

U.S. Court Will Hear Kutcher's Case on Feb. 10

By Herman Chauka

FEB. 9 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran who has waged a seven-year fight against government persecution, will appear tomorrow morning in the United States Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C., to argue for restoration of the Veterans Administration job from which he was fired in 1948 because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

A brief filed with the court by his attorney, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., charges that Kutcher "is the victim of a 20th century inquisi-

tion into his social, economic and political beliefs." His discharge, the brief declares, "is a patent infringement of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment and its restrictive effects go far beyond this particular employee."

"First of all it is a restraint on Socialist Workers Party membership specifically, and thus on participation in a medium for the expression of views not only on economic change but on a variety of current issues. . . The instant discharge thus casts a broad censorship over minority and non-conformist political and economic views and thereby interferes with this most important aspect of freedom of expression guaranteed by the First Amendment."

The brief argues four main legal points: (1) A charge so general as "association with . . . groups designated by the Attorney General as subversive in nature," violates the "detailed notice and fair hearing" requirement of the executive order under which he was fired. (2) The same requirements were violated when his discharge was upheld on the basis of acts and beliefs not included in the statement of charges against him. (3) Failure to give him a hearing on the actual nature of the SWP and the listing of the SWP as "subversive" without notice or hearing violates the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment. (4) To fire a man solely on the basis of speeches, opinions and associations is in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Kutcher will arrive in Washington tomorrow morning.

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JAMES KUTCHER

Friday -- Feb. 17 -- 8 p.m.

RALLY TO RESTORE KUTCHER'S JOB!

SPEAKERS:

JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editor, N. Y. Post

MORRIS IUSHEWITZ
Sec. Treas. Greater New York CIO Council

KENNETH M. BIRKHEAD
National Executive Director of AVC

JAMES KUTCHER

Community Church

35th Street betw. Park & Madison

Auspices:

KUTCHER CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Eisenhower, Eden Hit Soviet Aid to Colonies

By C. R. Hubbard

The statement issued by Eisenhower and Eden, Feb. 1, was solemnly given a title: "The Declaration of Washington." It was designed to counteract the gains made by the Soviet Union as a result of its offers of economic aid to the colonial world. It feebly attempts to remove the stigma of colonialism from Western capitalism and attach it instead to the Soviet Union.

"During the past ten and more years, 600 million men and women in nearly a score of lands have, with our support and assistance, attained nationhood," declared Eisenhower and Eden. While on the other hand, "millions of people of different blood (?), religion and traditions have been forcibly incorporated within the Soviet Union, and many millions more have in fact, although not always in form, been absorbed into the Soviet Communist bloc."

The two heads of government may imagine they have the power to declare night is day and day is night — and the world will believe them. But newspaper correspondents who lack the authority of high office have to try, at least, to match up imperialist propaganda with something that resembles facts. Thomas J. Hamilton in the Feb. 5, N. Y. Times, trying to put the argument a little more persuasively, pointed out that the U. S. campaign to win support from the Asia-African bloc "has not made much progress because the Asian neutral countries remember Western colonial rule only too well, but have not had

the experience of Communist rule."

TEN-YEAR EXPERIENCE

Hamilton's argument takes into account the centuries of experience the colonial world had with the West. But it ignores the fact that China, denounced by the imperialists as the prime example of "Communist rule," is being closely watched by the colonial world. This experience doesn't brighten the colonial people at all. They see liberation from ancient feudal oppression, liberation from foreign capital domination and, despite bureaucratic deformations, a colossal effort to build and modernize the productive forces of the country.

On the other hand the last ten years of experience with the imperialist powers has included: A five-year war to foil the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship on the backs of the Chinese people by strength of U. S. arms. A bloody intervention in the Korean Civil War in the attempt to bring that country under the puppet dictator, Syngman Rhee. An attempt to save Indo-China for French imperialist exploitation with U. S. arms and equipment.

Does the fact that France did not join in the Declaration of Washington remove the embargo?

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Negro Coed Defies Alabama Lynchers and Racist Officials

Civil Rights Lobby Set for March 4-6

By Harry Ring

FEB. 7 — More than 2,000 delegates, representing 50 major labor, minority, fraternal and church organizations will convene in Washington, March 4-6, to lobby for Congressional enactment of civil rights legislation.

The delegation will press for adoption of an effective federal FEPC, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation, a ban on federal funds to Jim Crow institutions and provisions to eliminate congressional filibusters.

Among the participating organizations are the AFL-CIO, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the auto, steel, rubber, garment, sleeping car porters, electrical, transport and textile workers unions. Also the American Civil Liberties Union, the Jewish Labor Committee, Americans for Democratic Action and the American Veterans Committee.

NOT A MASS RALLY

The organizers of the rally are not aiming for an all-out rally in Washington. In his announcement of the lobby, Feb. 2, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP and chairman of the sponsoring Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, declared, "The influence of the assembly on Congress will depend less upon the number of individual delegates in attendance than upon the number of state and Congressional districts represented."

Mr. Wilkins said, "It is essential that Congress enact legislation this session to safeguard the civil rights of American citizens. . . That is certainly the case. But can the scheduled assembly, as presently constituted, compel an unwilling Congress to do so?"

The impressive number of important organizations supporting the lobby is a reflection of the fact that the movement of the counter-movement of the white supremacists to preserve Jim Crow, has become one of the "irrepressible conflicts" of our time. But routine, limited, lobbying actions will not contribute in any substantial way to the resolution of what has developed into a decisive struggle between two powerful contending forces.

The Negro struggle for real freedom has mounted steadily since the Second World War. Its daily increasing effectiveness was reflected in the Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools. That ruling in turn gave renewed impetus to the fight.

At the same time the Southern ruling class, seeing their whole Jim Crow system of super-exploitation at stake, has launched

(Continued on page 4)



The Negro community of Montgomery, Ala. is conducting a 100% solid boycott of the bus line over its Jim Crow policies. The boycott was voted, Dec. 5, at a mass meeting called to protest the firing of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat on orders of the driver. Bus company's total business has gone down 75%. The Negro community has organized its own volunteer transport system. The homes of two boycott leaders have been bombed.

IUE Leaders Retreat On Time-Study Issue

By Art Sharon

FEB. 8 — Leaders of the International Union of Electrical Workers today retreated on the crucial issue over which 55,000 Westinghouse workers have been fighting a bitter strike for 116 days. They agreed to a government mediation proposal to drop time study from the negotiations until other issues are settled and work resumed. At that time the issue will be discussed, and after 60 days a mediator will propose a settlement of the time study dispute. Westinghouse, however, will not be bound by his proposal.

It was the introduction of the time study, speed-up technique on a qualitatively new scale by Westinghouse which caused the initially unauthorized strikes starting in East Pittsburgh last August. Those strikes plus continuing rank and file pressure placed the speed-up issue high on the agenda of the present strike, second only to the defense of the union itself. Involved is an attempt by the company to clock, record, and control every motion by every worker in an entire factory system — an attempt to automate the workers along with the machines.

The mediators' proposal was calculated as a "face saver" for

the IUE leadership. It lays the basis for giving Westinghouse what it could not get through its all-out strike-breaking attack on the picket lines.

NO FULL AFL-CIO AID

Negotiations have been resumed on wages and length of contract. The company wants a five-year contract and proposes a general 22 1/2% wage increase to be spread over that period. The union is asking for 15c. immediately. No deadlock is expected on these issues. Meanwhile, the high brass of the AFL-CIO are meeting this week to discuss among other things what the newly merged labor movement will do to help the embattled strikers.

The AFL-CIO Executive Committee had not even gone into session when the official line was made public through a statement to the press. "Whatever else this strike demonstrates," a top official said, "it certainly should be an answer to those who felt we were creating an all-powerful economic monopoly when the AFL and CIO merged. When a big corporation wants to fight a union, the situation is just the same today as it was before the merger." (Feb. 5 New York Times.)

If the "situation is just the same today as it was before the merger," it is entirely the fault of these high officials who are more concerned with impressing employers with how "powerless" they are than with mobilizing the full force of the AFL-CIO to beat back Westinghouse's union-busting attacks.

The Westinghouse workers, however, have shown different stuff on the picket lines. They are meeting the modern "Mohaw Valley Formula" of police violence, "back to work" movements, court injunctions, and open federal aid to the company, and successfully defending their union. Valuable lessons are being learned in the process.

Many of these strikers are youngsters experiencing their first sharp battle with the boss. They now know that there is a class struggle and that they are right in the middle of it. They have seen the law and the newspapers line up with the company, and they are learning that the boss is an enemy. The rapid transformation of these workers into a militant and united fighting force is a demonstration of the development the whole working class of the country will take under similar conditions.

Stevenson Says, "Not To Upset Traditions And Habits" of South

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 8 — Atherine Lucy spent this week fighting lynch mobs and racist officials of the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa for her elementary right to study in a public school. While she was facing the racist mob almost alone Adlai Stevenson, the leader of the Democratic party, was making a speech in Los Angeles, Feb. 7, expressing the view that desegregation should "proceed gradually" so as "not to upset, overnight, traditions and habits older than the republic."

Stevenson, banner-bearer of the Democratic party and supported by the Negro and labor leaders, made it absolutely clear that if elected president, he would not use the power of his office to provide protection to the Negro people in the South who are in a life and death struggle with organized terrorists.

Asked by a minister at the Los Angeles meeting if Stevenson would use "the Army, Navy and FBI" to enforce the integration decision of the Supreme Court, the presidential aspirant replied no. Action of that type, Stevenson said, "brought on the Civil War."

COURAGE IN ALABAMA

Atherine Lucy applied for admission to the University of Alabama in 1952. Legal action was started when she was refused admittance. She finally won a Federal Court order prohibiting the school from barring her on racial grounds. She attended her first class on Friday, Feb. 3. Over the week-end the organizers of the mob violence — mysteriously unidentified, but undoubtedly the White Citizens Council elements who have replaced the KKK in the South — began to gather the forces for their lynch party. Atherine Lucy was not intimidated and defiantly returned to her classes on Monday, Feb. 6.

A howling, jeering pack of about 100 men were waiting on the campus for her. When they learned that their victim had eluded them, they took out their ugly rage on the automobile of the Dean of Women, Mrs. Sarah L. Healy, who had undertaken to escort Miss Lucy from one classroom to the other. Mrs. Healy's car windows were broken. Glass was shattered throughout the interior.

