

# Georgia Tech Calls "Foul" on Racist Governor

By George Lavan

Georgia Tech students dealt white-supremacist Gov. Marvin Griffin a stunning blow when they rioted to prevent cancellation of a football game with the University of Pittsburgh, which has a Negro player on its team.

An estimated 2,500 students demonstrated through downtown Atlanta to the state Capitol and then to the Governor's mansion. En route they fought city police, Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents and state police.

On Dec. 2 Governor Griffin demanded an immediate meeting of the Board of Regents. He proposed to prohibit Georgia college teams from playing teams with Negro players or before unsegregated audiences. Since Georgia Tech is scheduled on Jan. 2 to play the University of Pittsburgh, whose fullback, Bobby Grier is colored, at the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans, and since the University of Pittsburgh has announced that its stadium section will be unsegregated, the action Griffin demanded would have cancelled the game.

In his telegram to the rubber-stamp Board of Regents, Talmadge's hand-picked successor said: "There is no more difference in compromising integrity of race on the playing field than in doing so in the classrooms."

## STATE OF SIEGE

How little this racist claptrap meant to the Georgia students was demonstrated that very night when they answered with a riot that forced the Georgia authorities to put the Capitol in a state of siege. One of the heartening signs of the post-war period has been the emergence of liberal groups on Southern campuses demanding the lowering of Jim Crow bars. This, however, is the first demonstration by the mass of the students and shows how little they believe in the racist demagoguery of Griffin and his like. While all these students certainly do not take the militant position against Jim Crow which has brought credit to the liberal groups on a number of Southern campuses, nonetheless their action shows how little Jim Crow

weighs with them against things they want—like the Sugar Bowl game.

Signs carried by the students read: "We Play Anybody," "Talmadge's Puppet Has Done It Again," "Grow Up Griffin," "Griffin Sits On His Brains." Effigies of the racist Governor were hanged. Battling city police to the State Capitol, the angry students tore up shrubbery and historical markers and put a big can over the head of the statue of Confederate General John Gordon. They messed up the inside of the Capitol by overturning trash baskets, cuspidors and sand-filled ash stands.

## POLICE RELEASE ARRESTED

Then they marched to the Governor's Mansion. Twenty-five cars of state police had been rushed to the scene to reinforce the battered city police and GBI. However, the riot ended only when a member of the state legislature, known to be an opponent of Griffin and in favor of playing the Pittsburgh team, spoke. The students demanded that their comrades held by the police, first be released. When this was done the demonstrators dispersed.

The students followed up with a wire to the Pittsburgh team welcoming all the players and all the student body and apologizing for Griffin's attempt to cancel the game. The Georgia Tech quarterback told reporters that he and his teammates had no objection to playing against a Negro. The students' militant action encouraged many public figures to denounce Griffin's action.

The Talmadge machine had to back down. On Dec. 5 the Board of Regents met and voted 14-1 to permit the Sugar Bowl game. It was a limited retreat, however, for it voted that in the future Georgia teams should not play games in the South if the opposing team had Negroes or if the seating were not segregated.

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## Greek Students Demand Return of Cyprus



A parade commemorating the anniversary of Greece's ultimatum to Mussolini in 1940 was turned into a militant demonstration when students raised the cry for the return of the island Cyprus to Greece. Cyprus is held by Britain as a military base, and is included in the U.S. government's scheme to ring the Soviet bloc with bases. The great majority of Cypriots want enosis (independence with the right to join Greece). Last week 1,200 undergraduate students at Oxford Univ. in England signed a petition calling on the British government to give self-determination to Cyprus.

## Ohio "Subversive" Trial Is Hot Potato for FBI

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Dec. 5—Has a turning-point been reached in the effectiveness of the government's political persecution trials under the Smith Act? Is a broad section of the public getting sick and tired of seeing the same string of FBI paid informers and finger-men trotted out time after time to testify as "experts" on communist theory and practice?

These are some of the questions local observers are asking as the trial of eleven defendants charged with violation of the Smith Act enters its sixth week here.

### THE PATTERN

This is the 13th such trial and Cleveland is the 12th city in which they have been staged. The pattern in the trials aimed at decapitating the Communist Party is not basically different from the one laid down in the precedent-making case against the 18 Minneapolis Teamster and Socialist Workers Party leaders in 1941.

The basic charge is the same: conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence in violation of the Smith Act. The methods of the prosecution are also the same: evidence consisting largely of historical documents such as the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, State and Revolution by Lenin, and a number of party publications, all quoted out of context, and testimony by a batch of discreditable FBI agents and paid informers to identify the defendants as party members.

Standard accompaniment for Smith Act trials has been a campaign of intimidation and incitement to public hysteria by newspapers and so-called patriotic organizations.

### A NEW NOTE

But a new note can be detected in the current Cleveland trial. It was evident from the outset in the insistence of U.S. District Judge Charles J. McNamee that adequate counsel be provided for the defendants who could not afford to pay for competent attorneys.

Since there is no provision for payment of federal-court-appointed attorneys, the judge insisted on assignment of attorneys for the defense from the staffs of leading local law firms which can afford to spare attorneys for the long period of the trial. Moreover, he rejected some of the proposed attorneys as "inadequate" counsel because of insufficient trial experience.

The result is a battery of seven appointed defense attorneys which includes Ralph Rudd, chairman of the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union, and Martin A. McCormack, a former assistant U.S. attorney. In addition, Hyman Schlessinger of Pittsburgh and Mrs. Yetta Land of Ohio were retained by several defendants as co-counsel, and two defendants are acting as their own counsel.

The next indication of a new element in this case was during the selection of a jury. Judge

McNamee repeatedly stressed to the prospective jurors that the defendants are not on trial for membership in the Communist Party or believing in communism. They are on trial, he explained, because they are charged with conspiracy to preach overthrow of the government by violence. The Government, he said, must prove that they actively conspired for violent revolution.

But the most significant aspect of the trial to date has been the picture of FBI agents'

plotting, intrigue, spying, use of false names, reporting on their own relatives, and ignorance of Marxist theory — all drawn from the testimony of the government witnesses under the skillful cross-examination of defense attorneys.

All of the witnesses who testified that they joined the Communist Party on the advice of the FBI admitted they were paid by the government for time lost from work for spying activities, for attending party conventions

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## 5,000 Pickets Stop Westinghouse Scabs

YOUNGSTOWN, Dec. 6 — Between 3,000 and 5,000 pickets met today at the gates of Westinghouse Electric Corporation's giant transformer plant in Sharon, Pa., in the heart of the highly industrialized district near Youngstown. The demonstration was their answer to the company's attempt to organize a back-to-work movement designed to weaken the nationwide strike of 55,000 Westinghouse workers.

The huge gathering of workers voted in no uncertain way to reject the company's proposal for a five-year agreement and speed up — the two main issues in the strike.

The members of the International Union of Electrical Workers were re-enforced on the picket line by steel workers and other unionists from the area. Together they staged what is considered to be the greatest demonstration of union power and support in many years in the district. The back-to-work movement was a complete dud, as even the Youngstown Vindicator, spokesman for Big Business, had to admit.

Not one scab got through the

pickets, although some scabs may have sneaked through the back entrances. The company itself admitted that only 35 had entered, and even this number seems very doubtful.

### COMPANY PLANS FLOP

The company has started back-to-work drives in Columbus, Lima and Mansfield — all in Ohio — as well as in Sharon. But each of these has fallen flat, although the strike has lasted over seven weeks.

Westinghouse management attempted to reopen plants in the less industrialized sections of the country first, hoping to drive a wedge in the ranks of the workers nationally. But all this to no avail. Their union consciousness put in question by the company, the strikers in these areas fought all the harder.

The locals of the United Steel (Continued on page 2)

# United AFL-CIO Promises Union Organizing Drive

## Labor's Hopes In the Merger

An Editorial

The merged AFL-CIO represents 15 million union men and women. Adherence of some of the independent unions may further strengthen this mighty force. What do the ranks hope to get from this powerful united movement?

The first hope is for genuine solidarity — an end to the raiding, strikebreaking and cannibalism.

The second hope is for a successful drive to organize the two-thirds of America's wage earners who are still denied the benefits of unionism.

The third hope is for a voice and weight in the political arena commensurate with labor's vital importance in the life of America.

Does the merger automatically guarantee realization of these hopes?

The Becks and Lundbergs will find it harder to justify inter-union raiding than when two separate federations existed. In addition — after the initial adjustment — the bureaucracy as a whole will be more inclined to keep the cannibals under control. Pressure from the ranks for solidarity should thus prove more effective than before the merger.

To organize the rest of America's wage earners is a task of a different order. Number one target is the South — bastion of the open shop and labor's most brazen enemies in Congress.

Success in organizing the South requires militancy and absolute opposition to Jim Crow.

