

Heirs of Dictator Score Stalin Cult In Soviet Union

By Joseph Hansen

The most widely publicized feature of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which opened Feb. 14 in Moscow, was the attack on Stalin. Some commentators on Soviet affairs will no doubt take the strictures levelled at the cult of Stalin as fresh evidence of the "self reform" of the bureaucracy and of a "thaw" in the totalitarian dictatorship that has gripped the Soviet Union since the late Generalissimo usurped power.

If the speeches of the Moscow clique, particularly the seven-hour oration of Khrushchev on the opening day, were to be taken at face value such lulling conclusions, no doubt, would follow. Moreover, it must be conceded that the spokesmen at the Congress quite evidently intended that the suspicious Soviet masses should take the speeches exactly at face value and give up whatever opposition they harbor against Stalin's heirs.

However, if we consider the Congress in the context of class relations in the Soviet Union, the attack on Stalin acquires quite a different meaning. It is simply part of a calculated effort by the heirs of the dictator to consolidate their own dictatorship and assure continuation of the police regime they helped Stalin impose on the Soviet people.

The main audience whom Khrushchev addressed was the parasitic ruling caste itself. Before the delegates representing

Next Week:

"Meaning of the New Turn in the Soviet Union."

the millions of bureaucrats the First Secretary of the Central Committee emphasized the accomplishments of the new regime since the death of the dictator. "The internal situation in the USSR during the period under review," he said, "featured a steady growth of all branches of social production, a further

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Out of the Horse's Mouth --

South Vietnam is typical of the "free world" which the bipartisan Big Business ruling clique in Washington asks us to defend. Puppet Ngo Dinh's regime is described as follows in a Feb. 11 dispatch from Saigon to the New York Times:

ROLE OF PARLIAMENT --

"Elections will be held March 4 for a National Assembly to approve a constitution. But the President will play a key role in drawing the constitution. If the 123-man National Assembly cannot agree with the President, it will be dissolved. . . . The role of the Parliament will be subordinate."

FREEDOM OF PRESS --

"The press is subject to rigorous censorship. Opposition politicians fear to speak freely

in public. . . . In general it is felt that the press censorship in South Vietnam is largely unnecessary and unhealthy. Even the names of Opposition leaders, it seems, are not allowed to appear in the Vietnamese press, regardless of the context in which their names are presented."

DUE PROCESS OF LAW --

"Many persons suspected of Communist subversion have been arrested recently. The figure usually given is 8,000. In some cases at least, there are indications that the arrests were made on insubstantial evidence. . . . Arrests are made here in the middle of the night on flimsy evidence; letters are steamed open and personal mail read; brutality toward prisoners is not unknown."

Oil for the Lamps of Congress



Howard R. Keck (right), president of the Superior Oil Co. of Calif., claims \$2,500 packages of his "personal funds" for various GOP figures were only "gifts." Sen. Francis Case (R-So. Dak.), who turned down one of the hand-outs, charged that it was a bribe to influence him to vote for the natural gas deal. Elmer Patman (left), attorney for the generous dealer in oil, testified in a Senate probe.



ECLC Hits Harriman On Job Witch-Hunt Bill

Charging that Governor Harriman and the New York legislature employed a "double-standard" in their attitude toward state officials and employees, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee urged this week that public hearings be held on the so-called State Security Risk Law. The measure is being considered for re-enactment with Harriman's recommendation.

According to Clark Foreman, ECLC director, more than 100 civil service employees have been suspended or discharged under provisions of the act, without hearings and without knowledge of the charges lodged against them.

"Civil servants have as much right to the protection of the Fifth Amendment as your colleague Britting who invoked it in the Suffolk County investigation [of finances]," said Foreman in a telegram to Assembly majority leader Joseph F. Carroll and minority leader Eugene F. Bannigan. "Urgent public hearings on Assembly Introductory 885. The Bill of Rights should apply to all alike, particularly the due process clause."

In a wire to Harriman, Foreman reminded the Governor that in the past he had defended Industrial Commissioner Isadore

Lubin against charges of left-wing associations. "Protection you invoked for your Commissioner Lubin should apply equally to other civil servants," said Foreman. "Any government employee is entitled to due process of law."

Harriman had originally announced that he would ask the Legislature to enact a permanent "security risk" measure to replace the present act, which was first passed in 1951 during the Korean War and re-enacted each year without public hearings and with little or no debate in the Legislature.

Besides the ECLC, the State AFL-CIO, American Civil Liberties Union and Americans for Democratic Action are fighting against re-passing of the law. Instead of junking the law Harriman has announced that he will name a commission to study the measure and Attorney General Javits has submitted amendments to the Legislature said to provide certain safeguards to civil liberties and constitutional rights.

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DON'T UPSET
TRADITIONS AND
HABITS OF
THE SOUTH!



Lines of Jobless Grow As Axe Hits Auto Again

By William Bundy

Unemployment lines in Detroit and other auto centers grew much longer this week as the number of auto workers laid off topped 70,000. This is 10% of the UAW auto membership according to the Feb. 16 Michigan CIO News.

All Chrysler plants in Detroit are cutting back to one shift and laying off 1,000 workers Feb. 27. This brings the Chrysler total to 38,300 according to union reports. General Motors has laid off 12,000. Studebaker-Packard 9,400, Ford 9,000, and American Motors 2,000.

"Some automotive industry authorities explain the present lag as due to a return to 'seasonal factors' that have been absent during the post-war period generally," says a Feb. 18 Associated Press dispatch.

The economic facts of life under capitalism — war boom or bust — are once again being made painfully clear. This is not, however, the first time since the end of World War II that these symptoms have appeared.

It happened twice before, in 1949-50 and in 1954 when mass layoffs spread from auto throughout the entire economy, and unemployment exceeded five million.

ONCE AGAIN?

We may be starting another such slide now. Big Business experts are holding their breaths until the spring sales figures come in.

In each of the two previous slumps the enforced idleness of millions was matched by the enforced speed-up of those left in the plants. The ground lost in conditions on the belt line has never been regained.

In industry in general and in auto in particular, the union bureaucracy failed to defend living standards and working conditions during the slumps.

The "labor statesmen" simply waited for war spending, and over-extension of credit to start a new upward spiral of economic activity, and put off the problem of speed-up until "later."

Once again, despite "reform of capitalism" plans, the auto workers are caught without effective protection.

Reuther's Supplementary Unemployment Benefit plan does not go into effect until June. Even then it will provide aid to only some of the workers laid off, and not much aid, at that. The companies will not have to assume any more responsibility than payment of the five cents an hour which the plan is costing them now. This is not going to deter widespread layoffs.

Reuther's highly touted plan to prevent layoffs is having absolutely no effect when layoffs are actually hitting.

What about the shorter work week — the most practical and effective weapon against layoffs and speed up? Reuther's record on this is not something he can boast about.

At the 1953 convention the Reuther machine pushed through a resolution whose central section reads: "Resolved: 1. That this convention rejects and repudiates the demand for a 30-hour week with 40-hours pay at this time as a politically inspired maneuver that is unsound and impractical, divisive of the Union, a service to the totalitarian aggressors in the Kremlin. . . ."

However, the popularity of the 30-for-40 demand forced Reuther to retreat. At the 1955 convention he decided to give it lip service. He supported the resolution "that this Convention endorses the recommendation of the Economic and Collective Bargaining Conference to place the winning of the shorter work week at the top of our Union's collective bargaining agenda after the GAW has been achieved."

The GAW proved to be not a Guaranteed Annual Wage but a

Supplementary Unemployment Benefit plan and right now when the workers need a shorter work week to spread the available jobs at no loss in pay, they are tied to a contract that does not include this insurance measure.

The net result of Reuther's policies since he took over the UAW has been to prevent the auto workers from using effective weapons against layoffs and the speed-up, while covering himself with militant talk and sugary "plans."

Westinghouse Strike Goes into Fifth Month

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — Now going into its fifth month, the strike of 55,000 Westinghouse workers has become the longest industrial strike since World War II.

Negotiations have broken down over the key issue of "time standards." The Westinghouse Corporation has refused to compromise on its right to increase the speed-up, reduce wages and eliminate jobs.

But all its efforts to date to break the strike by a "back to work movement" and systematic police violence have failed to puncture the militant front of IUE and UAW pickets at the gates of 40 Westinghouse plants.

The spirit and morale of the strikers is at a high level. Two million dollars have been contributed to the Westinghouse strike fund by AFL-CIO unions and the New York AFL-CIO is now raising another million. At its Miami Beach meeting the top

council of the AFL-CIO passed a resolution calling upon all its affiliates, local unions and members to support the strike "generously and frequently."

The resolution, while taking note of the seriousness of the strike, did not go beyond routine support. A resolution of this type makes it easier to collect donations from various affiliates of the AFL-CIO; but it falls short of the expectations that the strikers and workers everywhere had of more effective action by the AFL-CIO leaders.

The Ohio Industrial Union Council had called upon the AFL-CIO executive council to initiate a nationwide consumers' boycott of Westinghouse products.

STANDING OVATION

The audience extended a standing ovation to this outstanding civil liberties fighter as he concluded with warm thanks to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which sponsored the meeting, his attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, and to the audience itself.

Mr. Birkhead who travelled from Washington for the meeting, commended those present as stalwart defenders of civil liberties and suggested "a good conduct medal for your braving the kind of weather we have to

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Alabama Arrests Negro Leaders Of Boycott Fight

Anti-Union Law Used By Racists

By Harry Ring

FEB. 22 — Deputy sheriffs moved into the Negro community of Montgomery, Ala., today to arrest 115 leaders and supporters of the anti-Jim Crow bus boycott in that city. Among the first arrested was the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the chief leaders of the 80-day old boycott movement.

