

Dixiecrats Plan Evasion of New Anti-Bias Ruling

By Carl Goodman

The Nov. 7 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that racial segregation in public parks, playgrounds, beaches and golf courses is unconstitutional, was greeted by Dixiecrats with the same threats of defiance that met last year's court ruling against school segregation.

Thus Governor Marvin Griffin declared on Nov. 8 that Georgia would abandon all state parks before "co-mingling of the races" would be allowed. This is similar to threats made last year by governors and legislatures in a number of Southern states to close down public schools rather than permit integration.

In handing down the new decision, the Supreme Court failed to issue instructions as to how and when segregation in public parks and playgrounds should be ended. In all likelihood, these questions will be left up to the lower Federal courts as in the case of the rulings on school segregation. These courts are under immediate pressure of white supremacists and are ready to accept every stall devised to prevent enforcement.

The nine Supreme Court justices who unanimously voted against segregation knew in advance that Southern governors,

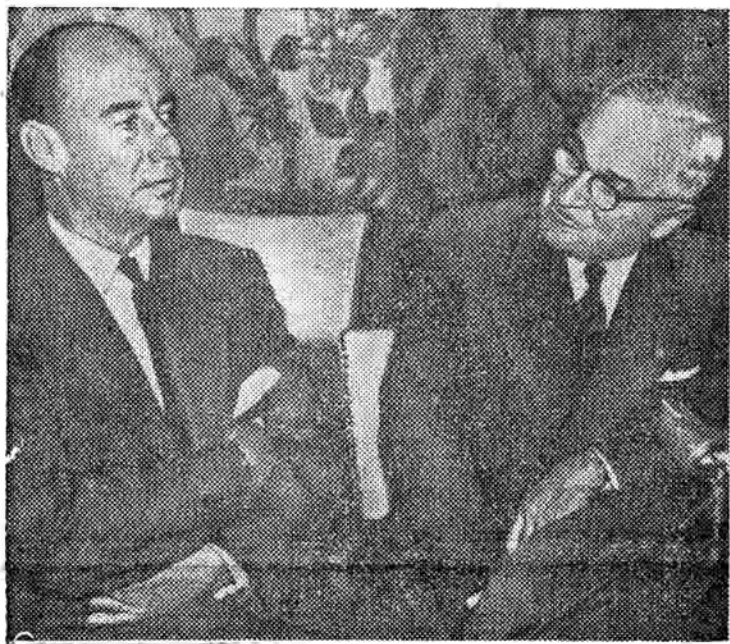
legislatures and judges (the Federal included) would block enforcement of their decision. Yet the court, which can get its decisions enforced when it wants to, put no teeth in its ban against Jim Crow.

Nor is the Eisenhower Administration moving to insure compliance with the court's decision, although it wishes to take political credit for the desegregation rulings. Last May, the Anti-Discrimination Conference of the Southern locals of the CIO Packinghouse Workers demanded that the Administration place the Southern school system "under Federal control and open . . . them to all students regardless of race, creed, color or national origin." But this goes "way beyond the real purpose of the U.S. Big Business dominated government in ruling against Jim Crow."

For the court's anti-segregation decision is designed to serve primarily propaganda aims in the dealings of the U.S. State

(Continued on page 2)

Thick as Thieves With Dixiecrats



Adlai Stevenson (left) and former Pres. Harry Truman meet in Chicago for private political confab. The two top leaders of Northern Democrats are busy mending political fences with Dixiecrats. Recent decision of Congressional Democratic strategists to dump even pretense of fight for civil rights was notice to Negro and labor movements on what to expect in 1956.

Huge Oil Empire Seen As Stake in Mid-East

By Daniel Roberts

The Egypt-Israel conflict threatens to transform the whole Middle East into a new arena of the cold war.

U.S., British and French imperialists are beginning to line up in support of the Israeli capitalist class. On the other side, Egypt and Syria — enjoying the moral backing of last Spring's Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations which denounced Israel as an agency of imperialism — are receiving military aid from the Soviet bloc.

What started as a conflict between Egypt and Israel is thus developing into a collision in the Middle East between imperialism and its most immediate agents on one side and the colonial revolution and the Soviet Union on the other.

The major problem now confronting the U.S. government is how to avert a hardening of the line-ups. For such hardening would completely disrupt the present pattern of imperialist rule in the Middle East.

Imperialism has a huge stake in the region. First, the Middle East is the gateway by land and sea from Europe to the Orient. Second, this is where a new oil empire has been established since the end of World War II.

The Middle East has the richest known stores of oil in the entire world — twice as great as those of the United States. Furthermore, the average oil-well output is the highest and labor costs are the cheapest in the world. As former U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes once said, "The most important fact today is that the capital of oil is no longer the United States; it is the Middle East."

HOW IMPERIALISM RULES

Although U.S., British and French corporations are competing fiercely for supremacy in the area, they are united in their fear that the Arab masses will rise up and take back their own oil resources from the foreign

SOVIET-EGYPT DEAL

However, the Egyptian act that has infuriated the U.S. and British governments most is the purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia in exchange for cotton. The deal is estimated by the

(Continued on page 3)

GOP, Democrats Nail Each Other On Taft-Hartley

After a conference with Eisenhower on labor legislation Nov. 2, Secretary of Labor Mitchell told the press that there was no chance for amending the Taft-Hartley law in the next session of Congress and laid the blame for this at the door of the Democrats. Labor supporters of the Democratic party immediately rejoined by citing the absence of a Republican record to push for such amendments. Both have impressive evidence to prove their charges.

Mitchell's contention that the Northern and Southern Democrats are in a coalition to block amendments to Taft-Hartley is born out by the recent legislative strategy session of the Democratic Senate chiefs. The N.Y. Times reported Oct. 27 that they had agreed to avoid any action in 1956 for "repeal or basic alteration of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act."

Although he has the goods against the Democrats on the issue, Mitchell didn't prosecute his case very effectively. He outlined to the press the labor laws presented to Congress by the administration and completely forgot to mention the Taft-Hartley amendments. It was only after newsmen reminded him of them that he piously levelled his attack on the Democrats. In reply to questions he said they had presented 12 Taft-Hartley amendments but could only remember three or four of them.

He also revealed that in his discussion with Eisenhower on labor legislation, he had neglected to inform the President of the dim prospects for the Taft-Hartley amendments. Eisenhower, like the Democrats, had made vigorous campaign promises to fight for various amendments to the hated law.

It doesn't take a psychologist to figure out Mitchell's memory lapse on Taft-Hartley. He's not really absent-minded. Like the Democrats, he just doesn't give a hoot.

Company Speedup Main Strike Issue At Westinghouse

NEW YORK, Nov. 8—Fifty-five thousand production workers of the Westinghouse Corporation are now entering the fourth week of their strike against the corporation.

Westinghouse, second only to General Electric in the industry, has elected to give its workers a hard fight with the objective of demoralizing and routing the strong rank-and-file resistance to company speedup plans.

After thirty days of fruitless negotiations the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, was forced to call the walkout. Just prior to the walkout and at the eleventh hour the company had proposed a five-year contract with a very tricky arbitration clause. But in its essence it would have allowed the company to continue its speedup of day workers without even the sop of added compensation.

In actual money the company offered an inferior package than what had been secured in even the inferior General Electric settlement earlier.