Militancy is needed to fight the companies, their sheriffs, thugs and vigilantes. Let it be noted well that the racist organizations now being formed are aimed not only at terrorizing the Negro people but at smashing the expected organizing drive of the AFL-CIO.

Opposition to Jim Crow is needed to defend the union drive from the most powerful weapon of the Southern ruling class — racism. Otherwise this device can keep the workers split and keep the South unorganized.

Can the top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO be expected — on their own initiative — to organize a militant drive? Can they be expected — again solely on their own initiative — to take a forthright stand against Jim Crow?

The merger has not changed the top bureaucrats. In fact in the merger itself they made a rotten compromise on the key issue of Jim Crow in the unions themselves.

As before, it will be up to the rank and file to build the fires needed to convert the union office chairs into hot seats.

In politics the bureaucrats can be expected to display the least initiative of all. Their alliance with the Democrats has cost the labor movement such repressive legislation as Taft-Hartley, the "right-to-scab" laws and the general assault on civil rights and civil liberties.

To gain the political leadership that is its due, labor must cut its ties with the capitalist machines. It must free its hands to act in labor's own interests.

The merger opens up new possibilities for independent political action. But to realize them, the rank and file must not think the merger in itself solves all problems. In the united organization the rank and file must continue to throw weight against the top bureaucrats who, so far as politics go, see in the merger only a chance to better serve the Democrats.

## Delegates Stirred by Action Plan

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Dec. 7—The highlight of the first two days of the convention of the merged AFL-CIO came when 1,487 delegates heard John Livingston, newly appointed Director of Organization, report on plans for a new organizing drive. Otherwise the first convention of the new labor organization is so far a relatively uninspired, routine affair with little of the importance of the occasion evident in the proceedings of the convention that meets at New York's 71st Regiment Armory.

These delegates, as I have observed them in the sessions, are several times removed from the workers who make up the 15-million membership of the new labor body. The hundreds of newsmen in attendance would not bother, of course, to cite this as strange. They accept the hierarchy of bureaucracy as a natural law of life.

Yet to any serious student of the labor movement or to any dedicated unionist the composition of the convention — the types who set the pattern — is of prime importance.

Almost to a man the delegates are paid functionaries many years away from the trade or industry they presumably represent today. Indeed those who worked even in some distant past can claim special distinction from many whose hands have never touched a tool or machine in production.

The delegates are not exactly youthful. In fact only the CIO, with many delegates still in their forties, keeps the convention from being strictly an old man's gathering.

Another striking feature of the assembled delegates is their weight — from the ears down. They look the very embodiment of solid citizens who have long enjoyed the pleasures of the

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## Tenement Fire Killed Her Children



Mrs. Charlotte Mitchell is assisted from her home in New York after a kerosene heater explosion and fire killed her three children, 2, 3 and 4 last Thanksgiving Day. Four more children have perished from flash fires in Harlem and Brooklyn since then.

## N.Y. Heating Law Puts Tenant Out in the Cold

New York City will finally have a new revision of the Multiple Dwelling Law on Jan. 1 which is supposed to end the dangers of fire and asphyxiation from kerosene and hot water heaters. Hot water and central heating will be required in all multiple dwellings by November, 1958, except for dwellings under ten units where the deadline is November, 1959. Kerosene heaters will be outlawed by the same dates.

This revision is supposed to end the yearly tragedy of impoverished families succumbing with each cold wave. However, N. Y. tenants have had bitter experience with the laws now on the books. Thousands of violations of previous ordinances have gone unenforced. Attempts to force improvements have been blocked by delaying tactics of real estate lobby and landlord opposition for whom low upkeep and high rents provide lush profits.

### "OLD LAW" TENEMENTS

In this "greatest city in the world" the cold-water flat is still a standard dwelling in the over-

crowded slum districts. A million and a half people, one fifth of the city's population, are jammed into 52,000 "old law" tenements. "Old law" means that they were built before 1901 and that they have not had any basic improvements since.

Flats are still heated by kitchen stoves or kerosene heaters. Water must be heated for washing purposes. When two or three families crowd into a small, dark apartment anything can happen.

Landlords will be granted a 75% 12-year, tax exemption on all their remodeling costs to encourage them to go along with the new revisions. Now everyone should be happy, except the tenants who will find their rents raised, or be forced to move (where?) while remodeling goes on. And now Mayor Wagner can face 1956 claiming a record of public service for his Democratic party administration.

## Does Labor Need Its Own Party?

The liveliest letter-to-the-editor column in the labor press appears in Labor's Daily. This is not merely because it is the only daily newspaper in the American labor movement and therefore can print more letters, but because Labor's Daily has become a forum for good union men of all shades of opinion throughout the country.

Recently Labor's Daily made an exception to its rule of printing only letters of 200 words or less. The exception was a very long letter from Francis Payne, a member of the International Typographical Union in Swarthmore, Pa. It filled the letter columns of Oct. 27 and Oct. 28. An introductory note and a front-page box called attention to it. The box, headed "Controversial," said in part: "Today's letter writer, Francis Payne, raises a question that has been a continuing controversy within the labor movement. Do you think Payne's ideas make sense? Here's your chance to add

thoughts to a discussion of a vital question."

The subject of Payne's letter was the need for a Labor Party in the U.S. In the month that followed many letters on the subject appeared in Labor's Daily. Excerpts giving a cross section of the discussion are printed below.

"When you vote Democratic or Republican you are voting against your own interests; the difference between the two parties is only one of degree. Neither party is for the workers, but the Republican Party does not even pretend to be. Take your local union, the election of officers. You are given a ballot to mark and there is a choice of candidates. Just what would your reaction be if you found that the candidates were all supervisors from local plants. What would you say if your own boss got up and told you that this or that man was the one you should elect . . .

"Enlarge that picture: have a national election; sprinkle it with isms; smother it with propaganda through the press, radio and TV; then the boss tells you to vote for one of his stooges and you go out and do it . . .

"You join unions, pay dues, go on strikes; then at a national election, go out and vote for the men who represent the very forces that your union is fighting against . . . so why not ignore the advice of your boss and form your own party, an American labor party, and elect your own men . . . It is just common sense."

(From Payne's original letter)

"Brother Francis Payne sure doesn't know much or he is too young to know the difference between the thug gang and the Democratic Party. Who gave us the right to organize so we could get our welfare and a decent living? Roosevelt, a Democrat. Who gave us unemployment compensation, so if you lose

your job, your family eats while you hunt for work? Democrats."

(From Garland Vaiera, Mt. Hope, W. Va.)

"I don't know what I could add to the excellent letter of Mr. Francis L. Payne, in which he points out the crying need for and the advisability of forming a labor party in the United States . . . The merger of the CIO and AFL is a long step in the direction of Karl Marx's admonition: 'Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains.' The next step could be to form a labor party . . . Maybe, after quoting Marx, I'd better add that I'm neither a Communist or Socialist though I do hold with 'Socialistic' measures . . ."

(H. L. Wilson, Columbus, Ohio)

"In my opinion, there is no point in organizing a labor party until the party can function with sufficient effectiveness to win

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## Automation Clash



Pres. Don G. Mitchell (above) of Sylvania Electric Products Inc. tells a congressional economic committee that "fears automation will lead to widespread unemployment are groundless." Below, Research Director Otto Pragan of the Intl. Chemical Workers Union, pointed to need for guarantees to protect workers from effects of dislocation as automation is introduced in American industry.

# How War Billions Could Be Used

By C. R. Hedlund

"America's Biggest Business" — That's the headline for an article appearing in U.S. News & World Report magazine, Nov. 11, this year.

The article cites the cost of the property in the different military branches of the government as follows: Navy, \$56.4 billion; Army, \$34.1 billion; Air Force, \$33.4 billion, which brings the total cost of military property of those three branches to \$123.9 billions.

The article also states that 24,173,000 acres of land are used by armed services within the United States, and 5,255,000 acres of land are used by U.S. armed services overseas. That's a lot of money and real estate for the killing and destruction business.

### WAR DEAD

In another article on the war business in the Dec. issue of this same magazine, it states that the American people, in the three

wars from 1917 to date, have spent \$880 billion and sacrificed one and a half million dead or wounded. Now add to these figures all the military costs to all other countries involved in those three wars, plus all the costs of the destruction in those wars, and we will run into figures that will stagger the most elastic imagination.

Now, just stop and reflect. Think of all the things that could have been furnished for human welfare and entertainment with all that wasted wealth. Think of all the good homes, hospitals, schools and highways that could have been built for a fraction of these sums.

Think of all the dikes, dams and parks that we could have had to provide flood control, electric power and recreation facilities for the people. Instead of stinking, smoke-filled beer joints for the workers to spend their spare moments with their families, we could have furnished them with the best in the amusement field, plus modern casinos where the world's best artists would sing and play, and where fine food and refreshment could be served at nominal cost.