Warrants for the arrests were issued after a Montgomery County grand jury indicted the boycott movement under an anti-union state law which declares illegal a "conspiracy, combination or agreement to interfere with or hinder business." The law provides for fines up to \$1,000 and jail sentences up to six months. Asked if he expected trouble making the wholesale arrests, Sheriff Butler curtly declared, "That's up to them." The trial of the boycott leaders is set for March 16. They are now at liberty on \$300 bail each.

The 100% effective bus boycott which began Dec. 5 was originally intended as a one-day protest demonstration of the 42,000-member Negro community against the arrest and fining of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger as required by the "flexible" segregated setup on the buses. The inspiring support given by the Negro community to the demonstration converted it into the present movement, organized in the Montgomery Improvement Association, to win correction of the worst of the abuses suffered by the Negroes on the Jim Crow buses.

"STOP PUSSYFOOTING"

The current assault on the Negro people of Montgomery comes as a climax to a campaign of intimidation, coercion and violence levelled against them in a savage effort to break the boycott movement. The campaign was sparked

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AUTHERINE LUCY

Have You Had Your Daily Dose of Poison?

By Reba Aubrey

Recently I haven't been able to bring myself to buy lettuce even though I'm tempted every time I see how crisp and garden fresh it looks.

I keep thinking of the 30,816 heads "contaminated with endrin, a complex naphthalene compound," seized a few weeks ago by the Federal Food and Drug Administration. The contamination wasn't accidental. Endrin is a spray used in the fields to ward off insects with a taste for lettuce like mine.

This "Super Chief Brand" lettuce, grown in El Centro, Calif., was shipped by the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co. to its A&P Food Stores in the New York City area. There just happened to be enough endrin to scare someone who noticed it in transit across state lines.

Kenneth R. Lenington, chief inspector of the FDA, explained to the N.Y. Times that "human tolerance" for this poisonous insecticide is not known. "There has not been enough clinical work yet to ascertain the full picture." But, "We know small quantities of endrin can be quite toxic."

Only because the "contaminated" lettuce was "shipped across state lines" was it seized, therefore saving New Yorkers from furthering the "clinical work" necessary to ascertain the full picture of "human tolerance" for this deadly insect killer. But how about the people of California who will eat the lettuce left behind? How much endrin can they tolerate as part of the dressing in their salad bowls?

The lettuce seized in New York is not an isolated case. Today

most crops are sprayed with DDT or similar deadly chemicals needed to keep insect pests from cutting into farm profits. If crops must be reduced, it is done "properly" with government subsidies and full publicity about unsaleable surpluses.

But why are such poisonous chemicals sprayed on crops before full clinical work has determined their effect on the human beings who eat the crops?

The fact is that tests are being made and you and I happen to be the guinea pigs.

The giant chemical corporations as much as admitted this when, at a Congressional hearing, they said through their spokesman, Dr. W. M. Hoskins, Professor of Entomology, Agricultural Experiment Station, Berkeley, Calif., that "really unchallengeable data can be ob-

tained only by long-continued and extensive tests on humans" and that this "is already being done, in an unplanned way, with every new agricultural chemical."

In other words, something new has been placed in the shopping bag you carry out of the grocery store and butcher shop — small samples of poisons. The pesticide companies figure the quantities are so small that most people won't even get sick — at least not very sick — from a few doses. But they don't know what happens as the poisons build up in your system. They expect to find out, however, as time goes on and the consumers are turned into statistics.

Already a few facts are known.

and fellow of the American Institute of Chemists, indicates how in just the past few years the American public has come to live in a world of kitchen and dining room poisons.

For instance, the Journal of the American Medical Association of March 10, 1951, reported that a 30-year-old farmer, apparently in good health, "sprayed his barn with DDT and lime. The operation required close contact with the spray for approximately one week. Then the patient noticed bleeding gums, sore throat and spots on his tongue and over the rest of his body. . . . He was hospitalized but died "two weeks after the first exposure." Eleven other "accidental fatalities from DDT poisoning" were listed in the same article.

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DDT TAKES ITS TOLL

A new book, Our Daily Poison, by Leonard Wickenden, chemist

Heinrich Heine Centennial

By Trent Hutter

Germany's greatest lyric poet following Goethe and one of mankind's outstanding revolutionary writers died in Paris one hundred years ago on Feb. 17, 1856.

Heinrich Heine was born in Düsseldorf in the Rhineland Dec. 13, 1797 and grew up under the rule of Napoleon, which was liberating in Germany. The heritage of the French Revolution, his Jewish background, the German Romanticism of the early 19th century considerably influenced Heine.

His rich uncle Salomon Heine in Hamburg wanted to set him up in business; but the young man's incapacity as a businessman was too obvious; and so he was permitted to study law. At the Universities of Bonn, Göttingen and Berlin he met some of the most enlightened spirits of his time. In Berlin he became a pupil of Hegel.

In 1825 he embraced the Protestant faith, hoping this would facilitate an official career; but later he regretted the opportunistic step; and his expectations concerning a university post faded when the Bavarian Clericals opposed his becoming a professor in Munich.

From the beginning Heine the poet was not content with mere romantic melancholy; and unlike other romantics he did not glorify the Middle Ages. Instead of trying to escape into an idealized feudalism he attacked and ridiculed the reactionary forces of narrow-minded despotism and bigotry and defended the ideas of the French Revolution and the memory of Napoleon who had driven out the West German princes.

WELCOMED REVOLUTION

He welcomed the Paris July Revolution of 1830; and in 1831, after a warning from the mighty Prince Metternich, Europe's leading reactionary statesman before 1848, the poet voluntarily emigrated to France, since he did not feel safe in Germany any more. In 1835 his writings were temporarily banned in the German Confederation.

Heine blended romantic sentiment, folklore, satire and humor. He challenged all the provincialist, chauvinistic, intolerant cur-

rents in German intellectual life. And German reactionaries, from Catholic conservatives to 20th century fascist racists, have never pardoned the cosmopolitan non-conformist and advocate of Franco-German understanding. Yet his ballad "The Lorelei" became part of German folklore.

Heine lived with and later married Mathilde Mirat, a Parisian working-class girl. He badly needed money for their household and was obliged to accept a pension from the Guizot government. His enemies reproached him with being on the payroll of the French cabinet; but the same pension was granted to every prominent refugee, and there were no strings attached. In fact, Heine never felt obliged to abstain from criticizing the government.

In 1843 he met Karl Marx. Friendly relations soon developed between the two intellectual giants. Having turned away from bourgeois liberalism and having passed through a stage of Saint-Simonian utopian socialism, Heine increasingly realized under the influence of Marx that a socialist society could be created only through proletarian revolution.

The last eight years of his life were overshadowed by constant illness. A spine disease forced him to stay in bed; but his spirit was unbroken and he continued to work. His marked return to Judaism did not spell renunciation of his socialist ideas. It was more the proud affirmation of belonging to a minority that represented an age-old spiritual tradition and that was the target of bigots and chauvinists. Heinrich Heine never capitulated to the latter. He never ceased to fight for mankind.

The Federal Government will spend ten times as much money in 1956-57 stockpiling arms than on natural disaster insurance, loans and relief. Budget figures call for \$378 million and \$32 million respectively.

What Role Will Left Wing Play In Building Labor's Own Party?

By Murry Weiss

It would be a mistake to assume that the labor bureaucracy as a whole, or an important section of it, is incapable of heading up a Labor Party in the U.S. provided it became convinced that the movement towards the formation of such a party could no longer be thwarted.

It is true that the present alliance of the labor officials with the Democratic Party is deep-rooted and has become an integral part of the bureaucracy's mode of existence. However, the attachment of the bureaucracy to its basic source of power and revenue — the organizations of the working class — is strong and under certain conditions decisive. When the American workers start moving in massive numbers towards the Labor Party idea, the bureaucracy is likely to realize that, unless it makes a shift, a Labor Party will get organized under left-wing leadership.

LESSON OF CIO

The lesson of the CIO's formation is instructive in this respect. For many decades the craft union officials were deaf to all the arguments of the radicals advocating the organization of the mass production workers into industrial unions. But when the "grass roots" movement of the mass production workers in the basic industries became sufficiently powerful, a significant wing of the labor bureaucracy — John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, etc. — formed the Committee for Industrial Organization which led to the split of the AFL and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organization.

When a great movement for a Labor Party gets under way a similar phenomenon is probable. One thing the labor bureaucrats can be depended upon to do, and that is to fight for their self preservation. Sometimes this requires of them that they take a radical step and assume a radical coloration.

The role of the labor bureaucracy in a Labor Party is, however, predetermined by its essential character and function as a privileged caste within the labor movement, bound by its ma-

At First Joint AFL-CIO Rally



AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Vice Pres. Walter Reuther salute crowd of 19,000 who gathered in Bay Front Park, Miami, to protest injunctions against striking hotel workers. It was the largest labor rally in open-shop Florida and the first mass rally of the merged federation anywhere.

terial privileges to the ideology and interests of the capitalist ruling class. (See two previous articles, Militant, Feb. 13 and 20.) In a Labor Party the labor officials will carry out their class collaboration policy under new conditions.

The Labor Party will undoubtedly be divided from the beginning into two wings — the class collaborationist bureaucracy and the radical left wing. The same conditions which produce the invincible movement for a Labor Party will favor the left wing, opening before it the opportunity to lead the whole movement towards a socialist solution of the crisis of mankind.

THE LEFT WING

Thus, the most important question will be the character of the left wing, its program and leadership. If, for example, the left wing becomes dominated by the

who say the revolutionists should not form a party of their own today, who preach dissolution of such impractical projects in favor of awaiting the unforeseen reality of the future, indulge in bubble-headed pipe dreams about the capacity of a labor bureaucracy to play a revolutionary role under certain conditions.