Later in the day the racist gang had grown into a lynch mob of about a thousand, throwing eggs, rocks and mud at all who got in their way. They chanted "Ho, ho, ho. Atherine must go." The bulk of the mob was distracted from its prey by an elderly Negro man who appeared on the scene as a decoy. The mob went after him and Atherine Lucy was able to escape from the school with her life.

On that same night, the Board of Trustees of the University met and decided unanimously that

Atherine Lucy was to be "excluded until further notice." This decision gave the lynchers what they wanted. It also gave the University officials what they wanted — for the University had sought to exclude Miss Lucy from the school for many years. The racist mob gave them the "excuse" to defy the Federal Court order.

Dr. Oliver Cromwell Carmichael, the University President, shaking with fear and trying to justify his hasty and object capitulation to the lynch pack, said that "twenty seconds difference on two occasions" might have meant actual "murder."

Hill Ferguson, head of the University's Board of Trustees, said, "There's no doubt that they would have lynched her if they could have gotten her."

Atherine Lucy answered the

(Continued on page 2)

\$16,579 Raised In Drive for Socialist Press

By Reba Aubrey
Campaign Manager

The Socialist Publication and Press Fund campaign to raise \$16,185 scored a rousing success. On Feb. 7 when the scoreboard was posted for the last time, the grand total was \$16,579. The campaign slogan — IN FULL AND ON TIME — was carried out the way it should be: on the nose and with a bit of an edge for safe margin.

Layoffs and strikes affected many of our supporters, but they got across the goal line just the same. This meant extra scrimping, but socialists know it's for something important.

We have to add that we made a 102% goal despite the prosperity, too. Prosperity might seem to help a campaign for funds, but experience shows it doesn't work that way. Prosper-

(Continued on page 2)

Auto Layoffs: 35,800 -- 6,000 Due in February

By William Bundy

FEB. 7 — Detroit auto workers suffered the season's biggest layoffs this week as Packard-Clipper production stopped completely, and all the city's Chrysler Corporation plants went on a four-day week. The Packard shutdown threw 5,500 workers out of their jobs for "about two weeks" according to the company. The short week for 63,450 Chrysler workers will continue indefinitely. An additional 1,500 workers were laid off at the Dodge plant. GM's Pontiac division worked four and a half days last week.

The nationwide total laid off in the auto industry since December now stands at 35,800 according to company reports. The score by corporation: Chrysler, 21,000; Studebaker-Packard, 5,500; Ford, 4,600; GM, 3,900; American Motors, 800.

HOW MANY MORE?

"Auto production is now running at an annual rate of 7.2 million units. By March the pace

is likely to slacken to 6.8 million yearly," says the Feb. 6 Wall Street Journal. The present figure, 20% less than last November's rate resulted in layoffs of 35,800. At that ratio, the March estimate will bring the layoffs up to 49,000. If the Journal's estimate is correct, at least another 6,000 auto workers will get the axe this month.

The company announcements tell only part of the story. Job shops and sub-contractors are cutting back heavily and a high rate of quits is swelling the number looking for jobs. Says one GM worker: "We were told that this plant would lay off 400 more workers this month, but almost that many have quit since the announcement so there probably won't be a layoff so soon. They quit because they knew they didn't have a chance of getting off the night shift now and because of the speed-up."

The elimination of overtime is another factor that does not show up in the figures. In addition

to the companies are getting more work per pay check as a result of the tighter job situation. Says a New Jersey GM assembly line worker: "I've got 13 years seniority, and I can't just quit this job, but I can't keep up the pace. I never filed a grievance before, but I filed one this week. I know they try to make it tough on you when you file one of these speed-up grievances, but I haven't any choice. I just can't keep up."

Another worker in the same plant says: "The company will have to give us some relief before we aren't able to do the work right, but they'll come out way ahead on the deal. We'll end up putting out almost as much as we did before the layoffs." More production per worker means that layoffs will be proportionately greater than the cuts in production.

In spite of the cuts in auto, Big Business spokesmen predict a "good year in 1956." Arguments in support of this are: (1) the general business boom

will be only slightly checked by the cuts in auto, (2) business and government will not allow the present "readjustment" to spiral downward, especially not in an election year.

On the first point, U. S. News and World Report, Jan. 27, admits, "As automobile companies cut back, effects fan out everywhere, touch businesses of all kinds. Already, auto firms are reducing orders for steel. Similar cuts are forecast for parts and accessories, for glass, copper, aluminum, nickel, lead, upholstery fabrics."

EFFECT ON STEEL

An example of these effects is in the steel industry. Steel has been in such short supply that back orders are piled up for months in advance, and the industry has been raising prices right and left. But the price of stainless steel, which is used in large quantity only by the auto industry, has begun to fall. Steel producers have been notified to ship from 10 to 20% less steel

to auto plants during April according to the Feb. 6 Wall Street Journal. A cut back in steel production is expected by mid-year.

On the second point: Any talk about government spending and credit policies eliminating the fundamental contradictions of capitalist economy is wishful thinking. It is true that the present symptoms appeared in 1949-50 and in 1953-54, and in each case the trend was reversed. The sickening downslides gave way to a new upward spiral. But this is no proof of the ability of capitalism to control itself. If that were the case, the slump would never get started. The truth is that neither Big Business nor its government experts know themselves what to expect, and do not agree on what is to be done.

The Korean war sparked the revival in 1950. A "peace time" war budget of over \$40 billion, three-and-a-half times the pre-Korean-War figure, plus the loosest credit in history seems

to have made the difference in 1955. But as big as the war budget is, the economy is faltering.

GM president Harlow H. Curtice said in the Jan. 21 Business Week, "I regret very much that the present restricted policy is in effect." He wants loose credit so auto sales can mount, but other financial interests are afraid of losing money if people default on credit payments. Here we have a conflict of profit interests. So far the tight money policy is being carried out and auto sales are slowing.

Whatever controls the government uses must assure the capitalists their profits. In this case, the Auto Barons are throwing workers into the street with nary a thought about their "right to work" because they find that they would now make less profit maintaining production than cutting it. In a capitalist economy when profits stop, the plants go down — danger to the economy or no danger to the economy.

Anti-Union Front Broken by Calif. Canning Strikers

By Roy Gale

Striking apple workers in Sebastopol, Calif., got their first real break in six months when part of the employers united front caved in on Jan. 28. The Sebastopol Co-Operative Cannery which produces about 30% of the applesauce in the area, agreed to the most important union demand — a union shop for all the workers.

The tentative agreement announced by Peter Andrade, director of the Western Cannery Council of Teamsters, and W. A. Overstreet, manager of the Co-Operative, calls for basic wages to start at \$1.15 for women and \$1.40 for men. The three-year contract also provides for a five cent wage increase each year.

This fairly substantial increase over the 90 cents an hour prevailing at the beginning of the strike is still below the starting rate of \$1.35 per hour paid by all other canneries in the state.

With this victory over Co-Operative Canning, the biggest in the area, it is probably only

a matter of time until the eleven others cave in. This is the first time that a union has been able to win a strike in the last stronghold of the open shop — Sebastopol.

ORGANIZER FLOGGED

During the Thirties the Sebastopol Employers Association brutally suppressed all attempts to organize the area. The bosses didn't give up easily this time. Physical terror was attempted when they kidnapped William Grami, a union organizer, tied him to a telephone pole and brutally flogged him with a bicycle chain. Economic pressure, labor board hearings, and court injunctions were all marshalled into battle by the employers to beat off organization of the workers. They all failed.

Though the union played down the workers' militancy, a consumers' boycott was organized to back the strike. "Educational picket lines" were set up in all parts of the state. The effectiveness of those picket lines began to show when most of the major retail chain stores took the struck brands off their shelves.

Labor Party Development Seen As Inevitable for United States

By Murry Weiss

To hear the American labor officials tell it — at every employers' gathering that will listen to them — the working class of this country is never going to break out of the two-capitalist-party system. David J. McDonald, United Steelworkers president, made the most recent pronouncement and forecast on this question. Speaking to the West Coast conference of the American Management Association, Jan. 25, he declared that the newly merged labor movement wants no third political party "now or ever."

McDonald may be right about "now," but he is dead wrong about "ever." And he had no right to speak for the future. Least of all for the political future of the American working class. McDonald and his tribe represent only the fleeting today of the American labor movement. Tomorrow will tell another, much different story.

BUREAUCRATS RULE NOW

McDonald is right about "now" in this sense. The labor bureaucrats have succeeded during the last 20 years in preventing the formation of an independent Labor Party. It must also be granted that they have succeeded in deepening their own association with the political machines of Big Business. In many parts of the country the labor bureaucracy is an integral, if strictly subordinate, part of the Democratic party set up. Finally, it must be recognized that in the present political situation the overwhelming majority of the working class in the U.S. is more strongly determined than ever before to vote the Democratic party into power.

How, then, can we say that a Labor Party is sure to come in the United States? If 20 years after the birth of the CIO the labor movement seems more attached than ever to capitalist politics, both at the official level and among the rank and file, on what grounds do we say that a class realignment in American politics is inevitable?

There are two reasons for our expectations: (1) The character of the American working class. (2) The position of American capitalism in the world today. The labor officials believe that the growing tendency of the unionized workers to vote as a cohesive class bloc in the elections is an unmistakable sign of the effectiveness of their political policy of class collaboration. In reality it is a sign of something quite different.

Prevented giving authentic expression to their political interests as a class by this policy, the workers have nevertheless sought to use their organized class power to achieve their political objectives — even within the framework of the official policy. This phenomenon is a manifestation of the profound



McDONALD

change that has taken place in the thinking of the organized workers in the direction of independent class politics.

Before the CIO was formed the industrial American working class did not exist as a political entity. The thin stratum of skilled, privileged workers in the AFL craft unions were firmly committed to the Gompers political policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies." The rest of the working class was, in its mass, the raw material for manipulation by the political machines of the bosses.

With the CIO the modern American working class was born. In the seething class battles of the Thirties a new consciousness and a new type of organization came to the fore. The early CIO could in no way be considered as merely a union. It was the incipient form of the mass political party of the working people in the U.S.

