

# LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

SPOT-LIGHT

## Slave Labor

The fantastic mindlessness of American foreign policy was ironically underlined in the past month when, it turned out, the only nation that refused to subscribe to an international convention against the use of slave labor was—the United States.

On Jan. 28 the N. Y. Times reported that "the State Department is unwilling to support a proposed International Labor Organization convention against the use of forced labor for political or economic purposes."

It was the AFL that had taken the initiative which led to this proposal, when in 1947 it asked the UN to take action on forced labor. In 1949 in the ILO, the AFL pressed for a Commission of Inquiry on Forced Labor. In 1951 the UN and ILO set up a joint committee for such an inquiry; it held its hearings and submitted a report in 1953. At the UN General Assembly this report was adopted against the objection of the Stalinist bloc and at the insistence of the U. S.; thereupon the ILO set about drawing up the convention.

And the U. S. refuses to sign! The Stalinist states agree, no doubt on the demagogic ground that their slave-labor system is not for political or economic purposes but solely for "corrective" purposes.

"How ironic!" exclaims a pained Times editorial. The paper's Geneva correspondent Michael Hoffman cables that "Western circles here fear that if the U. S. does not in the end support a forced-labor convention, while the Soviet Union and its satellites do, the circumstances would be generally regarded as a major Soviet triumph."

Since obviously the international convention proposed is a meaningless piece of paper, which commits no one to anything, why does the U. S. refuse to sign?

The Times asked on Feb. 7: "Is it because some employers' groups in the U. S. do not like the ILO and think the U. S. should get out of this organization altogether? Or is it because the [State] department fears the proponents of the Bricker amendment, who look with gravest suspicion on practically any convention or treaty? We are sorry to say that apparently the reasoning, if one can call it that, is that the U. S. must now join nothing of international flavor that could possibly affect internal affairs."

While we're asking questions, here's another:

Is it because the AFL's investigations into forced labor also put the spotlight on such institutions as peonage in Florida, which was exposed with considerable effectiveness by the Workers Defense League?

## Puerifoy Was Here

Remember John Puerifoy, the two-gun Red-slaying ambassador who puerifoyed Guatemala by organizing the overthrow of the Arbenz regime by force and violence, installing the present dictatorship of Castillo Armas?

Two other examples of his handiwork have been in the news in the last couple of weeks.

One of Puerifoy's ambassadorial

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# Labor and the Negro Fight: Will It Rise to the Challenge?

By H. W. BENSON

By now the fight in the South, in Alabama in particular, has gone beyond the fight over segregation of Negroes. We witness a heroic fight for democracy right here in the United States.

So far, it has remained an unequal struggle. On the side of anti-democracy are ranged illegal brute force and organized violence: packed local courts; police appointed by reaction, mobs misled by it, and legislatures dominated by it under the Southern system of limited franchise.

On the side of democracy is mainly the peaceable, determined action of the Negro people, their un intimidated bus boycott and their persistent court suits in defense of brave Autherine Lucy. Democracy in the South is outpowered by state governments and guns of reaction.

Democracy? Everyone ceremonializes it on July 4 in cheap phrases. The U. S. trumpets it in words throughout the world. But a real flesh-and-blood struggle for it takes place here and now, in our own country. Words are not enough now.

This is the first big mass struggle for an historic extension of democracy since the rise of the CIO. To the embattled Southern Negroes, the organized national majority of labor, liberals, and sincere democrats must bring material, moral, and political aid.

"This responsibility is too great for one lone Negro woman or for Negroes in general," said NAACP chief counsel Thurgood Marshall. "It is urgent enough and important enough to require the help of all law-abiding Americans of all races."

## BATTLE LINES

In the last few days:

- In the Senate, James O. Eastland, leader of the fight in Mississippi to nullify the Supreme Court decision by illegal violence and parliamentary maneuvering, chosen chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee on the death of former chairman Herley Kilgore. This senatorial endorsement of Southern reaction was opposed only by Lehman, Morse, and a handful of scattered anonymous nays in the vote.

- Autherine Lucy was expelled by the University of Alabama on the pretext that she had accused the trustees, in court, of conspiring with rioters. To put it bluntly: the trustees conspire with segregationist rioters because Lucy ac-

cuses them of conspiring with rioters. Thus, the university defies the Supreme Court decision.

- The state House begins an "investigation of communism" in the NAACP and demands that Lucy come to testify.

- Two Negroes who allegedly jostled a white university student, were indicted for "assault with intent to murder."

- A suit claiming \$4 million was filed against Lucy by four men accused of participating in the riots at the university. At least one was identified as a former Ku Klux Klan activist.

- The Alabama House voted to cut off all appropriations from the all-Negro Tuskegee Institute if any Negro student spends more than 10 days at any all-white state-supported college.

- State Representative W. L. Martin said that whites must either move out of the state or "take up our shotguns."

- In South Carolina, Truman's former Secretary of State Byrnes, in a statement typifying the pressure which the reactionary right exerts constantly, warned that a new States Rights party might be set up in the South if the Democratic Party presses for minority rights.

The struggle in the South is the first great test of the role of the united labor movement.

How will it respond to the appeal for help? So far, only enormous quantities of speeches and resolutions have been

(Turn to last page!)

# The Presidential Campaign Reflects the State of U.S. Politics: It's on the Level—And What a Level!

By GORDON HASKELL

At this stage of its life-history, the presidential campaign, which got off to such an early start, seems to be running at about as low a level of ideological vitality as one could imagine. At the moment, the issue on which the two major parties have now squared off, the issue on which the American people are being asked to participate in a great debate and on which they are to choose who will run their government for the next four years is mainly this: one party claims that the presidency can be filled by a man who has suffered a heart attack, and the other party claims that it can't.

The Democrats, whether of the exalted and sensitive egghead sort or the common garden-variety of pea-brain type, will keep harping on this theme. It is not so much that they think the citizens are deeply concerned about maintaining the dignity of the presidential office. It is rather one way of emphasizing that they are really running against the Republican vice-presidential candidate without looking too much like a bunch of undertakers commiserating at a sick man's bedside.

One observer in Washington has pointed out that President Eisenhower's decision to run for re-election has had the effect of bringing about a greater definition in the attitude of Congress. An acute and experienced observer, he claims, can now tell the administration party from the opposition without a seating-chart by just

watching how they speak and vote on measures.