This conception confounds the maneuvers of the bureaucracy with a revolutionary policy. The "radical" positions of a bureaucracy are always reduced to an attempt on their part to deceive the workers with words, lead the militant movement along and await the first opportunity to switch it into a hopeless blind alley and then subdue it.

The caste of labor functionaries in the U.S. will if anything prove to be worse, not better, in this respect than their blood brothers in Europe. This caste, from the top princes of the international unions, to the dukes and counts of the regional offices, down to the barons of the locals have been fashioned into an organism that functions exclusively within the framework of the capitalist system. In the showdown between the workers and the capitalists they will fight tenaciously to preserve that system.

Who will stand up to this bureaucracy and defeat it? Pursuing their opposition to a revolutionary vanguard party, the aforementioned radicals say: If the bureaucracy should prove to be such an obstacle, the working class "as a whole" will rise up to remove it.

WORKING CLASS VANGUARD

This notion is no better than the one about an unknown and unforeseen movement arising to do the job for us. The working class as a whole is divided into parts. Part of the class is its vanguard, made up of its most militant, conscious and far-seeing elements. Another part of the class is tied to bureaucracy by its conservatism and privileged position in production. Then there is a large and variegated middle group that tends in part to the one pole and in part to the other. The question is: Will the vanguard unite the working class as a whole under its leadership and destroy the bureaucracy or will the bureaucracy mobilize the more conservative workers and sections of the middle layers against the vanguard?

This question will be resolved in favor of a socialist victory to the degree that the vanguard has had time to prepare and organize for the showdown. Bitter historic experience attests to the fact that this preparation is not the work of a few weeks or months. It requires years of selection and testing to form a cadre of revolutionists and a party capable of measuring up to its tasks in a revolutionary crisis. The pressure of the enemy class at such moments can become terribly acute. This pressure is transmitted through the labor bureaucracy primarily, but it envelops and bears down on the vanguard itself.

If the revolutionary party has not had sufficient time to prepare and train itself, including the time necessary to hammer out all basic questions of program, tactics and leadership, it can falter and collapse in the face of hostile pressure. Fortunately, the class-conscious vanguard is by its very nature capable of long years of preparation, assimilating the lessons of all previous working class struggles and schooling itself in scientific socialism. To build the vanguard and its party organization is to prepare for those critical moments in history when the issue hangs in the balance. Under the specific conditions that we can foresee it means that when a Labor Party is formed and the struggle for power between labor and capital is sharpened, the working class will not find itself without a conscious and prepared leadership.

Thus, the position of the various radical organizations in the U.S. today, particularly their position on the touchstone question of the vanguard revolutionary party, foreshadows the role they will play in the Labor Party movement of tomorrow. It is useful, therefore, to make a closer examination of these radical organizations.

(Third of a series. Watch for next article on: The Stalinists and the Labor Party Question.)

When the American workers form their mass political organization they will very soon face the question: Who will rule in America — Labor or Big Business?

With the issue posed in this fashion the labor bureaucrats will be put under enormous pressure. How will they react to such a situation? The same people

The Westinghouse Strike in Phila.

By Fred Talbot

LESTER, Pa., Feb. 21 — "This is a battle of attrition," said one of the 20 pickets at the main entrance to the South Philadelphia Works of the Westinghouse Corporation here today. The

plant's 6,000 workers, members of local 107, are the largest local of the independent United Electrical Worker's Union membership in the Westinghouse system. Of the 55,000 Westinghouse workers now on strike, about 10,000 are members of the UE. The rest are members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO. The union was split in 1949 when the UE was undemocratically expelled from the CIO during the witch hunt purge conducted by the right wing bureaucrats.

"We've been out since midnight Oct. 14," said one of the pickets. "It's been a long strike, and the picketing has become pretty routine. The high point of the day is when we boo the foremen when they go in the morning and come out at night."

"We gave 'em a good show last week, though," he added. "About 500 people from all around here — there were officials from 46 unions — came down to show us where they stood. The officials from the AFL-CIO unions made speeches saying they wouldn't forget what local 107 had done for unionism in the Delaware valley. It was a good show. They even had it on TV."

So far the company has not attempted to resume production with scabs here. Many of the strikers have found temporary jobs elsewhere. Morale is high in spite of the length of the strike. When asked about Attorney General Brownell's request of the Subversive Activities Control board to declare the UE a "subversive organization," one of the picketers replied: "We're watching it. Nothing has happened yet, but we figure they've got something special lined up for us. I know one thing, if anything serious develops, there will be a flood of people down here. We've helped a lot of other unions in this area, and they would be down here too."

When this plan was first announced workers who were heretofore apathetic about a strike,

... Kutcher Hailed at N. Y. Rally

(Continued from page 1)

night to come out to this meeting."

Reiterating the consistent support the AVC has given to Kutcher from the very beginning in 1948, Mr. Birkhead said that when he learned of the attempt to deprive Kutcher of his pension he contacted the leaders of the other major veterans' organizations for support of a statement drawn up by the AVC condemning the VA's action.

"We know Kutcher has had a rough deal," these leaders told him. "But the case is so controversial to come out on now. Let's wait and see what happens and maybe if it doesn't come out right then we can take a position."

The AVC leader then urged those in the audience who were in a position to do so to raise their voices in all veterans' organizations to rally support for Kutcher's fight because every veteran would be affected by its outcome.

AN "HISTORICAL FIGURE"

Mr. Wescher pledged to the audience that the Post, which broke the story of the VA's pension action, would not give up the fight until full victory had been won with the restoration of Kutcher's job. In an eloquent tribute to Kutcher, the Post editor declared that in compensation for the persecution that he has suffered at the government's hands Kutcher had become an "historical figure" in the struggle for the preservation of the Bill of Rights.

Morris Iushewitz, Secretary-treasurer of the New York City CIO Council, prevented by illness from making his scheduled address to the meeting, sent a telegram restating the full support of that body to the Kutcher Committee. Similar messages of solidarity were read from Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union and Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Committee.

The meeting, which contributed \$180 to help defray expenses of the fight, was presented with a resolution by Chairman George L. Weissman demanding that "The persecution of James Kutcher cease and that the Veterans Administration act in a con-

sistent and logical way after restoring his pension by restoring his job to him.

The resolution, which was adopted unanimously, was a copy of one made public, Feb. 10, by the Dress and Waistmakers Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York.

The full text of the telegram sent by Morris Iushewitz, Sec. Treas. of the N.Y.C. CIO Council, was as follows:

"I intensely regret that because of illness I am unable to be with you tonight to speak on behalf of James Kutcher and congratulate him and the committee for the great stand taken on civil liberties as far back as 1948. In November, 1949, the New York City CIO Council unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing and supporting the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee and pledging moral and financial assistance to James Kutcher in fighting his dismissal from the Veterans Administration in Newark. In all this time we see no reason to change our stand. If anything this stand is strengthened and reaffirmed. We pledge our continued support and assistance in the fight ahead for the full restoration of the civil liberties of James Kutcher. We are certain that the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee will bring this case to a victorious conclusion."

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

Fri., March 2 —
"The People of China Speak"
Speaker: J. L. S. Morgan
1702 E. 4th St., 8:15 P. M.
Donation 25c.

Book - A - Month Plan

February Selection
Slave Mutiny
THE REVOLT
of the
SCHOONER
AMISTAD
By William A. Owens
Published at \$4.00
Special February price
\$1.00
(plus 15c. mailing charge)
Payments must accompany order
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The Growth of Conformity in the U.S.
Fri., March 2, at 8 P. M.
TWO EYEWITNESS REPORTS
1. The Bus Boycott Movement in Montgomery, Ala.
2. The Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington, D. C.
Friday, March 9, at 8 P. M.
At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

Hearts in Fight

"There is an evangelical quality to this bus boycott movement, and the city fathers recognize it as ominous. The Negroes, as both sides agree, have their hearts in this," says a Feb. 13 New York Herald Tribune report from Montgomery, Ala.

... Boycott Leaders Arrested

(Continued from page 1)

by the declaration of Mayor Gayle Jan. 24, that it was time to "stop pussyfooting around" with the boycotters. The Mayor, along with the City Commissioners is an avowed member of the racist White Citizens Council.

Six days after the Mayor's declaration of war a bomb was hurled into the home of the Rev. Martin King, one of the boycott leaders. Two days later, Feb. 1, another bomb exploded on the porch of the home of Mr. E. D. Nixon, former state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a leading figure in the present fight.

Since the boycott began local police have carried on a campaign of harassment. Drivers of cars in the organized riding pools have been jailed on trumped-up technicalities. The Rev. King was arrested, fingerprinted and fined for allegedly driving 30 miles an hour in a 25-mile-an-hour zone. Negroes waiting to be picked up by car pool drivers have been pushed around and jailed for "loitering." Police Chief Sellers, also a White Citizens Council member, said, "We do not intend to permit them to become a nuisance in the white neighborhoods."

ATTACK ON GRAY

One of those singled out for special persecution has been Mr. Fred D. Gray, the 25-year-old lawyer for the boycott movement. Gray filed suit on behalf of five complainants in federal court Feb. 2 to have the local bus segregation laws declared unconstitutional. (The boycott movement has put forward the demand for a revision of the segregation statute to put an end to the practice of compelling Negroes to yield their seats to whites. This is a "first come first served" demand within the framework of the segregation law. Also demanded is a halt to insult and abuse of Negro passengers by white drivers and the hiring of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes. Now Gray's legal move challenges the constitutionality of the segregation law itself.

City officials immediately put the heat on one of the complainants and succeeded in coercing her into withdrawing her name from the brief. Gray was then arrested on the crude frame-up charge of "fraudulently" representing a client without authorization. If convicted he faces a stiff fine and disbarment. In addition, Gray, who is also a minister, suddenly had his religi-

ous deferment changed to a 1A classification.