That's why the question of forming a Labor Party has stirred debate in the CIO from the moment of its formation to the present day when it has merged with the AFL. The objective reality of the class struggle in the U.S. poses the labor party question again and again. The bureaucracy, as we have said, has succeeded in preventing its organization, but it has not succeeded in fully damping up the growth of a new political consciousness in the American working class. While the workers undoubtedly support the Democrats there are already elements of class consciousness implicit in the nature and manner of this support.

We must carefully distinguish between the attachment of the labor bureaucracy to the Democratic party and the determination of the workers to oust what they consider to be the preferred party of Big Business — the Republicans — and install the Democrats in Washington. The labor bureaucracy is tied to the Democratic machine by its interests as a privileged caste which, having risen to the summit of workers' organizations during

a period of relative economic prosperity has acquired a completely middle class mentality and outlook. The bureaucrats stand in awe of the power of American capitalism and its institutions. They are gripped constantly by the fear of a day of reckoning with a rank and file that gets "out of hand." Their way of life, characterized by a shameless and reckless aping of Big Business corporation executives, is the measure of their distance from the rank and file assembly line slaves.

To the labor bureaucrats the Democratic party is a safety valve for the simmering discontent of the working class and Negro people. They sense that a breakaway from this party would not stop at anything short of a complete overthrow of the labor movement — with their own position wrecked in the process.

The working class has no such stake in the Democratic party. They support the Democrats, by and large, because as yet they don't see any alternative, and they haven't felt a sufficient compulsion to create an alternative.

Then we must distinguish among the attitudes of different layers of the working class toward the Democratic party. A relatively large, contented and conservative group of workers form a thick layer of support for the bureaucracy. But there are other layers, who, even today, would rally behind a Labor Party with great enthusiasm should a significant section of the labor movement initiate it.

Foremost among these are the Negro people who are engaged today in a mass movement to bring about an end to their second-class citizenship in the U.S. Their interests are in daily and ever-sharpening conflict with the allegiance of the official labor and Negro leadership to the Democratic party. The chain of betrayal, which extends from the Negro and labor leaders, to the liberal Democrats, to the high command of the Democratic party, to the alliance with the Dixiecrats is becoming intolerable for the Negro people.

Not only the Negroes are dissatisfied with their lot in American society. There is a large group in the working class which has been obliterated from public attention by the boom-ballyhoo. Recently Gov. Harriman of New York, in line with a demagogic pitch for the Democratic presidential nomination, brought to light some startling figures on "low income groups."

One family in eleven in the U.S., according to Harriman, has an income of only \$1,000 a year or less. And one family in five — 8,000,000 families! — get only \$2,000 a year, or less. The Feb. 4 New York Times explains that most of these families are not "breadwinner farmers, as one might expect. As many as two-thirds are not, while one-half are

employed wage earners. Nor are most of them elderly — only one-third are 65 or over."

Surely these semi-pauperized sections of the working class would flock to a Labor Party that showed the way to a decent life for them. Surely no one will claim that this group is attached, now and forever, to the capitalist system and its two parties.

There is also a vast new layer in the working class that stands at the bottom of the seniority lists, suffers the first layoffs, feels the lash of speed-up on the ever-faster-moving assembly lines and finds the struggle to make a living a hard and difficult one.

CONFLICT IN FACTORIES

This layer, composed of young workers, women, Negroes and other minorities is already in bitter conflict with the union bureaucracy at the factory level. Every effort they make to improve their lot comes into collision with the "labor lieutenants of capital," who spend a good deal of their time driving "wildcat" strikers back to work, stifling militancy and hunting left-wing radicals in the unions.

This young fresh strata of the working class will undoubtedly express its militant tendency politically with the first major jolt to the domestic equilibrium of American capitalism. And such a jolt is bound to come.

The position of American capitalism in the world is bad and getting worse. There is a powerful historic tide undermining its position as supreme headquarters of the world capitalist system. A continued internal equilibrium for American capitalism depends in the final analysis on its ability to drive back and destroy the anti-capitalist revolutionary upsurge in the colonial countries.

This is a hopelessly impossible task. American imperialism will continue to suffer defeat after defeat. Sooner or later it will attempt to extricate itself from its unbearable difficulties by attempting a plunge over the brink into the insane adventure of a war, or by an internal convulsion that will unleash a savage capitalist offensive against the standard of living, union organization and political rights of the working class at home.

In either case the speed with which the political equation of the American working class will proceed will be breathtaking. The incipient political class consciousness of the working class has burst into full flower. A mass Labor Party will be inevitable. What kind of a party will it be? Will its program be socialist or reformist? Who will lead it? What role will the vanguard revolutionary party play in such a development?

[First of a series. Watch for next installment.]

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$ 825	\$ 1,100	133
Seattle	200	229	115
Cleveland	350	370	106
San Francisco	800	830	104
Los Angeles	3,300	3,362	102
New York	3,520	3,605	102
Akron	140	140	100
Allentown	85	85	100
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,760	1,760	100
Chicago	1,760	1,760	100
Milwaukee	250	250	100
Newark	200	200	100
Oakland	300	300	100
Philadelphia	440	440	100
Twin Cities	1,320	1,320	100
Youngstown	250	250	100
St. Louis	85	45	53
General	100	33	33
Total through Feb. 7	\$16,185	\$16,579	102

... OVER THE TOP 102%

(Continued from page 1)

ity means you take on a few more payments each month for things the family really should have, so you end up behind the eight ball, sometimes worse than before. Our special thanks to friends and supporters who figured out a way to stall off a payment or two for another month in order to give socialism an extra boost.

URGENCY OF SOCIALISM

The fact is that thinking workers today feel that the need for socialist literature was never as great as now. That's a normal reaction to the news that Dulles took us to the brink of war three times while practicing his gruesome "art." The constant publicity in the press about the possibility of our rulers blowing us all into atomic dust lends urgency to all the tasks that bring closer the rescue operation of the socialist revolution.

Our Detroit supporters came first in the contest. That fitted in well with the militancy traditional to the heart of American industry. Our congratulations to

a real group of go-getters and we hope they can follow through now in the political campaign they're undertaking. (Readers in Detroit please help the socialist candidates get on the ballot by gathering signatures from your friends.)

Janet McGreager, writing for the Detroit contingent, said what I'm sure every fund supporter feels: "We are all proud of the amount that was collected and the spirit in which it was done."

In different words, I heard the same sentiment from Seattle, Cleveland, San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York, all of whom crossed the 100% mark—despite heavy quotas.

To the fund supporters in every city thanks are due for the sacrifices that put the finishing punch in the campaign. I have had the privilege of directing many fund-raising campaigns; let me say that this was one of the smoothest and most energetic I have seen.

Now we in New York hope that you will all feel well rewarded by the new socialist publications you have made possible.

The Right to Be Comfortable

By Joyce Cowley

In Thompsonville, Connecticut, a 13-year-old girl named Shirley was "isolated" by school authorities for more than a month. She was put in a classroom all by

herself and each morning when she arrived at school, the teacher gave her her lessons for the day. The rest of the time she remained in her solitary room, and other pupils were forbidden to have any contact with her.

What was the reason for this extraordinary measure? Shirley wore slacks! According to the principal and the Board of Education, this violated a school ruling requiring "reasonable and decent attire." Shirley's parents appealed to the Board, saying that Shirley had had skin taken from her leg and grafted to an ear, and the doctor advised her to wear slacks in cold weather as a protection.

The Board asked for an affidavit from the doctor but he evidently is not the type to stick his neck out and risk getting on some FBI list. He said he felt he shouldn't be drawn into the controversy because it seemed more a matter of civil rights than a medical case. Then Shirley's parents hired a lawyer. The lawyer worked out a compromise and the school has agreed that Shirley can wear slacks—if she wears a dress over them (This will closely resemble the famous Bloomer costume worn by pioneer feminists more than a hundred years ago.)

A REAL ISSUE

I like to see a determined fight against a senseless and arbitrary ruling, and I believe most mothers will agree that Shirley's case dramatizes a real issue. I remember one night during the war years when I got home from work dead tired and my four-year-old daughter gave me a note from her nursery teacher telling me that I had a little girl, and I should not continue sending her to nursery school in overalls. She must wear a dress — a clean, freshly ironed dress each day. Nurseries were hard to find, so at the end of a long day's work I had to iron dresses. The question came up again when Jean was ten years old and we moved to Massachusetts. Since she had no snowsuit and the weather was getting cold, I sent her to school in jeans. She was immediately informed that only "little ladies" attended school, and sent home to change her clothes.

To me, jeans seemed a suitable outfit for a ten-year-old ball player, regardless of sex, and I guess Jean felt the same

way. She drew up a petition stating that jeans were more practical than dresses, warmer, cheaper and easier to launder, and asked the mothers to sign it. A number of mothers, especially working mothers, promptly signed up. But the principal of the school got wind of this conspiracy and called my daughter to her office. Pupils, she declared, had no right to circulate petitions or mothers to sign them.

"I am the ruler of this school!" she shouted angrily. She was obviously violating the Bill of Rights and the concept that school authorities are public servants, but she succeeded in putting down the rebellion.

LITTLE GENTLEMEN

"Little gentlemen" are affected by similar notions of propriety. A friend of mine with a boy in Junior High School complained about ironing white cotton shirts. I suggested flannel-ette shirts and she explained they were not allowed—the costume required was a white shirt, tie and slacks.

"How about nylon?" I asked. But the regulation specified white cotton. What meticulous attention to detail! While plaster is falling from the ceiling and kids sit two at a desk, there is still time to check on whether the boys wear cotton rather than nylon shirts. I understand this gentlemanly outfit is considered an important measure in combating juvenile delinquency.

Shirley's doctor may have been right in refusing to defend slacks as sensible cold weather clothing. It could be construed as fostering delinquency, a pretty serious charge. If Shirley's parents had the same reasonable attitude, they would let her wear a dress and take her chances on severe weather affecting the skin graft. Anyway, she has two alternatives — she can be isolated from other children as if she had a contagious disease, or ridiculed because she is wearing an absurd costume. This certainly proves we live in a democracy where the individual has freedom of choice.

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The Fight for Oil In the Mid-East

By John Black

The Middle East was high on the agenda of the Eden-Eisenhower meetings in Washington. The stench of oil hung over the diplomatic representatives of U.S. and British imperialism as they faced each other across the conference table.

