

# Youngstown CIO Backs Kutcher's Civil Rights Rally

By Shirley Clark

FEB. 27 — A civil liberties rally, sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, is being mobilized by united labor, Negro and civil liberties forces in Youngstown Ohio. Scheduled to be held on Friday, March 9, at 8 P. M. at the YMCA, Central Branch, the rally promises to be a vigorous demonstration for the growing demand that Kutcher's job be restored to him finally after nearly eight years of struggle. Kutcher was fired from his job with the Veterans Administration for his openly proclaimed membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

In addition to James Kutcher, the now famous legless veteran, Al Shipka, President of the Mahoning County CIO Council, will speak on "Labor's Stake in the Bill of Rights." Professor E. B. Smith, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, will speak on "Civil Liberties — Which Way?" And Nate Lee, an active civil rights leader in Ohio, will speak on "The Negro's Struggle for Freedom."

## CALLING FOR SUPPORT

The CIO Council has asked all its affiliated locals to support the Civil Liberties Rally. The KCRC is planning to distribute announcements to about 20 of the union locals. The ACLU and an interracial committee are also mailing the Rally program to their memberships.

Students on the campus of Youngstown College have shown a great deal of interest in the call for the Civil Liberties Rally. Notices have been posted on all campus bulletin boards. The Youth Council of the NAACP at the University is especially active in advertising the coming meeting.

The four speakers and the four subjects on which they will talk is a dramatic demonstration of the growing unity that is developing in the fight for freedom in America. The labor movement is faced with vicious anti-labor legislation and union-busting attempts by powerful companies; the Negro movement is faced with the gigantic job of liberating the Negro people forever from Jim Crow; the youth is faced with a regimented future and threats to academic freedom; and Kutcher represents minority political parties that have been faced with the Big Business attempt to legislate and witch hunt all organized political opposition out of existence.

The Youngstown Civil Liberties Rally offers the workers and youth in that area the chance to give a united answer to the union-busters, the segregators and the witch hunters. In the long and heroic struggle of James Kutcher for his rights under the constitution, the forces are gathering that, united, will restore the civil liberties of all who are denied them.



JAMES KUTCHER

# Police Assault Picket at Republic Strike



It takes more cops than you can count — try it — to belabor one striker, battled to the ground outside the Republic Aviation Corp. plant in Farmingdale, L. I. The use of violence to break strikes is becoming increasingly frequent as Big Business develops its union-busting plans. The International Association of Machinists, representing the Republic strikers sent wires of protest to Governor Harriman against the police brutality and wholesale arrests of pickets.

By William Bundy

Feb. 27 — The newly industrialized suburban area of Long Island, N.Y., is once again the scene of a highly militant strike. Production was halted last week at Republic Aviation's four plants, the largest single industrial complex in the area. The strike by 12,000 of Republic's 19,000 employees was called Feb. 19 by International Association of Machinists Lodge 1987 after the breakdown of negotiations on a wage re-opening clause in a one-year-old, three-year contract.

Republic operates entirely on government contracts producing jet aircraft and guided missiles.

Justin Ostor, Lodge 1987 president, said when he announced refusal of the company's five-cent-an-hour offer: "The company made more than \$14,500,000 net profits in 1955. It is the highest profit ever earned by the company. This increased profit is due directly to the increased productivity of our workers in the last year. They are not being offered their fair share of the profits they have earned for the company."

Republic's workers now average \$1.97 per hour. Their fight

for a 19c increase is one of the first major wage-increase demands in 1956.

The problems in making the strike effective and the spirit of the strikers is reminiscent of the famous Sperry strike in the same area last April. The Republic plants, like Sperry, are loaded with unorganized "supervisory, engineering, and office personnel" whom the company can use on production jobs when the organized workers are out on strike.

On Feb. 20 Republic opened the gates to a "back-to-work movement." The 7,000 employees not included in the IAM bargaining unit were threatened with discharge if they did not report to work, according to union sources.

Very early in the morning, some salaried workers entered the main plant near Farmingdale. By 6 A.M., however, several hundred pickets massed at the main gate and persuaded most of the others to remain outside. By the end of the day's picketing, 58 strikers had been arrested, including the lodge president, and about twenty pickets had been injured by cars which pushed through the line.

## Stevenson Needs A History Lesson

How old is Jim Crow? According to Adlai Stevenson, leading Democratic presidential aspirant in his Feb. 7 Los Angeles remarks, the "habits and traditions" of Southern segregation are "older than the Republic." Stevenson opposed use of Federal troops to enforce school desegregation, pleading that these allegedly old traditions not be "upset" and be changed only "gradually." Stevenson was either ignorant or chose to hide the real facts about Jim Crow. He buried the record of the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. During Reconstruction, the Negroes achieved full political equality. The former slaves and the poor white workers and farmers united to elect legislatures which brought substantial progress to the South — notably the public school system (on an integrated basis). Between 1869 and 1876, when Reconstruction ended, 16 Negroes served in the U.S. Congress from Southern states, including two in the Senate (representing Mississippi). Afterwards, Jim Crow was established by force and violence by Southern propertied interests supported by Northern Big Business. It was not victorious until the turn of the century.

## ALABAMA NEGRO LEADERS INDICTED IN BUS BOYCOTT



Seven leaders of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott surrender to cops after indictment under state law originally aimed against 1921 coal miners' strikes. All told, 115 indictments were returned against participants in the 12-week-old Negro boycott of the city's Jim Crow bus lines. Defendants are (l. to r.): Rev. R. D. Abernathy, Rev. Gardner (not indicted), Rufus Lewis, Rev. Leroy R. Bennett, Rev. W. F. Alford, Rev. J. H. Cherry, Rev. H. H. Herbert and Eli Judkins. They face sentences of six-months in jail and \$1,000 fines. All were released in \$300 bond per defendant.

## Open Letter to Civil Rights Assembly in Washington

By the Editors

To the delegates at the Civil Rights Assembly gathered in Washington, D. C., March 4-6. Greetings!

This conference, representing the major organizations of the working people, Negro and white, is the most important gathering in the United States today. Some of you may know that we strongly urged the broadening of the conference to include mass delegations from every local union, Negro and minority organization in the country. We felt that a greater representation from the rank and file of the Negro and labor movements would have a stronger effect on the government and Congress. We thought Dr. T. R. M. Howard's ringing call for a million Americans to come to Washington to speak to the "deaf ear" of the powers-that-be was in tune with the needs of the times.

The officials of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights thought otherwise. Nevertheless, the conference as it is now constituted, representing as it does the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, a number of the most important international unions and a large number of fraternal, religious, veteran and civil rights organizations, is without doubt the voice of tens of millions of Americans who are determined to wage a united and effective fight to end the abomination of Jim Crow.

The express purpose of the Assembly is to influence this session of the 84th Congress to enact effective civil rights legislation. It is also the purpose of all the organizations in the conference to demand the enforcement of the constitutional rights of the Negro people by the federal government.

Neither the Congress nor the federal government, nor the two Big Business parties that run them, will be easily moved in this direction.

On the eve of the Assembly for Civil Rights the President, representing the Republican administration of the federal government, finally awoke to the urgency

of the civil rights issue and proposed — that the Congress set up a bipartisan committee to investigate the matter!

And the representative of the majority party of Congress, presidential-aspirant Adlai Stevenson, author of the infamous statement, "we must be careful not to upset the habits and traditions of the South," proposed — that the President use his powerful office to take some decisive action.

What action? The same action proposed by the governor of Alabama — a meeting of "moderate," "gradualist" leaders of both races in the South to curb the "extremists" of both sides!

The "extremists" Stevenson refers to among the Negroes are the bus boycotters of Montgomery, Miss Lucy of Tuscaloosa and Representative Adam Clayton Powell in Congress. In other words — everyone and anyone who wants to act to implement the Supreme Court decision on desegregation is an "extremist."

That's where the leading spokesman of the Democratic party stands in this national crisis on civil rights. He has made it crystal clear that as president he would do no more than Eisenhower to enforce the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decision in the South. And he has made it equally clear that he has no intention of calling on the leaders of his party in Congress to break their 80-year do-nothing record on civil rights.

The Civil Rights Assembly is thus faced with the task of projecting a program and a plan of action that will bring to bear the full power of the organized movement it represents to move Congress and the Administration into action despite the determined opposition of the two Big Business parties.

There are four urgent tasks confronting the conference:

- (1) Organization of a national demonstration to rally support behind the civil

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## March 28 Set As Day For Protest Against Montgomery Arrests

By Harry Ring

Reflecting the anger of millions in America at the mass arrests of leaders of the Montgomery anti-Jim Crow bus boycott movement, a drive has been initiated by top Negro religious leaders for a March 28 "National Deliverance Day" of prayer and protest.