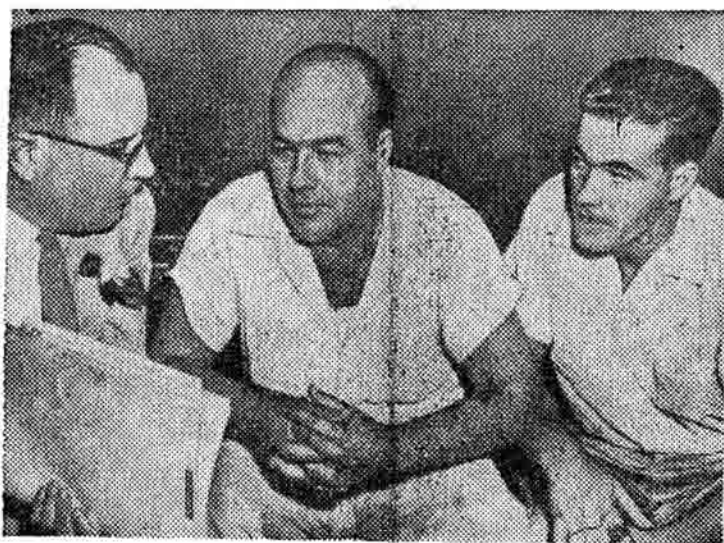
However the critical issue revolves around the right and freedom of the company to continue its production speedup without interference and hindrance from the union either from the top or from the local grievance machinery.

Other corporations met this problem by making concessions that the union leaders could sell to the ranks and thus in turn secured top leadership co-operation in damping and cutting off resistance to speed-up at the point of production. Westinghouse has chosen the course of a frontal attack against the union which gives this strike its national importance.

U.I.E.'s rival, the independent United Electrical Workers joined the strike, calling out their members in Westinghouse plants. This solidarity action of U.E. does not prevent the U.I.E. officials from continuing its red-baiting attacks upon that union even in the very midst of the strike.

This course only has the effect of weakening the morale of the strikers and giving aid and comfort to the union's enemies.

Lynchers Go Scot Free



J. W. Milam (center) and his half-brother Roy Bryant confer with their lawyer (left) during the Sumner, Miss., trial for the lynch-murder of 14-year-old Negro boy Emmett Louis Till. The all-white jury returned a whitewash verdict which aroused bitter, world-wide protest. Now a Mississippi grand jury has let them go scot free on the remaining kidnap charge.

WORKERS GO IN DEBT AS PROFITS ZOOM UP

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

Secretary of Commerce Weeks recently summed up the latest economic blessings of capitalism in these words, "Inflationary pressures are less than a few months ago . . . prosperity just keeps rolling."

For Weeks there can be no higher proof of prosperity than the fact that General Motors is about to set an all-time record with a net profit of over \$1 billion for 1955. In fact all the monopoly capitalists are having a real good year.

Total corporation profits after taxes for 1955 will run well above \$21 billion, the second-biggest take in history. This vast sum, amassed through a steady increase in the rate of profits gain, will come very close to the total profits for the banner year 1950. In the latter year the corporations had the exceptional advantage of a sudden leap in arms production for the Korean war from which they wrung record profits.

In addition to the rosy profits picture, capitalist spokesmen point to other factors implying general prosperity. As of September industrial production was up 12 percent over 1954 and retail sales up 7 percent. Construction activity continued at a high level. Total employment was reaching new peaks.

Personal income had risen to a record annual rate of \$307 billion, an increase of \$20 billion over 1954, reflecting in part recent wage gains won by the unions. Average weekly earnings for industrial workers reportedly stood at \$77.90.

On the other side of the ledger, however, is the fact of a steady decline in farm income. In 1954 farm earnings fell 25 percent below the 1953 level. A further drop of at least 6 percent has been recorded so far this year and there is every sign of a further decline to come.

Over 2 million people remain unemployed by government count

and according to union reports the number is considerably greater. In some economically distressed areas of the country the jobless rate runs as high as 15 percent.

Clearly prosperity is not exactly "rolling along" for everybody. Nor are the inflationary pressures diminishing as Weeks claims. A check of the facts will reveal the truth as just the opposite.

Basic to the inflationary process is the expanding military budget financed by a mounting governmental deficit that has already imposed a huge public debt on the people. Nothing whatever is added to the national wealth by the vast military output. Instead the deficit spending for arms puts a government mortgage on future national income. At the same time it feeds a general tendency toward higher prices and thus impairs the real wages of the working masses.

The current annual rate of arms expenditures stands close to \$44 billion, an amount more than triple the rate of military spending on the eve of the Korean war. Under these conditions the inflationary pressures cannot help but mount.

In an attempt to picture the current boom as self-sustaining capitalist economists point to the fact that the annual rate of personal expenditures is up some \$12 billion over 1954. But this rate of purchase has been attained through measures going beyond current personal earnings.

The universal story was told simply by a Charleston man when asked by a census taker if he lived within his income. "Certainly not," he replied, "it is all I can do, sir, to live within my credit."

National statistics show that the blunt Charleston citizen is far from alone in copying the government's policy of deficit financing. The consumer debt is rising to new record heights almost

(Continued on page 2)

Arrogant Racists Free Till Killers On Kidnap Count

Unions Back Plan for Rally In Washington

Since the Oct. 27 letter of UAW-CIO President Walter Reuther, revealing that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the unions were planning "a nationwide civil rights mobilization to be convened in Washington early next year," the need for such a gathering has increased considerably.

The CIO Packinghouse Workers also announced, Oct. 24, that when Congress meets again in January, "it is probable that there will be a gigantic assembly in Washington under the auspices of the NAACP to lobby for civil rights laws and unseating the Mississippi delegation."

Since Reuther's announcement there has been a disquieting silence from both the NAACP leaders and the labor officials about the mobilization.

The "probability" of a "gigantic assembly" will have to be turned into a reality if Congress is to be moved to action. Such demands as were raised by the Chicago and Illinois NAACP that federal troops be sent to Mississippi will require overwhelming pressure before they can be realized.

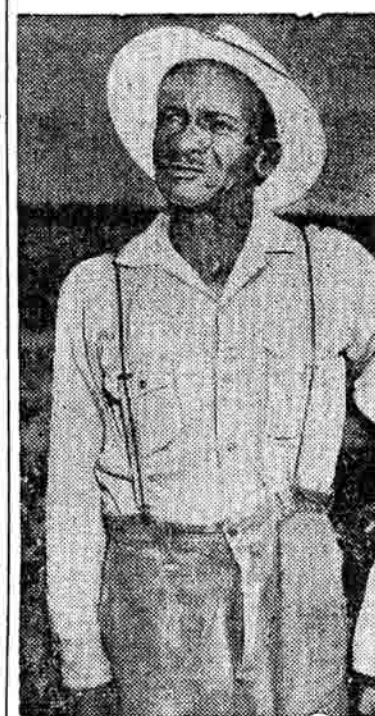
A mobilization in Washington, backed up by mass delegations from union locals and Negro organizations, will be confronted by the avowed determination of the Democratic Party Northern liberals to scuttle all action on civil rights in order to maintain their political alliance with the Dixiecrats.

The Negro people have spoken. They broke all attendance records at overflow protest meetings in every major city of the country. In the deep South, the movement has made powerful strides. Last week in Jackson, Miss., an unprecedented gathering of thousands packed the Masonic Temple and filled the streets to protest against racist terror.

Also a second round of protest meetings has been started — this time under joint auspices of the Negro and labor movement.

These developments demand dramatic and effective national expression. A gigantic mobilization in Washington will provide just that expression. It can well upset the treacherous schemes of the Democratic and Republican parties to bury civil rights legislation for the duration of the presidential election period.