Even while the talks were in process the McKinney report, drawn up for the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, giving new figures on the known oil reserves of the world, was made public. "This politically troubled area (Middle East) contains three quarters of the entire proved reserves in the non-Soviet world," the Feb. 3 N. Y. Times reported. Most of this oil is in Saudi Arabia, various small sheikdoms on the Arabian peninsula, Iran and Iraq.

VITAL REGION

Two developments have thrust this vital region into the international forefront. British and American control of the area is threatened by the tempestuous rise of the Arab national and social revolution. Soviet economic and military aid to Egypt increase this threat to colonial rule.

Secondly, inter-imperialist rivalries among American and British oil interests, while subordinate in the face of the common enemy — the colonial revolution — have reached a new peak.

Anglo-American imperialists are well aware of the very real danger to their position in the area. It took the combined effort of both to regain control of the large Iranian oil fields and the Abadan refineries, repossessed by the Iranians under former Premier Mossadegh. For three long years the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company saw Iranian oil in the hands of Iranians. This experience heightened imperialist awareness of the precariousness of their position.

The ability of British imperialism to maintain what remains of its farflung holdings is declining steadily. This explains Eden's pressure on Dulles for direct U. S. participation in the Baghdad alliance. U. S. support in the face of the encroaching revolution is, of course, assured. Wall Street has long been the dominant force in the effort to save the tottering edifice of the older colonial powers. But with each crisis U. S. Big Business demands more for itself. The British are finding the price tag

on this current aid from the U.S. very steep.

STANDARD OIL

Two gigantic oil groups, the American Standard Oil Company (Rockefeller) and its satellites, and the Anglo-Dutch Shell grouping have shared in the exploitation of the Middle East and its population since the discovery of oil in the Arabian kingdom of Ibn Saud in 1938. Until that time the area was exclusively the domain of the British (Shell).

Since the day that the U. S. oil billionaires found a toehold in the oil riches of the Middle East, via Aramco's Arabian oil concessions, the British have found themselves squeezed increasingly by their major ally in world thievery. The desperate British are determined to hold on to their oil-rich coastal strip on the Arabian peninsula. Ibn Saud, king of Arabia, claims jurisdiction over this area. The dispute turned into open conflict last fall. British-backed forces moved into the small state of Oman, near the Persian gulf and into the oasis of Buraimi. Oil drillings began instantly.

U. S. imperialism is the chief organizer of the world capitalist camp by virtue of overwhelming economic preponderance. But this preponderance also leads it to play the role of disrupter of relationships within the shrinking capitalist sector of the world. Agreements to share jointly in the exploitation of the Middle East are torn up as the balance of power shifts further in favor of the U. S. oil monopoly. It is true that when facing the revolution of the exploited people of the Middle East new inter-imperialist agreements are arrived at. But these new agreements increase the share of the American interests in accordance with the new relationship of strength within the capitalist camp.

Even while Eden was in conference with Dulles a suggestion was made that Mr. Herbert Hoover Jr. would be available to negotiate a settlement of the Buraimi and Oman dispute. Unhappy British oil interests recognize the handwriting on the wall. It was this same Hoover that negotiated the settlement in Iran. The all British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was replaced with a Consortium of major oil companies. Britain was "Hooverized" out of a substantial share of its Abadan oil refineries and the Iranian oil fields.

To play its part in the global class war between the workers in alliance with the colonial people and imperialism, Britain will have to ask for U. S. support and will eventually pay for it by giving the Rockefeller's a greater cut of the oil looted from the downtrodden Arabs. Neither of the imperialist groups will enjoy the booty for long. The Middle East revolution will restore the area and its oil to its inhabitants.

... Alabama Coed Defies Racists

(Continued from page 1)

Trustees' "exclusion" order with the demand that she be admitted to the University "within the next 48 hours." Her attorney, Arthur D. Shores, threatened legal action against the Trustees individually if they did not comply.

Late Tuesday, Feb. 7, a meeting of the faculty was called to explain the Trustees' capitulation to the lynch mob. About 400 members of the faculty were present. A minority under the leadership of an assistant professor of political science, Charles D. Farris, fought to get its opinion heard. Farris leaped to his feet protesting the decision of the Trustees and demanded to know why "police protection had not been more adequate." There was an attempt to introduce a resolution of protest, but no decision was reached as the meeting adjourned with embarrassed haste.

OPPOSITION TO LYNCHERS

The further away one gets from the officials in power, the more opposition to the lynchers is expressed. The Trustees acted unanimously when they gave the lynch mob what it wanted. Some teachers tried to express their opposition to the Trustees' action. But they failed to get a resolution passed. A meeting of the student body's elected officials last night, however, voted unanimously to condemn the lynch mob and demanded protection for all students, Negro and white. The student leader, national debating champion Dennis Holt, called the University officials to order for their failure to meet their responsibilities. He was vigorously applauded by his fellow students. Other students demanded that the participants in the lynch mob be punished.

The capitalist daily press, of course, put the blame for the lynch mob on the students and "unidentified outsiders." The real blame however, should be put on

the shoulders of the University authorities — the faculty, the President and the Trustees. The officials of the University as well as the officials of the state of Alabama, have done everything in their power to prevent desegregation. The students who were in the lynch mob were only acting on the racist principles enunciated by their "educators." The students have been taught that keeping a Negro out of the college was something to fight for. How is the lynch mob more guilty than these public authorities — who even now do not renounce their views of white supremacy?

The people of the world, the overwhelming majority of whom are colored, must have thrilled at the courage and defiance of Autherine Lucy. She represents a part of America of which every one can be proud. But in the ruling circles of the United States — city, state and federal — where can one look there without scorn?

The officials of the University closed the door to Autherine Lucy, not her would-be lynchers. And Governor Folsom of Alabama? To a suggestion that the National Guard be called out to protect the lives of the Negro student and those who stood by her, he replied, "It is normal for all races not to be overly fond of each other, including black, white, yellow and red races."

The Southern press reaction was on the same level. The Montgomery (Ala.) Journal charged, "The Supreme Court's declaration that black is white and that white is black puts responsibility for race clashes squarely upon the courts." The Memphis Commercial Appeal (Ga.) editorially commented, "Mob action is clumsy. . . Tuscaloosa mobs are a harmful reaction to times that demand the South keep its emotions under control and its powder dry."

The Northern capitalist press,

while abhorring the breach of "law and order" had nothing to propose to enforce the "law and order" to which the Negro people in the South are entitled. As a matter of fact it takes a lynching or a near-lynching for the capitalist press to even report on the daily struggle of the Negro people for their rights.

The N. Y. Herald Tribune today editorially complained about the threat to Miss Lucy's life, then proceeded to make a plea for sympathy for Southern racists: "At the same time the people in Alabama and throughout the South deserve to be better understood in their unhappiness over the Supreme Court's order against segregation in the public schools. . . The South is entitled to more consideration than it is now getting from the rest of the country."

SYMPATHY FOR WHOM?

For whom is this sympathy requested? For the white master-racists who murdered Emmett Till, a boy of 14. For the court and jury who let the murderers go scot free. For the terrorists who shot Negroes in Mississippi for the "crime" of wanting to vote. For the white cowards who hurled bombs at the homes of Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., where thousands of Negroes prefer to walk or hitch a ride to work rather than ride segregated buses and submit to daily insults. The N. Y. Herald Tribune requests sympathy for the White Citizens Councils that are springing up everywhere in the South organizing terror and violence. Sympathy for the ruling class that pockets extra billions for its Jim Crow system of super profits from exploiting colored workers.

The Herald Tribune is not asking for sympathy for the Negroes who are victimized daily by this terror. Or for the Southern whites like Carl and Anne Braden (see page four) who are sick of this

rotten, degrading way of life and are heroically fighting against it.

The liberal Democrat from N. Y., Rep. Davidson, said in the House of Representatives, Feb. 7, that "true Americans are agonized over the Alabama riots. Then he went on to say that he was sure the Communists "are busy telling the shameful story to confused people all over the world."

The world doesn't need anyone to tell them of the racist terror in the U.S.A. Nor are people all over the world "confused." Racist terror exists and the federal government, which claims leadership in the "free world," does nothing about it. And Adlai Stevenson has promised in advance to do nothing about it if he is elected president next fall.

But Republican and Democratic inaction doesn't stop the march of the Negro people toward liberation from Jim Crow. Autherine Lucy has shown the courage of the genuine fighters for a free world. The Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., who have organized the struggle against Jim Crow buses have pointed the way to effective action. This fight is a new symptom in the South. It is an expression of the organized, mass character of the struggle for civil rights.

The labor movement can deal the decisive blow to segregation if it undertakes energetically its promised campaign to organize the South. A union drive on an integrated basis will provide powerful allies to the forces of the Negro people. The racists would then no longer dare to lynch and terrorize at will. It would mark the final end to Jim Crow in the United States. To win this goal is one of the historic tasks of the labor movement in this country. The union bureaucrats who prefer to keep "class peace" must not be permitted to dodge their responsibilities to the Negro people and the working class.

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Gagging Labor's Political Rights

On Feb. 3, Federal District Judge Picard found the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers not guilty of violating the section of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act that forbids expenditures of union funds for political purposes.

The indictment — which arose in 1954 from the union's sponsorship of a TV series urging the election of Sen. McNamara (D-Mich.) — was designed to strike at labor participation in politics. Judge Picard's verdict is a victory. But the judge avoided ruling on the constitutionality of the section of the law under which the UAW had been indicted.

The clause remains on the books and so does the Taft-Hartley Act, which outlaws union spending for national political candidates. In addition, the Goldwater-Curtis Bill, now in the Senate, would decisively impede labor's political activities. It would make it unlawful to invite political candidates to speak in union halls, forbid contributions to "get out the vote" drives, and put a ban on the most elementary public information activities.

The bill provides jail sentences and heavy fines for violations and would nullify union-shop clauses involving unions that can't prove political inactivity for two years before the contract was signed.

State after state is enacting legislation making it more difficult for independents and minority political parties to get on the ballot and challenge the Big Business two-

party monopoly. Fear that labor will engage in politics through its own party rather than within the two-party system prompts the reactionary measures.

