backward, overwhelmingly agricultural country, remaining isolated from the rest of the world, encircled by hostile imperialism, fell victim to these unfavorable conditions and suffered internal degeneration.

A REMINDER

Workers can understand that the Soviet Union, like their

trade unions, is a new and progressive force in history, even though it became saddled with a monstrous bureaucracy. The years of high tide in mass revolutionary activity, when the workers' state of Russia stood against the capitalist world and maintained a genuine democracy in the Soviet, the party and the trade unions, are a constant reminder that with the resurgence of the revolution the Stalinist bureaucracy will be shattered and removed.

The Wolfes have the special task of discrediting, not Stalinism (the world working class has no admiration for Stalinism), but the Russian revolution and its basic accomplishments. They must drive the anti-revolutionary thesis home and to do this they rewrite history no less unconsciously than the Stalinists do.

The American workers in particular are regarded as ideal victims for this kind of propaganda. It is assumed that the American working class, in view of its political immaturity at the time of the Russian revolution, can be made to swallow a version of history which indiscriminately lumps the revolution, its first heroic period, the Stalinist political counter-revolution and the rise of the Stalinist police state into one pot.

PREACH AGAINST CHANGE

The attempts of reactionary historians and apologists to preach outlived social orders to preach against the evil consequences of revolution are not new. There was no lack of historians who sought to discredit the Great French Revolution by adverting the fact that the generation following 1789-93 suffered even worse economic and political hardships than the pre-revolutionary generation.

Yet such preachments did not prevent the French Revolution from spreading to the rest of Europe and replacing the outmoded feudal system with the then-progressive system of capitalism.

The slanderers of the Russian Revolution have fared no better. Despite decades of propaganda, in 1949, 600 million Chinese people, over one-fourth of humanity, took the road of October 1917 and swept the landlords, moneylenders, capitalists and imperialist agents out of their country.

Just last month the Indian people turned out by the millions to greet the representatives of the Soviet Union. Here is eloquent proof of how the Russian revolution lives in the consciousness of the oppressed toilers everywhere. Only those completely deluded or deliberately lying could depict the colossal demonstrations as honoring the functionaries, Khrushchev and Bulganin. These faded carbon copies of the "gray blur" only served as a symbol in the eyes of the Indian masses of the revolution that freed Russia from Medieval Czarist backwardness and opened the possibility of a vast industrial development and cultural advance. That's what the people of Asia want for themselves today.

And will it prove possible to stop the socialist revolution in America by capitalist lies about the Russian Revolution? One would have to be totally ignorant of the nature of revolution in general and of the coming American revolution in particular, to entertain such a belief.

COULDN'T STOP CIO

Could the capitalists stop the semi-revolution of the CIO in the Thirties by anti-union propaganda? Or by anti-union violence and terror? Remember that the capitalists had plenty of propaganda ammunition. They could point to the bureaucratized, racket-ridden AFL and hold it up as a horrible example of what unionism would bring. But the mass production workers saw through all that once they decided that the time had come to unionize. They simply put their titanic power into building militant unions that would en-

sure their democratic rights and give representation to the workers of all crafts.

In its first years the CIO showed what workers' democracy in the unions could be. Subsequently the CIO suffered stagnation and degeneration. But its fundamental conquests and achievements — industrial unionism and the organization of the key basic industries of the country — have been retained. With a new rise in working class activity and radicalization the bureaucratic degeneration will be overcome.

NEXT STEPS

The coming American revolution cannot be stopped any more than the birth of the CIO could be stopped. The next revolutionary steps of the American working class will arise — just as the CIO did — out of the iron necessities of the class struggle. And once the victory of the American workers' revolution has been achieved then the conditions that in the past have given rise to bureaucratic degeneration of workers' organizations will be eradicated. These conditions — poverty, scarcity, inequality, cultural backwardness — are part and parcel of the capitalist system. They are not the result of the socialist revolution against that system.