All these and thousands of other good things are now available to the workers in this and other countries as soon as they will organize politically to take them. By organizing politically for that purpose, the workers of this country can convert America's biggest business from its present role of wasting billions annually for wholesale destruction of life and property, to the progressive role of providing our people with a life of abundance with opportunities for study, travel, entertainment and happiness.

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# Should the Progressive Party "Abstain" in 1956 Elections?

By Harry Ring

Abstention in the 1956 elections—failure or refusal to participate in the campaign—has been suggested by the National Guardian, weekly paper of the Progressive Party. The National Guardian has been part of the wing in opposition to the drive of the Communist Party to scuttle the Progressive Party as a part of a maneuver to support the Democrats.

On the assumption that there is little prospect the Progressive Party will enter its own ticket in the presidential race, the National Guardian, in a Nov. 7 editorial, restates its opposition to both major parties and declares, "Where we can talk through the ballot let us talk—and where we can't let us find better means to talk to the people."

### DAILY WORKER ATTACK

The National Guardian's proposal to abstain in 1956 has been attacked by the Stalinist Daily Worker from a reactionary point of view.

In two articles Nov. 22-23 Max Gordon reshapes the stock opportunist arguments for getting into the Democratic Party as a way of "providing leadership" for the workers and Negro people.

Gordon concludes by advising the Guardian to "review its recent position on the tactical problems discussed here." This bit of class-collaborationist advice is intended as a deadly trap for supporters of independent working-class politics.

The Stalinists make no attempt to justify their reactionary, pro-capitalist politics from the viewpoint of Marxist principles—a wise course, for their support of the Democratic machine is in direct contradiction to anything Marxism teaches. Gordon in fact sneers at principles and the National Guardian's defense of a principled stand. "This may be a lofty sentiment," he cynically declares, "but it is scarcely the aim of politics."

Gordon hits a new low, even for the Stalinists, in maliciously twisting and torturing a phrase from Lenin to insinuate that Lenin favored a policy of sending the radical workers into capitalist parties—the very policy Lenin waged a life-long battle against!

The pro-Democratic party line of the Stalinists confronts the Progressive Party with a real problem. How can the principle of independent political action be defended against the Stalinist scheme to line up the radical workers behind the Democratic machine politicians?

### "TACTICS"

First of all it must be clearly understood that this is no discussion over "tactics." In a struggle to build a union, pur-

veyors of company propaganda are not merely advocates of a different "tactic." They are strikebreakers.

What is involved is a question of principle. Capitalist wars and depressions, witch hunts, the oppression of minority peoples and all the other major problems of our times will be ended by no other force than that of the working class. And the workers will accomplish the great task history has placed on their shoulders by uncompromis-

ing class struggle against the capitalists above all in the political arena.

Anyone who tells the workers that they can win emancipation by supporting the political machines of their oppressors is guilty of class betrayal. And that truth must be stated flatly. It is the absolute prerequisite to any discussion of the problem.

To permit advocates of class collaboration to palm themselves off as simply holding a different "tactical" approach only

### Opposing Camps



On opposite sides of the negotiating table during the Perfect Circle strike in New Castle, Ind., are United Auto Workers negotiators (above), and company team (below). Wearing dark glasses, lower right, is former Asst. Commerce Sec. Lothair Teeter, head of the company, who recently resigned his post in Administration when the fiercely fought strike drew national attention. The strike was settled Nov. 29. Under terms of the settlement 15 leading strikers were victimized and the company is pressing criminal charges against 70 pickets. National Guard troops, called out by Gov. Craig to smash the strike, will be retained "for a time to see that conditions remain peaceful."

# United AFL-CIO

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labor hierarchy. But this is small consolation to the Negro worker who is humiliated daily by the segregation policies of many craft unions. Both Randolph and Townsend are now in the spotlight. Will they quietly acquiesce in the foul racism that pervades many of the AFL-CIO international unions or will they use their new posts to carry on a vigorous fight?

Up to now most of the proceedings have been taken up by invited speakers who have not aroused more than perfunctory applause from the floor. The most important report so far was that of John Livingstone, newly named Director of Organization. The bored inattention and steady hum of confabbing that went on was stilled when Livingstone outlined some of the plans for tackling the job of organizing the unorganized.

Delegates were obviously impressed with Livingstone's report. The task is one of the most important confronting the new labor body.

ORGANIZING FUND The new organizing drive is slated to get under way shortly after the AFL-CIO executive council meets in Miami this coming February. Prior to the drive a complete survey is to be made of current or planned campaigns of various local and international unions. The organizing fund will be eight to ten million dollars.

But there was no indication in Livingstone's remarks of the policies that will govern the drive, above all in the decisive area of the South. One development that stirred gossip among the delegates, although hardly reflected in the business of the convention, was the maneuvers of Dave Beck, teamster chief.

The AFL-CIO has set up an Industrial Union Department, headed by Walter Reuther, to take care of most of the former CIO unions. Beck announced that the IBT with its 1.4 million members would affiliate to Reuther's department. Presumably the Teamsters, together with the Steel Workers, would then dominate this department, putting Reuther in the minority. For several days there were threats and counter-threats. Carey and Reuther said, "no," and Beck said either he got in with his total membership or he would walk out of the convention.

Beck also came under fire for

plays into the hands of the would-be diggers of labor's grave.

### THEORY LEADS TO ACTION

Clarity on the aims and role of the Stalinists is the first essential. But more than that is required if the Progressive Party is to work effectively for independent labor politics. Correct theory must lead to action.

Here the supporters of the National Guardian should thoughtfully consider their present situation. Last January the National Guardian issued a call for a national conference to launch an independent presidential campaign. But it permitted the date for the proposed conference to approach without doing anything about it. Later, in August, it renewed the fight for an independent ticket through a series of articles outlining the pressing need for such a campaign. And that was all that was done.

The suggestion to abstain marks a new retreat—if it is not preparation for capitulation to the vigorous Stalinist pressure on the Guardian to quit its opposition.

It is true that the capitalist political machines have placed heavy obstacles in the path of minority participation in elections. Where a minority is so completely lacking in forces that it cannot overcome these obstacles it has no alternative but to tell the workers the facts. Such a course, however, can be justified only if every possible effort to participate has been exerted.

What can be done to overcome seemingly insuperable obstacles has been demonstrated by the Socialist Workers Party. Despite the fact that it has even smaller resources than the Progressive Party it broke through the legal barriers to wage effective, hard-hitting presidential campaigns in both 1948 and 1952. It has announced plans to follow the same course in 1956.

The refusal of the Socialist Workers Party to follow the Stalinists in betraying Marxist principles and to try with all its energy to avoid the tactical course of abstention offers an instructive example, it seems to us, for serious consideration by the members of the Progressive Party.

### IMPORTANCE OF MERGER

The true meaning of the merger can be gauged by the reaction of the anti-labor forces. David Lawrence, writing in the NY Herald Tribune, calls the merger a political act of great danger. He sees in the merger the mobilizing of the working class behind a common political program. Others look upon it as a development toward a labor party or the capture of the Democratic Party — which to them is the same thing.

The leaders of the new movement deny vehemently that they intend to organize a labor party, although on occasion they have been known to advance the idea as a threat. Yet the very fact of the merger sets into motion new forces and brings the labor movement to a higher consciousness of itself, a development that in the long run is bound to be expressed in politics. Regardless of what these men say or think, they can become the instrument of new changes.

While the various officials of the federation work at securing their particular privileges and perquisites and while they view the merger almost exclusively through the glasses of self-interest, they are becoming subject to forces over which they will have little control in the final drawing up of accounts.

All the actions and pronouncements of the AFL-CIO will now be the actions and pronouncements of Labor with a capital "L." The class division of capitalist society, which so many of these leaders have consistently denied, will become more clearly recognized throughout the country, above all among the organized workers.

The class struggle works its way while it is being denied the most vigorously. As Marx observed, history is like a mole that digs below the surface. In the changes coming over the American labor movement we will certainly have the opportunity to say: "Well dug old mole!"

# Operation Sage Brush

By Robert Chester

DEC. 4 — Today's headlines might very well have read "Twelve-State Area in Shambles," "Whole Cities Destroyed" or "Greater Destruction Than Whole Civil War" if Exercise Sage Brush, just concluded, had been the real thing. This is the terrifying conclusion of the U.S. military leaders as reported by the N. Y. Times military expert, Hansen W. Baldwin.

This is part of his description of the havoc. "Western Louisiana, the area of the ground fighting would be desolate. Its pine forests would have been blown by nuclear blasts into tangled impassable deadfalls. Huge forest fires would have swept the area, trapping the scattered survivors of the ground fighting. Roads and fields would be deeply cratered with nuclear blasts. The Red River and much of the area would be contaminated with radioactivity and clinging, mustard and nerve gas."

### LARGE-SCALE TEST

This is not an exaggerated description but the result of cold-blooded military reports. Sage Brush simulated the use of a larger number of nuclear weapons, chemical, biological, and radiological agents than any previous maneuver.