That independent political action by labor is urgently needed was again illustrated this week by Senate passage of the natural gas bill. Sponsor of the bill was liberal Sen. Fullbright (D-Ark.). Many Senators elected with union endorsement heeded the oil lobby's command to foist the consumer-gouging measure on the U.S. population. Even the N. Y. Post — staunch defender of liberal Democrats — admitted "there was no doubt that many usually 'liberal' Democrats and Republicans helped to carry the day for the oil and gas interests."

The bill would remove federal control at the wellhead of oil and gas prices and will cost the public nearly a billion dollars in increased gas cost. Hill & Knowlton — the public-relations firm that handled the Dixon-Yates raid on the Treasury last year — lined up oil-friendly Sen. McCarthy (R-Wisc.), Democratic floor leader Johnson and enough "friends of labor" to push the bill through.

Organized labor is hamstrung in giving political expression to its own interests both by restrictive laws and the coalition of its leaders with the Democratic Party. These obstacles must be removed. Labor should build its own party and in this way fight to repeal the gag-laws.

Harriman Juggles With a Man's Life

Broken election promises and slogans that mean their opposite, have become the stock-in-trade of Big Business politicians. The drive toward war is represented as a "fight for peace." "Economy measures" serve as a cover for Big Business tax rebates. The "fight for civil rights" covers an agreement with the Dixiecrats to keep their Jim Crow dictatorship in the South unmolested.

Gov. Harriman of New York is no stranger to this art of double talk. Far from it. Among the presidential candidates of the Democratic party he styles himself as an "extreme" (as distinguished from "moderate") opponent of evil.

After it became clear that no candidate in 1956 could be silent on the crucial civil rights issue, Harriman, along with Stevenson and Kefauver, made some empty proclamations on the subject. The art of making these statements consists in striking the right balance between blasting the Republican record on civil rights while refraining from jeopardizing the Northern Democratic alliance with the Dixiecrats. This takes the combined skills of a sideshow barker, a shell-game operator and a tightrope walker.

Take the case of Harriman and Rev. Joseph A. D. DeLaine.

DeLaine had to flee for his life from South Carolina because he militantly fought for desegregation. Because he dared to return the fire of a band of night-riders, South Carolina tried to extradite him from New York in order to apply some of their Southern "justice" to him. When Harriman spoke at a Harlem meeting, Dec. 6, he blasted Georgia's Gov. Griffin for banning

the football game between Georgia Tech and Pittsburgh because Pitt had a Negro player. But when reporters tried to pin him down after the meeting on whether he would refuse to sign extradition papers to send DeLaine to South Carolina, Harriman dodged and squirmed but refused to commit himself.

Harriman's conduct with regard to Rev. DeLaine is especially revealing since he had already signed two extradition papers, for Willie Morgan to South Carolina and Willie Reid to Florida. Now, it has been revealed by the N. Y. Post, Feb. 2, that Harriman had signed an extradition warrant for a third victim of Southern racism and its bestial prison system, Clarence Crenshaw, who fled an Alabama road gang last year.

Crenshaw says, "From the minute that Gov. Miller [of Alabama] commuted my death sentence in 1931, the prison people had me marked as a Negro who killed a white man, and they told me every day that they'd get me for it."

Thus Harriman is sending Crenshaw to his death at the hands of the very racist murderers he is supposed to be fighting. There is only this to say for Harriman — he is no worse than all the other Democratic and Republican bigwigs. He is only one of the breed of Big Business-controlled spokesmen of the two capitalist parties which, as the Auto Workers Union stated in its legislative program for 1956, have an "80-year do-nothing record on civil rights."

The record will stand as a condemnation of the two capitalist parties, Republican and Democrat, acting in collusion with their Southern Bourbon partners.

The Fascists Steal a March

According to William Richardson in the Feb. 7 N. Y. Post, Pierre Poujade, the French shopkeeper-demagogue now refers to himself as "I, Poujade" — a formula clearly inspired by Hitler's fuhrer concept. Other recent developments confirm our designation of the Poujade movement as an "incipient fascist formation."

Poujade and his lieutenants exploit the desperation of sections of the lower middle-class in order to recruit and train initial fascist cadres. The ultimate objective of fascism is to smash the labor movement and impose the bloodiest kind of dictatorship over it for the benefit of Big Business.

The Poujadists ran up over two million votes in the Jan. 2 elections, following a campaign last year of huge demonstrations against the government's tax policies — which weigh heavily on the small shopkeepers artisans and peasants — and of direct action against tax collectors.

The Poujadist successes at the polls have given new hope to avowed fascist groupings in Italy and Germany. Throughout Italy, there are reports of the rapid growth of Poujadism among shopkeepers, artisans and peasants.

These sections of the population share least in the prosperity, and, in the case of the peasants, are actually suffering from the world-wide agricultural crisis — the complement to the industrial boom.

What must be underscored, however, is that the Poujadists have gained a significant foothold because during the last 12

years the working class repeatedly failed to use its chances to come to power. That is the only way it could have promoted its own class interests and those of other sections of the population oppressed by Big Business. Responsibility for the workers' failure lies squarely with the labor leaders — the Stalinists and Social Democrats — who pursued a treacherous policy of coalition with capitalist politicians.

As a result, sections of the middle classes have turned to fascist demagogues. According to the Jan. 23 New Leader, "The Poujade movement has been supported in the poorer agricultural sector of France . . . by peasants who turned in important numbers from the Communists."

When the present industrial boom gives way to depression, France will be plunged into social crisis once again. The outcome will be either victory for the working class and the creation of a socialist state or victory for fascist barbarism.

The fascists have a head start in preparing for the momentous showdown. It is necessary for the working class vanguard to catch up. It must form its own revolutionary party — breaking clean from Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders — and begin contending now for leadership of the working class on the basis of a class-struggle program. Only through success along this road will the fascists' hold over the lower middle classes be smashed and the menace of fascism ended forever.

By John Black

During 1955 the German workers showed a strong desire to wage an organized, all-out offensive against the trusts for a share in the prosperity. But the trade union leadership stood in the way of this movement. As a result, a wave of "wild" strikes — equivalent to "unauthorized" or "wildcat" strikes in the U.S. — broke out in West Germany. The leadership of these strikes was in the hands of shop committees and district councils, elected by the workers. Tens of thousands of workers were involved in these conflicts with the employers. The union bureaucrats played the role of firemen for the capitalists on every occasion, rushing about in an effort to stamp out the class-struggle conflagrations.

Among the "wild" strikes were two in Bremen — one by shipyard workers at the Vulkan Works (Thyssen concern) which began Sept. 3, and the other by longshoremen that began Sept. 29. Substantial gains were made in both cases. Hamburg had a similar development in the large Conz Motor Works and Berlin had an exceptionally militant bricklayers' strike. In addition the housewives showed their dissatisfaction with the high cost of food by organizing a highly successful buyers' strike directed against meat and sausage stores. The store boycott lasted from Sept. 29 to Oct. 1.

The "wild" strikes were symptomatic of the restlessness and dissatisfaction of some sections of the organized labor movement. But the bulk of the workers were still looking to the union officialdom to lead them. This was especially true in the strategic IG Metal (steel and iron workers union). The leadership of this union has talked somewhat more militantly in the last few years than the extreme rightwingers in the national leadership of the German Trade Union Federation.

CRUCIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Because of the key role the iron and steel industries play in the West German economy and because of the demagoguery of IG Metal's leaders, militants throughout the entire labor movement hoped the union would set the pace in the battle against the employers.

The test and collapse of IG Metal's leadership came in the

German Strikers Tangle with Cops



Police and strikers clash outside a metal factory in Munich, Germany, following a 1954 walkout of 220,000 Bavarian workers seeking wage increases. Police tried to escort scabs into the plant. Nine persons were injured in this dispute. Full strike figures from all parts of Germany have been blacked out in the U.S.

late fall during negotiations for the new contracts in the Ruhr heavy industry sector.

The union's wage demands were modest enough — a 20 pfennig (4½c) increase over the average hourly wage of two marks (47c). However, as important to the iron and steel workers as a wage raise, was the union's demands for an industry-wide contract which would force the employers at all times to deal with the united might of the entire union rather than be able to pit one local against another.

The industry was well able to afford economic concessions, and financial considerations were secondary to the Ruhr barons as they decided to fight the union. The magnates wanted above all to strike a blow at the union's prestige and power.

Despite an overwhelming strike vote to back them and the demonstrated willingness of the workers to close the plants down, the IG Metal leaders permitted the companies to drag out negotiations. Although fully

aware that industry was out to test and undermine the strength of the union, they refused to lead the assembled and waiting army of steelworkers into battle. With Christmas drawing nearer, industry was able to hold the threatened loss of Christmas production bonuses over the head of the union.

LEADERS BACK DOWN

At a crucial moment, the steel magnates made a partial wage concession of approximately 15 pfennig (3c) retroactive to the start of negotiations and put it into effect at once — without, however, offering to sign an industry-wide contract. The IG Metal leadership immediately collapsed, and, on Nov. 21, the union's wage policy committee recommended that industry-wide negotiations should be discontinued and that individual plants should negotiate on their own for the remaining five pfennig.

Thus the union leaders themselves scuttled the principle of industry-wide bargaining. The

organized front of metal workers was dissolved and the leaders issued the "battle" slogan of "Everyone for himself." They then took large, paid advertisements in the newspapers. The class-collaborationist content of these ads is made abundantly clear by their headline — "Live and let live, instead of power struggle in the Ruhr."

The most significant reaction of the trade-union ranks in the face of this demonstrated impotence of the "militant" wing of the bureaucracy came right on the heels of the retreat. In Dec. 1, an election for the works council of the Great Westphalian Steel Corporation, employing some 12,000 workers, gave candidates running on a Communist Party slate 17 out of 25 seats. Eleven thousand workers voted in the elections. This plant situated at Dortmund in the heart of the Ruhr is a key plant in the union.

Results of other recent shop-council elections showed unmistakably that the Great Westphalian outcome was part of a trend. Thus at the Friedrich Krupp Works in Essen, the CP won ten out of 35 seats. The Klockner Steel Works in Haspel elected nine out of 21. Phoenix Rheinrohr Seamless Tube Mills, nine out of 25. At the Opel automobile plant (a General Motors subsidiary) the Communist Party increased its representation from two to eleven (three have since resigned from the party).