Backward countries, after they accomplish their socialist revolution, are weighed down with these social blights of their capitalist past. Without industrial resources and within the confines of their national boundaries, bureaucratic deformations are bound to exist. If no relief comes from the victory of the revolution in industrially advanced countries the bureaucracy acquires tremendous power. For these very reasons, the victory of the socialist revolution in the U.S., heartland of the most industrially advanced capitalism in the world, would mark the definitive finish, not only of world capitalism, but of the Stalinist and labor bureaucracies as well.

History Taught Dulles Nothing

By Morris Stein

Dulles told the world in the Jan. 16 issue of Life magazine that the U.S. was on the brink of war three times in three years. In fact, he described just how the U.S. was preparing to enter the civil war in Indo-China in 1954 with ground troops — just as it entered the Korean conflict in 1950. But the British backed out of the scheme.

Dulles' own words belie the contention he boastfully makes in the Life interview that his artfulness prevented war. The fact is that the U.S. had come very close to being pushed over the "brink" of all-out war not only in Indo-China but also in Korea and over Formosa. The Wall Street clique in Washington has pushed towards war only to be frustrated every time by circumstances beyond its control. Even now it has not given up its dream to reconquer China and defeat the Asian revolution.

WAR PERSPECTIVE

World War III is inherent in the entire policy of the State Department. It continues to support the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. It places at his disposal all the instruments of war including the seventh fleet. Prominent administration spokesmen talk now of supplying him with nuclear weapons.

All this will not help Chiang Kai-shek, Washington's puppet, any more than the billions of dollars in cash and military supplies helped him when he was still master of the Chinese mainland with a huge army at his disposal. But it will — as it already has — earn the U.S. the hatred of the colonial people and of the advanced workers of the world over.

Yet there was a time when the U.S., itself born in a victorious colonial revolution, was thought of highly among the masses the world over. Even after developing into an imperialist nation, the U.S. had little resemblance, on the surface, to the colonial powers of Western Europe. In Latin America — Wall Street's private preserve — Washington has ruled largely through native agents rather than directly. In the Philippines, at one time a U.S. colony, political power was eventually turned over to the native capitalists. Control is exercised mainly through economic power.

The U.S. was therefore looked up to in colonial countries, particularly in bourgeois circles of India and China. It was to them a country worth emulating. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the first Chinese revolution which overthrew the Manchu dynasty

in 1911, was in large part inspired by the American example.

GOOD WILL SQUANDERED

But all the good will the U.S. enjoyed in the colonial world has been squandered mainly because Washington exposed itself with futile maneuvers to isolate and defeat the Chinese revolution. In India, for example, we have today this paradox: the U.S. is far more hated and feared than Great Britain, India's direct oppressor for a century and a half.

The more isolated U.S. imperialism becomes because of this growing opposition, the more it must rely on naked military power — far-flung military bases and nuclear weapons. This military power, however, can never halt the colonial revolution. American imperialism is embarked on a one-way road to self-destruction. The danger is that it will bring disaster to the rest of the world as well.

Everyone now knows Dulles' conception of smart, effective diplomacy for safeguarding the peace. His story of how we have been on the brink of all-out, nuclear war on three occasions in the last three years is not very comforting. "Of course," says Dulles, "we were brought to the verge of war. . . . We've had to look it square in the face — on the question of enlarging the Korean war, on the question of getting into the Indo-China war, on the question of Formosa." Then Dulles adds, with the bravado of a madman, "We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action."

NEITHER LOGIC NOR HISTORY

The idea that peace can be maintained by foaming at the mouth and brandishing weapons has no support either in logic or history. So long as the U.S. had a monopoly of nuclear weapons this claim had some semblance of plausibility. But this monopoly was broken in 1949. Even if the U.S. has more bombs, or bombs of a more devastating caliber than the Soviet Union and China, or both, there is no real advantage in that. It makes no difference if they have 100 or 1,000 nuclear bombs if it only takes 100, let us say, to destroy all life on the planet.