The "Exercise" involved 30,000 army force personnel, and 110,000 air force personnel, and 110,000 ground and air troops. They used about 1,200 aircraft and 2,000 tanks and armored personnel carriers. It began its operations on Oct. 31 and ended them this week.

A theoretical total of 275 nuclear weapons were expended. While none of these were of the order of the hydrogen blast of 1954, the size of these so-called tactical nuclear weapons ranged from an equivalent of 2,000 tons of TNT to more than 40,000 tons, or twice the power of the Hiroshima bomb. Whole cities could have been destroyed and the remaining civilian inhabitants menaced by radioactivity.

Pentagon strategists have been able to draw one major conclusion from the operation. They now know that there can be no such thing as a limited or tactical nuclear war, especially in Europe. The major immediate objective of each side is to gain air domination over the enemy. Once this is done by dropping a tactical nuclear bomb on an enemy air field, for this is the most effective means of knocking it out completely, it becomes a struggle to the death. "As long as the enemy is able to fly one plane with one nuclear weapon he has a dangerous capability," writes Baldwin.

The strategists tried to solve the problem of effective ground operations in a nuclear war and found that the only effective defense is dispersion. General George Patton remarked that in a nuclear explosion the men have "to be where they ain't." But this leaves ground operations on a very scattered basis, mainly for communication or ac-

tion around a special objective. Military men will now begin major revisions of strategy and tactics.

### CHEMICAL WARFARE

In the Second World War poison and nerve gas were never used. However, exercise Sage Brush brought into use the latest horrible developments in chemical and radiological warfare. With an atomic war all thought of limiting the military operations goes by the board. Every fantastic weapon of offense and defense is brought into use.

The horror of exercises like Sage Brush seems to be a natural part of the impending holocaust of the present day capitalist world. We are told that such operations are necessary "for our defense." The only real defense against the horrors of nuclear devastation is the elimination of war itself, and this can only be done through the elimination of capitalism, the system that breeds war.

# Westinghouse

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workers of America—the strongest union bodies in the Youngstown district — are giving full support to the Westinghouse strike. Thereby they are serving notice to the corporations that next year the steel workers will be ready for battle, too.

In an attempt to break the solidarity of the IUE workers, Westinghouse contends that because President Carey accepted a five-year contract with General Electric, he should do the same now. But this argument finds no support among the strikers.

### WORKERS PRESSURE CAREY

Many of the pickets have correctly criticized Carey for weakening the Westinghouse demands with the G.E. contract. It is the workers who forced Carey to fight against the five-year agreement, just as last summer they forced him to fight the time study in the Pittsburgh plant.

Westinghouse is the first major corporation in a long time to test the unions with a back-to-work campaign. This may be due to the fact that it is one of the few large concerns that showed a lower profit in 1955 than in 1954 and is correspondingly less willing to give any concessions.

The response of the Westinghouse workers to the attack on their union is but an indication of what the U.S. working class will do when all sections of Big Business launch an all-out campaign to destroy the labor organizations. Judging by yesterday's mass picket line, the workers will stop the union-busters dead in their tracks.

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**Friday Night Forum**  
Fri., Dec. 16 — Desegregation and the Crisis in Education.  
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Speaker: Henry Schultz  
Veteran Trade Unionist  
Friday, Dec. 16, 8 P. M.  
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Every Sunday, 7:30 P. M.  
Dec. 18 — The Fight for Birth Control.  
Speaker: Joyce Cowley  
Questions Refreshments  
116 University Place

**A New Pamphlet**  
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# Do the Rules Apply to Revolution in U.S.?

By Murry Weiss

## The Bradens Fight Segregation

The Supreme Court ruled in May, 1954, that segregation in schools is illegal. This year it ruled that segregation in parks and recreational areas is illegal. And the Interstate Commerce Commission banned it in inter-state transportation. "Restrictive covenants" to enforce housing segregation were long ago declared legally unenforceable. All this is to the good.

But these legal moves have not ended Jim Crow. The struggle to overcome racism in this country is still in its earliest stages.

In the forefront of the battle in the South are the Bradens of Louisville, Kentucky, who had the courage to do something about segregation. Carl and Anne Braden committed the number one "crime," as far as the racists are concerned, of serving as the white intermediaries in the purchase of a house for a Negro veteran, Andrew Wade.

The state of Kentucky, in a racist fury, framed-up and convicted Carl Braden on "sedition" charges and sentenced him to fifteen years at hard labor. Six other white friends of Andrew Wade who defended the Negro family against threats of violence are awaiting trial on the same charges. Carl Braden spent eight months in prison before the exorbitant bail of \$40,000 could be raised.

On Dec. 2 the court fight over the ownership of the Wade's \$8,000 house began in a Louisville Circuit Court. The South End Federal Savings and Loan Association of Louisville is trying to foreclose on the mortgage on the ground that Carl and Anne Braden violated the contract by not getting "written consent" of the Association to sell the house.

The Bradens and the Wades are fighting this case in order to destroy this technical device for maintaining segregated housing. If the Wades can be deprived of their home, the racists will have won a signal victory in their campaign against integration.

This month the appeal of the vindictive sentence against Carl Braden is also due to come into court. The outcome of the appeal which is being handled by attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union, will have a profound effect on the anti-segregation fight in the South.

To the extent that the great majority of the country wants an end to segregation, the American people owe a great debt to the Bradens, the Wades and their friends. Yet the capitalist press has had virtually nothing to say about this front-line battle. Many union and Negro leaders were frightened into silence by the Kentucky racists with the frame-up charge of "communism" and "sedition."

## The Fuse Is Burning in North Africa

The propagandists for the U.S. State Department place all countries outside the Soviet bloc as belonging to the "free world." But the nations of "free world" are really divided between oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited.

This was illustrated once more on Nov. 29, when the United Nations General Assembly approved by a vote of 33 to 12, with 13 abstentions, an article on self-determination for the proposed Covenants of Human Rights. The article declares the right of all peoples to determine freely their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. It also states: "The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources."

Those voting against the right of any nation to freely decide its own political and economic destiny were the U.S., England, France, Canada, Australia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and Turkey. These are the partners in the firm of imperialism engaged in exploiting the majority of mankind. U.S. Big Business is the senior partner in the firm.

Among those who voted for the right of self-determination were the leading Asian, African and Latin American countries struggling for independence.

"The approval," says Wayne Phillips in the Nov. 30 N. Y. Times, "... was a sharp setback for countries administering non-self-governing territories and for leaders in the export of capital. Throughout the debate representatives of foreign investors have kept a constant and anxious eye on the proceedings."

## "Free" Nations Vote Against Freedom

The fall of the Faure cabinet on Nov. 30 marks the third French Cabinet crisis in 18 months. Each was caused by national independence uprisings in the French colonies.

The Laniel Government fell in June 1954 after the victory of the Indo-Chinese independence fighters at Dien Bien Phu. Mendes-Franco's demise last August was caused in the main by the rise of the Tunisian nationalist movement to which he was forced to make concessions.

The Faure government has been rocked since last summer by one crisis after another over the upsurge of the Moroccan independence movement. Faure, too, had to grant concessions after bloody repressions failed. Now France confronts a mounting revolutionary development in Algeria.

France has just gone through a major strike wave in which employers were forced to grant significant wage increases. The working class in Western France displayed great militancy and threw up a whole new layer of rank-and-file fighters.

French army reservists called up for duty in North Africa have staged demonstrations solidarizing themselves with the Arab nationalist movement. Both the working class and middle classes fear new taxes if the North African war is stepped up. Any impairment of their already meager living standards would be the signal for mass struggles such as the general strike of 1953.

As La Verite, French revolutionary socialist newspaper explains, the Faure

Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, a U.S. representative to the UN explained the United States had voted against the self-determination article because of the economic provisions. Her stand, reported the Nov. 25 N. Y. Times, "followed the tenor of criticisms of the proposal voiced by United States businessmen in a meeting ... at the United States mission."

However, while demanding untrammeled right of economic domination for U.S. Big Business, the State Department also finds itself under obligation to support naked political subjugation as in the case of French rule in North Africa.

The most recent instance of U.S. support for undisguised colonialism is the joint statement issued on Dec. 2 by Secretary of State Dulles and Portuguese Foreign Minister Paul Cunho. Dulles and Cunho referred to Goa (an enclave in India) as a "Portuguese province" — that is, a legitimate part of Portugal. The Indians, however, insist that Goa is a colony, which Portugal holds by force of arms despite the wishes of its population to be reunited to India. The Indian government is vigorously protesting the Dulles-Cunho statement.

Although the Asian-African powers carried the vote in the UN for the right of self-determination, this will not induce U.S. and Western European Big Business to end its imperialist rule over the great majority of the "Free World." Only revolutionary action — the effective use of the right of self-determination — will win national independence and economic progress for the exploited nations.