A meeting of the Interdenominational Ministers Meeting of Greater New York announced Feb. 24 that if the campaign is successful "on this day, no Negro man, woman or child shall work or attend school from 2 to 3 P.M. Instead, they shall pray at church or at home for deliverance from persecution and for the salvation of all humans afflicted with racial prejudice."

### SUPPORT FOR BOYCOTT

Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic Congressman from New York and pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, who chaired the meeting, said the group planned to enlist white support for the one hour prayer-protest and for the mass rallies to be held that night throughout the country. In his original announcement Mr. Powell said efforts would be made to rent Madison Square Garden for the New York rally. He later announced that the meeting would be held at Manhattan Center.

Negro officials of the clothing, laundry and sleeping car porters unions met Saturday with Powell to discuss plans for the "Deliverance Day" demonstration. "We are going to exhaust every mass act," Powell said.

"The demonstration suggested by Powell gathered momentum across the country," reported the Feb. 26 N. Y. Times as church organizations in the major cities pledged their support to the movement. However, still lacking is the one ingredient essential for the full success of the demonstration — the full weight of support of the national AFL-CIO.

The failure thus far of the leaders of the union movement to extend this support imposes sharp limitations on the movement. The problem was posed this way by a Negro worker in a large New Jersey auto plant, "The Negroes in my department have been talking about the stoppage for several days now. They want to support it but they all raise the problem that if the union doesn't back them, how can they risk knocking off the job?"

In the meantime pressure from conservative church leaders has apparently succeeded in sowing a measure of confusion and indecision among the initiators of the movement. On Sunday the president of the National Baptist Convention asserted in Miami that while he supported the

proposal for a national day of prayer he was opposed to a work stoppage. The following night, in a radio interview, Powell made an ambiguous statement to the effect that the proposed demonstration was not actually a work stoppage — where people could get off from work, they should. At the same time he pointed out that President Jackson was speaking solely as an individual and that his opinion was not binding on the Baptist church. He went on to report that he received expressions of support from virtually every bishop of the church and particularly from the church's youth section. The tenor of Powell's remarks strongly implied

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## Trotsky's Widow Demands Kremlin Clear His Name

FEB. 29 — Natalia Trotsky called on the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last week to remove the label, "enemy of the people," from the names of Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov. Taking note of the implied disavowal made by Congress speakers of Stalinist frame-up trials, Trotsky's widow demanded in a telegram that the Kremlin restore their names "before international public opinion." The wire was dated Feb. 22.

Several days earlier Natalia Trotsky had wired the Kremlin requesting information about her other son, Sergei Sedov, who was arrested in 1937 and disappeared. She said she had indirect information he was sent to a concentration camp and believed it possible he had been released.

Stalin pursued the revolutionary leader Trotsky and his family in a savage vendetta. Trotsky's daughter, Nina, denied medical care, died of tuberculosis in Moscow in 1928. Her sister Zinaida was driven by persecution of her father and herself to take her own life in Berlin in 1933. Their brother, Sergei, who shunned politics and contented himself with the life of a scientific worker, was arrested, accused of poisoning workers wholesale.

Trotsky's younger son, Leon Sedov, his friend and co-worker, died suddenly in a Paris hospital on Feb. 15, 1938, under suspicious circumstances pointing to the GPU, as Stalin's secret police was then named. The French police, under GPU pressure refused to investigate. Trotsky, himself, was murdered by a special assassin detailed to the job by Stalin. Natalia Trotsky, too, came close to death in Mexico when a few months before Trotsky was killed, she and her husband were the objects of a machine gun attack on their bedroom led by David Siqueiros, a well-known Stalinist. Bullets narrowly missed the couple.



NATALIA TROTSKY

## Why Kremlin Repudiated Stalin

By M. Stein and J. G. Wright

The Kremlin bureaucracy came to the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, the first since Stalin died almost three years ago, not to pay homage to their leader and teacher but to repudiate the dead tyrant publicly. They did so because Stalin had outlived his usefulness to the bureaucracy. From an asset to the bureaucratic caste, the tyrant's very name, his criminal record and bloody reign had turned into an intolerable liability. Stalin's rule had become so universally hated and discredited in the eyes of the Soviet masses that the bureaucratic caste stood only to lose by remaining identified with him.

Stalin's heritage left his successors with no solutions for the multiple, complex economic and political problems they have to cope with at home, within the Soviet bloc, in relation to the "neutralist" countries and in re-

lating to the imperialists. On the contrary, Stalin and his heritage remain the biggest obstacle Khrushchev & company have to surmount. At the 20th Congress the bureaucrats unloaded Stalin in order to free their hands in trying to adjust themselves to their new conditions and tasks. Not a single Russian delegate had a good word to say for Stalin. This is in sharp contrast to the 19th Congress when none dared take the floor without groveling before the "beloved leader."

### THE CULT OF STALIN

Khrushchev, the main reporter, mentioned Stalin's name once — to take note in passing that he had meanwhile died. He then proceeded to launch an attack on the cult of Stalin, without mentioning him by name. The key passage in his report follows:

"In the struggle to promote in every way the creative activity

of the Communists and of all the toilers, the Central Committee has taken measures to explain widely the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the individual in history. The Central Committee has resolutely condemned as alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism the cult of the individual, which converts this or that leader into a hero and miracle worker and which, at the same time, belittles the role of the party and of the popular masses, and results in the lowering of their creative efforts. The spread of the cult of the individual minimized the role of the collective leadership in the party and led at times to serious shortcomings in our work." (Izvestia, February 15, 1956).

Key speakers, following Khrushchev, repudiated the "cult of the individual," etc., without mentioning Stalin's name. Suslov, member of Khrushchev's secretariat and of the Party

Presidium, declared: "The theory and practice of the cult of the individual, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which became widespread up to the 19th Congress, brought considerable damage to party work, organizationally as well as ideologically. This theory and practice belittled the role of the popular masses and the role of the party; minimized the collective leadership; undermined internal party democracy; stifled the activity, initiative and self-action of party members; led to uncontrolled rule, irresponsibility and even arbitrariness in the work of certain individuals; obstructed the unfolding of criticism and self-criticism; and engendered one-sided and at times even wrong decisions." (Pravda, September 17, 1955).

### "CONGRESS OF VICTORS"

Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier, mentioned Stalin by name (Continued on page 2)

# Battle to Organize In Dalton, Georgia

By George Lavan

The maximum strength of the working people of the South will be achieved when Negro and white are united under the same banner. Then this mighty force will shake off the dead hand of the past and topple the anti-union racists from their seats of power.

In the meantime it is necessary to realize that this unity of the South's working people on class lines has not yet been reached — that is why a great Southern union organization drive holds such promise. Today the Negro people of the South and the white workers are on the move, but for the most part in separate movements. Happily the direction of these movements is such that their future convergence is foreseeable. Moreover, there are militants in both movements who, seeing the necessity of unity, are heroically working for it at no small personal risk and sacrifice.

## THE SOUTHERNER

At the beginning of 1955 a new newspaper was started in Dalton, Georgia. It was called The Southerner and was edited by Donald West, a native of the area. The paper attracted immediate attention from the labor movement and all those interested in the changing South. It had a militantly pro-labor and anti-racist line. It didn't talk down to its audience — the poor white workers and farmers — but approached them on the level of their thinking and their interests.

That it was a legitimate and indigenous voice of the Southern white workers was witnessed by the fact that all its contributors were native Southerners, many of them mill workers. It rapidly gained a large local circulation and, even more significant, a considerable circulation throughout the whole South.

The Southerner was the product of the joining of forces of the Church of God of the Union Assembly and of Don West. The religious sect, which has grown and prospered in the past decade, provided the print shop and financial support and West provided the unpaid services of a talented literary man and a crusading spirit.

## CLASS BASIS OF CHURCH

For many decades in the South there has been a movement of workers out of the major church denominations. Coming down from the mountains, the mill people first go to the churches their parents belonged to — usually Baptist or Methodist. But in the towns class differentiation has led to the more prosperous elements becoming socially and religiously dominant in the congregations.

Moreover, the better education and the growing sophistication of the socially dominant element in the old churches reflects itself in the kind of sermons preached, more intellectualized ministers, etc. All of this has served to estrange the poor and uneducated mill workers (and other poor people of the South) from these churches.

By the thousands they have been withdrawing from the established religions and forming their own sects. Here they practice the uninhibited old-time religion and have a more homogeneous and hence more congenial social atmosphere.