We know that Hitler could intimidate the world for a time with superior armed force. But in the end his bluff was called and World War II was the result. Hitler, the expert in war threats didn't come out on top.

If bellicose threats have little effect against rival imperialist powers, they have even less effect against revolutionary struggles. The allied countries tried after World War I to subdue

the Russian Revolution by a show of force. They combined to invade the territory of the young Soviet state with their superior arms. The U.S., too, under President Wilson, was represented in this adventure with an expeditionary force. It all failed miserably.

The Chinese revolution occurred when the U.S. still had the monopoly of atomic weapons. The masses weren't intimidated by it. And, finally, the U.S. had direct evidence on the Korean battlefields that superior armament alone will not win a war.

The "heroic" posture Dulles strikes up may impress some people in the U.S. during the election campaign. But it does not weigh very much in the struggle of U.S. imperialism to isolate and defeat the Chinese revolution.

WHAT CHINA ACHIEVED

The revolutionary overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek regime by the Chinese masses, resulted in the expulsion of the imperialist overlords; the unification of the country; the abolition of feudal relations on the land; the liberation of the women from endless centuries of enslavement; the nationalization of industry; and the institution of planned economy.

All these and other accomplishments of the Chinese revolution unleashed the vigor, the initiative of the Chinese youth, freed them with enthusiasm, gave them an eagerness to sacrifice in order to build the country industrially and to safeguard it against foreign invasion. People inspired by the vision of a better life will gladly fight and die for their cause.

But what is the cause Dulles espouses? Anti-communism? This was Hitler's banner. Dulles cannot improve on it. He may get away with it in the U.S. so long as the economic boom continues and thereby camouflages the rotten nature of capitalism as a social system.

There is no other country in the world where anti-communism as a cause can attract any mass support. Least of all can Dulles enlist the support of the colored peoples — yesterday's colonial

slaves of the white imperialists. They look to the Chinese and Russian Revolutions for inspiration.

Just see what happened in the little Arab kingdom of Jordan when the British overseers tried to force it into the Baghdad Pact — a part of Wall Street's system of military alliances. Four governments have fallen in Jordan in four weeks, toppled by the mass action of the workers and students.

NO EMPTY PHRASES

The economic backwardness and misery of the colonial peoples have forced them to think in international terms. Communism and capitalism are not empty abstractions to them. They know from experience that it hasn't been communism but capitalism which has kept them under subjection for generations. This is why they react violently against any line-up by their governments with the imperialists. Dulles' views on war and peace will certainly not buy any good will among these people.

But even if Dulles intended them only for the American people, he appears to have misgauged their frame of mind. The American people have been subjected to almost ten years of anti-communist conditioning by propaganda and the witch hunt. Yet, if Dulles thought that after the Life magazine build-up he would be widely cheered as the anti-communist Superman, he was gravely mistaken. The American people are rightly afraid of nuclear war just like the rest of the world.

They do not quite feel comfortable alongside Dulles at the brink of war.

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Jean Blake

## Youth Want Jobs

In Detroit, where big layoffs in auto plants are under way and the fear of unemployment is again beginning to grip the working class, a group of high-school-age young people recently discussed the job prospects of Negro youth.

Some of them, viewing the problem more realistically than the professional "youth advisers" who rant about the "great opportunities before our young people today," recalled stories of organized campaigns of picketing and other forms of mass pressure to compel employers to hire Negroes. They heard about such things from parents or relatives or older friends who participated in such actions in the past, and they wondered whether that might not be the method they would have to use to get jobs.

For the benefit of these young people and others like them throughout the country, someone should write the history of organized movements to seek job opportunities for colored workers.

Such a history should record, from available statistics, the changes which have taken place up to now in the employment of Negroes. It should show what economic and political conditions provided the framework for those changes, and describe the methods used to win gains when conditions permitted.

The forms of struggle are so many and so varied and so deeply imbedded in the life of the Negro communities within the cities and towns, that it would be necessary to dig into the files of the Negro press,

and to ask the men and women who participated in the struggles to tell their stories.