That is how the United States won its independence in 1776.

Cabinet has rushed the country into elections by means of parliamentary trickery, in order to take advantage of the breathing space it obtained by its concessions in Morocco, Tunisia and to the labor movement at home. It wants the popular vote to take place before it has to deal with the Algerian crisis.

Since 1890 French capitalism has grown so parasitically dependent on foreign investments that the loss of one section of empire after another has brought on death agony and a new threat of revolutionary crisis at home.

What is happening to French imperialism foreshadows the fate of the world system of imperialism headed by U.S. Big Business. The anti-imperialist struggles of the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America will in their combination produce a revolutionary crisis in the U.S.

Indeed, France's turmoil undermines U.S. world power, for American Big Business has a huge economic and political stake that it stands to lose should the working class take over France.

Leon Trotsky wrote in 1928, "The international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it ... compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprising of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions." In North Africa and France the fuse to one of these powder magazines is now burning.

In this series of review articles on N. N. Sukhanov's Personal Record of The Russian Revolution, we have compared the social type that led the Russian working class and its Soviet organization from February to October, 1917, with the labor bureaucracy of today.

We have not concealed the fact that our interest in the comparison has a practical American revolutionary motive. It is not idle curiosity that arouses our interest in the pages of Sukhanov's book. The book lays bare the mode of thought, the rationalizations, the weaknesses, the socially and politically conditioned psychological traits of the middle-class radicals who were thrust by historical circumstance into a position of leadership of the working class in the Russian revolutionary upsurge.

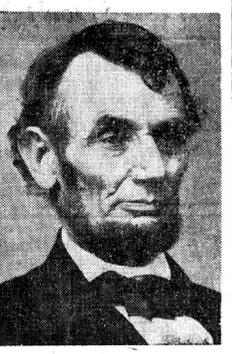
The American workers will in the course of their titanic struggle for power come into irreconcilable opposition to the labor bureaucracy of all wings and shades. The outcome of this clash will determine whether the working class or capitalism will be victorious. Either the workers will throw off the bureaucratic millstone and fashion a new revolutionary leadership or Big Business will mercilessly crush the revolutionary attempt. Thus a close knowledge of the nature of the labor bureaucracy, past and present, is indispensable to a revolutionist in the United States.

### LEARN FROM RUSSIANS?

When we compare the pre-revolutionary Russian labor officials to our own, we imply a comparison between the Russian workers' revolution of October, 1917, and the coming American revolution. Naturally the idea that the labor movement in the U.S. can learn from the Russian revolutionists will be rejected by those who think that America's future lies along a path uniquely "American," free of the revolutionary strife that has torn practically every other country in the world.

The idea of a privileged, unprecedented, completely unique historical path for the United States is, of course, one of the most widely ballyhooed legends of the Big Business advertising copy writers. But it has its theorists and propagandists in other walks of life. Reuther, for example, has just discovered, some 25 years after Henry Ford the First, that American abundance springs from "our free enterprise system" has refuted the European Marxist idea of the class struggle.

Neither history nor contemporary American life supports this fanciful theory. The capitalist system, even if you rename it "the free-enterprise system" did not originate on this side of the Atlantic. It had already begun its development in Italy,



ABRAHAM LINCOLN led the Union to victory over the Southern slave-holders in the 19th Century American Revolution, which established the supremacy of capitalism in the United States. He gratefully acknowledged the aid for the Union cause of the International Workingmen's Association, headed by Karl Marx.

Germany, England, France and Holland before Columbus (another foreigner!) discovered America.

Reuther and Meany certainly didn't invent trade unions; they didn't even invent a trade-union bureaucracy. European capitalist countries produced these outgrowths of the class struggle. And the class struggle is implicit in the very nature of capitalism.

### U. S. CONSTITUTION

Without wishing to appear unpatriotic, we must still record the fact that democracy and the parliamentary system and many other institutions allegedly peculiar to the American Way of Life have their origins and inspiration in other countries, dating back as far as the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Even our language was imported along with the colonists. The American Constitution and the Bill of Rights trace their origins, as is well known, to the British legal system, which in turn arose out of the 17th century Puritan Revolution.

The two great landmarks of our own history, the first and the second American revolutions in 1776 and 1861, adopted ideas and a mode of social struggle that had distinctly foreign origins. Thus we American socialists are not original in proposing that the U.S. copy European methods. The capitalists before us showed how effectively the "European idea" of revolution can be used.

Even in the sphere of technology, where American capitalism made significant contributions to the world, particularly in the sphere of large-scale organization, we could list any

number of key inventions in every branch of production and science that have foreign origin. In general the many contributions American capitalist society made to the world during the period of its progressive rise were based first of all on its ability to "copy" everything of use that came before. So it will be with the American working class. Its contributions to the solution of the crises of mankind will depend on its ability to absorb everything of value in the history of the international working class.

### THE "LATE-BORN"

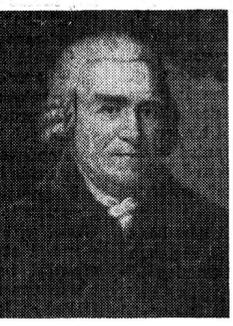
When we speak of learning from Russians we must remember that they first went to school with "the German," Karl Marx. As a matter of fact the first Russian revolutionary socialists is how to absorb the lessons of theory and practice produced by the Marxist movement in every country. Russian capitalism and with it the Russian working class, were even "later-born" than American capitalism. Coming late as it did, Russian capitalism started with some of the most advanced forms of capitalist production. Combined with the general economic and cultural backwardness of Russia, with its semi-feudal agrarian economy, there grew up the large factories characteristic of the modern epoch of capitalist production.

The Russian working class organizations also began with the latest available models. From birth it adopted the most advanced ideas of trade unionism and revolutionary socialism from Western Europe. The political strike, the most advanced expression of the labor movement in the West, became the most widespread form of struggle against the Czarist autocracy.

The Russian revolutionary leaders quickly assimilated and applied the Marxist theories which had already gained supremacy in the Western labor movement. Through the Bolshevik party the fresh revolutionary energy of the young Russian working class was fused with the scientific socialist doctrine of Marx and Engels. Thus when the Russian workers came to grips with their capitalist class during the war-born revolutionary crisis in 1917, they were armed with a doctrine of socialism and a tested party.

### TOUCHSTONE

The result of this marvelous combination of elemental revolutionary power and scientific doctrine was the October revolution — a new stage in the history of mankind. Thereafter the revolutionary struggles in any quarter of the globe were deeply influenced by the lessons of the Russian Revolution. The radical labor movement internationally regrouped from top to bottom on the touchstone question of the Russian Revolution.



SAMUEL ADAMS, known in 1776 as the "Father of the American Revolution," organized city workers and farmers in a revolutionary party. He derived much of his political outlook and understanding of tactics from a study of the Puritan Revolution of 1640-49 in England.

And the attitude of a political tendency in the working class towards the Russian Revolution, more than anything else, defined the character of that tendency.

We reserve for a later article a discussion of the question of how the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union affected this process. At this point it is necessary to emphasize that only those who have given up the struggle for socialism or have never embarked on that struggle, see in the rise of Stalinism a refutation of the progressive historical significance of the Russian revolution.

What the Bolshevik revolution taught us is how the working class, even in the most backward sections of the capitalist world, has the historic capacity to sweep away the outmoded social structure of capitalism, become the ruling class, and begin the march towards the world-wide system of socialism.

The German revolution of 1918-1923 amply demonstrated that in

an advanced, capitalist country the basic dynamic of the revolutionary process was essentially the same as Russia's. Even the workers' councils (Soviets) as a form of revolutionary organization were reproduced in Germany. The German labor movement had the most developed history of labor organization in the world prior to 1918; and yet it could and did learn from the Russians.

The determination to segregate the American workers from the Russian experience is an expression of the reactionary interests of the American labor bureaucracy and its capitalist masters. The attempt to deprive the rich lessons of the most advanced revolutionary movements that came before it, is an attempt to sap the power of the sleeping revolutionary giant in advance of its awakening.

### TASKS OF VANGUARD

The revolutionary vanguard of the American working class cannot yield an inch in its militant fight to preserve the precious heritage of the Russian Revolution and the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky. We leave it to the charlatans and turncoats to find shortcuts to the masses by jettisoning the principles and lessons derived from international experience and theoretical work. Actually these experts in "approaching the American workers" are yielding to the ferocious pressure and prejudice of the ruling class in the name of not antagonizing the American workers. The American workers' consciousness is today saturated with capitalist propaganda. When the course of events forces this class onto the road of independent political struggle it will become receptive to the most advanced ideas and scorn the chauvinists who preach ideological isolationism. For us this prospect is as much a reality as the reactionary pall that momentarily hangs over the American workers.

[Third of a series of four. Watch for concluding installment on: "Does the rise of Stalinism invalidate the Russian Revolution?"]