While the upper-class elements of the South looked with disdain on these "Holy Roller" sects, they never opposed them because they were useful to the mill-owners in keeping the workers sober and honest and keeping their minds on heaven rather than on their

# Automation for Profit

By Robert Chester

"The future is a door standing ajar . . . Automation is a magical key to creation, not a blunt instrument of destruction, and the worker's talent and skill will continue to merit reward in the fairland of the world to come. For the expanding, dynamic economy of America, the sky is indeed the limit . . . Just going along for the ride will be the greatest thrill on earth!"

This conclusion of the National Association of Manufacturers in its pamphlet "Calling All Jobs," is not just the lyrical raving of a press agent. The NAM, along with all other spokesmen of Big Business, has embarked on a campaign to "sell" the American people on automation. "Automation," it claims, "will solve all our problems if you just bear with us while we put it into effect."

Every major publication has carried this theme. For example, William M. Freeman in the New York Times of Jan. 3, 1955, makes a sober-sounding appraisal: "In the automatic factory, the entire manufacturing process must be engineered to automatic controls all the way from the raw material to the consumer, to the end of freeing workers from drudgery, monotony, and fatigue, of reducing worker hazards, of opening the avenue to more important and better paying jobs . . ."

## THE CRY OF ALARM

The reason for the campaign is that cries of alarm have come from the unions, scientists and economists who fear that automation might revive the misery of the working class that resulted from the Industrial Revolution of the 1800's. Professor Norbert Wiener of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the pioneer scientists in the theory of automation, coined the term "Second Industrial Revolution." He warned in his book, The Human Use of Human Beings: "It is perfectly clear that this will produce an unemployment situation, in comparison to which . . . the depression of the '30's will seem a pleasant joke."

The unions correctly pointed out that, while they did not oppose progress, workers should not bear the brunt of these new changes. The 1953 resolution of the United Auto Workers Con-

vention stated: "Properly used," these changes "can advance by many years the realization in America of man's age-old dream of an economy of abundance. Improperly used, for narrow and selfish purposes, they can create a social and economic nightmare in which men walk idle and hungry . . ."

To find a way to meet the growing threat the unions put up a sustained campaign for a government inquiry into automation and its effects. They demanded adequate legislation to avoid the dangers. As a result the Senate-House Subcommittee on the Economic Report held hearings in Washington, Oct. 15, 1955. Union leaders, technical experts and industrial representatives testified.

## CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY

At this hearing Walter Reuther, UAW president, asked: "What should be done to help the worker who will be displaced from his job or the worker who will find his highly specialized skill has been taken over by a machine? Will automation mean the creation of whole new communities in some areas, while others are turned into ghost towns?"

Industry representatives denied that automation meant a Second Industrial Revolution. Speaking for the NAM, Marshall G. Muncie told the subcommittee: "Automation is a comparatively new word, and to many people it has become a scare word. Yet it is not essentially different from the process of improving methods of production which has been going on throughout human history."

"It would be idle to contend," he continued, "that automation will not bring about major changes in the economy . . . but I can assure you with complete confidence that they will not be so numerous or widespread or so condensed in time as to constitute a social or human problem of even a minor nature." The central point of his testimony was: "Automation will clearly be a blessing to the nation if it is allowed to grow by natural economic selection."

This point was repeated by every industrial spokesman and endorsed by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. In its report on Dec. 11, 1955, the Senate-House Subcommittee accepted the same view, making, how-

# I Like Miss Lucy

By Harriet Talan

Autherine Lucy is a young woman, raised in humble circumstances. All her life she has had to contend with a heavy handicap — the pattern of Jim Crow discrimination that compels most Negroes, especially in the South, to work harder and fight harder than whites to achieve equal status, recognition and rewards. Her aspirations are modest—all she wants to be is a librarian.

Adlai Stevenson was born among the rich, favored by circumstance and given the best education that 20th century capitalist society could supply. Life was easy on him; all kinds of honors have been heaped on him and he lacks none of the material things our society has to offer. His ambition is far-reaching—he wants to be president of the most powerful country in the world.

## MY CHOICE

Yet if I had a young brother or sister, or if I were asked by a high school student whose example he or she should take as a model—Autherine Lucy's or Adlai Stevenson's—I wouldn't hesitate for a minute. My choice is Miss Lucy.

I choose Miss Lucy rather than Adlai Stevenson as a model for the country's youth not out of a bias against politics or politicians, but because the differences between what she does in pursuit of her career (librarian) and what he does in pursuit of his (President) all reflect credit on her—and discredit on him.

Miss Lucy has courage of the highest order. She dares to challenge prejudice in the place where it is strongest. She rejected the suggestion that she move to Detroit, where anti-Negro pressures are not so virulent or open, and decided to stand her ground in Alabama. And she stood it valiantly—against vegetables and bricks thrown by "the defenders of Southern womanhood," against the opinion and pressures of "the best people in the South," against what authorities say was a near-lynching, averted only by the difference of a few minutes. And if she is not facing the mob today, it is not because she ran away, but because the university authorities (who think she isn't good enough to go to their school) yielded to the mob.

[This article is reprinted from the March issue of The Wayside Socialist, 500 W. Ferry, Detroit 2, Mich. (15c. per copy). The author is chairman of the Young Socialist Club at Wayne University. — Ed.]

# "AUTOMATION STRIKE"

The strike of 55,000 Westinghouse workers, now in its fifth month, is recognized as the nation's first automation strike. The key issue of the strike has close bearing on the Corporation's plans to automate its plants. Should the Corporation win the strike it could proceed with automation in complete disregard of the effect on wage standards and jobs.

All talk of the "benefits" of automation to the working class is exposed as a fraud in this ruthless attempt of the company to smash the unions.

Westinghouse makes it perfectly clear that the bosses will do everything in their power to recover complete dictatorial power over the labor force in order to develop automation exclusively for increasing profits — regardless of the cost to the worker.

A survey by U.S. News and World Report shows that most of the Westinghouse workers are living on meager subsistence and are going into debt rather than give in to Westinghouse tyranny. Despite these hardships the workers maintain their fight with ranks solid.

# ... Kremlin Rulers' Repudiation of Stalin

(Continued from page 1)

once — as the author of a false economic analysis of the post-war imperialist world, contained in Stalin's last work, "Economic Problems of the USSR." Mikoyan dated the "abnormalities and distortions" of Stalin's rule and the "flourishing" of the "cult of the individual" twenty years back, under Stalin, or the year 1934. This was the year of the 17th Party Congress, the so-called "Congress of the Victors," at which the bureaucracy prostrated itself before Stalin's "genius," and deified him. This was also the year of the Kirov assassination and the start of the monstrous blood purges.

Mikoyan and other speakers called for new textbooks that will rewrite party and Soviet history in harmony with the repudiation of Stalin, "the cult of the individual," and so forth.

In disowning Stalin the Kremlin bureaucracy pursues immediate practical aims to serve its needs and interests, just as it did in elevating Stalin and manufacturing the Stalin myth. The difference between the regime under Stalin and under his successors is to be found in the different tasks of the bureaucracy in the period when Lenin died as against the period when Stalin died.

When Lenin died, the Soviet working class, small numerically to begin with, emerged weakened and exhausted by the years of the first World War, and the years of the Civil War during which the flower of the revolutionary vanguard had fallen on the battlefields. The countryside was ravaged, industry was ruined, the young Soviet Republic was isolated and blockaded, other defeats followed. Out of these conditions of backwardness and isolation at home and revolutionary defeats abroad, the bureaucracy arose and led a counter-revolution.

## GANGSTERISM

The bureaucracy grasping for power could not have entrenched itself without employing gangster methods. Their job was to destroy physically the entire revolutionary generations who carried out the 1917 Russian revolution; they had to annihilate the Bolshevik party and the Communist International; they had to crush the resistance of

the masses, to destroy all of the organs of workers' democracy, the Soviets, the trade unions and other mass organizations. They could not have usurped power without first despoiling the people of the political conquests of the Russian revolution. Stalin was the ideal leader of these political gangsters.

But for Stalin's successors gangster methods do not suffice. They straddle a Soviet industry which is second only to that of the U.S. The Soviet proletariat numbering over 48 million in 1955 is likewise today the second largest in the world. The expansion of this working class, especially in the postwar years, no longer takes place through the recruitment of peasants and conscription of the rural youth as was the case in Stalin's heyday. In the recent years the bulk of the accretions to the labor force come from the urban centers. Young workers constitute the majority in the plants. Thus the specific weight of the youth in Soviet industry is very high.

The Soviet working class has grown markedly in experience and skills. In recent years the number of workers trained on the jobs, acquiring higher skills, new trades, etc. has averaged 16 to 17 out of every hundred. This new layer now numbers about 8 million.

The cultural levels and demands of the workers have risen. Comparative improvements in their living conditions have whetted the mass appetite for more substantial gains. Improvements in material conditions of the workers do not reconcile them with the regime, but on the contrary prepare the conditions for sharp collisions.