Only the movements which made demands for government intervention — like the March on Washington Movement, or campaigns for federal, state, or local fair employment practices legislation — have, as a general rule, received much publicity outside of the Negro press.

The struggle for non-segregated public schools, which made some notable gains in the past few years, is, in a sense, also part of the fight for job opportunities for Negroes. Colored parents know very well that their children must be equipped with equal education and training if they are to compete for equal job opportunities when they leave school for the labor market.

For young people like those in the Detroit area, the efforts of colored workers in industry, frequently through consciously organized caucuses, to open new job opportunities through union enforcement of non-discrimination clauses, is particularly important.

But the direct action method that has had particular dramatic appeal and deserves a special chapter in any history of organized drives for jobs for Negroes is the boycott and picketing combination of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign.

Next week's column will discuss some of the background of this type of movement, its possibilities and its limitations.

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## Class Collaboration Dream Versus Reality

By Mose Peterson

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 15 — In January, 1954, David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, and Benjamin F. Fairless, former president of United States Steel, made their goodwill tour of the Youngstown district plants of the steel trust.

Speaking to a collection of Local Union officers, grievance men and company bosses, David J. McDonald summed up his eagle-eye view of the relationship between capital and labor briefly and bluntly thus, "In America, there is no class struggle." We must hasten to add that this line (time-honored or time-dishonored depending on which class you are in) did not originate in the grey matter of David J. upon his accession to the Steel-union presidency. McDonald merely clarified and emphasized more openly the class collaboration policies of his predecessor, Phillip Murray.

HARD TIMES

The 1954 recession deepened, layoffs mounted, and the steelworkers conducted a dog-eat-dog "class struggle" — against each other. However, as thousands of the rank and file began to exhaust their unemployment compensation and came face to face with pauperism and hunger, the glittering, spurious gospel of the unity of interest of boss and worker was getting a deaf ear and a fishy eye from a growing number of workers.

In 1955, the steel industry staged its spectacular economic recovery and went quickly from bust to boom. The workers went back to work, the volcano became

### Education in Class Struggle



Two women are among 89 strikers arrested after 100 club-swinging cops assaulted the mass International Union of Electrical Workers picket line outside struck Westinghouse plant in Columbus, Ohio. One striker, Troy Tadlock, 34, died after being worked over by the cops. Eight others were injured.

dormant, McDonald got a sizeable crumb thrown his way in the 1955 wage settlement and the end of the year found the steel union leadership almost completely anesthetized by the comforting fumes of class collaboration, living in a dream world.

To demonstrate the advanced paralysis and inertia of this steel union leadership we will go from the field of theoretical observation and take up a practical, real life, and even bloody event taking place at this moment — the Westinghouse strike.

In the Westinghouse affair something is going on that looks suspiciously like a class struggle. Blood is flowing on the picket lines and strikers, cops, bosses and scabs are using methods that have all the angels of class collaboration looking nervously over their shoulders.

When the Westinghouse Corporation at nearby Sharon, Pa.,

announced Dec. 3 that it was throwing the plant gates open and would greet its loyal scabs with open arms plus time-and-a-half, a few class conscious workers in neighboring steel unions decided this was war.

MODERN PAUL REVERE

Taking the role of Paul Revere, these men promptly set out to arouse the leadership, and through it, to mobilize the rank and file to take a stand with their embattled fellow workers at the Sharon Westinghouse plant.

Paul Revere didn't have a telephone but he didn't have to deal with union official staff men either, at least on that first ride. The initial responses from these bureaucrats to the plea to reinforce the Westinghouse strikers picket line were about in this vein — "I can't do nothing, — the District Office hasn't okayed it," or "We gotta be careful on account of the Taft-Hartley Law," or "We gotta honor our contracts with steel." And besides, Sharon was a long way off from Youngstown: ten miles! So far as can be known that initial appeal at a critical moment in the life-and-death struggle of a big local union to a number of Steelworkers' staff men did not produce a single picket through their efforts.