## World Events

"KICK THE AMERICANS OUT" is the "great outcry" of the people of Iceland according to the columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop in a Dec. 4 article. Bitter anti-American feeling has developed over the issue of U.S. Air Force bases at Keflavik. The presence of the Air Force is dislocating Iceland's economy; there is a raging inflation and a labor shortage. The Alsops report: "Three of Iceland's five major parties have made the (anti-American) cry their own—the Socialists, the National Defense party, and, most stridently of all, Iceland's strong Communist party, which has polled up to 20 per cent of the vote." "The fact is," says the Alsops, "that our air base at Keflavik, in Iceland, is a vital element in our national security ... After the Thule base in Greenland, Keflavik is rated the second most essential of all this country's network of forward bases."

maids of both sexes, is one of her most important civil, political and cultural rights ... Having revealed its inability to serve women who are compelled to resort to abortion with the necessary medical aid and sanitation, the state makes a sharp change of course, and takes the road of prohibition ... It is clear in advance that in the Soviet-Union as in the West those who will fall into the claws of the jailer will be chiefly working women, servants, peasants' wives, who find it hard to conceal their troubles ... In reality the new law against women—with an exception in favor of the ladies—is the natural and logical fruit of a Thermidorian reaction. A modification of the Kremlin's policy on abortion began Aug. 5, 1954, when a decree was issued abolishing criminal responsibility for women who consented to abortion. The new decree retains provisions for criminal prosecution of unqualified people who perform abortion.

### CUBAN STUDENTS FOUGHT POLICE

throughout the island since Nov. 27. Police are clubbing and shooting university students who are demonstrating under the slogan "Down With Batista!" The Dec. 6 dispatch from Havana to the N.Y. Times reports, "The demonstrations have resulted in about 50 being injured and more than 100 students jailed." El Mundo, one of Havana's largest newspapers, demanded a "halt to the violence." In a Dec. 6 editorial the paper warns: "At first glance the situation would appear to be strife between the students and the police, but all those who remember our Republican life know that it is the political future of the nation that is at stake." Student demonstrations were a prelude to the overthrow of the hated dictator Machado in 1933.

### UNION CONTRACTS WERE CANCELLED

Dec. 2 by the dictatorial military clique now in power in Argentina. With the rise in the cost of living and the devaluation of the peso, the Argentine workers have taken a 25% slash in their living standards since March 1954. The government decree, tearing up union contracts is designed to spike the demand of millions of union members for wage increases equivalent to the rise in the cost of living. The labor ministry announced that it would "begin immediately the study of new wage agreements."

### ABORTION HAS BEEN LEGALIZED

in the Soviet Union by a Nov. 23 decision of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet. A Moscow dispatch to the N.Y. Times, Nov. 30, says the step "was interpreted as part of a general easing of restrictions on Soviet citizens." The new edict reverses a decree adopted June 27, 1936, prohibiting abortion. At that time Leon Trotsky wrote in The Revolution Betrayed: "... The revolutionary power gave women the right to abortion, which in conditions of want and family distress, whatever may be said upon this subject by the eunuchs and old

JAPANESE UNIONS are continuing their militant and persistent struggle against air, ground and naval bases of the U.S. in Japan. The Central Council of Japanese Labor Unions demanded Nov. 26 that the United States withdraw all troops and installations from their country. This most recent statement was made after the unions had received a letter from U.S. Army Col. Herbert I. Nelson. This is the first time the American military authorities have felt compelled to take official notice of the powerful movement of Japanese unions to eject U.S. armed forces from Japan. The Colonel told the unions they should realize that U.S. armed forces were in Japan for purposes of peace.

## ... Does Labor Need

(Continued from page 1)

elections The worst thing labor could do at this point is to organize a weak new party which might soon dissolve because of an insubstantial foundation. A labor party built on sand might only serve to separate us from the few liberal friends we now have in both major parties.

"On the other hand a labor party, as such, could give workers a political code with which to identify themselves. It would establish a platform, putting into words and ideas exact principles for which it stands. Workers, Democrats and Republicans alike, would no longer be lost in a maze of ambiguous platitudes which both parties seem to express. It would weld workers together. But, right now, I do not think there are enough workers who would embrace this fine new revolutionary platform ..."

(Patrick F. Eskew, Mt. Ranier, Md.)

"I will give full support to Mr. Payne for his proposal to form an American labor party. (I will propose American farmer-labor party) ... The AFL-CIO merger is necessary to protect labor unions. So it is necessary sooner or later to form an American labor party ... After the AFL-CIO merger, labor will have a better opportunity to form an American farmer-labor party."

(Anthony Adamski, United Mine Workers, Local 1190, Ellsworth, Pa.)

"The basic question is not whether we should start a labor party or not (I think it is inevitable that America will have its own labor party some day), but whether there is a supporting base for such a move among the people.

"I don't think there is as yet ... American workingmen won't swing away from the Demo-

cratic Party until they think that every last possibility has been exhausted in trying to influence it along liberal lines. As long as it is at all responsive to labor, it will get support.

"It will take a big disillusionment to make large numbers of working class voters break away from it. Yet that is just what may happen in the near future." (D. V. Horvitz, Detroit, Mich.)

"Whenever there is a discussion or argument about building a Labor Party in this country, it usually ends with someone saying, 'All attempts to build Labor Parties in this country have been failures.'

"If the first attempt to build a Labor Party was a failure, it was certainly a glorious failure. The first Labor Party, called the Working Men's Party, was the beginning of the American labor movement and broke the first ground for the harvests we are now getting because of past struggles."

(Dick Clarke, St. Louis, Mo.)

"It seems to me that Brother Payne and Brother Vaiera both have a point. We do need a labor party. We have gotten benefits from the Democratic Party almost exclusively ..."

"Wouldn't it be far more practical to start working for a purge of the Democratic Party of such reactionary elements as are presently a shame and a scandal to all liberal-thinking Democrats? Start at a local level and weed out the characters who pay party bills and then dictate reactionary policy. If it's worth while to us to set the policy on a pro-labor basis, we should be able to round up the dough to pay the tab."

(Joe Nosis, Meriden, Conn.)

Truman and FDR may have been as pro-labor as Debs, but they were politicians and he was not. Politicians do not tilt at windmills; they bide their time and make the best of existing circumstances ... There are a handful of other Trumans and Roosevelt in the Democratic Party, and when the labor party is formed they will not be lost to us. They will be among the first of the liberals to join us, but they will not commit themselves until there is a good chance of success.

"Excluding these liberals, the Democrats will make concessions to labor simply because they need the labor vote. A labor party would make social reforms because it wanted to make them, not because it had to make them to stay in office."

(Francis Payne, ITU, Swarthmore, Pa.)

"As I have advocated such a move [a labor party] by organized labor and the working farmers for the last 30 years, I can assure you that it is encouraging to get evidence of more and more workers seeing the necessity for such action and to find publications giving space to their reasons for such proposals.

"Attached you will find pages of the proceedings of the conventions of the Minnesota State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen for 1946 and 1948, showing marked items of proposals for a Labor Party. My article 'Labor Needs Its Own Political Party,' was submitted to BLF&E magazine and Labor for publication. I ran against a stone wall of censorship, and when, in accordance with laws of the BLF&E, I asked for permission to publish and distribute my letter at my own expense, I was advised that I faced expulsion if I did so."

(I. Nelson, Minneapolis, Minn.)

"... I do not let my dislike of the Republicans blind me to the faults of the Democrats.

# The Negro Struggle

By Harry Ring

## When I Heard James P. Johnson Play the Piano

James P. Johnson, the talented Negro jazz composer and pianist, died Nov. 17. The N. Y. Times, outlining his impressive record in the entertainment world, listed the hit tunes he wrote for a score of Broadway shows in the Twenties. It mentioned his extensive formal musical education and told of performances of his works at Carnegie Hall. He accompanied such famed singers as Bessie Smith and Ethel Waters. He was one of "Fats" Waller's teachers.

As I read the obituary, I felt how little it actually conveyed of Johnson the man and artist. I thought of that evening of music March 26, 1949.

The Socialist Workers Party in New York held a dance at Caravan Hall and had the good fortune to secure an outstanding group of jazz musicians. Among them was James P. Johnson.

Authentic jazz was born around the turn of the century in New Orleans, travelled up to Chicago and from there to Harlem. During the Thirties it was almost snuffed out by Tin Pan Alley's factory-made "jazz." In this period at the cost of many a meal, talented jazz artists fought an uphill battle to keep their music alive.

The musicians gathered on the bandstand at Caravan Hall had contributed much to that fight. Johnson stuck with authentic jazz in the Thirties even though it meant that his engagements were confined largely to Harlem rent parties. Clarinetist Albert Nicholas was one of the legendary figures of the original New Orleans jazz men. Freddy Moore, a younger man, had won a place among these musicians by his devotion to jazz and his talent on the drums. Johnny Glasel was the trumpet star of a recently organized group of white youngsters in New York who played first-rate New Orleans style jazz.