The grim determination of the racists to halt this civil rights movement in its tracks was expressed in the Grand Jury indictment which brazenly declared: "Segregation and the NAACP attack on segregation are the primary cause of the unrest and increasing tension between whites and Negroes in Montgomery. In this state we are committed to segregation by custom and by law; we intend to maintain it."

There is every indication that the movement of the Negroes for their rights will remain equally determined despite the new attack. In the face of the impending indictment and immediately after the arrest of Attorney Gray, a mass meeting attended by 4,000 Negroes on Feb. 20 voted with but two dissenting voices to reject a phony "compromise offer" of the city administration. Mr. Abernathy then issued this statement: "We have walked for 12 weeks in the cold and rain. Now the weather is warming up. Therefore, we will walk on until some better proposals are forthcoming from our city fathers."

"STAND FAST!"

His statement was typical of the militant spirit of the entire movement. That spirit was expressed at an earlier meeting when the Rev. King called to the ranks: "From the midst of poverty and persecution, from the midst of bombs and tensions, from the midst of our community and from this audience — Stand fast!" The audience replied as one, "We will!"

The Alabama battle line between the white supremacists and fighters for Negro rights now runs from the capital city of Montgomery to the university town of Tuscaloosa. There the White Citizens Council gang has stepped up its activity in the drive to keep Negro co-ed Authurine Lucy off the University of Alabama campus. Miss Lucy who had been admitted to the university under court order was driven off the campus Feb. 6 by a racist mob who operated without interference from the police or school authorities. The university then barred her on grounds of "her own safety." The NAACP has taken court action to force reversal of the ban.

WHITE COUNCIL

The student "leader" of the mob that stoned and egged Miss Lucy off the campus, a Leonard Wilson, has now emerged as the chairman of the Tuscaloosa White

Citizens Council which held an organization meeting Feb. 18 of 1,000 including an unestimated number of students. After a number of speakers talked with tongue in cheek about maintaining segregation "without violence," the meeting came to life when a loose-tongued, foul-mouthed racist took the floor to yell: "You don't want no n — — — s in your schools. I'm a rebel and they ain't going to force this chicken to go to school with a n — — — r b — — — d or any of my people to go. We want to let the n — — — r know that we know what he wants to do. These n — — — s rave about the Constitution of the United States. . . . When we had them under control we had no need to worry about them. Then we turned 'em loose and now we have to worry."

On the other side of the ledger is the encouraging development of a body of sentiment among white students and teachers at the university against mob rule. Last week a petition was circulated on the campus calling for Miss Lucy's reinstatement. Considering the background of the students and the heavy pressure they were under not to sign it is gratifying to know that five hundred of them were courageous and conscious enough to put their signature on the petition.

This action of the students comes as a limited but welcome support to the Negro people of Tuscaloosa who understand the gravity of the situation and are grimly determined to take all necessary steps to defend their lives and rights.

DEFENSE MEASURES

A correspondent for the Chicago Defender, a leading Negro newspaper, reported Feb. 18: "Miss Lucy was getting solid backing in her fight from the Negro citizens of Tuscaloosa. When the rioting first broke out the townspeople gathered up rounds of ammunition and formed a posse to escort her out of town. 'It was reported that a Tuscaloosa store has sold over 100 boxes of ammunition and rifles until city authorities clamped down and forbade sales.'"

The same correspondent reported Feb. 14 that when Senator Eastland spoke at a provocative White Citizens Council rally in Montgomery Feb. 10 the leaders of the boycott movement instructed the Negro citizens to remain in their homes during the racist rally and if it was neces-

sary to go out to do so unarmed. A spokesman for the Montgomery Improvement Association explained, "We are conducting this in an orderly peaceful way, but these WCC members are determined to stir up trouble. When we go out we go unarmed. But inside our homes we have a right to protect ourselves."

These developments are well summed up in a banner headline of the Feb. 18 Defender, "Bama: Rights Battleground — Bus Ala. U. Fights Symbolize Dixie Conflict." The Alabama battleground, along with the whole Southern front, must be seriously considered by the legislative lobby on civil rights which will convene in Washington March 4-6 under the auspices of 50 major labor, Negro and civic organizations and initiated by the NAACP and AFL-CIO. Present plans are to limit the turnout in Washington to 2,000 delegates and to confine its activities to the usual visits to Congressmen to urge passage of a series of important civil rights measures.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The Alabama conflict, as well as the anti-Negro terror in Mississippi, demand that the Washington lobby be torn out of the rut of "business as usual" lobbying. The Negro and labor sponsors of the rally should heed the demand, expressed by overflow demonstrations against the Till lynching last Fall and repeatedly urged by Dr. T. R. M. Howard and other Negro leaders, that a mass March on Washington of the Negro and labor movement be organized.

Such a giant gathering could launch the kind of a program so vitally needed to support the valiant Southern fighters for civil rights. It could serve as a conference to spark an all-out unionization drive throughout the South. Unionization would provide the Negro people with the allies they need in their battle to defend themselves against the racists. Unionization would strike at the economic and social roots of Jim Crow.

At the same time a huge turnout in Washington could demand loudly and emphatically of the federal government that it discharge its duty by dispatching troops to Mississippi to defend the constitutional rights and very lives of the Negro people of that state.

The Negro people of the South are standing bravely in the face of terror to defend their rights. They need effective support now.

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Wilkins Does a Knife Job

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent a letter Feb. 14 to all branches and youth councils of the organization warning them to be "very careful in your selection of delegates" to the March 4-6 civil rights rally in Washington.

The letter states: "You know that the national policy of the NAACP is not to cooperate with any Communist-front or left-wing group." It goes on to instruct the branches to screen these "undesirable" elements out of their delegations.

There is no use mincing words. Wilkins' letter is a disloyal and treacherous attack on a section of the civil rights movement. And Wilkins has dealt the civil rights cause a foul blow by unleashing a divisive witch hunt at the very moment fullest attention must be given to the business of mobilizing an effective rally in Washington.

Wilkins himself indicates the source of the pressure to which he bowed when he reports in his letter, "Many Washington officials and numerous daily newspapers and wire services are making inquiries because they have heard that our rally in Washington will be 'captured' by left-wing individuals and groups."

It is clear from this that the red-baiters have put the heat on the NAACP leaders. And it is also clear that these leaders have reacted exactly as the red-baiters and race haters wished them to.

Haven't the NAACP leaders learned from the recent struggles in the South that red-baiting and witch hunting is part of the arsenal of the white-supremacist gang? In recent months the NAACP has been subjected to a full-scale red-smear in the South. The NAACP has been called "subversive," "Communist," "left wing" and "a bunch of outside agitators."

The ominous figure of Eastland, the chief red hunter of the U.S. Senate at present, personifies the unity of race baiting and witch hunting.

What interest can the Negro people possibly have in screening its members and delegates for non-conformist "left-wing" ideas? Moreover, Wilkins has handed a weapon to the racist red-baiters. As invariably happens in such situations, the Eastlands will take the offensive with the argument: "Even the NAACP leaders admit that their organization is honey-combed with 'Communists.' Let's look into this nest of 'subversives' by conducting a real investigation."

The issue then becomes: is the NAACP "Communist infiltrated" or not? That's exactly the issue the racist witch-hunters would like to boom up. That would take attention away from the savage campaign of terror against the Negro people and cover the Southern white supremacists with a thick smoke-screen of fighting the "Communist menace."

Presumably, Wilkins and the labor officials will react to such stepped-up witch hunt pressure as they have up to now — by opening an even more vigorous red hunt within the NAACP and the unions

to "prove" that they are not "Communist tainted." And what happens to the civil rights struggle in the meantime?

If anyone thinks these are fanciful exaggerations and speculations they have only to recall the recent McCarthy era. While the would-be fascist Senator from Wisconsin cracked the witch-hunt whip, the leaders of the union movement, for example, conducted a shameful "loyalty" purge within the labor movement, in which they went a long way towards strangling all internal union democracy. The fighting power of the unions was sapped. And the open-shop, anti-labor legislation drive of Big Business gained momentum.

Wilkins is wielding a dangerous knife. The re-baiting game can never serve the aims of the Negro people. He should be called to order before any more damage is done.

If the NAACP leaders are really concerned about the alleged danger of radicals capturing the civil rights rally, we have a very simple remedy to suggest. Instead of trying to keep the delegation down to 2,000, the limit set in the NAACP call for the rally, why not summon a great popular assemblage to Washington that would be truly representative of the will of the Negro people and the labor movement? This has been suggested by prominent Negro leaders, among them Dr. T. R. M. Howard, a front-line fighter in the civil rights battle. Wouldn't such a mass turnout prevent an artificial domination of the rally by a minority? Or does Wilkins fear that if Dr. Howard's proposal for "1,000,000 red-blooded Americans to march on Washington" were carried out the majority would turn out to be "left-wing individuals"?

Wilkins' letter really aims at preventing a mass turnout at the civil rights rally. In his official call Feb. 2, he openly discouraged mass attendance, using the specious argument that Congress would be more impressed by "the number of states and congressional districts represented" than "upon the number of individual delegates." As if Congress wouldn't be considerably more impressed by 20,000, or 200,000 representative delegates appealing at the steps of the Capitol building for enforcement of civil-rights laws.

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Wilkins has designed his red-baiting in behalf of the alliance between the Democrats and the officialdom of the NAACP and labor. This unholy alliance wants to soft-pedal the Washington mobilization. Otherwise it might embarrass the Democrats who think it better to appease Eastland than to carry out their civil rights promises to the Negro people.

We don't believe the rank and file of the NAACP will go along with either the motives or the methods of the officials in this instance. The rank and file may well ask: "Why not blast the phonies of the Democratic party instead of delivering a stab in the back to the militant fighters in the front ranks of the civil rights struggle?"