## THE REVOLUTION SPREADS

And last but not least, the Soviet workers have gained in confidence. Coupled with the victory in World War II, in which many of them took part at the front, the rise of revolutionary China and the extension of Soviet economic forms over the Eastern half of Europe have dispelled the old moods of isolation and fears of imperialist encirclement.

What was Stalin's heritage to his successors in the face of this new Soviet working class? It was the heritage of a series of bloody purges, with a new one in preparation during Sta-

lin's last days ("the case of the Jewish physicians"). At home the farm crisis was unfolding. "It is necessary to note," said Khrushchev at the 20th Congress, "that . . . in the first three to four years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan [that is, from 1951 to 1954] we had virtually no growth of the production of grain and of industrial crops."

The farm crisis was finally resolved by Stalin's successors toward the end of 1955 by a series of emergency measures and concessions to the peasantry. This means that the relations between the workers and Stalin's successors were sharpened by food scarcities precisely at a time when the tyrant's death had aroused the mass hopes for material gains and political reforms.

Within 100 days of Stalin's death came the uprising of the East German workers on June 17, 1953, followed by the Vorkuta labor camp General Strike on July 20, 1953. At the same time the East European workers were in ferment (strikes and demonstrations in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere). The specter of political revolution henceforward haunted the bureaucracy.

They then sought to unload on Beria, the most hated and feared of their colleagues, responsibility for the crimes of the regime. In purging the secret police, they sought to appease the masses by appearing as restorers of "Soviet legality." They thereby hoped to prevent the workers from entering the political arena and to consolidate the ranks of the bureaucracy around the "collective leadership."

This did not suffice. By the 20th Congress the bureaucracy had to disclaim Stalin, as well. By dumping Stalin they hope to parade as the restorers of Lenin's methods and traditions. Coupled with the repudiation of Stalin they offered a number of material concessions to the Soviet toilers. The workday on Saturdays and on days preceding holidays is to be reduced by two hours "in the nearest future." Beginning with 1957 the 7-hour day is to be gradually introduced, with an 8-hour day and 5-day week in "some industries." Miners have been promised a 6-hour day; and so have the young workers 16 to 18 years of age. This reduction in hours

will be carried out without any reduction in pay. The lowest paid brackets of workers have been promised a wage increase.

The pension system is to be revised. The lowest categories will receive bigger pensions. Universal free education is to be restored in the second-grade schools. Khrushchev also promised "in the near future" to introduce "free hot lunches" to school children of the poorer parents.

All this was topped off by a promise to ease the housing shortage by doubling the amount of construction in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

These material concessions were accompanied by new pledges to "strengthen Socialist legality." The long-promised revision of the labor code is to be effected. "Innocent people" who had been falsely convicted "have been rehabilitated" and "a number of other questionable cases have been checked up by the Central Committee," Khrushchev reported. Here the bureaucracy is anticipating and seeking to head off the demand for a public review of all the purges and frame-up trials.

RELUCTANT BUREAUCRATS

The bureaucracy did not make these material, legal and political concessions to the Soviet masses out of the goodness of its heart. Especially the repudiation of Stalin. It marks the first major political concession imposed by mass pressure upon Stalin's successors. And it was the most difficult one for them to make.

Stalin's record, the party and Soviet history under him, are the record and history of the bureaucracy itself, especially of the top Kremlin Chiefs, hand-picked by Stalin personally. For them every condemnation of Stalin carries with it a condemnation of themselves as accomplices, voluntary or cowardly. Each repudiation poses point-blank a review of their own record.

That is why Stalin's successors cannot permit any repudiation other than the one they are able to limit, regulate and control. That is why Stalin's successors did not repudiate but on the contrary reaffirmed the first ten years after Lenin died.

These were the decisive years during which the Bolshevik party, as the organizer and in-

Each time another victim of Stalin is rehabilitated repercussions follow inside the Soviet Union. Each repudiation tends to raise the basic issues: Why Stalinism? What about the struggle waged by the Russian Left Opposition under Trotsky against the usurping bureaucracy with Stalin at the head?

One of the central slogans of Trotsky's Transitional Program for the USSR calls for the review of "all political trials," staged by the Soviet bureaucracy, "in the light of complete publicity and controversial openness and integrity." Life itself is now bringing to the fore the political importance and validity of this slogan.

[First of a series.]

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# ... Civil Rights Assembly

(Continued from page 1)  
Rights fighters in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and to protest the continued wave of terror against the Negro people in Mississippi and throughout the South.

A group of Negro church leaders headed by Rep. Powell have called a national day of prayer and protest for March 28. The press reported that the call included an appeal for a one-hour work stoppage, from 2 to 3 P.M. of that day. Subsequently the call for a work stoppage has been clouded in confusion and conflicting reports.

The Civil Rights Assembly is in the position to clear up this question and issue a unified appeal to the working people of the United States to down tools for one hour on March 28 and back the civil rights fighters in the South with a gigantic demonstration.

## Union Officials

In our opinion the chief responsibility for carrying through such an action belongs to the trade union leaders. The Negro people are already carrying the brunt of the fight. The fighters for freedom in Montgomery have inspired the whole country with their invincible spirit of solidarity. Miss Autherine Lucy has faced lynch mobs in Tuscaloosa and said: "They have stoned me and injured me — but not discouraged me."

Surely the officials of the labor movement are obligated to do more than approve such fine spirit. Isn't it time that they took the initiative, or at least responded to the splendid initiative of the Negro church leaders, and called on every unionist in the country to demonstrate on March 28 their support of the courageous fighters for freedom in the South?

## Send Troops to Miss.

(2) Demand of the federal government that it immediately send troops to Mississippi and anywhere else in the South where the white supremacist rulers openly and violently defy the U.S. Constitution and Supreme Court decision. All the "gradualist" objections that have been levelled against this demand by the Administration, Stevenson, Kefauver and Harriman, ignore the fact that there is nothing gradual about the reign of terror against the Negroes in the South; there is nothing gradual about the defiance of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation by the White Citizens Councils and the Eastland gang; there is nothing gradual about the Bomb terror, economic pressure and mass arrests in Montgomery; there was nothing gradual about the lynch mob that howled for Miss Lucy's blood; there was nothing gradual about the Mississippi lynch-murders of 14-year-old Emmett Till, Lamar Smith, Rev. George E. Lee and the Georgia murder of Dr. Thomas H. Brewer.

The only thing that is "gradual" in the civil rights struggle, is action by the federal government to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people. That is so gradual that no motion is visible.

The Big Business Administration and the two capitalist parties are always ready to finance or send troops to crush the independence movements of the colonial people in Asia or Africa. But against their class brothers — the white-supremacist, Jim Crow dictators in the South — they suddenly manifest the most tender and "reasonable" attitude. In this sphere infinite patience prevails.

What a monstrous fraud! The only tenderness or concern the Big Business rulers have is for their pocketbooks. Do their cronies in political power hesitate to summon the troops when it is a matter of helping a corporation break a strike? Isn't the full power of the law used to send people to jail for "conspiring to advocate" political ideas that have been proscribed? Even traffic violators are treated to swift justice. Only when it is a matter of defending the rights of ordinary working people, particularly those belonging to minority groups, do the gentlemen begin to blather about "reason and light" instead of enforcing the law.

## Organize the South

(3) The unionization of the South is perhaps the most basic question confronting the conference. The mass boycott movement in Montgomery, in the "birthplace of the Confederacy," is a fact of monumental significance. It proves once and for all that the Negro people of the South, are more than ready to organize, maintain discipline and solidarity, develop a courageous and skillful leadership, hold firm in the face of all kinds of pressure and close their ranks after each blow from the enemy. In other words, Montgomery

shows that a decisive section of the working class of the South is ripe for union organization.

What is needed is a bold, all-out organization drive, backed with the full resources of the powerful American labor movement, and above all based on a policy of 100% integration. There can be no compromise on the issue of integration in the Southern unionization drive. Let there be no mistake about this. A segregated South is an open-shop South; a union South is a desegregated South.

## Alabama Unions

Alarming news has come from Alabama concerning the policy of local labor officials in the civil rights crisis (see story on this page). The press reports of the comments of these local officials reveal that the pressure of the White Citizens Councils on them is great. It exceeds the counter-pressure of the national labor movement. This is a result of the prolonged delay of the union movement in correcting its policy of temporizing with and buckling to Jim Crow in the South. This policy spells sure death for the projected drive to organize the South. The policy must be fundamentally changed. To follow Stevenson's "gradualism" in the union field would be a betrayal of the great promise unionism holds out for the revolution against Jim Crow that is seething in the South.