IUE local 617 fought off that first back-to-work movement in Sharon and since then has put up a gallant battle and it has done it pretty much alone. The pressure against the union keeps increasing and it becomes daily more urgent to give the 100,000 Steelworkers in this district some leadership towards joint and mass action with the Westinghouse strikers.

The steel ranks are generally hostile to Westinghouse, and are angered by the open union busting but they will not voluntarily expose themselves to the hazards of another union's picket line unless their own leaders organize action and take responsibility for it. The ranks, too, have been indoctrinated, brainwashed as it were, with the theory of class collaboration. Thus far, payday strike fund collections is the only action sponsored by the leadership among the ranks.

FACTIONS COME FIRST

Committees from the Sharon local seeking funds and help, run into the still-hot faction fight between the Molony-Griffin group and the McDonald-Hague group. It is rumored that both factions attempt to line up the IUE locals on their side as a price of help — somewhat like the man who won't defend your freedom of religion unless you join his church.

After a great deal of prodding, it appeared the Mahoning County CIO Council was going to proceed with two highly important actions: (1) a district-wide mass meeting with rank and file participation and (2) a fund raising banquet. Probably by design the bureaucrats butchered this idea up for fair. They have decided to combine the mass meeting and the banquet at five dollars a head — and hold the affair jointly with the AFL. The five-dollar tab will freeze out nearly all workers not on a union payroll and insure an audience of officials. The bureaucrats are indeed sick with the disease of class collaboration — it is doubtful if many can ever be cured.

## Notes from the News

FOUR-FIFTHS OF CHARITY contributions, or \$40,675 of a total \$57,000, collected by Guiding Eyes for the Blind, Inc. was spent for "fund raising costs," testimony before a New York State legislative committee revealed last week. No legal action is contemplated against Donald Z. Kautz, executive director of the corporation, whose family pockets \$75,000 a year from such "charitable" activity.

THIRTY DAYS IN JAIL and a \$100 fine is what a Bronx merchant seaman got, Jan. 5, for putting a slug in a New York subway turnstile thereby "cheating" the Transit Authority of 15 cents. Charles L. Patterson, chairman of the authority, and a public official, applauded the decision.

NEGRO DEMOCRATS walked out of the Duval County Democratic Executive Committee in Jacksonville, Fla., last week when a white Democratic leader, Lt. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry (ret.), attacked the NAACP as "loud and arrogant" and said that the NAACP's real interest is to "create a mongrel race." Lowry's comment on the walkout by the 25 Negro leaders was: "It shows they have no tolerance of the white people's view in this matter."

PAY FOR POLIO SHOTS is a must in Allegheny County, Pa., since the free inoculation program for school children has been stopped by D. A. Williams, the county's health officer. At first Williams cited opposition to the program by doctors on grounds that it was "unfair competition" and "socialized medicine" as his reason for the stop order. Last week he denied this, saying that the reason was a shortage of vaccine among private physicians, and that he stopped

the free shots for children until the private doctors could get "caught up." In either case children in populous Allegheny county must now do without polio shots or pay a private physician for them.

"RAGS TO RICHES" opportunities are not what they used to be according to a study of the nation's top business executives by two university of Chicago sociologists. In their book "Big Business Leaders in America," W. L. Warner and James Abegglen state: "Whatever our national hopes, the business leaders of America are a select group, drawn for the most part from the upper ranks. Only to a limited extent may it be said that every man's chances are as good as the next man's, for birth in the higher occupational levels improves these life chances considerably."

ATOMIC ENERGY as it affects the wage earner and his family will be the theme of a conference, Jan. 28, in Cleveland sponsored by AFL-CIO unions in the area and the American Labor Education Service. Sam Pollock, president of Meat Cutters Local 427 is chairman of the joint committee conducting the conference.