The great need of the moment is to organize, vigorously and widely, the movement to converge on Washington in January and tell Congress: We will no longer accept vague promises; the time has come for action to end Jim Crow now!



MOSES WRIGHT

California CIO Demands Federal Action on Miss.

LONG BEACH, CALIF., Nov. 6 — The Mississippi lynching of young Emmett Till was denounced by more than 600 delegates to the sixth annual convention of the California state CIO, meeting here in a four-day session to discuss merger of the CIO and AFL. Taking note that in the South "a climate of opinion has been generated that threatens not only the civil rights but the life itself of many citizens," the convention condemned the "recent series of murders such as Emmett Till, a 14-year-old, and Rev. George Lee," and demanded that Attorney General Brownell make a complete investigation.

Arthur Morrison, regional director of the Packinghouse Workers of America, called upon the leaders of the CIO to get off their hands and get into action. He called them to order for extolling America as a beacon of hope for people abroad "after what's happened in Mississippi . . . Let's straighten out America," he told them.

The convention resolution on the reign of terror in the South demanded that Congress enact anti-lynching laws and anti-poll tax legislation and called upon its affiliated locals to support the NAACP and Congressman Charles Diggs of Mich. in his challenge of the seating of the Miss. delegation in Congress.

CIO locals are now in a position to take immediate action to support the Olympic Auditorium meeting on the Till case, Nov. 15, in Los Angeles and the Rally in San Francisco at the Cow Palace on Nov. 13.

Lynch Tide Mounts All Over South

By Fred Hart

NOV. 9 — Today an all-white grand jury in Mississippi gave a clean bill of health to J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, lynchers of the 14-year-old Negro boy, Emmett Louis Till as a mounting wave of terror and murder sweeps through the South.

Despite the fact that Milam and Bryant confessed to the kidnaping charge, despite the testimony of Moses Wright, Till's uncle, who identified the pair as the men who abducted the youth, the Leflore county grand jury brazenly refused an indictment. And the Mississippi authorities consider the Till case closed. But the case is not closed for the Negro people of the South who are being subjected to an intensified campaign of terror since the whitewash of Till's murderers.

The latest victim of the racists is 16-year-old John Earl Reese of Longview, Texas. He died in a hail of bullets fired into a cafe from a speeding car that drove through the Negro neighborhood pouring bullets into homes, stores, the school building and a school bus.

Racism flared in Longview over the proposed construction of a new \$200,000 school for Negro children. Sheriff Noble Crawford was quoted in the Pittsburgh Courier: "It is a nasty situation . . . It could be whites just as well as N-----; ain't no point to duck it." Deputy Sheriff Caven told white reporters, "The lead we got, we think it is white. We have not enough to pin on 'em yet."

In Heathsville, Virginia, a young Negro laborer, Howard Bromley, 23, was killed by a white storekeeper, Ira D. Hinton Jr. The N.Y. Post reports Nov. 9 that Hinton was transferred to a neighboring county jail when 100 angry Negroes gathered demanding justice. There he was quickly released on bond. The killer's family are "certainly one of the leading families in Northumberland County," Sheriff English said. "They own farms, mills and power stations."

There is grave suspicion that a 12-year-old Negro boy, Timel Hudson, was lynched in Lamar, Miss., 90 miles from the scene of the Till murder.

Despite this fresh evidence of wanton racist terror, and despite persistent demands for federal intervention, Congress and the Administration haven't lifted a finger to defend the civil rights of the Negro people.

Automation Hastens Doom of Capitalism

By Myra Tanner

The 15-day Congressional hearings on automation that opened Oct. 14 in Washington discussed the problem of automation as if it belonged to the future and not the present. Chairman Wright (D. Tex.), head of the Senate House Economic subcommittee, explained that Congress wanted to know if it will be a "curse or a blessing."

Automated production has already started on an international scale. Its consequences need not be a matter of speculation or theoretical inquiry. The effect of this technological progress can already be observed and measured.

Prime Minister Eden put the problem quite categorically to the British National Union of Manufacturers, Nov. 3, when he said "the world was no longer on the threshold of a new age of technology; it had passed through the door." Eden was speaking under the pressure of the growing economic crisis in Great Britain — and the sharpening of competition with goods produced under more automated conditions in the United States.

The development of automation is by no means at its climax, but its extension into ever broader sectors of the economy is already inevitable as long as the present boom continues. The development of the economic crisis into the approaching depression will stop the growth of automation before it is anywhere near realizing its potentialities.

The effects of automation on the working class were clearly indicated by the labor officials who testified at the subcommittee hearings. James B. Carey, President of the CIO Electrical Workers pointed out that "Production of electrical machines jumped 87% but employment climbed only 20% and production workers by only 14%." In the period of the most rapid technological advances in the electrical lines — 1953 through the first half of 1955 — "the total number of employees in the industry declined 9% and production worker employment declined 13%."

Joseph A. Beirne, President of the CIO Communication Workers of America, testified that in

"1953-54 when telephones increased 4.6%, daily conversations 3.8%, yet employment fell by 10,000 persons, and Western Electric employment by an additional 8,000." (CIO News, Oct. 24.)

Similar testimony came from representatives of other unions including the AFL Office Employees Union, AFL Chemical Workers and the United Auto Workers, CIO. A representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen estimated that technological developments have cost rail workers about 200,000 jobs since 1947.

As long as the capitalist econ-

omy continues to expand, displaced workers can be absorbed and unemployment is temporarily averted. But no technological progress ever solved the capitalist boom depression cycle. In the Thirties the U.S. had the highest productivity in the world. Nevertheless, the depression came and with it came unemployment, lower-living standards and the ruin of the farmers and small business.

BOOM-BUST CYCLE

Automation only temporarily boosts production by increasing profits. In the long run it sharpens the crisis of capitalism and hastens the doom of the profit system. Even the war economy that has been maintained over two and a half decades will not suffice to keep production going. In the meantime this war economy prevents even the temporary social benefit of lower prices that would normally result from increased productivity.

Walter Reuther, CIO president, proposed, among other things, a shorter work week with no decrease in pay. He suggested a

four-day work week of eight hours a day.

We welcome this demand from Reuther and other labor leaders. The Socialist Workers Party has long favored the 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay as an answer to the threat of unemployment. But Reuther has opposed this demand in contractual fights with the auto barons up to now.

If the labor officials hope to realize this demand through legislative action, they should quit wasting time with the Democrats who haven't even delivered on the labor movement's modest requests for a minimum wage of \$1.25 and amendment of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. They should begin the job of building a Labor Party.

In the final analysis, socialism alone can utilize the progress of science for the welfare of man. For only under socialism will the production of goods depend solely on the needs of the people. Any economic system that must investigate and debate the "curse or blessing" effect of higher productivity shows by this fact alone its bankruptcy.

Next Week

What's Happening To Ford Empire?

By Sam Marcy

Analysis of Election Returns

By Farrell Dobbs

Labor's Political Picket Line

AFL President George Meany, speaking at the opening of the new, ornate Teamster's Washington, D. C., headquarters, used the occasion to present his views on the political tasks of the merging AFL-CIO.

We were glad to note his implicit recognition that unions will have to solve their problems by political action. Meany says the "scene of battle is no longer the company plant or picket line. It has moved into the legislative halls of Congress and the state legislatures."

It would be more correct to say that the scene of battle has been extended to Congress. But the question is how and why the trade union struggle has become a political struggle — and how shall it be conducted?

Big Business chose the political battle ground and has managed to completely dominate the field. Neither the former Democratic administration, nor the present Democratic Congress, changed that. With fabulous profits coming in, the capitalists didn't want to provoke strikes by refusing a few concessions to the unions. They preferred to shift their offensive to politics where they are strong and labor has nothing.