I had previously heard Johnson, Nicholas

and Moore on records. But hearing them "live" that night was a real experience. They gave an outstanding performance. But what impressed me even more than their ever-fresh creative capacity was their relation to Johnny Glasel. He had played professionally for just a couple of years, yet he was sitting with the most accomplished veterans in the field. And they made him the star of the night.

The music of Nicholas and Moore would give way to the repeated trumpet solos by Glasel with Johnson backing him at the piano. I stood at the bandstand in the crowded hall listening to the inspired music pouring from that trumpet and I looked at James P. Johnson as he accompanied the talented youngster.

Johnson's eyes were not on the keyboard. They were on the face and horn of the boy who stood alongside him. They were the eyes of a dedicated artist looking with love at the representative of the new generation that would continue his work.

During the breaks we talked with Johnson and the others. Johnson spoke with animation of jazz as one of the Negro's big contributions to American culture. He told us about the new jazz symphony he was working on and of his hopes that it would help to express and preserve the musical heritage of the Negro.

As I left the hall that night I thought of both the musicians and their audience and what they had in common. The audience was largely revolutionary socialists, workers who knew how to stand up for their principles despite hardships and bitter difficulties. The men on the bandstand were of the same type. In their own field, in their own way, they too were people who fought for integrity and freedom and could not be corrupted.

Whenever I hear the wonderful music of his that has been preserved on records, I think of that evening when James P. Johnson played for the SWP.

## "City That Knows How"

By Roy Gale

San Francisco, "the city that knows how," did it again. But the Chamber of Commerce slogan meant something far different to Robert White and his family than it should have meant.

The Chamber of Commerce slogan "the city that knows how," is an advertising trick to draw business, any kind of business that will make a profit. But Robert White doesn't have the kind of capital that the Chamber of Commerce is talking about. All he has is muscle and blood, a wife and five small children aged eight to seven months, an old battered suitcase, an umbrella and 35 cents. Not really the kind of capital that is likely to show a profit for any of the numerous business enterprises that operate here.

The problem: Get rid of Robert White, but do it smoothly, get a little favorable publicity for the city, and show that the city fathers of San Francisco have a heart. You see, Robert White's crime, the reason they wanted him and his family some place else, was that he had no job, no money and no prospects of getting either one. With this basic equipment on the negative side it was self-evident that Robert White had to go.

Robert White, a 43-year-old unemployed coal miner from Wheeling, West Virginia, had just completed a 2,400 mile trip in five weeks. The first half he made in

15-year-old sedan. But in St. Louis, Mo., the sedan, like the one horse shay, collapsed, and the family hitchhiked the rest of the way. On arrival here they took refuge in the main post office building where their plight was noticed by postal supervisor Violet Swain.

Like all generous people everywhere, Violet Swain opened her heart, and more important, her pocketbook, giving them her last two dollars. Other workers and passersby also chipped in for a total of \$15.

"It kind of gives you a faith in human-kind," White said. "People here have been so darned good to us. Why, now we'll be able to take a bus to the main road and start hiking from there."

While walking to the bus station eight-year-old Shirley looked up and asked: "How much longer before we stop, daddy, how much longer?"

Yes, the city knew how — knew how to get rid of the Whites. But they did not know how to answer a little girl's question — "how much longer?" Other cities and towns still have to answer that question. Will they also "know how?"

Or will some city somewhere really know how and provide a place to live and a job for Robert White? Will he ever find a city where he can say: "I have a job; I have a home; I belong here."

## Notes from the News

**A SO-CALLED RACE STRIKE** at the General Tire and Rubber Co. plant at Waco, Texas, made headlines in newspapers and radio programs, the Oil and Chemical Workers, paper, Union News, reports. It was claimed that all workers went on strike rather than work with a Negro who had been upgraded. The Texas CIO investigated and found instead that an unauthorized demonstration of a few individuals stopped production in the plant in violation of the local's bylaws. The president of Rubber Workers Local 312 called a special meeting which backed the executive board's recommendation to return to work. The Negro worker kept his upgraded job.

**WHEN J. EDGAR HOOVER** commented recently that criticism of the government's use of "confidential informants" is "part and parcel of Communist strategy" the Washington Post retorted editorially, "A great many... Americans have deplored the use of anonymous informers in the federal security program. This is a conspicuous fact which the director of the FBI Mr. J. Edgar Hoover ignored in his speech... He indulged in gross distortion when he said that criticism... has been spread by 'pseudo liberals' enlisted by Communists to convey propaganda designed to discredit truth." It is time he learned that critics are not necessarily Communists."

**NEW YORK CITY PRISON GUARDS** are under investigation following arrests at the city's notorious Tombs. Eight guards are accused of charging prisoners with a price-list-for-favors, beginning with a charge of fifty cents for a walk in the corridor and ranging as high as \$85 for a whisky and cold outs party in a prison storeroom. An investigation of these practices in all the city's institutions has now begun.

**WESTINGHOUSE CORPORATION** has taken drastic economy moves to dig in for a long strike of its more than 50,000 employees in 30 plants

throughout the country. It ordered salaries of elected officers slashed 50 percent and other management personnel cut 40 percent. The unions, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers and the independent United Electrical Workers, have also geared themselves for a long strike.

**FEDERAL BUDGET PROPOSALS** have raised some sharp controversies behind-the-scenes Washington columnist Robert S. Allen reports. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have put on the pressure for an additional appropriation for "military hardware" for "allies" which include guns, planes, tanks, munitions, etc. The State Dept. is pressing for more allocations to economic and technical aid for foreign countries as a means to counter the latest economic offers made by the Soviet Union. Opposition is being voiced by Treasury Secretary George Humphrey and Budget Director Rowland Hughes who had hoped to present a "balanced budget" for the 1956 election year.

**SCIENTISTS REQUESTING VISAS** to visit the United States for scientific conferences or other reasons run into complicated delays and often refusals from the State Department. As a result seven international scientific conferences have been held in other countries. Scientists are subjected to the same exhaustive inquiries as those desiring to immigrate to this country. For example they must list every organization, club or society that they ever were associated with since 1918. Dr. Victor F. Weisskopf of Massachusetts Institute of Technology told a Senate Committee that present regulations are "interfering with the healthy development of American science." He listed one hundred cases of scientists who were denied or delayed admission into the country in the last few years.

**AMERICAN, LEGIONNAIRES**, it is reported, now average 61 years of age.

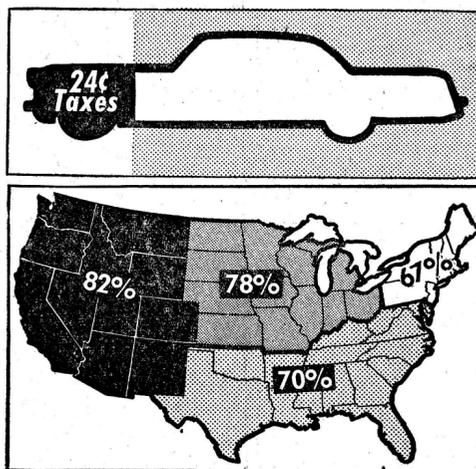
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# THE MILITANT

## "Don't Blame Us"



According to the Automobile Manufacturers Association, 24c. on every dollar that a customer pays for a car goes in taxes to the government. That information is supposed to take the heat off the manufacturer for the high price the consumer pays. The large tax, however, is only a reflection of the fabulous profits — not shown — that are raked in by the bosses. Map below shows the percent of families that own their own car.

## 1,500 in Los Angeles Protest Race Violence

By Milt Alvin

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 27 — Fifteen hundred people today attended the third mass rally recently held in this city to protest the wave of violence against Negroes in the South. Democratic Congressman Diggs of Detroit, the first Negro Congressman ever to be elected from Michigan was the featured speaker.

Since he attended the trial of the lynchers of Emmett Till in Mississippi two months ago, Diggs appears to be making a bid for leadership of the Negro struggle in America. He has appeared at several mass meetings around the country and is the author of the so-called "Diggs Plan," which would challenge the seating of Congressmen from Mississippi on the grounds that they do not represent about half the people of that state, the Negroes, who are not permitted to vote.

But this was far from the mind of Congressman Diggs. All he had to propose, was that everyone register and vote—for whom, he did not say.

**VOTE-CATCHERS**  
Diggs evidently thinks that putting a high-sounding plank on civil rights in the presidential campaign next year will change things. Experience teaches us, however, that planks in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties on the question of civil rights for Negroes are meant only as vote-catchers and nothing more.

The Congressman warmly approved of a refusal by Governor Williams of Michigan to attend a Democratic Party meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, because Negroes were barred. But Williams is a leading figure in the very same party as all the Southern lynchers and their political representatives. This tap on the wrist did not cost Williams anything.