If the unions step in with an unambiguous policy of integrated, fully-democratic union organization, the whole civil rights struggle will take a leap forward. The problem of defense against the terrorists would be solved. The kind of workers who manned the picket lines in the Southern telephone, railroad and sugar strikes last winter, plus the kind of workers who have organized the Montgomery boycott of Jim Crow buses, would take care of the cowardly terrorists who shoot from ambush and murder children.

## Powell Amendment

(4) Support of the Powell amendment to the school aid bill is the very minimum that must be demanded of every Congressman who claims to stand for civil rights. The Powell amendment has also become the acid test for every official leader of the labor movement. The position of AFL-CIO President George Meany is inexcusable. Are we to stand silently and watch the federal government finance the racist leaders who openly defy the decision of the Supreme Court?

The argument that the Powell amendment will "hurt education" would be laughable if it weren't tragic. This argument presumes that Jim Crow schools can educate children to anything but a perpetuation of the hideous barbarism of a master-race system. The mothers of Negro children in Hillsboro, Ohio, have answered this false argument in advance. For months they walked together with their children on a picket line to protest Jim Crow schools in the morning — in the afternoons they carried on the education of their children through co-operative efforts in homes. Doesn't this single act of principled determination to fight Jim Crow without quarter cut through all the talk about "not hurting education"?

## Democrats Betray

The Powell amendment is the only available method of making a serious push to prevail on this Congress to pass a civil rights measure. It will not be easy to win. Let us remember that on the first day of the opening session of the 84th Congress, the entire liberal wing of the Democratic party in the Senate betrayed its promise to make a fight on Senate Rule 22, a fight which could have destroyed Southern filibustering and opened the door to the urgently needed civil rights legislation.

Under these conditions the Conference will need the utmost unity and determination in exerting pressure on Congress to pass the Powell amendment.

We have expressed our opinion on the urgent questions before the civil rights movement in the hope that provision has been made for discussion and consideration of all points of view at the conference. Too often high officials and invited dignitaries monopolize the time of these conferences with endless orations. Since the climate of the times is changing in the United States in many vital fields, is it any more than fair to suggest that changes are in order in the matter of conference organization? Shouldn't the opinion of delegates who come thousands of miles and have first-hand field experience in the struggle be consulted on the big questions of policy? We earnestly hope that such will be the case this time.

# Union Movement Faces Hour of Decision

By Jean Simon

The leadership of the American labor movement is on the spot. Last week 94 Birmingham, Alabama, steelworkers sent a telegram to George Meany, president of the 15-million member AFL-CIO, threatening to split the union if it continues to back its constitutional provisions for racial equality.

President Meany, according to Labor's Daily, "forwarded the steelworkers' message to David J. McDonald, president of the AFL-CIO Steelworkers Union, without comment."

McDonald is "investigating" the matter before deciding what to do.

## OBVIOUS ANSWER

To rank and file steelworkers in Ohio last week, the answer seemed obvious: do the same thing you would do in the case of anyone else who threatened to violate the union constitution and split the organization — bring them up on charges and kick them out if they stick to their anti-union position. Anything less will split the union.

Failure to act decisively in the face of this threat from the right would be surrender of one of the founding principles of industrial organization — unity based on equality of workers regardless of "race, creed or color." It would deliver the Southern locals into the hands of the White Citizens Councils, without a struggle.

Last Sunday's N. Y. Times reported an interview with a group of "nameless" union leaders in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, which provides a vivid picture of the dilemma of compromisers.

"We always had good relations between the races here," one of the men told the reporter. "We



GEORGE MEANY presided over recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami, Fla. The council did not resolve problem of jurisdictional disputes that is blocking start of Southern organizing drive. Livingston, AFL-CIO director of organization presented report that his field staff is just marking time. Meanwhile, rival union bureaucrats fight for dues-take before the workers have even joined the unions.

have worked together in the shop and in the union and have worked out a system of segregation that is fair to all concerned."

But "the Autherine Lucy case, by arousing racial passions, threatens both this system and the union leaders who have worked to create it," they said. [My emphasis, J.S.]

Now these little men have reached a point in American history which demands that labor leaders take a stand — for or against segregation. They are frightened.

They are incapable of leading

a principled struggle against segregation because they base themselves on an unprincipled compromise with segregation which, despite their wishful thinking, is neither fair nor satisfactory to the Negro workers.

On the other hand, they fear domination by the White Citizens Council elements because they recognize that "In the South, where such a large percentage of the labor force is Negro, that would be the virtual end of the importance of organized labor."

## NEGROES DEMAND JUSTICE

But union leaders will be forced to take a stand on segregation. Their compromises are now being attacked from both sides. The Negro workers are also speaking up.

Last weekend, for example, in Jacksonville, Florida, where the State Federation of Labor was meeting to discuss plans for merger of the AFL-CIO state bodies, a letter was received from Robert W. Saunders, NAACP Field Secretary.

In the key paragraph of the letter he wrote: "... And we remind you that our association is prepared to aid in the education of Negroes to the acceptance of unionization. However, we are as equally prepared to resist the attempts of organized labor to by-pass the Negro in its efforts to bring about better living conditions for those who must labor to exist."

Unions face the hour of decision and it's time for the rank and file to move in to save their organizations. If the Northern workers don't speak up and stop the union-busting attack of the agents of the White Citizens Councils, Southern labor will be atomized. Then we'll see a veritable stampede of runaway plants going South.

# ... One-Hour Stoppage

(Continued from page 1)

dictates that if the full weight of the unions were thrown behind the movement doubts and indecision would be put aside.

## LABOR'S DUTY IS CLEAR

There can be no question that the AFL-CIO has a deep obligation to rally behind the heroic Negroes of Montgomery who have stood firm in the face of each new racist attack levelled against them. The unity of interest between the Montgomery civil-rights fighters and all of labor is dramatically symbolized in the fact that the hundred-odd indictments handed down against the boycotters was based on a state "anti-conspiracy" statute adopted in 1921 to smash a strike of Birmingham, Ala., coal miners.

The steady movement of "runaway" shops to the South has developed an increased consciousness in the ranks of the union movement that labor cannot endure half organized and half open-shop. The need to organize the South is inescapable. And the Negro people of the South are the indispensable key to the success of the union drive.

The Negro people of the entire South are today fully determined to wipe out segregation. The movement in Montgomery, where a community of almost 50,000 Negroes are now highly organized in the Montgomery Improvement Association, is the most advanced expression of that objective.

For 86 days they have maintained a 100% effective boycott of the bus system. They have done so in the face of heavy odds. The homes of two of their leaders have been bombed. Scores have been arrested by local police on trumped-up charges. Some have been fired from their jobs for their support of the boycott. The fact that more than 100 of their ranks now face fine and imprisonment has only served to boost their militant spirit even higher.

## MOVEMENT DEEPENS

The boycott movement mushroomed overnight on the basis of a completely minimum demand, not to abolish segregation, but to correct its worst abuses, to win a first-come, first-served bus arrangement within the framework of the segregated bus system. This system already exists in other Alabama counties. In addition they have demanded a halt to abuse by white bus drivers and the hiring of Negro drivers for predominantly Negro routes.

Starting with these minimum objectives the movement has since deepened. In a suit filed by five Montgomery Negroes in the U.S. District Court Feb. 1 the constitutionality of the Alabama segregation laws in transportation is challenged.

The attempt of the racists to meet that challenge by a campaign of frame-up and persecution against the young attorney, Fred D. Gray, will not succeed. The challenge is not merely legal — it is above all a manifestation of a deep change in consciousness, a great awakening, among the Negro people.

Jet magazine Jan. 26 reported the following: An aged woman, asked by a motorist if she were tired of walking during the month-old stay-off-the-bus campaign in Montgomery, Ala.: "My soul has been tired for a long time. Now my feet are tired, and my soul is resting."

These are people whom the racists have to reckon with and they are people whom the union movement must also reckon with if it hopes to organized the South. Deeds, not words alone, count with them. Their response to union appeals will certainly be, "What are you doing to help us lift the Jim Crow system off our backs?"

The issue must be faced squarely. With labor solidly

behind them, there are excellent prospects for the Negro people of Montgomery to thwart the present attack and score a major victory. But if that support is not forthcoming, the white supremacists may succeed in dealing new blows to the boycott movement.

A defeat in Montgomery would be a sharp setback for the civil rights movement everywhere. It would also be a terrible blow to the union organizing drive in the South. The open shop system would get a new lease on life.

Labor cannot afford a defeat in Montgomery. For the sake of its own future survival and progress it must get behind the boycott movement and deal a crushing blow to the racists from which they will never recover.

# 'Don't Bow to Dictates Of Prejudice and Hate'

The chief propaganda argument of Southern racists against the rising mass movement of Negroes fighting for equality is that "the trouble is caused by outside agitators and Communists." The chief target so far is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A Feb. 23 NAACP press release lists the following actions of white supremacist politicians against the Association.