The capitalists chose to reinforce their union-busting program with anti-labor legislation. The unions, as a result, have been confronted with a barrage of reactionary laws from the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor" law to the state's "Right-to-Scab" laws.

If, with a few tragic exceptions, the unions can't be broken on the picket line at this stage, the bosses, through their control of the government, can hog-tie the unions, tangle them up in litigation, demoralize and distract them with witch hunts, and get them ready for the future kill.

So how does Meany propose to meet the

enemy that is attacking on the political front? He tells us labor "will endorse liberal and progressive candidates from all parties." To show his rugged independence, he insists that labor will not subjugate itself to any political party. What nonsense!

Everyone knows that the CIO and AFL bureaucrats are thick as thieves with the Democratic machine. If some Democrats are too obviously anti-labor for even these lieutenants of the Democratic Party, that doesn't change Meany's basic strategy — to transform the great power of the U.S. labor movement into a vote-catching apparatus for the Democratic Party.

Witness the fact that the news reports of Meany's speech do not even mention civil rights. Yet this question, especially since the Till lynching, has been in the very forefront of American politics. Only a week before his speech, Democratic bigwigs decided to forego any action on civil rights or the Taft-Hartley law in order to maintain unity with the Dixiecrats. Meany didn't utter even a complaint about this.

Big Business opened its offensive against labor on the legislative front. Meany proposes to lead the battle — by remaining in the left flank of the enemy's ranks. Out of such "battles" labor will get nothing. Company unions never won victories for the workers on the picket line. Neither will capitalist politics stop the anti-labor offensive in legislation, let alone win some political benefits for the working class.

The picket line is extended to the political scene. Then let's keep our ranks straight. Labor can form its own party and rally the small farmers, the oppressed minorities — the majority of the people — behind a program that will benefit the majority instead of the Big Business profiteers.

Send Federal Troops to Mississippi

The stubborn refusal of the federal government to intervene in the Till case has exposed its criminal and deliberate failure to enforce the United States Constitution.

The shameful whitewash of the lynchers of young Emmett Till, as every one well knows, was not an isolated miscarriage of justice. The exoneration of the killers was made possible by the power of a vast criminal conspiracy. In open defiance of the Constitution the rulers of Mississippi have been waging a ruthless campaign to deprive the Negro people of their legal rights.

It is the sworn responsibility of the federal authorities to smash that illegal conspiracy and to ensure the Negro people the rights guaranteed them by the law. The reign of terror against the Negro people has reached the stage where it is mandatory on Washington to intervene with its full powers to uphold the Constitution. Federal troops must be dispatched to Mississippi to protect the lives, property and civil rights of the million Negroes who are living under a tyrannical and bloody dictatorship of the white supremacists.

For too long the Mississippi rulers have openly defied the law. With arms in hand they have prevented the Negro people from going to the polls. They have mocked the Supreme Court's school-integration decision.

Two Supreme Court Decisions

The difference between the Supreme Court's action last week on segregation and its action on federal housing loyalty oaths are part of a pattern worth careful consideration.

Both court actions are certainly welcome. In outlawing the segregation of Negroes into "separate but equal" parks, golf clubs and beaches it gave an additional weapon to the Negro people in the fight to abolish Jim Crow.

By refusing to review the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, which had ruled against the practice of requiring "anti-subversive" oaths from federal housing occupants, the high court placed a new restraint on the witch hunt.

The different manner in which the Supreme Court enacted the two decisions is of more than legal significance.

On the segregation issue, the court took positive action, declaring the practice unconstitutional. However, on the loyalty oath question the court deliberately refrained from expressing its own opinion. Instead it upheld the action of the Wisconsin court through the device of refusing a review. This leaves the issue unsettled.

This kind of evasion of constitutional issues involved in the witch hunt has characterized the decision of a number of federal courts in recent months.

We believe the Courts have been com-

pelled to issue direct, positive decisions on Jim Crow because of the organized pressure of the Negro people coupled with world opinion. There has been no significant trend of the Negro people to interpret favorable court decisions as a token that they can relax their efforts. On the contrary, the Negro people, despite conservative leadership, have seized upon each legal decision and utilized it as a powerful weapon to push forward their struggle towards the final destruction of segregation. The very logic of this approach tends to force one favorable decision to breed another.

In contrast to this, the legal limitations on the witch hunt have not derived from mass pressure on the courts. American capitalism has been compelled to postpone World War III and consequently to ease the cold war tension. That is the primary reason why they have taken steps to curb the "excesses" of the witch hunt while at the same time taking extreme care not to eliminate its basic structure.

As the Negro people have done in the field of civil rights, so must the civil liberties movement seize upon each partial legal concession and use it as a weapon to smash away at the basic foundation of the witch hunt as a whole. Failure to do so can leave the door open to an ominous revitalization of McCarthyism.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917 — A Personal Record, by N. N. Sukhanov, Oxford University Press, 1955, 668 pp., \$10.

By Murry Weiss

The translator and editor of this book, Joel Carmichael, remarks in his preface that Sukhanov's memoirs "must be one of the most completely forgotten books in contemporary history."

This is not correct. Leon Trotsky in his masterpiece, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, has numerous citations from Sukhanov's book (originally in seven volumes) and discusses at length the psychological-political type Sukhanov represented.

A whole generation of students of the Russian revolution, educated by Trotsky, are thus familiar with Sukhanov's Notebook which was first published in the Soviet Union in 1922. The publication of this volume in English, containing roughly half of the original work, is a welcome addition to the body of literature on the greatest social upheaval in human history.

When Trotsky first quotes Sukhanov in his *History*, he explains, "We have referred to Sukhanov for a reason. In the first period the inspirer of the Executive Committee (of the Soviet) was... this very Sukhanov, a man, generally speaking, totally unsuited for revolutionary leadership. Semi-Narodnik, semi-Marxist, a conscientious observer rather than a statesman, a journalist rather than a revolutionist, a rationalizer rather than a journalist — he was capable of standing by a revolutionary conception

only up to the time when it was necessary to carry it into action."

In reading Sukhanov himself one almost gets the impression that he agreed with Trotsky's appraisal of him. From the beginning to the end of his recollections, which cover the period from February to October, 1917, (old style calendar) he reveals with the utmost frankness the traits that characterized the leadership of the revolution in its first stage.

Sukhanov was not officially in the Menshevik party until after the revolution of 1917 had begun. During the war he considered himself an internationalist, and thereby opposed to the majority of the Mensheviks (right wing socialists) who, like the Social Democrats in Europe betrayed their principles and supported their respective fatherlands as soon as war broke out.

The extent of Sukhanov's internationalism, however, can be gauged by the fact that the moment the revolution against Czarism broke out he was ready to install the Russian capitalists in power, knowing they would continue the imperialist war to the last drop of workers and peasants' blood.

The "Sukhanov Type"

Sukhanov is of great interest to us because the traits he expressed are by no means individual; he merely articulated them with greater intellectual force and frankness.

The "Sukhanov type" is a social type. It is representative of that social strata known as the petty bourgeoisie or middle class. More precisely it is that element which passes from the middle class into the ranks of the labor bureaucracy. The specific Russian type, before the October revolution, had many qualities which marked them off from the breed of labor bureaucrats in Western countries.

These differences, however, were not fundamental. The Russian Menshevik leaders were devoted revolutionary opponents of Czarism for a good part of

their lives. They possessed unusual talents and used them in the struggle to build a Russian labor movement under difficult and dangerous conditions. In this they were often indistinguishable from the Bolsheviks — for a long period of time.