By tying himself to the Democratic Party and the two-party system, Diggs, like the union leaders, will not be able to advance the cause of the Negro people. He indicated that he will even support as a candidate for President any of those he sharply criticized in his speech. At a press conference he was quoted as saying, "There are various ways of supporting people. You can support them enthusiastically or you can support them passively." (Los Angeles Times, Nov. 27.) This is a formula for supporting whatever Democrat proves to be acceptable to the South.

**DIGGS' PROPOSALS**  
Without doubt Diggs' attendance at the Mississippi trial and his subsequent activities have made him a prominent national figure in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Therefore, it is important to assess his proposals for the future conduct of this struggle.

**INACTION AND SILENCE**  
Diggs was also critical of the federal government for failing to intervene in the Till case. This, of course, was blamed on the Republicans. However, he failed to add that not one prominent Democratic leader has had anything to say about the Till case to the public.

Diggs went on to attack practically all the aspirants for the Democratic nomination for President. He denounced the "moderation" stand on civil rights of Stevenson and Kefauver. He said they favored gradualism, the policy of "letting things work themselves out." Governor Harriman of New York was criticized for ducking the issue by stating that he was so busy securing civil rights for Negroes in his own state that he had no time to do anything about it anywhere else.

**GIANT HOAX**  
The Negro people and the workers should take warning that this is a giant hoax designed to keep their support for the Democratic Party. The decisive leaders of this party have made their peace with the South. As Diggs pointed out in his speech, they "want the friendship of the South more than that of 16 million Negroes."

It is time to break with company unionism and Uncle Tomism in politics. The Negro people should demand of their leaders and the workers should demand of the union leaders that they get out of the Democratic Party and get busy organizing a Labor Party that will really represent the interests of the majority. That is the necessary next step in furthering the Negro struggle for civil rights.

## Negroes Resist KKK Terrorism

By John Thayer

White-supremacist terrorists, emboldened by the legal immunity granted the Mississippi lynchers, staged the first open demonstration of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina.

A motorcade of 40 to 50 white-sheeted Klansmen drove through the town of Elloroe the night of Dec. 3 and staged a meeting and cross-burning on the edge of the Negro section. Instead of being terrorized, about 100 Negroes approached the meeting which was being held under the joint sponsorship of the KKK and the local White Citizens Council. The Negroes listened quietly as robed speakers urged them to get rid of local NAACP leader, L. A. Blackman. Blackman was one of the Negroes watching and listening.

### ECONOMIC PRESSURE

A bitter economic struggle is going on in Orangeburg County. It began last August when 36 Negro parents in Elloroe signed a petition to the local school board asking compliance with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Three days later a White Citizens Council was organized and within a week all Negro signers employed by whites had been fired. Others were denied credit, ordered to move from homes by landlords, faced with mortgage foreclosures and denied merchandise if they were storekeepers.

In the town of Orangeburg a similar campaign of economic terrorism followed the signing of a desegregation petition by 57 Negro parents. Instead of taking it lying down, the Negroes of Orangeburg County have organized a counter-boycott which has had visible effect. The victimized Negroes are being aided by donations of money, food and clothing which have been sent from all over the U.S. Those wishing to help can send contributions to the Orangeburg NAACP c/o Mrs. Andrew Simpkins, NAACP State Secretary, 220 Marion St., Columbia, South Carolina.

In Schulenburg, Texas, discovery of the beaten and burned body of Herbert Johnson, 58-year-old Negro leader, raised the possibility of another racist crime, such as the Mississippi lynchings of Rev. Lee, Lamar Smith, Emmett Till and the near-lynching of Gus Courts. Johnson had called a meeting the previous week to revive the NAACP in Schulenburg and had been elected president. Local authorities state emphatically that "this is definitely not another 'Till case'" and have offered a \$5,000 reward to anyone proving a white committed the murder. White Citizens Councils are active in Texas and at present are demanding that the attorney general investigate "communistic influences" in the Negro organization.

### BUS BOYCOTT

A dramatic struggle is taking place in Montgomery, Alabama, where the Negro community has declared a boycott of the city buses because of their Jim Crow system. Car pools, cooperation of Negro taxi drivers and just plain hooving it have deprived the bus company of almost all Negro patronage. The action resulted from the arrest of Rosa Parks, a middle-aged Negro seamstress arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a bus.

### FRATERNAL SPIRIT OF SPIES

The talkative witness described with gusto how he thumbed his nose at two FBI agents who were following him, then laughed over the incident with the FBI agent assigned to take his information. He told also of walking another FBI man ragged over three or four miles of Pittsburgh streets, leaving him panting on a bridge guard rail.

### REPORTER-SPY

James T. Flannery, a local reporter for the Catholic Universe Bulletin, testified that he was assigned by his editor to cover a secret meeting of the party, that he made a deal with the custodian of the hall where it was held to let him sneak in as a cloakroom attendant to listen, that he used a false name and made contributions to party causes in order to be invited to attend other meetings.

### CIO SPOKESMAN

Sam Camens, secretary of the Mahoning County CIO Council, spoke for the CIO and gave a little detail on the activities of the labor movement against the Dixie reign of terror.

### STEELWORKERS

Principal speaker was Simon Booker, an editor for Jet Magazine and one of the first correspondents to get on the trail of the Till murder — he also was the first to enter Mississippi through the "underground" as he called it, and he wasn't kidding, and to get the details of the murder of Reverend Lee.

Aside from an interesting detail study of Southern Lynch Law justice and the aroused fighting spirit of the Southern Negroes, Booker had no program other than support of the

prosecution witnesses, the defendants have been described in testimony and the accounts in the daily papers as "studious-looking," as active in trade unions and anti-discrimination cases, as candidates for public office in various elections.

### DEFENDANTS

Defendants in the Ohio Smith Act case are: Joseph Brandt, 45; David Katz, 42, and his wife, Frieda Zucker Katz; Elvador C. Greenfield, 65; Mrs. Lucille Bethencourt, 28; Joseph M. Dougher, 58; Robert A. Campbell, 43; Frank Hashmall, 36; Martin Chancey, 47; Anthony Krcmarek, 57, and George Watt, 41.

### STEEL UNION, YOUNGSTOWN NAACP

### Protest Miss. Terror at Till Rally

By Mel Childs

The Youngstown Branch of the NAACP held a large and successful protest meeting around the Till murder case in the Third Baptist Church in this city on Sunday, Nov. 20.

### NAACP

However, he said that he was willing to sacrifice his life in the service of this organization, a statement so rare these days as to be almost revolutionary.

### LABOR

Nate Lee, President of the Youngstown Branch and Rev. S. S. Booker, in whose church the meeting was held, gained the greatest spontaneous applause in pointing out that the Negro in Youngstown couldn't consider himself secure while his brothers in the South lived in the danger of death.

### SALES

Salesmen for the Militant must have been well received outside because copies of the Militant and copies of the newest pamphlet, Desegregation! Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality, were much in evidence in the meeting hall.

She was fined \$14 and is appealing her case. Montgomery has a system of Jim Crow signs for bus seats so that if more whites get aboard than there are seats for, signs on seats occupied by Negroes can be flipped over changing them from Jim Crow to white.

The boycott began soon after Mrs. Parks' arrest. By the time of her trial, Dec. 5, thousands of Negroes were shunning the bus lines. That same evening a mass protest meeting of 5,000 was held at which the boycott was formally voted and organized. Spokesmen say it will continue until people riding the buses are no longer "intimidated, embarrassed and coerced."

The militant struggle has the aspect of a strike. Police cars and motorcycles follow the buses. Crowds of Negroes jeer and boo those few Negroes who board buses. The manager of the bus system, admitted that "80 or maybe 90%" of the Negroes in the city had joined the boycott.

### HARRIMAN

In New York Governor Harriman, aspirant for the Democratic presidential nomination, had a hard time in Harlem. Reporters there tried to pin him down on his attitude on civil rights, the Till case and extradition of the Rev. Joseph A. Delaine, fighter for civil rights who had to flee South Carolina. Harriman dodged all the questions.

### GENERAL BROWNELL

General Brownell again refused to have the FBI investigate the Till lynching. This time the request was an official communication from the Governor of Illinois. Till was an Illinois resident.

## ... Cleveland Trial

(Continued from page 1)

and conferences, or on the basis of a flat rate for each report submitted.

The first witness, William Garfield Cummings, of Toledo, admitted he had not listed his FBI spy pay on 1943-48 income tax returns until several years later, that he had signed up relatives in the Communist Party, then turned in their names in reports to the FBI.

Another, David Whitney Garfield, a former Communist youth leader in Youngstown and Canton, admitted the party had no guns or explosives, only a mimeograph machine, when it went "underground"; that security measures taken by the party after the first Smith Act trial of Communist Party leaders in New York were "defensive"; that capitalism cannot be supplanted until conditions are favorable and the working class desires the change, and that the method used to change the government was "just speculation."

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