WHY CP GAINED

The trend of these elections — and it obtains in other parts of the country besides the Ruhr — indicates a revival of the working class political consciousness at the shop level. It is well to keep in mind that the workers have shown no desire, even in the most recent municipal elections to translate this shop-level revolt against the union leadership into political support for the CP candidates running for public office. These remain associated in the eyes of the German workers with the oppressive and bureaucratic regime of Ulbricht and Grotewohl in East Germany.

But the collapse of the "left-wing" IG Metal leadership has given the Stalinists an open field. The Ministry for All-German Affairs announced, Dec. 26, that at the end of the year, over

1,700 active CP cells were functioning in industry and that over 600 factory newspapers following Stalinist policy were being published.

Examination of the CP's policy during the iron and steel negotiations reveals that it did not advocate a real fighting program for the steel workers. When the employers instituted wage increases without signing an industry-wide contract, the CP lauded this a victory. They also excused and supported the IG Metal leaders' betrayal which atomized the solid front of the steelworkers.

The Stalinists then called for militantly conducted negotiations for further concessions on a shop level. The folly of advocating plant action in the face of a general union retreat should be obvious. Commando tactics, of course, are valuable: it is possible to probe an enemy's strength that way. But it is not possible to win a battle when the bulk of your army is in headlong retreat.

WORKERS MOVING LEFT

It is possible to cover the retreat with rear-guard actions, but such guerrilla warfare at the shop level could never bring the most entrenched section of the German capitalist class to its knees. Only a strike of the entire steel workers union can do that.

The West German working class is on the move to the left. It is in conflict with the conservative, class-collaborationist top leaders in the unions. The Stalinists are moving into a void that has not yet been filled by a revolutionary Marxist leadership. The union bureaucrats are defending themselves with the most undemocratic methods of expulsions and suspensions. But battles which will give a new generation of German workers experience in the class war are in the offing.

The U.S. State Department which aided and fostered the initial economic recovery of Western Germany as a bulwark against the Soviet Union, will find that its creation — the revived West German capitalist class — has unwittingly brought to its feet a working class well able and prepared to take its place again in the front ranks of the world working class movement.

[Second of a series of two.]

... Soviet Economic Aid

(Continued from page 1)

ramment of the current imperialist effort to maintain its hold over North African colonies? The U. S. did not help Morocco to achieve "nationhood." It gave arms to the French to prevent Moroccan liberation.

NEW SOVIET PLOT

Now the imperialist powers are alarmed at Soviet offers of economic aid to colonial countries. As the N. Y. Times put it Feb. 5, "Ironically, by stepping into the international aid picture years after the United States, the Russians have temporarily managed to steal the spotlight on economic aid."

The quality of Soviet aid to the backward countries cannot begin to compare with what the U. S. has spent. But there is a qualitative difference between the Soviet-colonial and imperialist-colonial economic relations.

A. M. Rosenthal of the N. Y. Times provides the clue. "There is no denying that the \$91,000,000 the Soviet Union is lending India to build a steel plant has many more times political value than the \$70,000,000 Washington gave her to buy steel."

Exactly! With a steel plant of her own, India will be less dependent on other countries for her steel needs. This will be good for India. But it won't make U. S. Steel and other Big Business companies very happy.

The colonial nations have always been restricted by the imperialist powers to the production of cheap raw materials for the industrial countries of the West. Then the colonial countries have been compelled to buy manufactured goods from the imperialist nations.

The Big Business interests in the U. S. have often built industrial plants abroad. But when they do, they retain ownership, thereby exploiting foreign labor directly and siphoning off the profits.

Latin America, the special feeding trough of Wall Street, is a good example of U. S. colonial relations. Just a year ago Latin Americans were complaining bitterly about the fact that the U. S. takes \$182,500,000 more a year in profits out of Latin America than capital sent there. This steady drain of the fruits of labor from Latin America, leaves little for the people in these countries. Poverty is so widespread that several Central American hospitals estimate that 50% of the deaths in these

countries result from malnutrition.

In addition to the drain of wealth from dependent economies, the U. S. has used its economic resources as a means of blackmail against the colonial countries to align them in the cold war against the Soviet bloc. As Hamilton points out, "such virtually barter arrangements [as the Soviet Union makes] are now more welcome than American gifts. This is primarily because Congress has attached so many strings to American help that the recipient must 'stand up and be counted' if he is to get anything."

Business Week, Jan. 28, made the same point. Soviet economic long-term credit, it reported, "apparently pays handsome political dividends" because it means to the colonial countries "decreased meddling in their internal economies."

The Washington Declaration makes a special point of the fact that the Kremlin bureaucratically and militarily assimilated the East European countries into the planned economic structure of the Soviet Union. But the U. S. State Department doesn't really object to the way in which the Soviet Union took over this area or to the lack of political freedom in these countries. Its objections are based on the exclusion of western capital.

These countries before World War II were all under the domination of Western capital. But this did not mean political freedom. Military dictatorships flourished while the economic life of Eastern Europe stagnated.

NEW KREMLIN RULE?

Does the Soviet offer of aid to the colonial world mean that the Kremlin has changed since Stalin and is now interested in the growth of the world revolution, a part of which is the liberation of colonial countries from the yoke of imperialism? Not at all. The Kremlin is pressed to the wall by the imperialist bloc in the cold war. It must attempt to utilize every contradiction in the capitalist world to gain room for its maneuvers. And one of the biggest contradictions is the imperialist-colonial one.

The Stalinist bureaucracy hopes to buy the allegiance of the colonial capitalist class as a deterrent factor in the U. S. drive for World War III. The rulers of the colonial countries, an end.

for their part, are glad to have a bargaining lever in their dealings with the imperialists. The "neutralists" hope to exact a higher price for their adherence to the imperialist bloc.

It is in the best revolutionary tradition for the Soviet Union to seek allies through non-oppressive economic and military aid to the colonial countries. The treachery of Stalinism, however, lies in its opposition to the fulfillment of the colonial revolution. The native Communist parties, to which the masses tend to turn in the hope for liberation, become columns of support to the bankrupt capitalist regimes in the colonies.

Furthermore, the Kremlin regards its overtures toward colonial countries entirely from the standpoint of seeking a "peaceful coexistence" deal with imperialism. It is prepared to betray the revolutionary aspirations of the working class and colonial people in exchange for such a deal. Thus it reduces its economic aid tactic to a temporary side-manuever instead of integrating it in the broad framework of a policy of banking on the victory of the world socialist revolution.

REAL OBSTACLE TO WAR

The prime deterrent to World War II is not, in reality, the "neutrality" of the Nasser's and the Nehru's. It is the colonial revolution powered by the masses of workers and peasants. The imperialist nations are too busy trying to hold on to their colonial preserves to turn their united attention to an all-out war with the Soviet Union.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, to gain a temporary advantage, undermines the very force that holds the imperialist powers at bay. It is incapable of a revolutionary policy which would really liberate the colonial people, isolate and defeat the imperialist aggressors.

But despite the Stalinist betrayals of the revolutionary people in the colonial world, that revolution marches on. And it gives time for the workers in the advanced capitalist countries to catch up in consciousness with the rest of the world. When the working class of West Europe and the United States catch up, the totalitarian power of Stalinism as well as the decadent imperialist order will come to an end.

World Events

SPAIN'S STUDENT SYNDICATE published a strong protest, Feb. 4, against official policies, according to the Feb. 5 N. Y. Times. The Spanish University Students' Syndicate said that its representatives "no longer want to play the role of strikebreakers" in the mounting student protest against the Franco dictatorship. Students are currently circulating a petition addressed to the government asking permission to hold a "national congress" to propose reforms in university life. These would include, in addition to certain economic measures (tuition, housing, textbook costs), improvement in the quality of the faculty. Many able professors are not teaching because of "ideological reasons" — i.e., they oppose the Franco dictatorship.

POUJADISTS, members of a French incipient fascist movement, were reported to have taken active part in demonstrations in Algiers by Frenchmen protesting the new cabinet program for Algeria. This program calls for (1) free elections for a representative Algerian government; (2) negotiations for limited Arab home rule on the same basis as those conducted with moderate nationalist leaders in Morocco and Tunisia last year. French settlers fear loss of huge privileges should the Arabs—who outnumber the French nine to one—gain their rights. French imperialism has been forced into seeking negotiations with Arab leaders, however, because the Arab national liberation movement, despite the presence of 200,000 French troops, is steadily increasing the size of territory under its control.

MOROCCO'S MINISTER OF STATE, Mohammed Cherkaoui, served notice on Jan. 17 that the U.S. government would have to renegotiate for its four air bases in Morocco after his country establishes its new relations with France. The bases agreement between the U.S. and French Governments had no legal validity, said Cherkaoui, because the Moroccan Government and people had not been consulted.

According to the Feb. 3 N. Y. Times, leaders of the National Liberation Front are offering to negotiate a cease-fire with the French.

BERIA'S SUCCESSOR as head of the Kremlin's secret police, S. N. Kruglov, was removed from his post, Feb. 1, in a new purge.

POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK economic missions attended the inauguration, Jan. 31, of Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek and Vice-President Joao Goulart. They are seeking to buy Brazilian cotton in large quantities in addition to coffee, cocoa and minerals. Brazil has a cotton surplus, which is finding it difficult to sell because of low prices and lack of demand in other capitalist countries. Poland is offering heavy machinery, complete industrial plants, including steel mills, and equipment for Brazil's Government-operated oil industry. Last year, Brazil did nearly \$70 million worth of business with the Soviet bloc. Last month the Soviet government made an offer for increased economic ties between Latin American and all Soviet bloc countries.

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Los Angeles Bids HAIL AND FAREWELL

at
BANQUET
to
Welcome V. R. Dunne
and bid farewell to
Tom and Carolyn Kerry
Sat., Feb. 18
1702 E. 4th St.
Dinner at 7:00 P. M.
Come at 6:00 and spend
the evening

Twin Cities Labor Forum

Jean Brust
on
Israel: Pawn of the Big Powers
Fri., Feb. 17, 8 P. M.
10 So. 4th Street
Minneapolis, Minn.
Aspirants:
Twin Cities Labor Forum
Committee
Admission Free

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

'States Rights': 1952-1956

When the Eisenhower Administration took office — elected primarily because of public reaction against the phony war for a fictitious democracy — the Republicans quickly demonstrated that their reputation as the party of Big Business was well-deserved. They immediately threw overboard all pretense of neutrality between capital and labor, and instituted open class legislation and administration based on the philosophy that "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

Many optimistic Negro Republicans either agreed with that slogan or were indifferent to it. Some colored politicians, Democrats as well as Republicans, climbed aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon thinking if they said, "Me too!" they'd get a pat on the head and some civil rights legislation for their constituents.