But the unusual conditions of Czarist oppression and the underground revolutionary movement gave way to the democratic conditions ushered in by the February revolution. The true character of every political tendency of the working class began to stand out in bold relief against the background of the open arena of the class struggle in the course of a titanic revolution. It was during this period that the fatal flaw of Menshevism — discerned so accurately and early by Lenin — became manifest.

The Middle Class and Revolution

That flaw, as we have already mentioned, was the essentially middle-class character of their radicalism. Modern society is divided into two basic social classes, the industrial working class and the capitalists. The middle class, that numerous conglomerate of small farmers, shopkeepers, their educated sons and daughters, clerks, teachers, journalists, professionals, foremen and in general the functionaries and brain workers of capitalism, vacillate in their social consciousness between the workers and capitalists.

They are incapable of independent struggle against Big Business — and yet, with the decline of capitalism, they feel the brutal whip of the monopolists. Under the impact of social crisis they can become extremely radical. But as a class they can never rise above their intermediate position. Given firm leadership from the working class, sections of the petty bourgeoisie become powerful allies of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Without workers leadership they supply the mass support for fascism.

The radical youth of the middle class can break individually with their class and join wholeheartedly in the proletarian struggle. The founders and leaders of

the world socialist movement, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and others, had middle-class origin. But more often the radicalized middle class supplies hordes of careerists and self-appointed leaders who swarm into the workers organizations, particularly when they are in formation, grab posts, fill the committees, and talk everybody down.

Such was the case in the early Soviet organization of the February revolution. The radical petty bourgeois type came into the Soviets in droves and "joined" the revolution which had been made in the streets by the Bolshevik-trained factory workers of the Vyborg district of Petrograd.

The Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties became the pole of attraction for this strata. These parties also recruited the mass of uneducated soldiers, (peasants in uniform) and the just-awakened stratas of the working class. Before Bolshevism had its turn, the masses had to pass through a bitter experience with these parties.

In this way a man like Sukhanov was suddenly lifted to prominence and found himself playing a key part in the political machinations between the Soviet leaders and the liberal capitalists — hammering out, as he was fond of saying, "high policy."

While Workers Fought on Streets

While the Petrograd workers were conquering Czarism by winning over the soldiers during five days of huge street demonstrations, Sukhanov and his friends were at a loss. In his book, recollecting those days, Sukhanov says, "My dejection at being in the miserable position of an observer of great events reached its lowest depths."

But Sukhanov came to life the moment the frightened bourgeoisie emerged from hiding, and the leaders of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties began to "take initiative," appointing themselves to the top committees of the Soviets while the revolutionary fighting was still in process.

He found his place as a "cog in these events" by running back and forth between the two wings of the Tauride Palace where the liberal capitalists and Soviet Executive Committees met.

Sukhanov recounts one of the most self-revealing episodes of this period: During the first days of the revolution the capitalist liberals were busy dispatching

Three Revolutionary Leaders



Three of the Bolshevik leaders, Trotsky (left) Lenin (center) and Kamenev are discussed at length in Sukhanov's book (reviewed on this page). Lenin and Trotsky led the revolution to workers' power in October, 1917.

soldiers, Sukhanov is depressed, at a loss, frightened and confused. He is fearful of the "lower depths." He has no confidence in himself. Only when the leaders of the capitalist class decide to yield to his entreaties and take the power — away from the workers and soldiers — does this "socialist" feel joy and peace "in all his being."

It isn't that Sukhanov is unintelligent. In his own way he understands the nature of this Russian capitalist class to whom he was handing the power in the name of the self-appointed Soviet leaders. He writes, "Our bourgeoisie, unlike others, betrayed the people not the day after the overturn but even before the overturn took place; it hadn't started a revolution with the intention of turning against the people at an opportune moment, but had been dragged by the hair [by the Sukhanovs!] into the movement when

the people's revolution had already developed to its full extent. This bourgeoisie of ours left no room for doubt as to its goals."

Knowing this, Sukhanov still breathed his sigh of relief when the capitalists announced they would take power. Everything was now in order, he felt. The ship of revolution had "acquired stability and obedience" — now that the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie had taken the helm.

All of the theoretical arguments of the Russian Mensheviks to support this kind of treachery boiled down to one central idea: the workers were incapable of taking power and if they did they wouldn't be able to hold it. This incapacity of the working class, they ascribed to Russia's backwardness, the immaturity of a proletariat in a country that was just emerging from medievalism and embarking on a capitalist

path of development. The events of the revolution from February to October completely refuted this schema, just as Trotsky had theoretically refuted it as early as 1904.

For those who may think that a study of Sukhanov's book is of no interest to American workers, we offer this interesting fact. The American labor bureaucrats, like the Russian Mensheviks, are also convinced that the workers can never and should never become the political power in this country. They don't even believe the workers should form their own independent political party. Like the Sukhanovs of 35 years ago, they see themselves as a go-between, enlightened representatives of the workers, who, if only the rank and file don't kick over the traces, can reason with, and even manipulate, the more responsible and intelligent American capitalists.

Thus Reuther, for example, thinks he has annulled the law of the class struggle and replaced it with his skill as a clever negotiator. He firmly believes that if the workers leave everything to him and his machine he will teach the capitalists how to give concessions — in their own interests of course.

Sukhanov's personal record is, in a way, an advanced textbook on the psychology and social philosophy of our own labor bureaucracy. Since the inevitable radicalization of the American working class will, at its very first upsurge, come into collision with this bureaucracy, we should learn all we can, from every source, about the species.

It is one of the ironies of history that a man like Sukhanov, by unwittingly giving us a deeper insight into the labor bureaucrat as a social type, will help educate the revolutionary cadres of this generation. For this, at least, we should be grateful to him.

[First of series of review articles. Watch for next installment: Can the Working Class Take State Power?]

... Mid-East

(Continued from page 1)

State Department at \$100 million.

In addition, according to Joseph C. Harsch, writing in the Nov. 5 Christian Science Monitor, conclusion is imminent of an agreement whereby the Soviet government would build a \$600 million dam on the Nile River to provide electric power and irrigation for Egypt.

These developments have caused Walter Lippmann, one of the most astute of Wall Street journalists, to wail: "After all that has been done to 'contain' the Soviet Union by a series of pacts set up on its southern flank [the latest includes England, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan], the Soviet Union has jumped right over the whole containing structure and has landed behind it... at the strategic center of the Mediterranean and the Middle East." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 5.) And he calls for an "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. policy in the Middle East and a big program of financial aid to Egypt and other Arab regimes.

Lippmann's chagrin does not mean that imperialism is on the way out in the Middle East. Neither the Kremlin bureaucrats nor the Egyptian rulers want to oust imperialism. They want only to deal with it on more favorable terms. The Stalinists seek to break up the military alliances against them and possibly gain access to Middle Eastern oil. The Egyptian army caste wants more power in the Middle East and concessions made to the Egyptian capitalist class.

However, the crisis of the present imperialist pattern of rule in the Middle East promises to bring the Arab workers and peasants into the struggle. These masses under revolutionary leadership can end imperialist rule in the region forever.