This novel development for the 84th Congress results from the fact that a number of Republicans who think Eisenhower is a "creeping socialist" feel that their only chance for re-election is to jump on his band-wagon; and hence either oppose his policies less vocally or even vote for the measures he backs from time to time.

On the other hand, there is a feeling among the Democrats that with Eisenhower leading the opposing team they will have to find some way of distinguishing themselves in the eyes of the voters, and their anti-coronary-presidentiality theory won't be enough.

It is not yet clear on exactly which issues they are now to shed their disguises as statesmen of moderation (specially where the interests of the workers are concerned) and come forth in their true colors as fighting partisans of the common man. It seems that most of them are inclined toward high parity for the

farmers and high figures for military spending.

## CUSTARD'S LAST STAND

The mention of military spending brings us to the questions of foreign policy around which the campaign might (but won't) revolve. A number of Democrats have been speaking of Secretary of State Dulles in increasingly harsh terms. But it appears they are finding considerable difficulty in thrashing out any clear-cut issue on which to make a real stand against the administration's foreign policy.

We do not envy the Democrats their job. To nail the incredible Mr. Dulles down on any issue is much like trying to nail a custard pie to a wall. First of all, it is hard to catch the man within the continental limits of the United States long enough to ask him a question. Secondly, since he seems to have difficulty in understanding most questions, it is unreasonable to expect an answer.

Finally, and this is the real reason we pity the Democrats when it comes to making foreign policy an issue, they really have no alternative to offer.

Although the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration is bound to look pretty phantasmagorical as long as Dulles is permitted to put his inimitable stamp on its façade, at bottom it is sim-

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# Hoffa Pushes a Raid Right Under UAW's Nose in Detroit

By JACK WILSON

Detroit, March 3

Like the man said, "We don't deny we've used our fists. We'll use them again tomorrow if we have to. This is a tough business. If you can't take it, you get out."

The man wasn't talking directly to Walter P. Reuther and George Meany. He was just discussing his methods. But he might as well have been speaking to them, for he is their principle opponent and he does lay it on the line.

The man is Jimmy Hoffa, de-facto leader of the Teamsters. This past week he made news again, with a \$400,000 loan to the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Association, which was expelled from the AFL. Hoffa had long ago told the UAW and AFL leaders he was going to do it, and he did. At this time still stymied in his attempt to seize full control of the New York Teamster Joint Council, Hoffa moved on other fronts to challenge the majority leadership of the AFL-CIO.

In case there was any doubt about what Hoffa has in mind, he demonstrated in Detroit this past week what is in volved. The Teamsters Union petitioned the NLRB to hold an election covering 70 longshoremen loading automobiles on freighters just a stone's throw from Solidarity House, home of the UAW.

The longshoremen are now members of the AFL International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, the union that was formed by the AFL after it expelled the ILA.

Here is a raid, in plain sight of the UAW, in violation of the policies set down by the recent first constitutional convention of the unified labor movement. What are George Meany and Walter Reuther going to do about it?

Now 70 longshoremen aren't very many. But the issue involved here is very big. Only last fall, the president of the AFL longshoremen's union here tried to swing the local into the Teamster fold. Ziggy Snyder was removed from office for this attempt. Can you imagine what happens to those honest union men who stuck by the AFL if these union men end up in the Teamsters Union?

To add further insult and perhaps more injury to injury, the Teamsters Union says it will turn over these people, if it wins the election, to the expelled ILA.

## TEST OF UNITY

One of the major values of labor unity is precisely the fact that the kind of problem we just described is now the concern of all union men, and in this fact alone stands some hope of an improvement in the situation.

This was not always the case. A few years ago, some brave but foolhardy individuals tried to run for office against a Hoffa slate in the Pontiac local of the Teamsters Union. After they got worked over, they withdrew from the race.

Later the officers of this local were all indicted, and the president is now appealing a jail sentence for extortion. A petition for removal of these officers was rejected. They were first suspended from office, but then they were appointed administrators over their own local, although they were under indictment.

During this period an incensed membership tried to oust them at a meeting. Twenty carloads of "business agents" headed by Hoffa came to the meeting. Police with riot guns kept an uneasy peace. Hoffa retained control of the local and still does.

During these events in 1953, many CIO officials were complacent because "it's not our problem," it's an AFL problem. Others were kept in check because "we can't interfere with another union's internal affairs."

Walter Reuther made a brilliant and well-received speech at the AFL-CIO meeting against raiding. Now the problem exists in his own backyard. Here is a test for the labor movement. Here for the first time, the enslaved, terrorized and frightened honest rank-and-filers of the AFL unions dominated by racketeer elements have a chance to see how the new union movement will protect them and safe guard their rights.

Involved here too is the prestige of the unified labor movement. There is a national election coming up. For labor to make moral claims and to denounce the notorious practices of big business, it must come before the public with clean hands.

Make no mistake about it. The fight between the honest and progressive union forces within the AFL-CIO against the racketeer elements isn't going to be a tea party. The boys who drive shiny new Cadillacs around town and call themselves business agents aren't softies, as they think the CIO leaders are. The boys play for keeps and there aren't any rules, except one: Win at any cost.

Recently, George Meany and Walter Reuther were told by AFL and CIO leaders that they face the loss of nearly 100,000 members in Alabama because of the stand they took against segregation. Walter Reuther has since publicly stated that he prefers to lose 100,000 members than compromise on a basic issue of civil rights. This is not the least reason why he has some standing and moral authority on the acute issues involving Negroes.

The same kind of stand is required on the raiding and racketeering questions. The Teamster officials aren't wasting any time. Only today it was reported that Dave Beck had announced a mutual-assistance pact with the Machinists union (IAM) both in organizing and other problems. The wording of the announcement carries quite a threat to the UAW.

## It's on the Level — —

(Continued from page 1)

ply a continuation of the policies of Truman and Acheson.

## IN A TIZZY

Take the famous Stalinist "offensive" in the Near, Middle and Far East. They are now, says our Mr. Dulles, trying to get by guile what they failed to get by force. The "guile" involved is to offer the governments of these areas promises of the kind of economic and technical aid they want, and to accompany these offers with demagogic denunciations of imperialism and rousing speeches on behalf of the oppressed colonial peoples who are seeking their equal place in the sun.