The N.Y. Times Is "Invincible"

Wall Street's press squirms when it considers the giant successes of the Soviet Union in the economic field since the 1917 workers' revolution. It squirms even when it tries to expose the loaded statistics and extravagant boasts of the Kremlin bureaucrats, as at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

Even the powerful N. Y. Times, which is able to pay for quality as well as quantity in buying arguments in defense of capitalism, suffers the embarrassment of dire poverty in trying to discount the progress clearly recognizable in the former empire of the Czars.

For instance, in a Feb. 16 editorial, this authoritative voice of Big Business is reduced to sputtering: "Would an 'invincible' system have failed so abysmally as Soviet communism has in giving its people a decent standard of living...? Does Khrushchev really think that an economic system which is still only in the stage of promising its people a forty-two-hour week is more attractive than a system which has given its people a thirty-five or forty hour week with the highest standard of living in the world?"

Does the editor of the N. Y. Times really think that no one notices his dishonesty in not taking for comparison a country at the level of Czarist Russia when the 1917 Revolution occurred?

Suppose, for example, he took Spain. First he would have to note that Spain escaped the ravages of two world wars in which the Russian people suffered heavily (although Spain, like Russia, did suffer

civil war). Then he would have to admit that in Russia we see giant strides toward industrialization, including agriculture, and an undeniable leap in the cultural level of a once illiterate country. While in Spain he would be forced to admit the stagnation, decline in the standard of living, and fetid decay in the cultural level of a capitalist-blessed land.

But even in taking America for comparison, does the editor of the Times really think no one remembers the news he considers fit to print? In the Feb. 4 Times, for instance, the editor himself had to agree with Gov. Harriman that one out of eleven families in the U.S. lives on an annual income of less than \$1,000, and one out of five on less than \$2,000.

The very day before he decided to wiggle out of admitting the inherent capacities of planned economy, as demonstrated by the record in the Soviet Union despite the bureaucratic deformations, the editor published the results of an official survey in New York, richest city of the capitalist world, showing that three-quarters of all residential housing is substandard and 22% is "dangerous and prejudicial to life and health."

Now, as expiation for his sophistry, we respectfully suggest that the editor of the Times please write an editorial explaining why the "invincible" capitalist system in America could not even raise minimum wages to \$1 an hour until March 1, 1956 and then felt forced to exclude about five-eighths of the work force from the provisions of the law.

By Daniel Roberts

On surface appearance, the Middle East seems to be criss-crossed with rivalries and conflicts out of which it is impossible to distinguish a progressive line of development. Conflict between U.S. and British oil trusts, dynastic rivalries between the kings of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, the Arab-Israel conflict, rival maneuvering between the cold war antagonists, conflicts between Arab states—in none of these does it seem as if the tens of millions who live and toil in the Middle East could advance their own interests by taking sides.

The surface appearance, however, is deceptive. All these rivalries and conflicts unfold around a basic axis of development — namely the steady advance of the Arab revolution for national independence. This movement is a tremendously progressive force that is arousing the Arab masses to struggle against semi-feudal rulers and foreign plunderers.

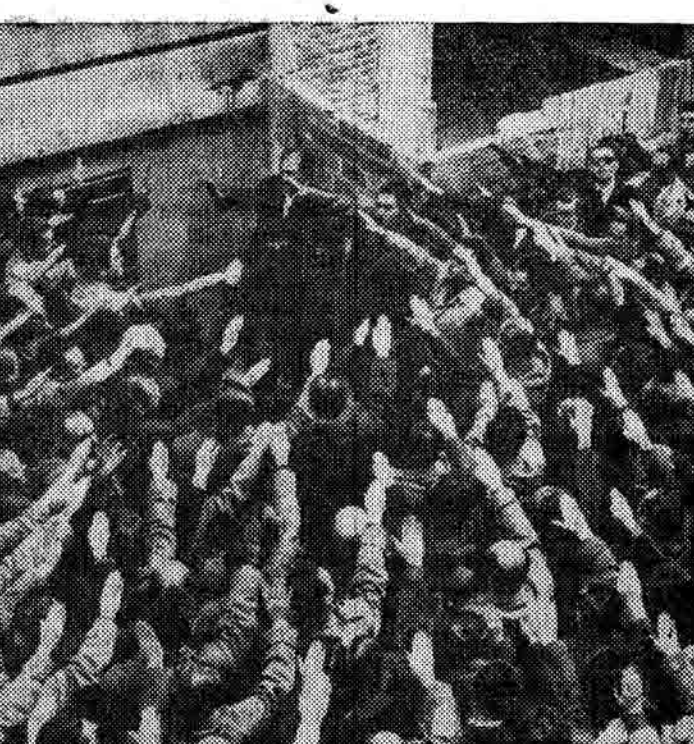
COMBINED DEVELOPMENT

The Arab nationalist movement is one with the anti-imperialist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Full victory for the national independence revolution will bring the workers and peasants of the Middle East into power and mark the beginning of a social transformation of the area. There is no road to socialism in the Middle East aside from the one which proceeds from the national independence struggle, which in turn cannot be finally successful except through the creation of workers' states.

The national revolution in the Middle East challenges foreign holding of vast pools of oil composing nearly two-thirds of the known reserves in the world. Lavish profits are pumped out with the oil and piped to the largest international Big Business enterprises — namely, the oil trusts. Loss of their Middle Eastern empire would be a crippling blow to the Big Business rulers of U.S., England and France.

To British imperialism in particular, the Middle Eastern oil she con-

Triggers Madrid Demonstrations



This is the ceremony that touched off anti-Franco student demonstrations in Madrid, with wide repercussions inside Spain. Shown are a group of Falangists staging their annual commemoration of Matias Montero, whom fascists consider a student martyr. Street fighting followed counter-demonstration by anti-Falangist students. One student was killed and several injured. Seven persons arrested are reported to have been exiled and two university heads were ousted.

ontrols is almost vital," says Hanson Baldwin in the Jan. 31 N.Y. Times. "Hundreds of millions of pounds annually from the Persian Gulf area help to support the British sterling bloc. Without this oil Britain's economic position would be dangerously, perhaps fatally, impaired and West Europe's economy hurt."

As a result of the rise of the Arab nationalist movement, England is entering into a new stage of crisis in its imperialist rule. It is similar to the one in which France is already deeply plunged through steady loss of its overseas empire. Should the Arab masses end imperialist plunder of their oil resources and their labor, this would lead the British rulers to intensify exploitation of the British work-

ers and force the latter in self-protection to struggle for political power at home. A socialist Britain would then enter into economic relations with the Arab world on the basis of equality and this would lead to well-being for both.

NEW "POLICE ACTIONS"

To counter the mortal threat to their oppressive rule, the U.S. and British governments intimidated earlier this month that their troops would be ready to intervene any time "peace" and "order" are threatened in the Middle East. This would lead to

a Korea-type "police action" to back up their domination in the area against the will of the Arab masses.

Another thrust against the Arab national movement is the campaign waged by the Israeli capitalist government for a U.S. government grant of \$50 million worth of arms. The campaign is being clamorously conducted in the U.S. by the Zionist movement, liberal politicians and certain labor bureaucrats including Walter Reuther.

"We must accept the unpleasant truth that the Arab states are not in our corner and will not willingly align themselves with us — a hard fact with deep historical roots," says Emmanuel Neumann in the 1956 Winter issue of Midstream, a pro-Zionist quarterly. "... As a matter of principle, we should resolutely proceed to arm and to strengthen only such countries as have both the will and capacity to stand by the Western democracies and render effective assistance. This includes, in the first place, Turkey and Israel."

Turkey and Israel are already the main recipients of U.S. aid in the Middle East. But the State Department fears that arms to Israel now would increase Arab opposition to U.S. imperialism and lose the possibility of maneuvering with the Arab nationalist leaders.

On the other hand, to the liberal and labor bureaucrats like Reuther, building up the Israeli government has the advantage of masking an imperialist holding operation behind high-sounding democratic phrases of "defending a democracy" and "giving aid to an outpost of Western civilization."

STALINIST AIMS

The Kremlin, too, in its own way, seeks to halt the advance of the Arab nationalist revolution. It maneuvers with the present Arab nationalist leaders in order to bargain with U.S., British and French imperialism for a four-power pact in the Middle East. The aim of such a pact would trade Kremlin help in stabilizing imperialist rule for a breakup of the anti-Soviet Baghdad Treaty.

Nor do the present leaders of the Arab nationalist movement

seek to take the struggle on the high road of revolution. They seek only to modify, not abolish, imperialist domination and feudal exploitation. They maneuver with mass revolutionary sentiments in order to obtain a greater share of Middle Eastern markets and profits for themselves.

Just the same, the emergence of an Arab capitalist class as a contender for power is shaking up all established patterns of imperialist rule in the Middle East. "The Egyptian revolution though still far from complete," says the Jan. 21 Business Week, "is... undermining the feudal pattern in the rest of the Middle East — the thing on which British control rested."

Furthermore, opposition to the Baghdad Pact led by Egyptian and Syrian governments, ouster of the British from Suez, Egyptian support of the North African struggle against French imperialism, the Egyptian arms deal with the Soviet bloc, demands by Syria for a greater share of oil royalties — all these are clear-cut acts of defiance of imperialist rule, which strengthen the national self-consciousness of the masses and speed their intervention in the struggle as an independent force.

NEW STRUGGLE PREPARED

These moves prepare the next phase of the revolution in which the workers and peasants will struggle for the overthrow — rather than reform — of imperialist domination and feudal rule and the creation of workers' states.

That is why all anti-imperialist moves — even when conducted by the present Arab leaders — must be vigorously defended by class-conscious workers all over the world. This includes the Israeli workers who are exploited on an ever increasing scale by the Israeli capitalists.