KOHLER REJECTED REUTHER'S New Year proposal that "an impartial arbitrator selected by Pres. Eisenhower" settle the 21-month-old strike in Kohler, Wis. Reuther promised that if the plumbline would do all in its power to foster a new era of good relations." Herbert V. Kohler replied: "Certainly we will not do so (arbitrate) to bail your union out of the position in which its own irresponsible and illegal conduct has placed it."

## Racists Score Victory In Rigged Virginia Vote

By Harry Ring

Senator Eastland's newly formed 12-state federation for the preservation of Jim Crow scored an opening victory, Jan. 8, when its Virginia representatives secured

a two-to-one majority in favor of an amendment to the State Constitution permitting the use of public funds for "private" segregated schools. The racist federation, curiously named the Federation for Constitutional Government, is represented in Virginia by the Committee for Individual Rights which includes the state's "most prominent" citizens.

The Virginia referendum, with its outcome virtually guaranteed in advance, is a demonstration of the highly conscious approach being used by the white supremacists. Their strategy is adapted to the particular situation in each state. In Mississippi where the line is sharply drawn, they employ open bloody terror; in Georgia, state officials use direct defiance of Federal laws and regulations. In a border state like Virginia, the "legal" approach is being utilized.

LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE

The long-range approach of the racists to the segregation fight was indicated by Democratic Senator Byrd who led the fight for passage of the Virginia Jim Crow amendment. As soon as the vote was in he advised state officials to "go slow" on working out the actual details of their reactionary school plan. "We are in for a long, drawn-out struggle," he said, "and may have to shift strategy from time to time."

The Virginia racists who, according to the N. Y. Times' Southern correspondent, are noted for their "gracious living," are ready to preserve Jim Crow regardless of what it does to the entire school system. With the passage of the amendment they will now use any kind of facilities for schools so long as they are "segregated." The Jan. 15 N. Y. Times reports that Virginia communities are prepared to use "American Legion halls, homes and even barns" for class rooms until they can build private schools or manage to "transform" the present public schools into allegedly "private" ones.

The white supremacists brought out 300,000 votes for this kind of a school system. This represents less than half the total vote in the Presidential election of 1952 and less than a third of the adult population of Virginia. Opponents of the measure rallied 150,000 "no" votes. Of this 110,000 votes are estimated to have been cast by whites mainly from large cities like Norfolk and Richmond. The estimated 40,000 Negro votes came

schools on the basis of "aptitude," "health" and "availability of transportation."

The Virginia AFL-CIO opposed the amendment but it failed to make an all-out campaign. The segregationists distributed a million pieces of literature while the anti-amendment forces say they put out "perhaps half a million." The labor movement by itself had the resources to at least match the racists.

But the most important fact that emerges from the Virginia contest is that the Negro people and their allies cannot wage the struggle on a state or local basis alone. Just as the Eastland-Byrd gang are mobilizing and coordinating their forces on an integrated regional basis so must the opponents of Jim Crow marshal their forces in the same way.

## ... Lynchers Confess

(Continued from page 1)

sade which will sweep the state and Southern regions to let the world know regardless of what the Supreme Court says, does or thinks that by the grace of God Georgia will continue its own affairs."

Someone should tell the Administration what's going on in the legislature of another state in the Union. The Mississippi lawmakers are preparing bills that would fine anyone who refuses to accept Jim Crow waiting rooms at bus and train terminals \$1,000 and a year's term in jail. Railroad and bus companies that obey the Interstate Commerce Commission's ban on segregated accommodations will be fined \$1,000 a day. Another bill would empower the Mississippi Board of Bar Admissions to prevent "outside lawyers" from handling segregation cases in Mississippi courts.

The executive authority is supposed to see that the laws of the country are enforced. That includes the constitution. And Eisenhower who claims the authority to take this country into war over the off-shore islands of China, certainly has the authority to do something about the segregation and terror that exists in the South.