This Stalinist strategy has, strangely enough, thrown the Congress and apparently the State Department into a tizzy bordering on a panic. Everyone is saying that this government must do something to counteract the Stalinist offensive, and quick.

The reason all this panic (and it seems to come from both sides of the aisle in Congress) is or might appear to be strange is that we have been told America invented the method of winning governments and keeping them in line by economic aid. It is safe to say that in the years since World War II the United States has poured out more in the way of economic, technical and military aid to other countries than the Stalinists could duplicate in at least the next twenty or thirty years. And it is further safe to say that if the American government had a mind to, it could now, and without lowering the standard of living of the American people, double and quadruple with ease anything the Stalinists are capable of doing in this field.

Yet the panic is justified. For the stark fact of the matter is that all that economic aid, though it unquestionably won ruling classes, their parties and governments into the American orbit, did not establish the people of these countries as America's allies. And since the aid was so largely tied to military considerations, it is further true that the countries which got least of it are precisely the ones which are now most vulnerable to Stalinist blandishments.

The Democratic Party as a whole has never showed any signs of understanding or being capable of understanding this problem. Thus it is not at all surprising that while they can shout at poor Dulles

"I am certain that with the full implementation of the Teamsters-Machinists agreement, we will see some real progress in the months ahead.

"It is the intention of our international union," Beck said, "to include in addition to automotive, other fields of organization such as airlines, airplane construction and so forth."

## IMPARTIAL?

Al Hayes, president of the Machinists Union, is chairman of the newly created Ethical Fair Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO. Since he now has a mutual-assistance pact with the Teamsters, how can he possibly be an impartial chairman? An interesting question!

It's quite clear from these and similar moves that Hoffa is determined not only to increase his vast power but to force the labor movement to accept him as a respectable labor leader. Not as rich, to be sure, as Dave Beck, but certainly far more effective.

This is the great challenge to Meany and Reuther. For them to compromise on this issue is to tarnish themselves with the very indictments they have made against their opponents within the labor movement.

The next few weeks will demonstrate what the actual decision of the top leaders of the AFL-CIO is. In their first clash with Hoffa the Meany-Reuther forces won an acceptable compromise. In this case, the basic issue cannot be compromised. The \$400,000 loan violates the whole spirit of the founding convention of the AFL-CIO. The raid in Detroit directly challenges the policies of the AFL-CIO.

that he isn't doing anything to stop the Stalinists, they have nothing to answer if he shouts back at them that he welcomes bipartisan suggestions on the question.

## THE GOP CAN'T

There is another issue which could be a hot one in this campaign, and which will be a hot one even though both parties would like to duck it if they could. That is the question of civil rights and Negro equality.

On this, the Republicans appear to have a ready-made and invaluable weapon. But that is only appearance. And the fact that they have so far been so backward in using it demonstrates the point.

Stevenson has finally screwed up his political courage to the point of making a firm and uncompromising statement against defiance of the Supreme Court decision and interposition. He has made it as clear (at least) that he is personally against segregation as that he will not lift a finger to help in the struggle for equal rights which is going on right now.

But Eisenhower is in an even worse position. As president he has the responsibility to offer a program for the enforcement of the law of the land. He has not done so. Except for the expression of pious sentiments, and tricky Dick Nixon's attempt to claim the anti-segregation decision of the Supreme Court for the good old GOP, the whole party seems quite unable to grasp its opportunity of splitting the Democrats right down the middle.

It is unable to do so because this would involve a real fight on behalf of the most oppressed section of the American people. In such a struggle the demand for equal rights for Negroes is bound to become inextricably mixed up with all kinds of social and economic issues on which the Republicans stand against the interests of the people and not for them.

Thus, on this most burning domestic issue of the day, both Democrats and Republicans stand if not mute, then paralyzed. This could be a magnificent opportunity for the American labor movement to add to the fifteen million members in its ranks the great bulk of the Negroes of America as staunch political allies. But for this they need a political vehicle through which their own interests and those of the Negroes can gain clear expression. The old buggy of the Democratic Party simply won't serve the purpose.

## Two Memos On the Demos

Following is an editorial in the Union News for Feb. 20 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (CIO), under the title "Practical (and Honest) Politics." It complains that the Northern liberal Democrats who "point with alarm" at the Dixiecrats work with them in party councils, and not with the Southern liberals who oppose them:

"As another election year spring dawns in Dixie, approximately 60,000 OCAW members, along with hundreds of thousands of other liberals, are girding for their biennial battle in precinct, county and state conventions of the region's one party—Democratic. These people will be fighting their regular campaign to make the party Democratic, not Dixiecrat.

"Meanwhile a number of Democratic officeholders and Party officials from the North will be giving statements to newspapers expressing the horror all of us feel at such recent disgraceful events as the University of Alabama riots. Yet, some of these same people will make political deals with the very Dixiecrats responsible for the state of affairs they decry.

"If those who class themselves in the Northern 'liberal' wing of the Democratic Party would do less pointing with alarm and would cooperate more with Southern liberals in the hard, practical politics of Party councils, a great deal more good would be accomplished."

## Wasting CIO Money

In his Feb. 21 column, Murray Kempton casts an eye at the Democratic Party and the natural-gas bill, and in revulsion comes out in favor of "anarchism" or something as the only alternative to bourgeois politics that he can think of real quick:

"It will be difficult for the Democrats to go into the next election with any impressive defense against the charge that their 84th was a know-nothing, do-nothing Congress.

"Those conscientious persons who study a senator's voting record for indications of his qualifications may, in fact, have the solitary test of the Natural Gas Bill, which, until its veto by President Eisenhower, was Lyndon Johnson's only legislative triumph.

"And the vote on the Natural Gas Bill is a painful reflection of the condition of that politics which today is almost the solitary outlet for the emotions of the American liberal....

"Last year, the CIO Political Action Committee gave financial support to 17 Democrats who were elected to the Senate. Those objects of PAC's bounty are legislators generally esteemed by liberals, and its list can be taken as thoroughly orthodox.

"And six of them voted for the natural gas bill....