The Alabama legislature has enacted a bill permitting a county board of education to cancel the contract of any teacher who favors desegregation or belongs to an organization favoring desegregation. In January, Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook asked the state legislature to investigate the NAACP for "possible subversive influences."

## BARRING NAACP MEMBERS

A bill introduced in the South Carolina legislature, Jan. 10, specifies that no person could receive a teacher's certificate without signing a non-membership affidavit concerning the Communist Party and the NAACP. Other bills would bar NAACP members from all state, county and municipal jobs.

The Mississippi House of Representatives passed a bill, Jan. 25, described by Rep. Karl Wiesenberg as "affecting only the NAACP," making it a crime to "... incite a riot, breach of the peace, public disturbance, or disorderly assembly by soliciting, or advocating, or urging or encouraging disobedience to any law ... and non-conformance with the established traditions and customs and usages of the State of Mississippi."

## THE CAROLINAS

The North Carolina Attorney General announced, Feb. 17, that he will "insist" to the courts that the Association be fined for failing to "register" in the state.

The latest action is a resolution passed last week by the South Carolina State Legislature

# Racists Want NAACP On "Subversive" List

The Tampa Bulletin, Florida Negro weekly, published a letter in its Feb. 25 issue which is of such significance as an expression of the attitude of Southern Negro leaders toward labor that we reprint it in full below:

February 14, 1956  
Mr. Frank Roche, President Florida Federation of Labor 1657 N. W. 17th Avenue Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Roche: Greetings,

It is my understanding that representatives of Labor in Florida will soon meet for the purpose of discussing the proposed merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization in this state.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Florida State Conference of Branches are praying for the success of these meetings. But we cannot sit idly by without mentioning the part that Negro Labor in Florida can play in the success of organized labor in the state.

We therefore are requesting that in your discussions, you follow the wishes and mandates of the national organization and its leaders in assuring that Negroes will partake of the full and unlimited benefits which are to be derived from the fruits of your future

progress and the protection of their rights as members.

We call upon you and the negotiating representatives to adhere to the principles of non-segregation and the factors which allow a man to advance on the basis of merit and qualification rather than race. And we remind you that our association is prepared to aid in the education of Negroes to the acceptance of unionization. However, we are as equally prepared to resist the attempts of organized labor to by-pass the Negro in its efforts to bring about better living conditions for those who must labor to exist. We call upon you to do everything possible to ban racial segregation from your unions and to insist that discrimination because of race shall be vanquished from all areas of employment.

In your debates, you are again reminded that every line uttered by those who are responsible for the ultimate ends for which you meet will be carefully analyzed by thousands. It is hoped that you will not bow to the dictates of prejudice and race hate in denying to your Negro brother the right to work, live, and progress on the same plane as you will allow for men of other races.

Fraternally yours,  
Robert W. Saunders  
Field Secretary, NAACP

# World Events

**CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THAILAND** have been "severely impaired" according to N.Y. Times correspondent Robert Alden in a Feb. 22 Bangkok dispatch. All public gatherings were banned, Feb. 21, by "one of the country's strong men, Gen. Phao Sriyanond, Chief of Police."

Premier Pibul Songgram "explained that 'demonstrations, parades and other activities' might 'cause public unrest.'" The crackdown started with the arrest of eight hunger strikers and five others in front of the Government House. "The thirteen," reports Alden, "had been protesting against the system whereby 51% of the country's Parliament is appointed, rather than elected."

Simultaneously the police arrested National Assemblyman Thep Jotinuchit and eleven others at the Bangkok airport on their return from a visit to the People's Republic of China on the charge of violating Thailand's anti-Communist Act. The newspapers were warned "not to publish news of Communist China as this, too, might be a violation of the Anti-Communist Act." According to Alden's Feb. 23 dispatch several newspaper editors resigned to avoid arrest. Alden also reports, "Many Thais believed that it is the United States that is responsible for the abolition of their civil rights."

**ATROCITY IN SUDAN.** Police locked up 281 farmers of Kofti, Feb. 21, after they had demonstrated against confiscation of their crops. The next day when the single cell, 65 by 20-feet, was opened, 194 were found dead from suffocation. The farmers battled police when they attempted to confiscate their crops withheld in support of their land reform demands. Fifteen farmers and three policemen were killed during the week. Over 600 farmers in all were arrested and crammed into jails as temperatures soared in a heat wave. On Feb. 28 over 2,000 people marched through the streets

of Khartoum, neighboring City of Kosti, in protest against the brutal murder of the farmers. Demonstrators shouted, "Down with the government of feudalism," and, "Down with the government of death."

**WHO THREATENS THE PEACE?** "Public opinion polls in India show an amazing number of persons who believe that it is the United States that threatens the peace; the number who hold the Soviet Union guilty is extremely small." (Thomas J. Hamilton, N. Y. Times, Feb. 26).

**SOUTH AFRICA'S PRIME MINISTER,** Johannes G. Strijdom, enlarged the legislature in order to get a two-thirds majority for a revision of the constitution excluding Africans of "mixed blood" from the polls. With this faked majority the white-supremacist bill was passed. In the same act the legislature limited the power of the courts to rulings on minor legislative matters in order to prevent future collisions with judicial powers. In the gallery were fifty white women wearing black roses in mourning for the constitution.

**A NEHRU VIEW** of economic aid to Asia was expressed in the January issue of Jana, a magazine published in Ceylon, reflecting the opinion of the "neutralist" Asian capitalists. Jana comments upon the visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to India and Burma last November and December as follows: "The West and particularly America which has given much aid to India and other South-east Asian countries, has not quite been able to supply India with technical equipment and know-how. And this is the most important form of aid which India needs now to solve the problem of unemployment. Prolonged unemployment could undermine democratic society ... If employment is not provided, there is bound to arise unrest and insecurity from within, a threat from the local Communist Party and by the knowledge that both Russia and China have solved this problem of unemployment ... It is not only the volume of aid which is of importance but the type of aid which these countries need. The Russians have offered assistance in order to enable India and Burma to industrialize and for industrialization the Americans have not been able to provide much, though of course a large volume of assistance has been given to Asian agriculture and famine relief. It is in an industrial sector that economic and technical assistance is most needed, and it is in this particular sector that the Russians have offered their help."

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AND  
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# The Negro Struggle

By Myra Tanner Weiss

## The Murder of Dr. Brewer

Dr. Thomas H. Brewer, 71-years-old, was one of the leaders of the struggle against segregation in Columbus, Georgia. Seven bullets ended his life — and ended his contribution to the struggle for freedom in the South.

It was Lucio Flowers, aged 54, the white proprietor of a department store in the Negro district who fired the shots. The police said Flowers was a "sick man" and whisked him out of the state to a hospital where he was reportedly treated under police custody.

Both men, Dr. Brewer and Flowers, were witnesses to the arrest of a Negro man. Dr. Brewer was indignant at the brutality displayed by the police who handcuffed and beat their prisoner. Dr. Brewer pressed for an investigation of the brutality. Flowers testified for the cops.

Flowers claimed that when Brewer visited his office, he laid his medical bag on the table and reached for his pocket. He feared violence and in "self-protection" fired the seven deadly slugs.

What really happened may never be known for justice is never meted out to Negroes by the racists in power. Long before the shooting occurred, however, a pattern of violence existed that was unmistakable. Dr. Brewer had signed a petition against a segregated golf course. He and others who had signed were bothered with anonymous threats of violence.

The reaction of the Negro community in Columbus, Ga., to the murder is extremely revealing.

"Still reeling from the shock of the . . . Brewer slaying, Negro leaders in this town [Columbus, Ga.] are voicing increasing bitterness over the federal government's refusal to back up its Supreme Court edicts on integration," reports the Feb. 25 Pittsburgh Courier.

One local leader, who refused to be

quoted by name, told the Courier, "The white folks are desperate. They are resorting to organized violence from the very top, U.S. Senators, on down — even if it means defying the U.S. Army. . . They are leaving it up to us poor devils to be maimed and killed. The government ought to back up their edict or else back down in shame before the eyes of the world. There is a definite move on to remove all Negro leadership, by hook or crook. Dr. Brewer's death is simply a part of the whole picture in the South."

Another leader said, "I don't think it is a wise thing for colored people in places of responsibility to do a whole lot of talking. The federal government is not doing anything to back up the Supreme Court edict. They are leaving us to die as victims of the white people."

The president of the Columbus Branch of the NAACP commented, "I may be next to be shot down."