When the Brink's robbery took place six years ago the Justice Department moved into the search for the robbers with an estimated total of 500 law enforcers. The N. Y. Times reports that from Jan. 17, 1950 until Jan. 13, 1956, "Some of the best police brains in the country have been directed at the solution" of the Brink's robbery. That effort was made to save the money of insurance com-

panies. But to save human life in Mississippi nothing is done.

DEMOCRATS SHARE GUILT

The Democrats have done no more than Eisenhower. The terrorists in Mississippi belong to the Democratic Party. An investigation could have been organized by Congress but that would have disturbed the "unity" of the Democratic party.

The Democratic-controlled Senate Rules Committee just voted to give Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee \$285,000. With this lush fund Eastland will continue his witch hunt of the press. In his spare time Eastland will use his high position in government to see to it that there is no "internal security" for almost half the population of his home state of Mississippi and other millions throughout the country.

In the meantime the Negro people in the South continue their struggle for liberation from Jim Crow. This struggle should inspire the whole country, and would inspire it, if it were not for the fact that this history-making effort is not considered news by most of the big daily newspapers.

The heroic Alabama bus fight is now in its seventh week. Forty thousand people in Montgomery are fighting the Jim Crow bus system with a boycott. They walk to work, organize car pools, ride bicycles — live as if the city were in a state of siege. Had such concerted popular action and solidarity resulted from a flood, an earthquake or a hurricane, the nation's press would be writing glowing editorials about the sacrifice and ingenuity of man.

## Tom Katsikis

By Art Sharon

Tom Katsikis, well known socialist in the New York Greek community and among members of the painters' union where he played an active role for many years, died of heart failure January 5, 1956.

He was 57 years of age. Death robbed the witch hunters. The Department of Immigration agents, after several years of persistent harassment, were in the final stages of a deportation action against Tom. It did not matter to them that Tom suffered lameness, heart disease and had been politically inactive for many years. Had he lived one week longer he most likely would have been torn from his wife and child and been on his way to Greece to an uncertain fate.

The fact that the agents were breathing down his neck did not keep him from his lifelong confidence in the socialist future of mankind. He refused to be cowed by the witch hunters. He saw them clearly as the agents of a decayed and doomed social order. He maintained a broad historical view and did not bother to conceal his contempt for those who kneeled in fright to the demands of the witch hunt.

Tom stood out in the New York labor movement as one of that band of militant unionists who would not bend to the opportunistic crew who make up the so-called official family of labor. To him the term "labor faker" was no literary phrase. The great historical movement of the working class toward socialism dominated his life and all his thoughts.

It was a singular pleasure and completely refreshing to talk to Tom. Idle chatter and small change talk were a burden to him. Despite his enforced inactivity his young and active mind was as much interested in working class politics in 1956 as it was when he first became interested in socialism as a young boy in Greece.

Tom was no stranger to the pleasures of joyous living. Although seriously lamed while a cavalryman in the old Greek army he led an active and complete life. He worked on the most hazardous outside scaffold painting jobs. At home he set a good table and most of the time it was his own excellent cooking. Then his appreciation of a tumbler or so of good Greek resin wine — and one should add his cavalryman's appreciation of a good story made him a master host. Evenings with Tom will warm the memories of his many friends for years to come.

Those who knew Tom Katsikis were fortunate. He was the kind of fighter who made you feel good that he was on your side. We will remember and cherish his memory for a long time.

## Lightfoot Case Marks New Use Of Smith 'Gag' Act

The U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the 1955 conviction of Claude Lightfoot, Chicago Communist Party leader, under the thought-control Smith Act. This was the first conviction under a new provision that makes mere membership in the Communist Party the basis for a Smith Act prosecution.

The court ruled that the aim of the Communist Party is "violent overthrow of the Government" and C.P. members must therefore be aware of that aim. Lightfoot was executive secretary of the Illinois C.P. He was sentenced to five years in the federal penitentiary and \$5,000 fine.

Sixteen C.P. members are now serving jail terms under this Act and about 100 more have been convicted. Some are out on bail pending appeal or have served their sentences.

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