"Lyndon Johnson himself got \$3,000.... "Poor old Jim Murray cost labor more to elect than any other U. S. Senator except Paul Douglas; yet he and nine other concrete objects of his faith voted wrong on what could well be the one critical roll call of this session.

"It is from this shame that President Eisenhower has rescued us for the wrong reasons.

"We struggle and strain over Senate elections every two years, our hearts beating over this fluctuation and that in Wyoming or Montana. When it is over, we learn that we have triumphed by electing Walter George de facto president of these United States, unless Herman Talmadge beats him, in which case we have elected Richard Russell.

"By now, it should be a very real question whether we wouldn't all be better off if we sat out the next election, accepted the fact that all government is our enemy, cultivated anarchism and concentrated our passions on American Civil Liberties Union.

"When you vote for a politician, even a Democrat, you postpone any real hope for a civil rights law or the abatement of the tyranny of government repression of these private citizens who happen to be Commies, and in exchange, the price is no better than 3-2 that he'll even resist the gas lobby."

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ON THE JIM CROW FRONT

## Waiting Rooms... Flight to the North... Anti-Labor Law vs. Boycott... 'Friends'

By BETTY PERKINS

Clarence Mitchell, Washington, D. C., director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was arrested Feb. 27 for using the white waiting room at a Florence, S. C., railroad station, despite Interstate Commerce Commission orders to bar segregation as of Jan. 10.

Mitchell had the help of Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.), who wired President Eisenhower, the ICC, and Attorney General Herbert Brownell for help. Brownell ordered the FBI to investigate the arrest.

Mitchell and Rev. Horace Sharper, Negro Baptist minister from Sumter, S. C., were charged with "failure to obey an officer in discharge of his duties." The case was dismissed two days later when City Attorney Wiley Caldwell said he could find no city ordinance covering the case.

Almost fifty Negroes used the "white" waiting room the same day without challenge.

### REFUGEES FROM DIXIE

The Alabama House of Representatives—which passed several frantic resolutions in its racist fury at the Autherine Lucy case—surpassed itself with a request to Congress to finance "an apportionment of Negroes among the Northern and Western states where they are wanted and needed and can be assimilated." This resolution was expected to die in an Alabama Senate committee.

Meanwhile, numerous Negroes have

### TESTIMONIALS TO THE NAACP

The NAACP, as outstanding leader in the fight for equal rights in the South, has earned the hatred and open opposition of the Southern racists in the various legislatures.

Here is a brief summary of the legal attacks on the NAACP by states.

**Alabama:** Over the governor's veto, the state legislature says a paid organizer of any organization must pay a fee of \$100 in the county and \$5 per member. (Where does that leave union organizers?) Teachers can be fired for favoring segregation or belonging to the NAACP.

**Georgia:** The attorney general has asked the legislature to investigate the NAACP "for possible subversive influences." Governor Marvin Griffin proposed a bill making anyone "threatening" the private school system subject to two years in prison.

**Mississippi:** Six years in jail and/or \$1000 fine for anyone found to "incite a riot . . . or disorderly assembly by advocating disobedience to any law of the State of Mississippi and non-conformance with its traditions, customs and usages of the State of Mississippi." Representatives say it affects only the NAACP. Another measure enlarges the area of criminal libel to penalize any defamation of a state, locality, inhabitants, institution or the government. Mississippi newspaper publishers have protested this atrocity.

**Louisiana:** A 1924 law against the Ku Klux Klan was revived against the NAACP; a suit was filed prohibiting its meetings since the organization had failed to register each year and provide a list of all members. Since the NAACP is chartered in New York, the law probably will not apply.

**South Carolina:** Will file suit against NAACP for failure to register and will try to recover \$7300 in fines. Another bill would prevent NAACP or Communist Party members from teaching, and NAACP members from holding state jobs. NAACP activities at South Carolina State College are requested to be investigated.

Suits for libel and the like have been filed against NAACP officials and members in South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida.

Meanwhile Dixiecrats in the House had a field day making anti-NAACP speeches and trying to label the organization "Communist-dominated."

Representative E. L. Rorester (D., Ga.) was particularly newsworthy; he claimed that the Negro was ungrateful, in that he voted in the Democratic white primary and then voted Republican at the election. (When he voted, that is.)

not waited for Congress to pay their fares and the expenses of moving, and have quietly picked up their belongings in a move northward. P. L. Pratts, in the Pittsburgh Courier, Feb. 25, estimates that the rate of increase among Negroes in Chicago has doubled in the past five years, reaching a total of 5000 a month in population increase.

The new migrants are quite different from those fleeing the terror of the Ku Klux Klan up through the twenties, though those of today are primarily fleeing a similar terror.

Reports Nat Williams in the same paper: The migrants of today can read and are somewhat educated, mostly quiet and conventional with cheap but clean clothes, bearing evidence of a level of living above sheer poverty.

Very few leave because of actual physical contact with terror. Anti-Negro attitudes of their neighbors play a part in influencing the majority, as do economic pressures used openly against non-conforming Negroes by White Citizens Councils or similar groups.

Perhaps almost as many are in flight from an economic pressure shared by many white men in the South—increasing mechanization of the farms, producing more food with fewer workers. In this pressure there is no color line—the Negro and the white farm worker need the support of each other to resist the heartless power of the corporate farms and to make the mechanization of the farms an orderly and responsible process with due regard to the rights of the workers displaced.

### ANTI-LABORLAW

In an effort to stop the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott, the city called the boycott illegal, using as a basis for this action a 1921 state law passed after a bitter labor struggle at Birmingham. Then the city ordered the arrest and arrangement of 90 boycott leaders, including 26 ministers.

The use of an anti-labor law in a segregation case points up again how connected the two issues really are. This law has been dug up to break the boycott and has never, as far as known, been used against labor. If it had and labor men had been convicted under it, its constitutionality would have been tested in the Supreme Court, as it certainly violates one of the main principles of criminal law: a statute must be specifically directed at a defined evil.

This particular law says: "Two or more persons who, without a just cause or legal excuse, enter into any combination for the purpose of hindering firms from carrying on lawful business shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

What is just cause? Or legal excuse? And must a man pay to be insulted?