The Negro and labor movement of the North have the duty to demand protection for the embattled opponents of segregation in the South. Civil rights are guaranteed by the Constitution and must be enforced with the power of the federal government. Anything less makes a hollow mockery of democracy. If the government sent federal troops into the South to restrain the lynch-arm of the White Citizens Council, the Negro people would put an immediate end to the terror perpetrated against them.

If the Negro and labor movements fail to force the federal government to protect the elementary civil rights of the American people, the terror will grow. It will claim many more victims. If the government only wants to appear democratic, if the law of the land is to be left a dead letter, then both Democrats and Republicans should be thrown out of office and the direct representatives of labor and the Negro peoples who have a genuine concern for freedom should be put in their place.

# Survey of Oil Industry

By David Miller

THE EMPIRE OF OIL, by Harvey O'Connor. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1955. 384 pp. \$5.00.

In his latest book, Empire of Oil, Harvey O'Connor has added another volume to an already distinguished list of great value to every student of American society.

This new work is a project of encyclopedic scope, covering such diverse aspects of oil as the role of cooperatives and independents, the oil unions, Mexican nationalizations, as well as the central traditional problems such as price monopoly, concentration, reserves and the role of government in fostering monopoly.

Despite the wide coverage of the field, the book does not suffer from any superficiality of treatment. O'Connor's simple, direct style and evident erudition in all facets of the industry result in a presentation chock-full of selected, critical documentation in every area that is touched. In this respect he builds upon the classical works in this field, most particularly the famous Technical National Economic Committee studies of the 1930's, and brings them up to date.

Several recent public issues involving oil are illuminated by O'Connor's statistics. The furious debate in government and in-

dustry circles during the past few months on restricting oil imports to 10% of U.S. consumption (they run approximately 15% today, and are climbing steadily) reflects very demonstrably a factional dispute between the "independents," based exclusively upon domestic oil production, and the giants of the industry who are so heavily involved in the far cheaper foreign oil. In this context, the over-riding position of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) was demonstrated anew when the compromise that seems to have emerged, conceded much to the independents, but exempted Standard's Venezuelan oil from these restrictions.

Similarly the Natural Gas bill, until last week at the focus of political maneuvering, seems to have been more vital to the independent domestic producers since the central issue was the price of gas at the point where it enters the monopoly-owned pipeline.

O'Connor does not present any new thesis on the oil industry. His frame of reference is that shared by all socialists. Consequently, the book is not written as an academic dissertation, but rather as a propaganda manual, in the very best sense of that term. Socialists can be nothing but grateful for a useful job, well done.

# Notes from the News

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY is "in peril because its leaders in Congress have abandoned its liberal principles," says the Americans for Democratic Action in an editorial in the March issue of the ADA World. The editorial says Democratic Congressional leaders were guilty of "shortsighted subservience to the interests of conservatism, racism, and oil." The ADA warns that Eisenhower's veto of the gas-gouge bill (passed by congress with a Democratic majority) and the "growing tempest" over civil rights "have brought into focus the perilous state of the Democratic Party."

BOMBING OF THE FLORIDA home of Mable Norris Reese, a white newspaper editor who has attacked Sheriff Willis McCall for his tactics against Negroes, occurred in Tavara on Feb. 21 and 23. Mrs. Reese said she was not a "pro-integrationist," but favored a calm, sane approach to the problem," according to the Feb. 26 N. Y. Post. She appeared before a grand jury investigating commutation of the death sentence of Walter L. Irvin, victim of a phony rape charge in Groveland, Fla., in 1949. In 1951 Sheriff McCall attempted to nullify a U.S. Supreme Court-ordered new trial for Irvin and another victim, Samuel Shepard by shooting both these handcuffed prisoners while in transport. McCall left both for dead, but Irvin survived to receive the commuted sentence.

GEORGE MEANY AND NAM executive committee chairman Charles Sligh Jr. met in Washington, Feb. 23, to discuss Meany's proposal for a "non-aggression pact" between the AFL-CIO and the NAM. They got nowhere, agreeing only that further talks would serve no purpose.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, was showered with copies of the Federal Constitution dropped from an airplane, Feb. 22. The plane was chartered by

Chicago Negro disc jockey Al Benson, a native of Mississippi. When told the booklets attracted little attention, he said: "That's the trouble; the Constitution has attracted little attention in Mississippi."

THE COAST GUARD BLACKLIST of dock workers is being backed by International Longshoremen's Association president Capt. W. V. Bradley. The CG abandoned its port-wide check (allowing only men who had passed its arbitrary "clearance" to work) in 1954 because of lack of manpower. The Bi-State Waterfront Commission which now controls dock hiring in the Port of New York considered adoption of a regulation requiring CG clearances before registration, but withheld such action because of a U.S. Court of Appeals decision in San Francisco last October that the CG screening system was unconstitutional. Instead, the hated anti-labor police agency used its own blacklist against longshore strike leaders. The ILA rank and file walked off the docks last fall in a political strike protesting the Commission's Gestapo methods, and the ILA leadership was forced to go along. The East Coast was tied up for eight days before the ILA leaders accepted on Sept. 14 a face-saving proposal for a "citizen's commission" to mediate the dispute between the union and the Bi-State Commission (which makes no secret of the fact that it wants the ILA swept from the docks). The "citizen's commission" fell apart a few days later. In an attempt to outdo the Waterfront Commission in witch hunting, Bradley sent out notices, Feb. 24, asking all ILA locals to oust any members who can't get CG clearance. The New York Shipping Association picked up the ball and proposed a conference of the shipowners, the Bi-State Waterfront Commission and the ILA to devise an effective program for barring "subversives." The ILA bureaucrats would be outvoted on such a body by the employers and their police agency.

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# THE MILITANT

## Army Witch Hunt Extended by "Reform"

By Henry Gitano

FEB. 25 — The wives and mothers of eight Fort Dix soldiers got nowhere when they went to Washington yesterday to protest "security" hearings scheduled for their men. The soldiers have been engaged in a long legal struggle to prevent the Army from giving them dishonorable discharges after honorable service as draftees.

Three weeks ago Senator Thomas C. Hennings wrote to Defense Department Secretary, Charles E. Wilson, that he was "shocked" to find the Army pursuing its old policy of branding draftees with disloyalty discharges for alleged pre-induction ideas or associations despite "assurances" by Wilson that those performing honorable service would not be stigmatized.

### ARMY EXPOSED

The origin of Henning's "shock" can be traced to Aug. 4, 1955, when Rowland Watts and Eugene Landy focused public attention on the Pentagon's witch hunt against enlisted men. Watts, basing himself on 110 cases, issued a two-volume report on "The Draftee and Internal Security." It exposed the Army's blacklisting through security-notation discharges of men whose thinking, activities, associations or kin were not in absolute conformity with military brass standards. Eugene Landy was turned down for a naval reserve commission because his mother had once been a Communist. Following Landy's well publicized case, a string of guilt-by-kinship "risks" came to light.

Beginning Nov. 17, 1955, the Army's persecution of draftees came under attack by the Senate's subcommittee on Constitutional Rights under the chairmanship of Hennings.

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson announced, Nov. 18, 1955, that under a Nov. 16 directive, the security regulations were being revised to eliminate some abuses. With the modified thought-control machinery, suspected "security-risks" would be investigated before instead of after induction. If found unsuitable a draftee would be rejected.

Hennings on Jan. 28 announced that the armed forces had clarified their Nov. 16 directive through a letter from the military's general counsel, Mansfield Sprague. According to Hennings, the military would stop giving security-risk discharges to persons with honorable service. Previous less-than-honorable discharges would be reviewed. Men drafted after a security check would get discharges based solely on their service record.

On Jan. 30 deputy general counsel of the Army, Lewis Berry, said that all he knew about the Hennings' reforms was what he read in the papers. Hennings' interpretation of Sprague's letter appeared to Berry as only one man's interpretation. At Fort Jay the Judge Advocate's office of the First Army said that despite news reports since Nov. 16, it has no new directives on handling "security" cases and was operating under the old regulations.

Hennings then sent a letter to Wilson stating: "The Committee was shocked to learn that the Army is actively pushing proceedings to bring about the security risk discharges of eight soldiers at Fort Dix, N. J., on the basis of allegations of pre-service activities. . . . The staff did learn . . . that the new Defense Department policy has not been implemented in new army regulations."

The Fort Dix Eight had been summoned before Army field boards to show cause why they should be retained in the Army. The draftees were notified late last summer of allegations dealing with membership, kinship, reading habits, signing of petitions, writing of letters to congressmen and participation in strikes during their civilian lives.

Threatened with undesirable discharges, they filed a suit against their commanding general asserting their right either to remain in the armed forces or to honorable discharges. Judge David N. Edelstein in New York's Federal District Court denied a government motion to dismiss the suit on Nov. 22, 1955. But on Jan. 3 he also denied the request of the Fort Dix soldiers for an injunction to prevent the Army from discharging them before a ruling on the loyalty program could be made.