Only if they dissociate themselves from the alignment of the Israeli capitalists and imperialists and vigorously champion the cause of Arab liberation can the Israeli workers find a bridge to the Arab masses. That bridge will be their salvation. The Israeli workers will then play an outstanding role in the building of a Socialist Middle East.

... Heirs of Dictator Score Stalin Cult

(Continued from page 1)

strengthening of the Soviet social and state system, the advancement of the material well-being of the people and the all-around development of Soviet culture."

In the arena of world affairs, "Thanks to the consistent peaceable foreign policy of the countries of the Socialist camp, the tension in international relations, the tension fraught with great perils, yielded to a certain détente," Khrushchev offered the caste the spirit of Geneva just as Stalin once offered them Yalta.

By stressing these themes, taking the credit, naturally, for positive achievements due to causes deeply lodged in the international class struggle, Khrushchev sought to establish the legitimacy of Stalin's heirs ruling in their own right.

FOLLOW THE LEADER

The others followed the line laid down by Khrushchev. Mikoyan, for instance, boasted Feb. 17: "Certain ossified forms of our diplomacy, of our foreign trade and economic organs in their relations with foreign countries and the citizens of these countries have been discarded. The isolation of Soviet public and state organizations from the outer world has been liquidated. Contacts between Soviet and foreign statesmen, party leaders and public organizations have been extended."

This need of the new regime to build a favorable public image of itself implies in and of itself cutting down the public image of the dead Stalin. As Khrushchev's photograph is enlarged, Stalin's suffers reduction. But more important than that, the universal hatred of Stalin forces his heirs as a matter of practical power politics to proclaim a "new deal."

Mikoyan went so far as to say that "in the course of about twenty years we, in fact, had no collective leadership." The date is significant — just before the monstrous Moscow Trials. Now, of course, the new regime has "achieved the restoration of Lenin's norms of party life, from top to bottom."

NAMES STALIN

Mikoyan even thrust directly at Stalin's infallibility: "In analyzing the state of the economy in contemporary capitalism, it is doubtful whether Stalin's well-known dictum in the economic problems of socialism in the USSR concerning the U.S.A.,

Britain and France, can help us or is correct."

Besides seeking to establish their competency as rulers, Stalin's heirs made more direct appeals to the bureaucratic caste. Inner party democracy has been "re-established," in place of arbitrary purges of the caste as in Stalin's time, law is now being upheld; in other words, twenty years of abuses have been ended. Under Khrushchev the bureaucratic ranks can breathe easier.

While he made this appeal, Khrushchev also brandished a whip. "The party has become still more monolithic." If anyone has any idea of actually exercising democracy, he implied, let him consider the fate of "The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other malignant enemies of the people... all of whom broke their necks." As a more recent example, let anyone with illusions consider opposing Khrushchev against the fate of "the Beria gang."

Under the banner of "collective leadership," Khrushchev pushed his own bid to become supreme arbiter of the ruling caste. He singled out for attack positions associated with the names of Malenkov and Molotov while assuring his audience of the correctness of positions associated with his own name.

But the stress on "collective leadership" as opposed to "the cult of the individual" also implied attractive proposals to the top levels of the bureaucratic caste.

For instance, the history books in use in the Soviet Union are no longer satisfactory, according to Mikoyan. The new histories that will be written in accordance with the current bureaucratic needs will, we can be sure, recast the role of Stalin's heirs in a more heroic mold than the late dictator permitted when he was "the sun" and "all-wise father of the peoples."

APPEALS TO MASSES

The second important audience to whom Khrushchev addressed his report was the Soviet masses.

Things are already better than in Stalin's time, he said in effect, and they are going to get a lot better still. Just have patience.

First of all, the evils suffered under Stalin have been ended. We are going back to the kind of regime you want, a regime like that of Lenin's. This was one of the purposes of the re-

peated references to Lenin's norms, to inner party democracy, and to rule by law.

Secondly, while it is necessary to still stress production of heavy goods, the Soviet Union is making exceptional progress due to the wise rule of Khrushchev and company. This was the meaning of the stress on the achievements of planned economy.

Thirdly, the masses can expect early amelioration of the worst hardships. Thus the "collective leadership" is putting a lot of attention to production of consumer goods, to improvement of housing conditions, to betterment of living standards, to the ending of line-ups for the most basic necessities such as potatoes, milk and meat.

Fourthly, right now some immediate concessions are going to be granted. Pensions are to be raised. And the working day is going to be reduced to seven hours; that is, the working week is going to be reduced from 48 hours to 42 hours. This will begin to go into effect next year and will become the new norm by the end of the next five-year plan.

Fifthly, the masses can relax about the danger of war. No doubt a danger exists, but war is no longer inevitable and international tension has actually been reduced through the efforts of the "collective leadership."

Finally, Soviet strength is increasing. "Socialism has become a great magnetizing force for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in all lands. The ideas of socialism are really conquering the minds of all toiling mankind." This opens up the possibility of achieving socialism without much further struggle, through new "forms," including conversion of parliament "from an organ of bourgeois democracy into an instrument of genuinely popular will."

Moreover, a "zone of peace," including "both Socialist and non-Socialist peace-loving states of Europe and Asia, has appeared on the world arena." This makes more possible than ever before the "peaceful coexistence" of the Soviet and imperialist blocs and the eventual ending of the war danger through "disarmament."

MASS UNREST

What is interesting in this cajolery, demagoguery and perversion of Leninism is the intimation given of pressures in the Soviet Union. The masses clearly want an end to Stalinism, a return to the kind of regime the

Soviet Union enjoyed under Lenin and Trotsky; and, looking abroad, seeing a weakened capitalist system and a great new ally in revolutionary China, they want a leadership capable of carrying the struggle for socialism to a successful conclusion on a world-wide scale.

The Kremlin finds it necessary to recognize these sentiments, to give some kind of voice to them, and to attempt to stay at the head of them in order not to be flattened out by them.

RENEWED TREATY BID

The third audience to whom Khrushchev appealed was Anglo-American imperialism. He repeated the Kremlin's bid for a treaty and insisted on the Kremlin's sincerity in making it.

He went as far as he could publicly in outlining what the Soviet oligarchy is willing to pay for such a pact.

This includes non-interference "in the internal affairs of countries where a capitalist system exists." This spells out positively to a Kremlin policy of doing everything possible to keep the status quo in capitalist countries. That means, of course, the vast areas in the colonial world where the masses are pressing hard on the capitalist system as well as such key countries as France and Italy where the Stalinists have great influence.

As payment on account, Khrushchev talked about a united front with the Social Democrats and clearly implied limitation of Stalinist policies to the pattern set by the Social Democracy; that is, utilizing positions of leadership in the working class to keep struggles from becoming militant by confining them within the wall of bourgeois parliamentarism.

This is the course the Stalinists are now following in France. Their particular aim at the moment is to demonstrate their capacity to function in ac-

cordance with the Social Democratic pattern.

OLD STUFF

In calling for a united front (actually a "People's Front"), Khrushchev advanced nothing new. This was Stalin's policy after 1935 when he touted the People's Front as a nostrum for meeting the pressure of German imperialism. Stalin ended the People's Front by signing a pact with Hitler. Khrushchev couples the call for a People's Front, which would presumably resist Anglo-American imperialism, with a call for a pact with Wall Street.

The offer of a pact was accompanied by strong statements about the alternative if Washington and London pursue their present course. "Indeed," said Khrushchev, "there are only two ways: either peaceful coexistence, or the most devastating war in history. There is no third alternative."

The full texts of the speeches made at the Twentieth Congress are not yet available. But it is clear from the sample material in the press that the Congress had a double function. (1) By stress on performance and by promises and threats, to consolidate the position of Stalin's heirs with the bureaucratic caste they represent. (2) To emphasize how they propose to meet the threats to the caste emanating from the Soviet masses from one side and from world imperialism on the other.

To the mass opposition in the Soviet Union the Kremlin offered demagoguery plus promises of better times to come. To the imperialist wolves the Kremlin offered cooperation in handling working-class militancy and colonial rebellions. Thus the new regime remained true to Stalin at the first Congress held since his death even while disclaiming some of his methods and traditions.

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Labor and the Alabama Boycott Law

We've made the point time and again in this column that the fate of civil rights for Negroes and of union organization in the South are inseparable. The Montgomery, Alabama grand jury investigation of the current boycott of Jim Crow buses in that city is handwriting on the wall — in great big letters — for all labor to see: Close ranks now with the militant Negro fighters for democratic rights. The government is sharpening legal weapons against them to use on you.

The "crime" of the Montgomery Negroes is that they are hurting the profits of National City Lines, operators of the Montgomery City Bus Lines. They are refusing to pay their hard-earned money for the privilege of being segregated and insulted.

The law under which they are being investigated is Alabama's boycott law, a statute originally aimed at labor disputes, a strike-breaking law. Should the boycott be declared illegal under that law, persons convicted as leaders will be subject to a six months' jail term plus a fine of \$500.

But the grand jury and other local authorities trying to break the solidarity of the Negro masses are not limiting themselves to the boycott law alone; they are following the familiar pattern of legal frame-up and pressure by other agencies common to all oppressive states.

On Feb. 18 Fred D. Gray, 25-year-old Negro attorney, was arrested on a charge of unlawfully filing an anti-segregation suit in U.S. District Court last month without the consent of one of the five

Negro women whose names appear on the complaint.

The basis for this charge was a statement by Mrs. Jeanetta Reese to Mayor L. A. Gayle, in the presence of two newspapermen, that she "didn't know what she was signing" when she put her name on the court petition.

Attorney Gray, victim of this transparent frame-up, was recently reclassified by a local draft board from the 4-D classification he has held since 1948 as a "practicing minister" to 1-A.