If an economic boycott by Negroes is illegal, boycotts by whites are equally illegal at law. White Citizens Councils, please note! And if economic boycott works in Montgomery, Alabama, it will work equally well elsewhere. In fact, a minister has recently threatened such a boycott against a Columbus, Ohio, bank doing 95 per cent of its business with Negroes but employing none as clerks or tellers.

### "IN FRIENDSHIP"

Under the chairmanship of AFL-CIO Vice-Pres. A. Philip Randolph, a new organization called "In Friendship" was launched on Feb. 29 to give economic aid to the victims of the anti-Negro race terror and economic reprisals in the South.

Organizations represented at the meeting included the NAACP, and several trade unions—Sleeping Car Porters; District 65; ILGWU; Retail and Wholesale Workers; Hotel and Restaurant Workers; Packinghouse Workers; Transport Workers, and others; also the American Veterans Committee, and American Jewish Congress.

A message from Chairman Randolph said, "We must act immediately. Within 30 days we must find the means to guarantee that Negro farmers in Mississippi will be able to procure crop loans, without which they cannot start their 1956 planting. Reports from Mississippi show that the White Citizens Councils have succeeded in choking off all usual sources of loans and other credits on which farmers depend. We must show that those who are being attacked in this way do not stand alone in their fight for decency."

# Theory and Practice of Racism 'INTERPOSITION' AND THE W. C. COUNCILS

By BETTY PERKINS

Among the forms taken by the struggle in the South to prevent the integration of the schools, the organizational side has been represented by the White Citizens Councils, and the "theoretical" side by the doctrines of interposition and nullification.

"Interposition" means interposing the sovereignty of the state between its citizens and the federal government. Nullification actually declares the federal law null and void.

White - Supremacy eggheads claim illegal encroachment on the powers reserved to the states and declare that the Supreme Court ruling on the schools is actually an amendment which should be approved by three-fourths of the states (an amendment which the Southern states are sure they are strong enough to block).

Virginia was the first state to adopt an interposition resolution. Alabama followed immediately with an even stronger nullification resolution, which Governor James Folsom derided ("dog baying at the moon") but did not veto. Georgia has a nullification resolution in process; South Carolina has passed an interposition resolution; and Mississippi has just offered in both legislative houses a resolution declaring the Supreme Court decision invalid. North Carolina and Louisiana are the only two states of the "Solid South" with no such resolutions, and the North Carolina governor has indicated that he will introduce one soon.

This doctrine dates in its earliest form from James Madison's Virginia Resolution of 1798 against the Alien and Sedition Acts passed by supporters of John Adams in Congress.

The Alien Act authorized the president to banish dangerous foreigners and the Sedition Act cut freedom of the press. A few years later the objectionable acts expired and the doctrine was never tested in the courts.

### ONCE REPUDIATED

A renewal of the use of this doctrine took place before the Civil War; John Calhoun used these two terms interchangeably at that time. South Carolina actually passed such a resolution in 1832 and asked her Southern neighbors to join her.

Here are the words of those legislatures at that time, as summarized by historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.:

"The Georgia legislature rejected state interposition as 'neither a peaceful nor constitutional remedy, but, on the contrary, as tending to civil commotion and disunion.' The Alabama legislature condemned it as 'unconstitutional and essentially revolutionary; leading in its consequences to anarchy and civil discord, and finally to the dissolution of the Union.'

"The Mississippi legislature called it a 'heresy fatal to the existence of the Union . . . contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution,' and in direct conflict with the welfare, safety and independence of every state.' The Virginia legislature entreated South Carolina to rescind the South Carolina ordinance and solemnly denied that the Virginia Resolution of 1798 sanctioned South Carolina's action.

"It speaks sadly for the decay of con-

stitutional knowledge in our day that the Georgia, Alabama and Virginia Legislatures should have all recently passed resolutions of the sort which the same legislatures condemned so categorically one hundred and twenty years ago. It is even more singular that a United States senator [Harry Byrd, Va.], ignoring the whole constitutional history of our nation, can still insist, in 1956, that nullification is 'perfectly legal.'"

### JUST A DEVICE

The serious acceptance of this doctrine of possible interposition would mean that the Constitution would have to be considered a compact of sovereign states. Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, considered a leading authority on interposition, says:

"The framers of the Constitution had no other object half so much at heart as to be rid once and forever of the state intervention which made the [nation] (under the earlier Articles of Confederation) a sham and a mockery.

"But suppose the national government should abuse its powers. Would not the states have the right to intervene? No . . . the only right recognized in a case of abuse of power by the national government was the right of the people of the United States to oppose it by the same means as those which the people of a state would have in case the government of that state abused its powers."

That is, by petition, ballot, etc. Prof. Corwin also says that this is clearly Madison's position in the *Federalist*, and even the Virginia Ratifying Convention ratified the Constitution in the name of the people of Virginia to whom (and not to the state) such rights revert whenever "perverted to their injury or oppression."

The doctrine of interposition has clearly been—and still is—not a principle but a device.

The governments of these Southern states, who claim to speak for their people but certainly do not do so because of the discriminatory poll-tax laws, mislead even those for whom they do speak.

### THE ORG QUESTION

The White Citizens Council movement, the organizational and direct-action method used by the Southern racist whites to protest integration, started in Indianola, Mississippi, shortly after the Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. There are now 80,000 in 300 chapters in Mississippi, 12,000 in Louisiana, and 40,000 in Alabama, at the middle of February, while South Carolina hopes to enroll 50,000 members.

These figures are, of necessity, estimates and are likely to be inaccurate as well as outdated. The Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO estimates that

(Continued on page 4)

## ROUND-UP ON COMPLIANCE IN DESEGREGATION

Outside the Deep South states where the main segregation battlefield is located, a N. Y. Times survey of progress in desegregation shows the following.

**District of Columbia:** to be completely desegregated by September 1956; no complications.

**Maryland:** Baltimore and eight counties have complied. In others, the problem is being studied.

**Delaware:** Desegregation in Wilmington and Northern part of state. As yet, the southern counties have taken no steps.

**West Virginia:** Scattered, unorganized resistance; should be desegregated by September.

**Tennessee:** Only integration is at Oak Ridge. State policy is that local boards must solve situation, but governor refuses to call the special session of the

legislature necessary to pass on interposition or private school plans.