On Jan. 30 the eight enlisted men asked the Supreme Court to halt Army proceedings that might result in their getting dishonorable discharges before the appeal for an injunction against the Army could be argued in the lower courts.

### THE HARMON CASE

The Army resumed its hounding of the eight Fort Dix privates which shocked Hennings, the day after a decision was reached on John Henry Harmon. Harmon's character and efficiency ratings were excellent, but he was discharged from the Army in June 1954 as "either disloyal or subversive." Harmon claimed he never joined anything except the NAACP and the Abyssinian Baptist Church. The

Army was unable to contradict him. Harmon, currently a law student at Howard University, answered every question about himself but refused to answer queries about others.

Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl on Jan. 24 dismissed Harmon's suit which challenged the Army's right to brand him with an undesirable discharge for honorable service. Judge Youngdahl claimed that it is the Army's business to determine the type of discharge given and that civilian courts lack jurisdiction to review them.

Early in January, Federal Judge Sidney Sugarman in New York, refused to restrain the Army from proceeding against a client of lawyer David Shapiro who faces an undesirable discharge from the reserves. Judge Sugarman held that no court could help him until he had exhausted Army channels.

Judge Sugarman's opinion that no court could help a draftee till he had completed the Army's judicial process, together with Judge Youngdahl's opinion that the court cannot help Harmon once the Army is finished with him, emboldened the military to hurriedly proceed against the Fort Dix Eight.

Meanwhile Wilson, Feb. 1, reaffirmed his new policy. "Certainly," he said "no one can take the position that a man should be convicted for what he did before he came into the service." Wilson was not familiar enough with pending cases to discuss them, "but all I can say is the men will be treated fairly."

### THE NEXT DAY

Just one day after Wilson's policy was reaffirmed, the Army Discharge Review Board in Washington heard Paul Milvy's case. Milvy was given an "undesirable discharge" on July 13, 1954, after five months Army duty. He is asking for an honorable discharge. Milvy availed himself of the constitutional privileges on his past associations at the time of his induction. At Fort Monmouth's Signal Corps Center Milvy was given "excellent" ratings as an army student. Yet, when suddenly discharged his efficiency rating was listed as "unsatisfactory."

Milvy's attorney Albert Collores, thought the Review Board hadn't heard about Wilson's statement. When Collores raised the point, the Board recessed to consider the issue, then closed the hearing.

The Army's current "security" program is obviously SNAFU — Situation Normal All Fouled Up. But behind the dilly-dallying is an undeviating drive to secure

## Striker Arrested



Republic Aviation Corporation striker, Lou Tempera, is led away by cops, one of many arrested in clashes between pickets and scabs outside the company's Farmingdale, L. I. plant. Some 19,000 International Association of Machinists members are on strike at four Republic plants. (See story on page one.)

absolute unquestioning conformity within a regimented nation.

Article 94 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, gives the armed services the specific power to court-martial for "sedition" while in the service. The "security" program is not needed to punish and discharge for misconduct or disloyalty. It has another objective.

### THE REAL PURPOSE

The military's "security" program exercises "political and social control over every young man subject to the Selective Service law from the dawn of his mature understanding until he approaches 30. Through the threat of an 'undesirable' discharge, it says 'Conform, not only in active service but for the full term (including six years of reserve time) of your developing maturity,' as the Watts Report points out.

The military realize what their branding means. Armed Forces Talk, published for the information of Army personnel, in del-

ing with the importance of an honorable discharge, says: "Prospective civilian employers are very likely to give some other job applicant the nod if you show them the 'wrong' kind of discharge." Testimonial letters reinforce this point: "It isn't just me who is suffering. My wife and my child must be deprived of many things just because I can't hold onto a job once people find out about my discharge."

The reforms in Army procedure advocated by Hennings and promised by Wilson have so far been ignored by the Army. But even if these reforms are ultimately forced upon the military brass they will not eliminate the injustices done to the youth. In fact it will extend the persecution before instead of after induction, would merely transfer the blacklisting from the discharge papers to the draft cards, thereby extending it to all potential draftees, not merely those inducted.

# Our Readers Take the Floor

## A New Dark Ages?

Editor:

I used to think that education in Baltimore was in a bad way. Students working hard to cheat their way through to graduating marks (at high school at least), learning the least they could. Now that has become part of the 'good old days!' The increase in the school population has out-paced the production of teachers, and the school-factories are inadequate for even production of the semi-literate school children of a few years back. In some places in the city and the country, the kids come in two shifts. Despite the great demand for teachers, they haven't been unionized, and many find that industry is better paying and less demanding. Granted that the situation might have been exaggerated, are we headed for a new Dark Ages, where knowledge will be the possession of a privileged few?

R. D. Baltimore

## Word Juggling

Editor:

Herewith is copy of a letter to the Cleveland Plain Dealer which I do not expect the P.D. to print. Can you make any use of it? If not, please return it to me. Ferrently yours,

Joseph Manlet Cleveland

(The letter to the Plain Dealer follows — Ed.)

Those patriotic worshippers of a so-called "American Way of Life" do not appear to have much intellectual depth. Or is it that this devotion is a strategy in political semantics, motivated by the American possessing classes who have fear of change? There is nothing fixed about American life. The word, "Way," itself denotes movement and therefore change. Everything in American life constantly has

changed during all history. In recent times changes have been deep and rapid. What only has not changed is the psychology of our patriotic political buccaners. They are motivated by their economic interests. No semantic invention can ever inhibit American progress. The sun of American life will never stand still. Earnestly yours,

Joseph Manlet

## Fakery

Editor:

The American boss press is carrying on an intensified advertising campaign on the virtues of capitalism and the evils of socialism. Obviously the fact that hundreds of millions of people throughout the world are rejecting capitalism and taking the road to socialist freedom has them worried that the American people will catch the "red virus."

After spending millions to destroy Marxism, the name of Karl Marx figures more prominently than ever in the newspapers and every day we are offered new refutations of his scientific socialist teachings.

We read editorials on "peoples capitalism" where it is argued that a large percentage of the American people own the means of production. The "old" capitalism in the days of Marx, we are told, operated on a small volume and large profit margin. Now we have a "new" capitalism here in America which in contrast operates on a large volume and small profit margin. Workers benefit, the editorials say, from increased output through higher wages and cheaper, more abundant goods.

The "old" capitalism has been traded in for the "new" model in much the same way that Joe Doakes trades his '56 car for a '57 model. They even go so far as to say that America's developing classless society precludes a class revolution here.

It is not my purpose here to dwell on the economic quackery developed by the editors and columnists in their defense of the capitalist system, but when the labor fakers try to uphold the profit system on the backs of the workers, it's another matter. The class collaborationist theories of Reuther, Meany and other labor sages have led to their rejection of the 30-for-40 demand, in the past, and recent statements to the effect that there is no class struggle on the American scene. Now the press reveals a spectacle of added infamies by the labor statesmen.

The president of the local union at the Minneapolis-Honeywell Corp. provides a gem which in effect said, "Anyone who stands in the way of the Company's making a profit has no place in our local." He then goes on to reveal a "sweetheart" agreement that points up union collaboration with the company for increasing "productivity."

To top it all, the president of a Kansas City local of the Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers wants to awaken the consciences of his members. An editorial cites the "novel offer of this building trades union to pay tuition for its members who wish to study loafing and its prevention at a University." This offer was accompanied by a statement from the union president that "productivity" in the construction industry is low. He accused his men of dorging it at work and described some projects as "more like a convalescent home than a construction job." This pieceard misleads when he talks of "productivity." What he means in workman's language spells speed-up, what Marx called "the higgling incorporation of all possible minutes of the working day into the process of production."

The frightful speed-up, for anyone who has worked on construction, means running up ladders and hustling like mad to

get the structure built. In commentary, the editor, although approving the reason for the offer of the college course on how to fight loafing, attacks the prohibitive cost of union labor as a cause of the growth of the do-it-yourself cult. He chidingly states that if the rate of new construction slides off, it may be too late to learn in college that it is necessary to increase productivity to hold customers.

Here we have, graphically portrayed, the result of the labor leaders' desire to get into the act. Nice and cosy! We find them lined up with the boss press in defending the capitalist system and whooping it up for "more productivity" from an American working class which already suffers the most intense exploitation and speed-up of any working class in the world.

E. S. Chicago

## Best Wishes

Editor:

I may be a little late in sending in my renewal, but I assure you that I am no less interested in

your publication than heretofore. In fact, I am more interested than ever, standing as I do, for desegregation, restoration of Kitcher's job and a just economic system for all. With best wishes for the Militant.

R. A. C. Akron, Ohio

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