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World Events

MARGARET'S DECISION not to marry Group Capt. Peter Townsend "has strengthened the position of the monarchy," according to Benjamin Welles, reporting from England in the Nov. 6 N.Y. Times. Whether or not this is really so, it was the intention of the lords of British imperialism to win prestige for the crown by Margaret's exhibition of "sacrifice to duty." The Times of London — an extremely conservative newspaper — expressed "gratitude to the princess for taking the 'selfless royal way,'" and the Roman Catholic Universe cited her decision as one "in the highest traditions of the monarchy." The monarchy is a symbol of British imperialism and could in a period of social crisis become a rallying point for reaction. Genuine socialists in England favor the abolition of the monarchy.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION has set the date for its 20th Congress on Feb. 14, 1956, according to a recent issue of Pravda. The agenda was adopted last July and will consist of (1) Report of the Central Committee, with Khrushchev as reporter; (2) Report of the Central Revision Commission of the CPSU (a newly organized commission), with P. G. Moskatov — a new power in the Stalinist hierarchy and chairman of the commission — as reporter; (3) "Directives of the 20th Congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan," with Bulganin as reporter; and (4) Election of central bodies of the party. The 19th Congress was held in October, 1952, a few months before Stalin died.

OVER ONE MILLION RUHR metal workers in West Germany may go on strike this month in an effort to win higher wages. The Union of Metal Workers in North Rhine-Westphalia ordered a strike ballot following breakdown of negotiations. Workers want raises to make up for loss in real wages through sharply rising prices.

THE LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY, Ceylonese Section of the Fourth International and largest working class party in the country, is waging a militant campaign for the adoption of Sinhalese and Tamil as two official languages of Ceylon. About two-thirds of the population speak Sinhalese and the rest Tamil. In 1938, the LSSP became the first party to demand that government business be conducted in the native tongue of the people instead of in English. The capitalist UNP and the Stalinists now say they favor this program, but want to make only Sinhalese the official language. This, says the LSSP,

discriminates against the Tamil population whereas a bi-lingual state will help forge unity in the struggle against imperialism.

THAT THE LONARDI REGIME faces a serious crisis in its dealings with organized labor is made clear by the Nov. 5 Business Week. Lonardi is seeking to impose an "austerity" program on the nation. His advisor is Raul Prebisch, Argentine economist who was fired by Peron. Prebisch's recommendation is to reverse the Peronist program — which called for subsidies to Argentine-owned industry — by giving first priority to agriculture in rebuilding the economy and inducing foreign capital to make the investments the country needs. The pro-agriculture program — favoring the big landowners — confronts the working class with new inflation. The General Confederation of Labor charged adoption of the Prebisch program violates Lonardi's promise not to undermine the power of organized labor.

ARGENTINE WORKERS went on strike last week after leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) canceled a general strike call. In the industrial city of Avellaneda, near Buenos Aires, almost all meat-packing, tire, match and glass factories were closed by 100% "absenteeism" according to observers. "Absenteeism" was estimated at 65% throughout the country. The Lonardi Government took over the C.G.T.'s papers, La Prensa and El Lider, in order to prevent any mention of the strikes. Lonardi, himself, took over negotiations with the leader of the C.G.T., whose membership numbers six million.

IN JAPAN, Left and Right Wing Socialists joined to form a reunited Socialist Party. A split occurred in 1951 between the two groups over the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty. The Left-Wing opposed signing of the treaty by the Japanese government and also opposed rearming Japan. The Right-wing socialists voted for the treaty, although they opposed continued stationing of U.S. troops in Japan. The united party now holds the largest number of members in the Diet (Parliament), with the Left-wing having a majority of the Socialist representatives.

The American Civil Liberties Union monthly newsletter reports: "There is now at least one desegregated gambling establishment in Las Vegas where a Negro can lose his money as quickly and comfortably as any white man."

The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

The Work of Madmen?

The daily press brings news of more violent deaths of Negroes in the country where King Jim Crow reigns openly and unashamedly.

In Heathsville, Virginia, 23-year-old Howard Bromley was cold-bloodedly shot to death by one of the town's leading citizens. His "crime," according to the Sheriff, was being too "familiar" with the white man.

About the same time a Negro lad of 12, reported missing by his family, was found a week later — a corpse on the private driveway of a plantation in Mississippi. The case was "closed" by the Sheriff there with the verdict of death by a "hit and run driver." The mother charges that her son was murdered. The family says the lad was accused of being "too friendly" with a white girl.

There is nothing new in these latest cases of terror following the Till case. This has been going on for some time and the only thing that is new is the fact that reports are breaking into the press and receiving wider attention. There are a number of reasons for this, but immediately it is because Southern Negroes are refusing to keep quiet and accept these acts of terror. In the Virginia murder over 100 of the murdered man's neighbors gathered in an angry crowd before the county courthouse. This made news.

In Mississippi the protests of the family and the intervention of the Mississippi

NAACP brought this case to light.

Are these murders the actions of demented individuals? Many liberals in the North in their shock and revulsion at the violence of Jim Crow would have us believe that is the case.

Yet that simple and easy explanation hides and distorts what is actually taking place.

The murderers turn out to be leading and respectable citizens of their towns. They are the solid-citizen type who have a stake in the economic structure of the South. And they, as well as their neighbors, are actually outraged at the wide attention and indignation these crimes arouse not only in the North but over the entire world.

Violence, including the murder of Negroes, is part of the pattern of racial segregation. As this segregation is threatened by legal victories of the Negro people in the high courts, the white supremacists of the South seek to frustrate these gains by the weapons of their system.

No, it is not madmen or depraved goons who do the killing down South. It is the cold-blooded supporters of Jim Crow segregation from which the open-shop Southern economy gains so much. They kill with the simple slogan of Mathew County, Georgia, whites on their lips: "The bottom rail ain't never gonna be the top rail."

Notes from the News

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN is described by the New York Times analyst, reviewing 1956 presidential possibilities, as a "scion of one of America's sixty top families." The designation comes from the famous book by Ferdinand Lundberg which says "The United States is owned and dominated today by a hierarchy of its sixty richest families . . . the living center of the modern oligarchy which dominates the United States. . . It is the government of money in a dollar democracy."

VOLUME AUTO SALES are forcing drastic changes in retail sales practices, writes Joseph Loftus in the New York Times. The vicious battle by the auto giants for supremacy has led to the emergence of the high volume auto "supermarket." Old type dealers find they cannot charge their usual markups, and are protesting to the National Automobile Dealers Association. Many dealers who cannot maintain the present pace will be forced out. Manufacturers' sales managers, out to beat all previous records, are bearing down hard on dealers, and are not concerned if some get hurt. General Motors, for example, has offered to buy back any cars the dealers considered excessive but an NADA official noted "we have yet to find a dealer who would dare to do it."

VETERANS BUYING HOMES are being gouged by loan sharks on government guaranteed housing loans, Rep. Patman of Texas has charged. The practice of exacting "flagrant mortgage discounts" adds from \$600 to \$1,000 to the cost of a \$12,000 house. The racket works this way: Lenders buy the government guaranteed loan for less than its face amount. Interest rates are set up to nine percent even though Veterans Administration loans are not supposed to exceed four and one half percent.

AUTO MECHANICS AND SERVICERS, members of Local 259 CIO United Auto Workers are out on strike against new car dealers in New York City. Their contract expired last July 1 and they have not been able to negotiate a new one. Workers protest that while the big corporations are squeezing the dealers, that is no reason for the dealers to squeeze them. They are striking for a base rate increase of from \$82 to \$95 for regular mechanics and a proportionate increase in piece rates for men on that system, two more paid holidays a year, three weeks vacation after seven years, and a hospital and welfare plan.

CHEMICAL AND GERM WARFARE have a proper place in military planning, a committee to recommend measures to improve the effectiveness of the Army Chemical Corp reported. "Recognition must be given to these weapons as having unique potential in warfare without associated destruction of facilities and the attendant problems of rehabilitation," the committee said. Army Secretary Brucker on Nov. 6 approved "implementation" of the report.