**Kentucky:** No disorder of any kind; integration of 41 out of 184 districts actually begun last year.

**Missouri:** 90 per cent integrated; no major difficulties.

**Arkansas:** Integration left up to local boards; very little integration as yet.

**Oklahoma:** 5 per cent integrated. State school board supports segregation this year, but new financial policy will force integration in 1956-57.

**Texas:** 2 per cent integrated. East Texas, where 90 per cent of the Negro population lives, has done nothing. Official policy: Go slow.

**Florida:** Nothing done and not much talk either pro or con. A few committees appointed.

# SPOTLIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

"jobs" was Thailand. On Feb. 23 the press announced that this country had abandoned its very recent pretenses at democratization. Thailand, after all, is the only Asian mainland member of SEATO; it is therefore by definition a Bastion of Democracy; so why bother to deodorize its dictatorial regime?

Premier Pibul Songgram, who earlier this year, had announced some democratic reforms, complained that the opposition was taking advantage of his good nature: they were actually criticizing the government. This monstrous excess was more than the "democratic reforms" had contemplated. It might "cause public unrest," even. Moreover, demonstrators dared to protest against the piquant Thai custom of appointing 51 per cent of the so-called parliament.

All this, the premier explained, might "lead the people to break the laws and disorder would result." And since might makes right, he defended democracy by throwing these potential lawbreakers in jail.

## It Didn't Stay Bought

The other Bastion of Democracy erected by John Peurifoy's work was Greece. This past week Greece went to the polls to choose between the party of the American stooges—led by Premier Karamanlis—and the popular-front coalition called the Democratic Union which regrettably included the Stalinists along with anti-Stalinists, liberals and other types with a remnant of self-respect.

With some dismay the "American" party learned that it had gotten a licking in the popular vote in spite of the fact that it retained a slim parliamentary majority due to a rigged-up electoral law.

This is the land where Truman's containment doctrine was first applied. The Stalinists do not seem to be containing themselves, in spite of illegality and in spite of American dollars pouring in. Sympathy among the people is manufactured for them by U. S. imperialist intervention.

# 'Interposition' — —

(Continued from page 3)

there are over 500 local and county units within 44 state and area organizations with a paid membership of 200,000.

Estimates are also difficult because of the different names and goals used by these organizations throughout the South. There are 44 different groups, including Citizens Councils, States' Rights Councils, Societies to Maintain Segregation, and the secret society called Southern Gentlemen. There are overlapping between groups, differences in social composition, differences in secondary aims, methods and degrees of bitterness. Holding all together now is the one main issue of segregation.

There does not as yet seem to be much state direction, except in cases where it is called forth by such dramatic events as the University of Alabama riots and the Montgomery boycott. Early in January a national organization calling itself the Federation for Constitutional Government was set up in a meeting in Tennessee at which were present six representatives of the U. S. Congress, two senators, and one present and four former governors. An advisory committee of 100, an executive committee of twelve representing the twelve states involved, and a national director (wealthy Louisianan John U. Barr) were appointed. Membership then was estimated at 85,000. However, leadership by this group has been spasmodic.

The various groups have disavowed political aims, but several members have been elected to office and, especially in Georgia, the leaders are also the political leaders of the state. The new state federation in Alabama plans to question all candidates for the May 1 primary.

## REACTIONARY PATTERN

The use of violence has so far been relegated to a secondary place by most councils, certain sections of Mississippi being the obvious exceptions. The use of economic sanctions has been their main weapon, although many try to deny this.

Negroes who sign petitions for integration soon lose their jobs or live-

In an excellently frank article in the Feb. 9 Reporter, Claire Sterlin explains under an Athens dateline how Peurifoy's puppetry has backfired. The Papagos clique installed in power by Peurifoy discredited itself. Like the other American pets installed or maintained in power, Papagos "proved, however, to be an authoritarian and an unbending Rightist." (This must have surprised Peurifoy very much.)

"Apart from smothering every remaining spark of political energy in the country, sending thousands of petty political offenders into island exile, and requiring Certificates of Social (non-Communist) Behavior from everyone from a taxi driver to a street cleaner, his one contribution to democracy was the trial of eleven air force officers, accused of Communist conspiracy and universally believed to be innocent of anything but patriotic opposition to the Papagos regime."

As for the dollars poured in, here are some economic notes by Miss Sterling:

"...the rich have gotten richer. . .As [Minister] Markezinis himself points out, the government has been helping industrialists rather than industry. The subsidies have gone where the employers wanted them to go—into industries that would require as little labor, and therefore incur as little trade-union difficulty, as possible. While this may have been convenient for the industrialists, it has meant little or nothing to more than a million Greeks who are unemployed or underemployed. Nor has there been any appreciable change, in these last three years, in the lives of the three million citizens—in a population of eight million—who are still living on the equivalent of 12 to 25 cents a day."

For another thing Greece still allocates near half its budget to the armed forces. "This is no mean contribution from a nation that has one of the lowest living standards in Europe."

And all this is leaving aside the question of Cyprus, where the U. S. has more or less lined up with Britain to keep the question out of the UN.

hoods. This plan has its dangers, as in Montgomery, since economic sanctions can in many ways be turned back against the Jim-Crowers. Recently there have been a few pictures of Klansmen or reports of burning crosses in the daily papers, and there is no doubt that the seed of violence can be found in the WCC.

The WCC has also been avowedly anti-labor and has the suppression of unionism as one of its expressed main goals. Once the AFL-CIO gets moving in its drive to organize the South, the WCC will come out to stop this drive at any cost. Naturally this will be tied into the color question, by attempts to set white worker against Negro worker.

The AFL-CIO is very much aware of these facts and in their above-mentioned report says:

"The pattern followed by the new Ku Klux Klan without hoods is ominous in its resemblance to the pattern of the growth of Nazism and other totalitarian movements which fed on hatred and defied constitutional democracy."

Actually, the council groups, with their reliance on economic pressures, anti-laborism, etc., show what a large element the class conflict is playing in the effort to industrialize the South, setting tenant against landlord, employee against employer, all within the framework of the Southern "way of life."

It is being reported, also, that at least in places the White Citizens Councils have taken on overtly anti-Semitic overtones and attitudes.