The grand jury is expected to hand down additional indictments naming more than one hundred other defendants involved in the bus boycott. [See story page one — ed.]

Does anyone doubt that if Alabama can make the boycott law indictments and frame-ups stick in these cases it will hesitate to use the same tactics against the union movement, for which the statute was passed in the first place?

Now is the time for all unions to throw moral, financial, physical and political support behind the Montgomery bus boycott. Such a campaign by labor could do two things:

(1) It could deal a blow to the boycott law before it is used against the union organizing drive.

(2) It would win the support of the Negro workers of Montgomery for labor organization better than tons of leaflets and hundreds of speeches could do.

The colored workers of Montgomery have demonstrated their desire and ability to organize. All that's needed now is for the labor movement to show equal sincerity and determination.

Other Side of the Story

By Robert Chester

Never accept a press agent's story at face value. There is always a gimmick in it somewhere. I fell for one when I wrote "Advice to Engineers," which appeared in the Feb. 13 Militant.

It is true that the demand for scientists and research men is high, as is the competition for new graduates. But that is only one side of the story.

The other side did not appear when the press agent's story about engineers was featured in the newspapers. The other side came in the form of indignant letters from engineers.

SOME OTHER PLANET

For example, the N. Y. Times printed a letter, Feb. 9, from Henry Mayer, counsel for the Engineers and Scientists of America, who said: "Engineers reading your news story would believe that they had stepped off one of their new earth-bound satellites onto the moon or some other planet."

"The engineers at Arma [a big advertiser] had to go through a ten-week strike this year in order to get a fair contract. The Engineers Association at Sperry also had to strike at Lake Success two years ago and are now in the throes of difficult contract negotiations." The Western Electric Company, he said, was paying its engineers an average of \$3.17 an hour, which is less than many building trade mechanics receive, when it refused to renew its contract with the union last November.

"The dream world of alleged piracy,"

continued Mr. Mayer, "obviously did not include the 'gentlemen's agreement' among the members of the Aircraft Industries Association. That agreement constitutes a blacklist in reverse. Under it the great employers of engineers in the country undertook not to employ engineers in the employ of others without written consent of the present employers."

Mr. Mayer then makes a telling point. "The shortage of engineers is attributable to the manner in which the employers dilute the skills of engineers after they capture them. So huge are the industrial projects today that assembly-line methods are used in breaking the engineering job into bits and pieces." He quotes Professor Eli Ginsberg of Columbia University who reports that "first-rate engineers are being used to do second-rate jobs."

Such letters ring true. It looks as if part of my advice to engineers was not needed. They know what the bosses are like. They are trying to solve their job problems the way other workers do, by organizing and fighting.

But the rest of what I said still holds. The engineers, like other workers, still have to face the larger problems of the witch hunt, of war, unemployment and inflation. They can best solve them through their unions and through independent political action.

The engineers and scientists will play an important role in the future in developing the national planning America needs. But that future won't be under capitalism. It will be under socialism.

Notes from the News

WILLIE REID was given an indefinite stay, Feb. 17, by N. Y. State Supreme Court Justice Dineen until Florida can prove that Reid was indeed convicted of a crime. Governor Harahan signed extradition papers that would send Reid back to a chain gang. His removal from N. Y., however, is now delayed while a hearing is prepared on Reid's charges that he was jailed without a trial despite a plea of "not guilty."

HOUSING CONDITIONS in almost three-fourths of Manhattan's crowded 40,000 residential buildings was marked substandard by New York City's Deputy Housing Commissioner following a survey begun March 1, 1954, the Feb. 15 N. Y. Times reported. These were the results of the first complete survey ever made. The most flagrant violations were those in houses originally built for one or two families that now house as many as 25 families.

LONGEST AUTO STRIKE IN NORTH AMERICA, lasting 148 days, was ended when General Motors signed a two-and-a-half year contract with 17,500 members of the United Automobile Workers in a number of different plants throughout Canada. The contract included a package deal that totaled 26.2 cents an hour increase with supplemental layoff benefits. Many wage differentials with U.S. workers were eliminated.

FROM LABOR'S DAILY, Feb. 16: Manager (pointing to cigarette butt on the floor): "Smith, is this yours?" Smith (pleasantly): "Not at all sir. You saw it first."

MAURICE TRAVIS, former secretary-treasurer of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, was sentenced to eight years in prison and \$8,000 fine after being convicted for perjury under the Communist affidavit clause of the

Taft-Hartley Act which bars Communist Party members from holding union office. Travis was convicted by the testimony of paid government witnesses who claimed the union leader remained inside the Communist Party even though he had issued a public statement of resignation to conform with the requirements of the Act. This was the same charge under which Ben Gold of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union and Hugh Bryson of the Marine, Cooks and Stewards Union were convicted.

FORD LOCAL 600, largest local of the United Automobile Workers Union, has sent a letter passed by its general council asking the U.S. Solicitor General to help in obtaining a Supreme Court review of the Detroit Smith Act cases. Six Communist Party members were convicted under the act. The Local 600 letter pointed out: "We in Local 600 are especially concerned in the Detroit cases because of testimony in said cases which, according to newspaper accounts, indicated that one of the witnesses was actually employed by the FBI to check on union activities in Local 600."

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT was asked: "What does the rest of the world think about our treatment of the Negro?" during a speech at Rollins College in Winter Park, Fla. this month. She replied: "We must remember two things about the world: First, that two-thirds of its people are colored; and second, that those very people by reason of their long experience and their new freedom, are exceedingly sensitive about colonialism. I recall a little matter that occurred over here, the kind of thing apt to happen anywhere, any time, rating a paragraph or two. But it blazed in headlines all over the Orient and was the first question I was asked in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Viet Nam, Malaya, Siam."

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THE MILITANT

Story of a Kentucky Home that Was Bombed

By Myra Tanner Weiss

For nearly two years a lovely little ranch-style house in the suburbs of Louisville, Kentucky, has stood cold and empty, gradually yielding to the wind and rain—all because a Negro veteran took it for his family. One side of the house still shows a gaping hole above a pile of crumbled brick where dynamite exploded on June 27, 1954—a constant reminder to the families living in this neighborhood of the unreasoned hate and prejudice of some among them—a hate that doesn't stop at violence, terror and even murder.

I thought of that vacant house as I listened to Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro veteran, tell me the story of his long struggle to find a home in which he could bring up his two small children. A search that was to end with burning crosses, threats, an explosion and finally the state's persecution of seven white friends of the Wade family.

Like most Americans Wade is not a rich man. The biggest purchase he might hope to make in his life would be a house. He and his wife would probably spend the rest of their days there. They had definite ideas about the kind of house it should be.

CONSPIRACY

"The Commonwealth of Kentucky tried to portray me as an innocent victim of a communist conspiracy to stir up trouble," Wade told me, "A conspiracy in which Carl and Anne Braden were supposed to be the chief plotters. The truth was quite different and I had no difficulty in proving this—to anyone interested in truth. I consulted with many real estate agents, looked at many houses before I found what I wanted. I talked to mortgage companies about financing the purchase and discussed each problem, as I encountered them, with my lawyer."

"The difficulties I met just looking for a house are met by Negroes everywhere—in the North as well as the South. The real conspiracy—and it is a big one," Wade said emphatically, "is that of the real estate agents and mortgage companies. That is the point that you must make when you write about our fight in Louisville."

I was glad to see that the state of Kentucky hadn't put Andrew Wade on the defensive. Far from it. He was accusing the forces in this country that are responsible for segregation, including the protective covering and even aid that the government often supplies them. As a man fighting for principles he believes in, Wade spoke with strength and confidence and the easy humor that belongs to those who know they are right and are unafraid.

THE RUNAROUND

"One real estate agent made an appointment with me," he said. "He showed me a house. I liked it and the price fit, but suddenly the real estate agent raised the down-payment that had been advertised. He asked me for \$400. He evidently didn't think I had that much for he seemed surprised when I handed him four \$100 bills. Later he begged me to take the money back because, he claimed, he would lose his job if he went through with the deal. Of course, no documents were signed. I only had a temporary receipt; so I had no choice but to take the money back."

"Another real estate agent, after I showed interest in a house, told me the couple re-



Andrew and Charlotte Wade IV, heroic fighters against segregation in Kentucky, are shown with their two daughters, Andrea and Rosemary. Dynamite, exploded by racists on June 27, 1954, wrecked their home. Little Rosemary (right) happened to be away from home that night or she would not be alive today.

fused to sell. So I went to see them to find out for myself. The man explained that he was moving to Texas. He also said he respected people of my race and thought we had a right to live where we wanted. He would sell to me, he said, but his mother and father would still be living in Louisville and people may make it hard on them.

"Talk about conspiracies," Wade said laughing, "If those real estate interests aren't engaged in a conspiracy to segregate Negroes—I'd like to know

what a conspiracy is.

"There is no law to prevent a Negro from buying a house anywhere he wants. But my experience certainly proves the existence of the conspiracy to keep us segregated. So after consulting with my lawyers and others, we decided to make the initial purchase through a white person. I approached three white acquaintances but all three refused. The fourth one I approached was Carl Braden. I hadn't seen him or his wife for about three years, but when I finally

located them, they readily agreed to help me.

"The Bradens didn't approach me, as would be the case if I were an innocent victim in a seditious plot. There are many white people who oppose segregation. I was looking for one who would back up his views with action. The Bradens were consistent."

"Shortly after I moved in, James I. Rohn who lived across the street, the builder from whom the Bradens purchased the house, and his son came to visit me. Rohn said 'they' had sent them to buy the house back."

And you said, "No thank you?" I asked.

Wade smiled. "I refused point blank. I told them \$40,000 is worth no more than 25¢ when a principle is involved. And that principle was my right to live in a house of my own choosing."