LIE DETECTOR TESTS for the Paterson, N. J. Police force were protested by the American Civil Liberties Union. Police Chief Rutter claimed that he had asked the men to take the test "voluntarily" to learn who stole a file cabinet from the police headquarters.

STEEL WORKERS VOTES for vice president of the CIO Steelworkers Union are now being tallied by locals all over the country. First returns and unofficial estimates show that President McDonald's man Howard Hague is winning by a 2 1/2 to 1 margin. Joseph Molony who opposed Hague was the first opposition candidate to run against the top leadership of the Steelworkers Union.

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How the Boss Press Functions in a Strike

By Henry Gitano

The Big Business press had a field day in falsifying labor news during the last few months while reporting the brutal shooting of peaceful pickets by company-armed scabs at the Perfect Circle foundry in New Castle, Indiana, Oct. 5. The newspaper "coverage" of this event and its aftermath should be compiled in a book with the title: How the Free Press operates.

"A shouting, shooting mob of 5,000 sympathy demonstrators marched on the struck Perfect Circle Corp. foundry today and eight persons, including a woman, were shot." Thus read the Associated Press story published by the New York World Telegram, October 5. The AP services 1,000 American dailies reaching most newspaper readers.

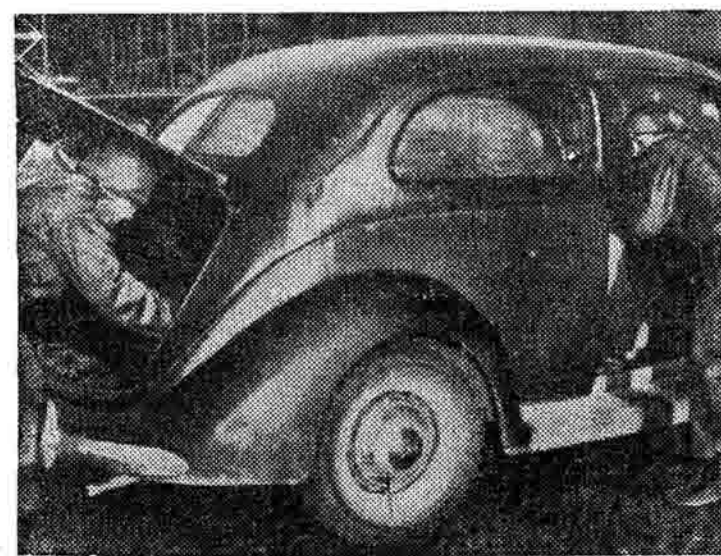
The Indianapolis News printed a special dispatch, saying: "Eight persons were shot today in a pitched battle between city police and an estimated 5,000 sympathy demonstrators outside the strike-plagued Perfect Circle plant." In bold face, it printed a scoop: "State police reported here a man was killed in today's fracas around the Perfect Circle Corp. foundry in New Castle."

The Baltimore Evening Sun had an AP story, under an eight column streamer: "5,000 Battle Police In Indiana Strike; 8 Shot." The story elaborated that "five demonstrators were wounded as city police fired from inside the plant."

DYNAMITE THREAT

An eight column head in the Indianapolis Times, said: "5 or 6 Reported Shot in Burst of New Castle Strike Violence," with the sensational sub-head: "Threat to Dynamite Plant Told." The Times reporter dramatized: "Five or six" persons were reported shot today in a wild gun battle and huge demonstration at the Perfect Circle foundry here. Demonstrators were reported threatening to dynamite the plant unless non-strikers left the foundry within an hour."

National Guard Still There



National Guard troops (above) check car carrying scabs into strikebound New Castle, Ind., plant after martial law was declared following the shooting of pickets by armed scabs. State troopers were brought in ostensibly to end violence but they reopened plant and prevented picketing. Although martial law was lifted Oct. 20 guardsmen still remain in New Castle to help break strike of UAW-CIO workers.

New Castle's Courier Times, in type reserved for the Second Coming of the Saviour, heralded: "6 Shot As Mob Storms P.C." The local story said: "An attempt by strikers of the Perfect Circle Co. aided by more than 2,000 CIO workers from several states to storm the gates of the plant shortly after 10 A.M. resulted in the most serious riot in the history of the city."

Thus a reader of the Oct. 5 news stories would picture a wild mob of 5,000 shooting, shouting strikers in pitched battle with cops, ready to dynamite the Perfect Circle foundry.

The falsifications are glaring. Actually the shooting originated not with the strikers, but with scabs inside the plant, as admitted by Clyde Hoffman, Perfect Circle attorney. No shots were exchanged between police and demonstrators. Union and

KEY SENTENCE DISAPPEARS

The next AP version somewhat, landed with, "Shooting

broke out as the demonstrators marched on about 100 non-strikers inside the plant. The non-strikers apparently opened fire first." This was published in the Washington Post, but the crucial last sentence, vanished in AP stories carried in other papers. Subsequent reports that the firing originated inside the plant, were acknowledged with the explanation that the scabs were afraid they were going to be slaughtered, even though they were armed and most of the city cops were within the fortress-like foundry — and the pickets were unarmed.

The commercial press took its cue from Clyde Hoffman, PC attorney, who arrogantly said: "What do you expect those people to do. Lie down and be slaughtered? They thought they were protecting their lives. We were attacked, we were besieged." The Chicago Tribune remained intransigent, facts to the contrary notwithstanding, its eight column streamer proclaimed, "Troops Move in CIO Riot," "5,000 Goons Storm Plant; Eight Shot in Gun Battle." The Tribune writer with an adequate knowledge of which side his bread was buttered on, declared in his lead, "At least eight persons suffered gunshot wounds when 5,000 CIO strikers and sympathizers stormed the struck Perfect Circle Corp. foundry." The Tribune insisted that "there was disagreement as to which side fired first."

The Washington Star in an indignant editorial on "Mob Rule," talked of "mobsters" among the auto workers and demanded to know where was Indiana's law and order. The New York Times saw fit to print a page-one story on Oct. 6 about 5,000 rock throwing demonstrators, then switched to the back page the next two days when some hard facts broke through the surface.

During the Thirties, the bosses used the Mohawk Valley Formula to smash strikes. According to National Labor Relations Board charges, Remington Rand, original crusader for this union-

smashing formula did the following: Organized a large "voluntary" police force to maintain "law and order." Emphasized the violence of pickets wherever possible. Organized a back-to-work movement, using extensive advertising on a "right to work" theme. Staged a dramatic reopening of struck plants. Thereafter, intensified the show of police force. Finally, with plants operating at near-capacity with newly hired workers, it suddenly stopped all publicity. The 1955 version of the Mohawk Valley Formula is the Perfect Circle Formula.

SCABS VOTE

Perfect Circle Corp. after arming scabs and provoking violence in order to enlist the National Guard's aid to break the strike, is now using the Taft-Hartley law in its attempt to smash the union. Under the Taft-Hartley law decertification elections are being held in which scabs vote, while strikers are barred.

The press did its part in the interest of the open-shop crusade by contriving headlines about imaginary violence of the auto workers and their sympathizers, thereby helping enlist the National Guard for strike-breaking. It gave widespread publicity to the declaration of martial law for the protection and encouragement of scabs. Now, with production resumed under the shadow of National Guard bayonets, it is doing Perfect Circle's dirty work by clamping a powerful conspiracy of silence on the corporation's use of Washington's legal heavy artillery — the Taft-Hartley law.