But what short-sighted reformers and demagogues alike failed to see was that "what's good for General Motors" is not good for the overwhelming majority of Americans — the working class; and it's particularly bad for colored workers. One example should be enough to make this clear:

A major objective of the new businessmen's administration was to stop the growth and strengthening of the labor movement. Since the last Republican administration the mass industries had been organized. General Motors, Ford, and other big corporations had been forced to recognize unions and sign contracts, and to negotiate periodically, with labor generally asking for more of a share of what it produces.

The first step in the attack on labor is to atomize it, cut it up into small bargaining units again, eliminate the dangers of national negotiations and national strikes. For this the Republicans embraced the cult of "state's rights." A raft of reac-

tionary state labor laws were adopted, taking away workers' rights previously recognized by federal courts. But by standing on "state's rights" to legislate on anything not specifically barred by the Constitution, or not exclusively within the realm of interstate or foreign commerce, the federal administration sat back while Big Business launched its attack on organized labor. "Right to work" laws for scabs and strikebreakers, prohibitive fines, fees and other restrictions on organizing and picketing have been passed — first in the states where labor is weakest, in the South and West.

But the Republicans have no monopoly on "state's rights." When the insistence of the colored people all over the world demanded that the Supreme Court take a stand and public school segregation was declared unconstitutional, the Southern Democrats grabbed the banner of "state's rights" and raised it in a holy crusade to perpetuate the dictatorship of white supremacy.

The Republicans are left speechless. Open defiance of the Supreme Court? — Tsk! Tsk! Kidnapping and murder of a Negro child, shooting of NAACP leaders, of a colored man who goes to vote in broad daylight in Mississippi? — "What can we do?" angrily shouts the head of the U.S. Department of Justice at Negro leaders demanding action. "It's not a federal matter!"

The Democrats and Republicans are both "state's rights" parties... capitalist state's rights. The only way to attack their power is to stop giving any support to those parties. Start building your own party today, a party dedicated to establishing workers' rights and equality. Help put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot wherever possible. Write to 116 University Place, New York to find out how you can help.

Advice to Engineers

By Robert Chester

"When last seen today six technical recruiters in search of a Ph.D. were seen pursuing a likely young scientist down a side corridor of the Hotel New Yorker," chortled a New York newspaper describing how today scientists no longer have to hunt for a job. The job comes hunting them.

This is a far cry from the depression days of the 1930's when I went to engineering school. In those days the 10% who were able to land a job were a privileged group. Many had to scrape along as dishwashers while they looked for the rare and coveted engineering job.

Others, like myself, were more fortunate. We went into trades or industry and became integrated in the working class. Some of us developed class consciousness and played a role in the socialist movement, contributing our energies constructively to the struggle for a better society.

Yet one can't help envying a little the prospects facing the young engineers and scientists today. One always likes to be in demand, especially when there are so many tempting financial inducements. Corporations are scrambling so frantically for trained students, they have abandoned all restraint in offering inducements.

This year about 25,000 scientists and engineers will graduate from colleges. Waiting for them will be 50,000 job openings among the 5,000 companies panting for their services. The strides in technology have multiplied the demand. Where in 1900 industry employed one engineer

for every 250 employees, the ratio has dropped to one to every 15 workers or less. The crisis in the U.S. educational system promises to keep the supply short.

Out of this crisis a new profession has been born — the technical recruiter. Their operational method is that of warfare — "task forces," "invasions," "raids," against each other and into the fruitful territory. They not only scour the field looking for "soft spots" but they invade the campuses to snare the undergraduates, even to the point of paying them wages in their final school year. One company has been known to send three executives to a convention, hire a hotel suite, etc., with all expenses paid, just to "bag" one good engineer.

However I would like to offer some advice to these young "brainworkers" whose labor power has become such a valuable commodity. Don't let all this fool you. Perhaps this will make you think life is just a ripe plum ready for the plucking. You too may become a "drug on the market" with the advent of the next depression, or a cog in the war machine without the chance to attain your desire to use your life constructively.

The new generation of scientists are in for some deep disillusionment from which today's financial inducements cannot insulate them. Many will go through severe mental anguish before they learn that their interests are with and must be tied to that of the working class. Once this realization dawns, however, a new and constructive phase of life will open up for them.

Notes from the News

IN THE NEXT WAR "The first few days or weeks... will certainly be a very violent phase and probably the decisive phase," declared Donald A. Quarles, Secretary of the Air Force at a luncheon of the Air Force Association held in Washington, D. C., Feb. 4. However he quickly added, "While we must emphasize the importance of this violent air battle, it is not part of the picture that the war will be necessarily ended" in a short time.

THE EASTLAND SUBCOMMITTEE PROBE of "Communist infiltration" of the press received either favorable editorial comment or none at all in 75% of the daily papers in the nation's major cities, the New York Post announced Feb. 7, after it had conducted a special poll on the question. The greatest number, 112 papers, made no editorial comment; 33 approved the committee's activities; 35 were clearly critical; and ten took positions partly favorable and partly critical. The percentage of those critical had the following geographical breakdown: East, 24%; Midwest, 18%; South, 14%; Pacific and Mountain, 14%.

A MISSISSIPPI STRIKE VICTORY, in spite of the shooting of a union organizer and an early injunction banning all picketing, was won in Columbus by a four-day strike ended Jan. 19. Ed Blair, an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was shot by a scabheader while helping out in the first morning's picketing by IUE local 794 at the American Bosch plant. Blair

will recover. An hourly increase averaging 13.4 cents and other improvements were won. Building trades workers honored the imaginary picket line after the injunction.

SMALL FARMERS would be paid to go out of business under a plan being considered by the Senate Agriculture Committee. Under the new soil bank plan, which would reimburse farmers for idling parts of their land instead of growing surplus crops, a small farmer would be paid more to idle his land for two or three years than to grow crops, the Feb. 3 Wall Street Journal points out.

IN THE SOUTH, the economy is shifting from farm to factory, reports the Jan. 27 U.S. News and World Report. In addition agriculture is becoming diversified and mechanized on an increasing scale. The main factor leading to mechanization has been the steady departure of Negro sharecroppers, especially the young and able-bodied, from the farms to the industrial cities in the South, North and West. This has created a labor shortage and forced adoption of machines.

SALK VACCINE SHOTS were administered without charge to 686 school children in Denville, New Jersey, by an out-of-town doctor after six local physicians refused to participate. Press reports, Feb. 2, attributed the boycott by the physicians to their belief that such free clinics smacked of "socialized medicine."

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LOUISVILLE FRAME-UP

Bradens Get Wide Support

[Encouraging new labor, liberal and religious support is being extended to Carl and Anne Braden and their fellow-victims of the Kentucky "sedition" frame-up. We reprint below excerpts from statements of support and a factual resume of the case from a new pamphlet, "A Would-be Murderer Walks the Streets of Louisville." The pamphlet is published by the Emergency Civil Liberties Com-



CARL BRADEN

mittee which first focused national attention on this important civil liberties and civil rights case. Copies may be ordered from the Committee at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y. The ECLC is a non-partisan organization which defends all witch-hunt victims regardless of political belief. Among other cases, it is currently active in the fight of the legless veteran, James Kutcher. — Ed.]

DANIEL S. GILLMOR, author of Fear, the Accuser and other works:

Someone tried to murder the Bradens. Someone set a powerful bomb under the bedroom of the Bradens' little girl. Because the State of Kentucky is so bent on 'getting' Carl Braden and six other non-conformists, a would-be murderer is walking the streets of Louisville.

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA (CIO), International Executive Board:

Braden's 'sedition' trial was actually the result of his courageous attempt to secure decent housing for a Negro family. His politics or lack of them had nothing to do with this act of humanitarian charity... We condemn the action of the state of Kentucky in taking reprisal action against Carl Braden for his activity on the behalf of better relations among people...

DR. HENRY HITT CRANE, Pastor of Central Methodist Church, Detroit, and member of Detroit board of the American Civil Liberties Union:

... Kutcher Case

(Continued from page 1) ington for the hearing from Chicago where a rally on his behalf is being held tomorrow night. He will try to return by plane for the hearing. Sponsored by leading labor and civil liberties figures, the meeting will also hear Kenneth Douy, Illinois Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

RECENT VICTORIES

Kutcher's appeal comes after two recent notable victories in his fight. On Dec. 19 the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled against efforts to evict Kutcher and his aged parents from their home in a public housing project in Newark on grounds of his admitted SWP membership.

Following a nation-wide storm of protest, the Veterans Administration gave Kutcher a precedent making public hearing, Dec. 30, on its decision to revoke his disability pension. On Jan. 6 the VA reversed itself and restored the pension. The public hearing precedent was extended when a second government hearing held Jan. 16 on the case of Robert L. Simpson, a Korean War veteran, was opened to the press and public. Simpson, who was a prisoner of war for 38 months, is appealing denial of the \$250 a day hardship pay he is entitled to for that period. Payment was refused after he was honorably discharged from the Army on the basis of unrevealed "classified information" that he had "collaborated" with his captors.

At the same time the government has stepped up its use of the brutal club of economic reprisal by demanding of Saul Wellman, a Communist Party Smith Act victim, that he repay almost \$10,000 received in disability pension between 1945 and 1954, when his pension, along with that of Robert Thompson, was cut off on the basis of C. P. membership.

The Facts...

ANDREW WADE IV, young Negro veteran, married with two children, was unable to find suitable house for sale in Louisville, Ky., where 18,000 new homes were built for white people, only 300 for Negroes in 10 years. In spring of 1954 he sought help of

CARL BRADEN, Louisville newspaperman, long active in labor and interracial affairs. Braden and his wife, Anne, bought a house in Louisville suburbs in May, 1954, and resold it to Wade and his wife.