This racist movement represents a desperate attempt by the most hate-ridden elements in the South to roll back the waters of desegregation. The victories they have been winning, such as they are, amount only to this: to convince weak sisters like Adlai Stevenson that nothing should be done to enforce the rights of Negroes in the South. They have been living and growing on this kind of "moderation" talk; for insofar as they can evoke this response from Northern "liberals," their bluffs and threats are shown to be working.

## BOOKS AND IDEAS

# Stalinism or Cretinism?

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES. Published by the Fund for the Republic, 1955.

By PHILIP COBEN

This is the notorious bibliography, in a handsome and expensive large volume, which raised a ruckus a few months ago with charges of pro-Communism being flung at the hapless Fund for the Republic which sponsored it.

Various experts, like the eagle-eyed vigilantes at the *New Leader*, looked through its entries and immediately wrote articles wanting to know why this-or-that anti-Communist book had been left out.

Some of them concluded, or hinted, that the Fund's research staff had been infiltrated by Stalinists who had cleverly managed to get the "most effective" anti-Communist books delisted. Or something. All this was done with great viewing-with-alarm.

It is a fact, which few have disputed, that this 474-page bibliography does indeed have amazing omissions, which have been listed in numerous attacks.

The other week a copy fell into our hands, and we were moved to make our own Expert Investigation. Since so many other departments had been pre-empted by earlier viewers-with-alarm, we decided to concentrate on what the bibliography does on Trotskyism.

Our report can be very definite: the Fund's bibliography does indeed justify a state of shocked incredulity, but not for the reasons publicized.

We ran across no compelling evidence of Stalinist sleight-of-hand. All the evidence pointed in one direction, in one direction only, and abundantly: This bibliography is the work of scholastic bunglers so ignorant and incompetent and politically illiterate that it would be incredible, were it not that we're already familiar with the sort of nincompoopery

## REPRESSION IS STILL THE RULE IN KENYA

By Barbara Castle, MP, in the *Bevanite Tribune* (London), Jan. 20:

In Nairobi last month a thousand Africans met to launch the Kenya African National Congress—the first African national movement to raise its head since the emergency.

Three days later the Kenya Government, without even waiting to see the constitution or the programme that was proposed, announced that the Congress would be prohibited. . . .

This folly was denounced in London last week by Mr. Tom Mboya [Kenya trade-union leader].

He made it clear that the Federation will fight the ban as a denial of the full and free political expression which the African claims.

With Mau Mau on its last legs, that expression can no longer be denied. Unfortunately, political decisions in Kenya rest with a Legislative Council in which Africans are outnumbered by 50 to 6.

For four years the African has been silenced in the name of the "emergency." However loyal, he has not been allowed to hold political meetings, or to organize political demands.

Military repression has been the white man's answer to the Mau Mau threat. Even now that repression is only being lifted slowly and timidly.

Last June the Kenya Government announced that it was prepared to allow Africans to form political associations again. But it stipulated that they must be on a district basis, which means in effect that they will be formed on tribal lines.

Africans are protesting vigorously that this is inadequate. They want a national, not a tribal voice.

## YOU'RE INVITED

to speak your mind in the letter column of *Labor Action*. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

that passes for scholarship in this field.

Look up Trotsky under the Author Index, for example. There is some indication that this section of the index emphasizes material dealing specifically with America, but on the other hand, it is also full of general material having nothing in particular to do with this country. Under Trotsky are listed: *In Defense of Marxism, Marxism in the United States*—and an article on "Russia and World Revolution" in the *New Republic*. Quite a mixed bag!

If this, including the *New Republic* article, is supposed to deal with America, then look at the section on "Communist Ideology and Theory" in general: it has Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*, that's all.

## WEIRD STUFF

Some other things just make one rub one's eyes. Take the entries under the following piquant heading: "VII. Communist Deviationists and Rival Groups—B. Writings by Deviationists.—1. Trotskyites."

There are various pamphlets of the Socialist Workers Party under this rubric, but when it comes to list magazine articles it seems only four were found by the Fund's expert research staff. It is positively weird to list these four, which represent the large heading under which they fall:

"MODERN MONTHLY. The Crisis in Communism . . . June '33.

"NEW INTERNATIONAL. Where Was the Communist Party? . . . March '39.

"TROTSKY, LEON. Russia and World Revolution. *New Republic*. . . Nov. 1, '33.

"WEISBORD, ALBERT. Trotsky on America. *Common Sense* . . . June 8, '33."

Now no one, not even a *New Leader* hawkshaw, is going to talk us into believing that this was cooked up by a smart Stalinist operator. It takes at least a Ph. D. from the best degree factory to be capable of such fatuousness and downright irrelevance.

Speaking of magazines takes us to the section of the bibliography on Left-Wing Periodicals. Virtually all references to Trotskyist periodicals are garbled. The SWP's *Militant* is listed as "apparently discontinued"; the *New International* and the SWP's *Fourth International* are confused, etc.

As for LABOR ACTION, this decrepit bibliography lists a publication of this name which was founded May 1, 1940, and therefore may be intended for ours. But it is given as organ of the Communist Party and with other inaccurate data.

All in all, we'd say that what the Fund's scholastic reputation has to fear is not Stalinism but cretinism.

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# LABOR ACTION

March 12, 1956 Vol. 20, No. 11

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## Liberalism Tints Oberlin's Mock Convention

By TIM WOHLFORTH

Oberlin College is now in the midst of serious preparations for its Mock Convention which is to be held later this spring. This convention, held every four years before the regular party conventions, is the oldest and most important college mock convention in the U. S. Oberlin's first convention nominated Abe Lincoln and since then much publicity has been given this event as an indicator of public sentiment.

**The significance of the 1956 convention is enhanced by the fact that the Oberlin students have defied tradition and voted to have a Democratic convention. This will be the third Democratic mock convention of Oberlin since the time of Lincoln. Thus the Oberlin students have finally realized the futility of expressing their liberal feelings within the Republican Party framework.**

No longer will the Oberlin students put themselves in the peculiar situation of nominating Vandenberg to run on a platform calling for the nationalization of the basic industries as they did in 1948. But the question remains: Can the Democrats succeed where the Republicans have clearly failed?

The mock convention is, of course, not a solely political event. In an effort to be "realistic" it usually turns out to be a strange cross between a three-ring circus, an orgy of *Realpolitik* with all its unscrupulousness and corruption, and the expression of the students' actual feelings on political matters.