While vigorously editorializing on the glories of freedom of the press, the capitalist newspapers suppress and pervert facts, with a touching concern for justifying the corporation, while smearing labor. The treatment by the capitalist press of the Perfect Circle strike, its crimes of commission and omission, are part of an exhibit, exposing its fraudulent claim of impartiality.

Workers' Demands Championed By Barbara and James in S. F.

By Joan Jenkins

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 30 — Frank Barbara and Frances James have been conducting a working man's campaign in the San Francisco municipal election. Running for mayor and supervisor respectively, they have carried their campaign into the union halls and the organizations of minority groups.

One of the most impressive things about accompanying the candidates to the unions is the large number of workers who remember them from past campaigns; "You've been here three or four times before — I remember you" or "It's about time we got a Socialist in there — I voted for you last time."

Barbara and Frances James have spoken to the Carpenters, Ironworkers, Laborers, Garment Cutters, Plasterers, NAACP, Culinary and Shipscalers unions, Negro churches, etc.

Among the most interesting of the meetings, that they attended were the CIO Communications Workers who were on strike against the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. at the time, and the CIO Carmen's Union. The members of the Carmen's Union had fought to get the 65,000 signatures necessary for an initiative proposal on the ballot which will give them a 35-hour week and better working conditions.

Several hundred were present and excited about their proposition and taking pictures with Reilly, the Democratic machine man whom they had endorsed and whom the Stalinists were throwing their weight behind. Frank Barbara opened with an introduction of himself and Frances James (who was unable to attend that meeting) as working-class candidates running on a working-class program and endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. He struck at the supposedly non-biased character of the election and showed that every candidate running belonged to a party and that these parties did not represent "all" the people. He showed that every candidate but himself and Mrs. James were lawyers, businessmen or holders of government positions.

ANTI-LABOR BILLS

"The illusion of the Democrats being friends of labor is easily exposed if we consider only a few points," he said. "Union labor is

13,000,000 strong and yet increasingly more anti-labor legislation is being passed — Taft-Hartley, Smith Gage Act, Humphrey-Butler Acts — and in most cases passed with a majority of Democratic votes. Out of 18 states that passed right to work laws, which we call right-to-work laws, 14 are Democratic controlled." On his support of proposition "N" he stated that he not only supported it, but had been calling for a 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay for years. At this statement, there was tumultuous applause.

Mr. Barbara pointed out that those who spoke for FEPC at the NAACP meeting have been silent everywhere else . . . especially at the union meetings. He showed that the cause of discrimination was a greater profit through division of the working class. (There was much applause at this point although only about one-fifth of those present were Negroes.) But the movement of history itself was forcing labor to unite to find a common solution to its problems.

His talk ended on the need for a change beginning with the intervention into politics of the working class with a Labor Party — not this "friends of labor" line that has resulted in the political hogtying of labor.

Barbara was listened to attentively and his speech was interrupted five times with applause.

TELEPHONE STRIKERS

During her speech to the Communications Workers, Frances James pointed out that a Workers and Farmers Government would encourage newspapers that supported the workers in their news slants, editorials, political line, etc. They would have a police force that supported the strikers and arrested the scabs instead of arresting the strikers.

Three young women strikers had been arrested that very morning (all under 20 years old) for using abusive language "conducive to inciting riot or violence" — they called a scab a scab. One of them was also arrested for shouting. She said the cop told her to stop, so she stopped, blocking the pickets who were walking behind her and also blocking the way of a scab.

Mrs. James presented the same hard-hitting line that has been carried through the whole election — a break with the boss parties, an independent Labor Party, a 30-hour week for 40-hours' pay, city-wide and national FEPC, low cost housing, and child-care centers for working mothers.

A final election rally was held on Oct. 29. Chairman Paul Calhoun showed the relation between the election campaign and the party activity and education of the members. He quoted from a recent pamphlet, published by the revolutionary socialist Lanka Samasama Party of Ceylon, which stated that winning the municipal elections was not possible simply through attempting to ride in on a wave of changed popular opinion, but due to consistent and conscious effort in the labor movement.

Frances James spoke on what the SWP was attempting to achieve through an election campaign in relation to the workers, the local branch's political education and the party as a whole. Frank Barbara spoke on the strategic goals of the Socialist Workers Party and how things would change under a socialist government.

A number of friends attended the rally which was one of our most successful to date.

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JIM CROW FIRE CHIEF OFFERS RESIGNATION

By Thelma Clyde

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 3 — In the face of mounting pressure, arrogant and cunning Fire Chief John H. Alderson this week made a surprise move in his determined and well organized fight to maintain segregation in the Los Angeles Fire Department. He tearfully announced to a press conference on Monday his intention to retire not later than Jan. 1, 1956, complaining, "it is very apparent to me that I have lost the confidence of the Board of Fire Commissioners."

Alderson's press conference followed on the heels of an inquiry into charges of abuse and harassment made by three of six "integrated" firemen recently transferred to Engine Co. 30 from the two Jim Crow stations 14 and 30. Firemen Carl B. Cotterell, Frank J. Harrison and Ernest Roberts had complained through channels that they were subjected to abusive and obscene language over the station's public address system, that their sheets and pillowcases were soiled with filth and that they were denied the use of facilities and comforts paid for out of the station kitty.

This persecution is reminiscent of the experiences of Firemen James Chichester and Reynaldo Lopez on their transfer to Engine Co. 46 earlier this year. The campaign against Chichester and Lopez can be considered to have been successful, since Engine Co. 46 is now again an all-white station. Chichester, after four days, was transferred back to 14; Lopez, sticking it out for three months without buckling, was transferred to Station 78 in Cold Water Canyon, which is manned entirely by firemen abruptly transferred there for their refusal to support Alderson's Jim Crow policy.

Two of the three white firemen friendly to Lopez were transferred out of Station 46 and the third, Keith Kenworthy, then Acting Chief, was suspended for six months for "insubordination" by the Board of Rights. Evidence presented in Kenworthy's stormy hearing confirmed suspicions that the anti-Negro campaign was organized by Fire Department brass at Alderson's instigation.

NAACP DEMAND

Apparently, everyone except the Fire Commissioners recognize the fact that as long as Alderson is chief, segregation in

the Los Angeles Fire Department will continue. The demand of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and several local unions that Alderson be removed has been persistently ignored by the Board of Fire Commissioners, which is appointed by the Mayor and approved by the City Council.

As late as Nov. 1, Commission President G. William Shea stated that he and two other commissioners had rejected Alderson's offer to retire at a meeting the day before. "All commissioners present at that meeting told the chief, Shea said, 'not once but several times that they did not want him to retire under the existing circumstances.' Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the commissioners 'believed the problem of integration could still be most quickly and effectively solved by the chief engineer himself.'"

Two days later, Nov. 3, the "chief himself" threatened to withdraw his unofficial announcement. "If politics is injected into the selection of my successor I will not retire," he declared. NAACP attorneys, suspecting a crafty maneuver, had warned on Nov. 1, "The effect of Chief Alderson's announcement remains to be seen. This may be a grandstand play."

It would indeed be the height of folly to relax the pressure on city officials for Alderson's removal. The reluctant steps toward integration that have been taken so far have resulted only from persistent demands of the NAACP supported by other sections of the community.

Chicago Meeting

For a Fighting Negro And Labor Alliance to Smash Jim Crow Speaker: Bert Deck Fri., Nov. 18, 8 P. M. Socialist Workers Party 777 W. Adams St.

Questions Discussion A social evening with fellow Contribution 35c.