KU KLUX KLAN elements began to terrorize the Wades. Threats, cross-burning, shots into the house, and window-breaking followed. Wade considered police protection inadequate and asked for help from others. Many Louisville citizens, Negro and white, answered his call. These included

THREE WHITE TRADE-UNIONISTS, Vernon Bown of AFL Teamsters, a night worker who moved into house to protect Mrs. Wade during day; Lewis Lubka, a shop steward in IUE-CIO, and LaRue Spiker, a shop steward in the AFL Grain Millers. Despite this help,

DYNAMITE EXPLODED under the house just after midnight on June 27, 1954. House was half-destroyed. It was reliably reported in Louisville that police had confession from a neighbor who set dynamite, but summer passed without arrests. After weeks of prodding by Wades, Bradens, Bown, and others,

COMMONWEALTH'S ATTORNEY called Grand Jury investigation of blast, immediately turned it into attack on Wade's white friends. Prosecutor questioned these people about books they read, organizations they belonged to, practically ignored known Ku Klux Klan elements who had harassed Wades. To amazement of Louisville citizens,

VERNON BOWN, who was out of town the week end of the explosion, was charged with bombing house. An old and unused state sedition law was unearthed to indict Bown, Bradens, Lubka, and Bown's 79-year-old roommate, I. O. Ford. The four latter were accused of conspiring with Bown to bomb the house. Also indicted for sedition were Miss Spiker and Louise Gilbert, white social worker who had helped send letter to Wade neighbors urging good will. After the indictment, homes of the accused were raided and private papers and books were seized.

IMMEDIATE TRIAL on the bombing charge was demanded by Bown. Instead, prosecution ignored bombing, tried Carl Braden for sedition. He was convicted, Dec. 13, 1954, sentenced to 15 YEARS IN PRISON and a \$5,000 fine. He stayed in prison 7 months before he was able to provide \$40,000 bond, highest ever set in Kentucky. All other trials were postponed pending his appeal. Meantime, more than a year after the explosion,

THE REAL BOMBERS of the Wade house remain uncaught. People all over the world are demanding to know why.

When the evil of prejudice breaks out in murderous violence its hideous nature is appalling enough. When a community callously condones the crime, the evil is compounded incredibly. But when such corruption satistically projects its own hellishness into some "scapegoat" and proceeds to persecute and prosecute him in a mad effort to excuse itself, that would seem to be the last degree of social degradation.

BELFAST & DISTRICT TRADES' UNION COUNCIL, Belfast, Ireland: Whilst we cannot say we are unacquainted with such happenings in the United States of America we must tell you that we are horrified when we know that again and again innocent people suffer from the blindness, bigotry and greed of such policies as are being pursued in the land that has elected itself as 'the leader of free nations.'

WILLARD B. RANSOM, Indiana leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: These cases are the standard result of the present-day hysteria which has caused a great deal of destruction to civil rights and liberties in America. However, the tide is turning and will turn faster toward the full restoration of constitutional rights—depending upon the type of stand we take when cases like this arise. We must uniformly condemn the brazen attempt of self-appointed "super-patriots" to prevent the breakdown of the segregated housing pattern in Louisville by resort to this fantastic last refuge of 'sedition.'

We must applaud the courageous defendants and citizens of Louisville who are fighting for the rights of the Wades and all others to live where they choose.

MICHIGAN CIO COUNCIL, resolution of State Executive Board; representing 650,000 workers in Michigan: ... a gross miscarriage of justice which struck a severe blow at civil liberties...

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN, Executive director, speaking on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union: ... one of the most important civil liberties cases now pending ... The ACLU's interest is in the constitutional rights of all Americans which will be imperiled if this conviction stands...

ERNEST MAZEY, UAW-CIO leader, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, and member of the Detroit Board of the American Civil Liberties Union: The continuing persecution and prosecution of Andrew Wade IV and the persons who aided him in his efforts to gain a decent home for his family constitute one of the most outrageous crimes in modern history.

It serves as a powerful reminder that the witch hunt is not dead, although the fanfare of the McCarthy days has subsided to a degree. The Wade-Braden case reveals the integral connection between the attacks upon civil liberties and the continuing struggle of the Negro people, for an end to their status as 'second-class' citizens. The courageous fight against this gross violation of justice merits, and I am confident will win, the support of freedom-loving people everywhere.

ROGER BALDWIN, Chairman of the Board, speaking for the International League for the Rights of Man: The Kentucky sedition statute, and all trials under them... make crimes of opinions and associations. They take no account of the principle that freedom for the most hated doctrines is necessary for the protection of all doctrines.

essary for the protection of all doctrines

CHARLES ABRAMS, New York State Rent Administrator, in his book, Forbidden Neighbors, A Study of Prejudice in Housing:

Instead of finding the hoodlums responsible for the outrage he (the prosecutor) raided the Braden home and the homes of their friends. Literature characterized as "Communist" was seized. With a passion for irrelevancy, a grand jury then indicted the Bradens and three of their friends for advocating sedition.

PLYMOUTH LOCAL 51, UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, Detroit, representing 8,000 workers:

This decision (Braden's conviction) must not be permitted to stand. It makes a mockery of the Supreme Court decision and encourages hoodlums all over the country to acts of violence against minority groups guilty of nothing except the exercising of their rights under the law of the land. (Support for the Louisville victims has also been voted by the General Council of Ford Local 600; Local 208; Local 351; Local 212; Local 1148, and Local 227, representing a total of 100,000 members of the UAW-CIO.)

UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS, resolution of 20th annual convention:

... This crass frame-up is designed to destroy the growing unity of Negro and white and to halt Southern workers' march toward decency and a higher standard of living, and is in opposition to the traditional concepts of American democracy... We condemn the acts of the prosecutor of the State of Kentucky as being a cover-up for Klan elements and hoodlums

who actually bombed the Wade home...

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD, noted civil liberties attorney in Detroit, member of Detroit board of the American Civil Liberties Union, writing in his regular column in The East Side Shopper, Detroit:

... Might well be one of the worst frame-ups of the last decade... At Braden's trial, the Red hysteria and anti-Negro feelings were raised to such a high pitch that the guilty verdict was inevitable... It is a case which has not been given the publicity or support that it merits.

ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT, professor emeritus, University of Chicago, former U.S. Government Secretary, Virgin Islands:

... Among the many appeals received from individuals and organized causes the Braden case stands out as comprehensive in involving so many factors. Its base is the national crime of human slavery, perpetuated, after ninety years of 'emancipation,' corruption of the processes of justice. It rises to tragedy through the corruption of the processes of justice. It falls to low comedy in its attribution to Communist plotting.

THE NATION, editorial January 15, 1955:

Throughout the South the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregated public schools has temporarily exacerbated racial tensions, particularly over housing. Behind the Braden case in Louisville lurk forces of racial bigotry that formerly marched under the banner of the K.K.K. but today shrewdly parade as 'anti-segregationists.' The deception is crude but immensely effective

... Lobby Set

(Continued from page 1)

a massive counterattack. They have thrown into the fight the whole weight of their ownership of local and state governments throughout the South. In addition they rallied the support of the powerful allies they command in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the federal government.

The Democratic party controls Congress but the Dixiecrats control the Democratic party machine in Congress. The Northern liberal wing of the party has done everything it could to preserve the "unity" of the machine. They have used the excuse of "tradition" to hand control of key Congressional committees to their Southern bedfellows and have discreetly avoided any legislative moves that might annoy them. Their fawning before the racists is matched only by the efforts of the Republicans to curry favor with what is accepted as the real power in Congress.

The brazen defiance by the Justice Department of demands for action against the Southern lynchers, mirrors the influence of the Dixiecrats in the executive branch of the government. The only time so far that chief gumshoe J. Edgar Hoover has bestirred himself on the issue was to unleash a venomous attack, Jan. 16, against Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant Mississippi Negro leader. Dr. Howard had pointed out from the public platform that the FBI "cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

The determination of both the Republican and Democratic high command not to move against the racists was revealed again when Rep. A. Clayton Powell introduced an amendment to the school aid bill that bars such funds from segregated schools. First President Eisenhower, at his Jan. 25 press conference, bitterly assailed the Powell measure and went so far as to insist that the government had the obligation to make sure that desegregation proceeded in no other way but "gradually."

STEVENSON

Next, Democratic party chieftan, Adlai Stevenson, "took a stand alongside President Eisenhower" in opposition to the Powell amendment (N. Y. Times, Feb. 6). Stevenson, the Times reported, is "unwilling to go as far as many Northern politicians on statutory measures to punish Southern states not conforming to the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools."

On the same day, Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), Stevenson's leading opponent for the Democratic presidential nomination, in-

sisted to the Associated Press that civil rights had not become a major issue between him and Stevenson. On the school bill amendment he said, "The Powell bill has not yet come up in the Senate and I'll state my position later."

This anti-Negro stand of the leading capitalist politicians shows how terribly wrong it is to proceed on the basis of a routine lobby to win passage of civil rights laws. The limitation of this kind of activity, even in "normal" times, is graphically illustrated by the fact that while similar lobbies have made regular treks to Washington, not a single piece of major civil rights legislation has been passed by Congress for the past 80 years.

The situation today cries out for an action of a far more fundamental nature than a lobby. A reign of terror has swept the South and militant action is needed to add the Negro targets of that terror. This is the feeling of the Negro people throughout the country as expressed in the unprecedented outpouring at the Till protest rallies from coast to coast. If the planned lobby were converted into a rallying center for a monster Washington demonstration of the Negro people and their allies it would evoke an inspiring response throughout the country. And it would be the kind of a "visit" that Congressmen could not duck with the customary hearty handshake and phony promise.

There has been a growing demand by the Negro and labor movement for the government to dispatch federal troops to Mississippi to enforce the Constitution. A mass demonstration in Washington would give loud and effective voice to this demand.

In the South the opposition to the vile Jim Crow practices is assuming an organized mass form. (See story on Alabama bus boycott, page one.) Simultaneously, the growing Southern union movement has been showing a capacity to effectively defend itself in the hard-fought rail, telephone and sugar strikes of the past year.

These two forces, the organized Negro movement and the organized labor movement, must be extended and welded together as natural allies against a common enemy. Together they can build their system of self-defense and together they can wipe out the Jim Crow system. A giant rally in Washington could also serve as the kickoff for a major union organizing drive of the South. The organization of the South would be a mortal blow to the whole Jim Crow system which is basically a means for maintaining a low-wage, open-shop territory for the capitalists.