DIDN'T SCARE

"Next the Rohns went to see the Bradens," Wade continued, "with about 15 other characters along. The Bradens didn't scare either. Then, several days later they burned the cross in my yard. Rohn and his son later confessed to burning the cross but no one has ever done anything about it."

"It was on June 27 that the explosion hit. The house is still sitting unrepaid. The insurance company paid the \$5,000 for repairs but the court is holding the money until the outcome of the suit to deny me ownership of the house is determined."

As we continued talking over our coffee, we turned to the broad pattern of terror against

the Negro people in the U.S. today and the 100% FBI and police record of "no arrests" of terrorists. Wade commented, "There have been about 40 bombings in the South since 1951 and there have been no convictions in any of these cases."

And how about Louisville? Have the authorities done anything about the real terrorists and would-be murderers who bombed his house?

"Oh, the government took action, all right, after several months had gone by," Wade answered. "It indicted most of these friends who had helped me. The Grand Jury asked them a lot of questions about the books they read, organizations they belonged to and then indicted them on charges ranging from causing the explosion to conspiracy to overthrow the government of Kentucky."

Carl Braden was the first to be tried on these fantastic charges. He was sentenced to 15 years at hard labor and had to spend over seven months in jail before enough help came from the rest of the country to raise the highest bail ever set in Kentucky's history.

"What is needed now," Wade told me earnestly, "is enough help from the North to let those in the South who are fighting segregation know that they do not stand alone. The Bradens and the others will be vindicated. But the fight must not stop there. Those who would force segregation down the throats of decent people must be beaten. This victory is a minimum. I will never settle for less."

... Have You Had Your Poison?

(Continued from page 1)

Another case reported by Granville Knight, M.D., of Santa Barbara, Calif., in *Fortnight*, Sept. 15, 1954, concerned a mother, aged 38, to whom the term "ill-health" had been a stranger. Now she complained of "fatigue, headache, dizzy spells, pains in the back and arms, loss of appetite and weight, together with the blues." Laboratory tests showed evidence of moderate liver damage. DDT poisoning was suspected. Persistent questioning finally revealed that a DDT aerosol bomb had been used frequently, in her bedroom, for the control of fleas.

These are typical cases, compiled by Wickenden, of direct poisoning. Far more insidious is the poison that left the aerosol can some time ago, killed the insects it was aimed at, but which now comes to your table as a tasteless, odorless residue. For example, according to Wickenden, *Agricultural and Food Chemistry*, Sept. 29, 1954, reported that the U.S. Public Health Service picked up for analysis 25 representative meals prepared in various restaurants and a correctional institution—eight in the morning, nine at midday, eight in the evening. The meals were made up of "meats, seafood, vegetables, breads, cereals, potatoes, dairy products, and so forth." The analysis showed that "every one contained DDT."

WASHING ISN'T ENOUGH

You may think that by preparing your food at home you can avoid the lethal ingredients. A thorough washing, you think, should take it off the fruit and vegetables you buy on the market. This worked with some of the old-time agricultural chemicals. But the chemical trust knows more than it used to. "The modern pesticide is very efficient. It does not merely coat the outside of an apple; it penetrates the skin and impregnates the pulp. It passes through the skin of a potato and even through the shell of a peanut."

Cutting down on fruits and greens and switching to meat and dairy products won't help you escape being a guinea pig for pesticides. You will still get your daily dose of bug killers. "When cattle eat crops that have been sprayed, or when the cattle or the barns which they occupy have been sprayed, poison becomes stored in the animals' fat and, when the meat is eaten, passes into the fat of the human consumer. Similarly, it will pass into milk, butter and cheese."

There's a chance, of course, that you're one of the few who is "strongly resistant" to the cumulative effect of small doses of poison. Perhaps you're like some of the pests who prove to be immune to DDT. On the other hand, there's also the chance that you're highly susceptible. More likely you're among those who get sick only when "the accumulation reaches a high enough

concentration in the body . . ." That takes time. Maybe a couple of decades.

Of course, if Wickenden's grim picture is accurate—and his facts are quite impressive—and his "may even die," but your "illness may never be correctly diagnosed." It will be reported that you were "suffering from a 'virus' disease, or from . . . inflammation of the liver, or from peripheral neuritis, or from one of half a dozen other diseases whose symptoms resemble those brought on by poisoning."

"NEW VIRUSES"?

How many of us go to the doctor because we aren't "feeling so good," only to have him tell us that it's most likely one of the "new viruses"? What are these so-called "new" viruses? Wickenden wonders why they appeared precisely when the American table began to include sprinklings of deadly pesticides as a new food condiment.

An article from *The American Journal of Digestive Diseases*, Nov., 1953, reported by Wickenden, states: "Without exception, every one of the chlorinated cyclo hydrocarbons is a liver poison . . . Chlorinated naphthalenes were shown to produce hepatitis . . . as long ago as 1936, and were responsible for many deaths among workers in industry, long before these compounds were used in agriculture."

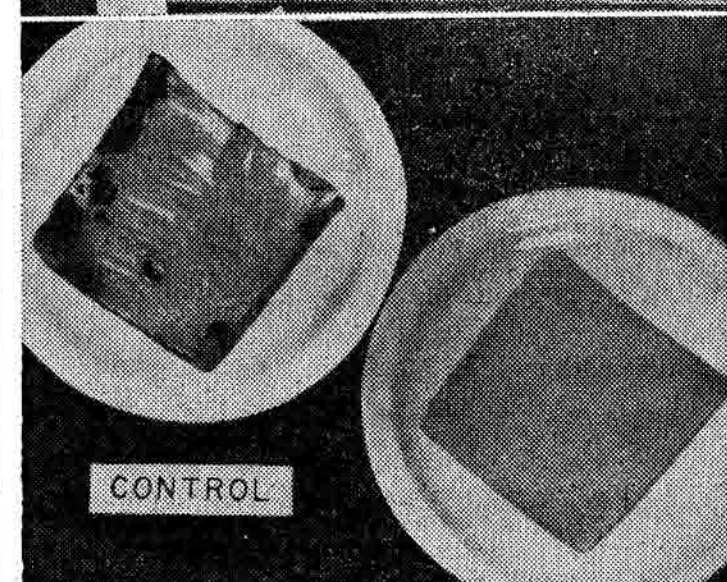
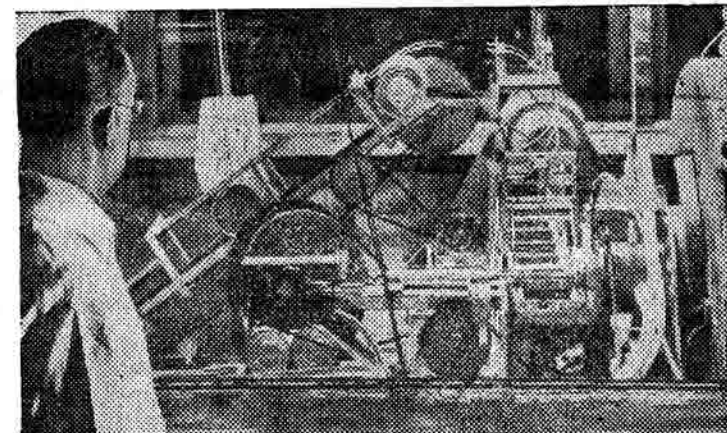
Wickenden says that the cause of "hyperkeratosis" in cattle, an infectious disease, is now known. The cause is chlorinated hydrocarbon. And the "most notorious of all chlorinated hydrocarbons is DDT," although "others, equally deadly or more so, are being sprayed liberally over our food." Then he draws a strong parallel between "hyperkeratosis" in cattle and "hepatitis" in humans.

He quotes a N.Y. Times article of Feb. 19, 1955: "Known cases of hepatitis have tripled in the last three years . . . The disease rose to fifth place of prevalence in the Health Department's list of communicable diseases . . . The disease is caused by a virus that chiefly affects the liver. It is characterized by . . . weakness. It usually takes adults six weeks to two months to recover."

Wickenden states that although "these facts are recognized by a large proportion of the medical and chemical professions . . . there seems to be a reluctance to offend, or tangle with, the immensely wealthy and powerful interests responsible for the manufacture and marketing of these products."

We can sympathize with the farmer who uses poisons because he doesn't want insects to lurch on his crops, but it seems that in the long run chemical killers are self-defeating. The more he sprays the more insects. "Insects build up an immunity" to poison. Still worse is the fact that the poisons decimate parasites that used to keep insects down. With the parasites reduced, the immune insects multiply at astro-

No Spoilage



Atomic radiation, deadly to all bacteria, is claimed to have been used successfully in preserving food. At top a conveyor system drops packed cans near entrance of tank-like structure (right). This contains intense gamma radiation, with which the cans are bombarded after they enter the tank. Below (left) is a slice of untreated cheese, showing signs of deterioration, while (right) a slice of cheese that had undergone irradiation appears unspoiled after a year. Some authorities fear side effects may be harmful to humans.

devastating red spiders and several types of aphids." While insects fattened and multiplied despite chemical sprays, "weed killers and insecticides dealt repeated blows to plant life, crops, livestock, fish, birds, and human health."

Possibly we should agree with Wickenden that "an American citizen, today, may as well reconcile himself to the fact that he and his family are constantly absorbing small doses of extremely powerful poisons, some of which are cumulative . . ."

We can, of course, comfort ourselves with the thought that the profits of the chemical trust are also cumulative and that it is the health of business, not humans, that really matters under capitalism.

Organic Gardening and Farming, Dec. 1955, evaluates the effectiveness of pest control by the use of DDT and other chemical sprays: "Insects struck hard in '55. Chinch bugs ravished corn crops in a dozen states; severe grasshopper infestation spread all the way east; Canada reported over a billion dollar loss to pests. More and more bugs developed immunity to DDT and other sprays—among them the

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