In 1952, for instance, a gala parade was held with colorful floats, TV cameras, and Wayne Morse (then a Republican) riding on top of an elephant. (One wonders whether he finds a donkey any more comfortable these days.)

One delegation, in order to raise money for publicity, put washing machines on their float for advertising purposes. In

order to show that the students were just as idiotic as their elders, during the debate on civil rights the Southern delegations walked out even though not more than a handful of students on campus oppose civil-rights legislation.

And yet the students were able to express their real feelings to some extent. A very liberal platform was endorsed and after a long-drawn-out fight Eisenhower was defeated in favor of the slightly more liberal Warren.

### "PRESSURE GROUPS"

One of the most important and serious aspects of the convention is the work performed by "pressure groups." These are groups of students who study various issues and take positions on them, attempting to get the convention to adopt their positions. These pressure groups are to some extent modeled after adult organizations but are free to form their own policies.

Accompanying this article are statements recently put out by three pressure groups representing some of the liberal and left-wing organizations. From these one can get an idea of what the more alert and active liberals at Oberlin are thinking.

The ADA pressure group has gone beyond ADA's usually empty rhetoric about democracy in foreign policy and has actually formulated specific necessary measures which our government

should carry out. Using democratic values as its criteria it calls for free elections for both Germany and Formosa and condemns the U. S. policy of alignments with totalitarians of all varieties.

The ADA pressure group does not, however, carry out this approach in a thorough and consistent way, for if it did it would find itself in opposition to NATO, SEATO and the entire American system of imperialist alliances.

It is hoped that the Oberlin students will follow the lead of the ADA pressure group and condemn the most blatantly anti-democratic aspects of American foreign policy which has left the country bankrupt in the ideological war with the Kremlin. By so doing it will be taking a tremendous step out of the mire of present-day American politics.

**It is good to see that the socialist pressure group, composed of vaguely socialistic students, have declared against American and Russian imperialism. It is hoped that they will go beyond the limitations of Nehru's policies and realize that one cannot both be opposed to imperialist policies and at the same time try to work out a deal with the imperialist powers.**

Nehru, in attempting to follow this policy has at times assumed the role of apologist for one of those powers, Stalinist Russia. The socialists at Oberlin could learn much about Nehru from their fellow socialists in the Indian Socialist Party, who, under the leadership of Rammanohar Lohia, have opposed his reactionary policies at home (which he demagogically calls socialism).

### CHALLENGE TO LIBERALS

The statement of the NAACP could have been stronger, considering the extent of the terror now reigning in the South, but it does clearly condemn the present Eisenhower policy of do-nothingism when it speaks of "the urgent need for federal enforcement of civil rights." Let us hope that this group will in the near future support the Powell amendment, if it has not done so already.

The Powell amendment is an attempt to put economic pressure on the Southern states by attaching a rider to the aid-to-education bill making it impossible for the federal government to give aid to any state which has not integrated its school system.

The listing by the AFL-CIO pressure group of the principal demands of labor, endorsed by all sections of the labor movement, clearly shows the extent of American labor's needs. Since the advent of the Taft-Hartley Law it has suffered defeat after defeat in the legislative field.

The ACLU's statement gives the lie to those who believe that with the fall of McCarthy all is well with our basic rights. The current situation demands a principled stand on the part of the Oberlin students against the witchhunt. It is hoped that the ACLU also plans to oppose the Smith and McCarran Acts as well as the Humphrey-Morse subversive law.

Taking the statements as a whole they present a tremendous challenge to the Democratic Party, to which they are offered (mock-wise, of course). In fact there is no indication that the Democratic Party has either the desire or the ability to do anything about any of these issues.

### DEMO RECORD

In the field of civil rights the Democratic Party is split down the middle. It remains the party of white supremacy in the South. Furthermore the so-called liberals in the North are so concerned with "party unity" that they are willing to sell out the Negro.

The prime example of this is Steven-

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son, who has come out in support of Eisenhower's do-nothing policy, which the NAACP at Oberlin has rightly attacked. Furthermore he has also advocated a do-nothing "moderation" policy on integration and is opposed to the Powell amendment. It will be interesting to watch how the other "liberals" from the North vote on this radical amendment.

In the field of foreign policy the Democrats were the originators of our present disastrous undemocratic foreign policy. Their main difference with the Republicans on this issue seems to be that they favor a larger military budget.

As far as civil liberties goes, not only did the Democrats initiate the witchhunt, via Truman's "Attorney General's list," but leading liberal democrats like Humphrey and Morse are the authors of the bill to outlaw the Communist Party, a bill condemned by every genuine civil-libertarian organization as horrendous. Furthermore under Democratic leadership the Un-American Activities Committee has attempted to extend the witchhunt to the field of journalism, thus threatening the freedom of our press.

Needless to say the Democrats' concern with the peoples' resources is a com-

(Continued on page 6)

### Planks by Oberlin Pressure-Groups

#### "ADA"

Domestically, we favor a comprehensive plan of compulsory health insurance. In the area of foreign policy, we favor the waging of ideological warfare against the Stalinists. We feel that more emphasis should be placed on technical and economic assistance to Western Europe, and less on military alliances. We favor immediate unification of Germany through free elections supervised by the United Nations. We advocate no entangling alliances with authoritarian regimes such as that of Tito, Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, and Syngman Rhee. We also support: UN elections in Formosa; aid to underdeveloped areas; non-interference with Latin American nations; and extension of reciprocal trade agreements.

#### "SOCIALISTS"

In the area of foreign policy, we oppose those aspects of Soviet and American policy which manifest themselves in imperialism. We support efforts of colonial areas to be self-determined nations, as well as recognition of Red China and free determination of Formosa. We stand behind Nehru and his policies. Domestically, we support a strengthened and unified labor force as in the recent CIO-AFL merger. We believe that as workers feel the need of a more progressive political program, they will form a Socialist Labor Party. We condemn the current trend toward suppression of the rights of free expression or possession of minority opinions.

#### "AFL-CIO"

We advocate revision of the Taft-Hartley Law, with a view to modifying the injunction clause, the presidential emergency strike-breaking power, the provisions dealing with a "cooling-off" period, and the union responsibility without disciplinary power. Also we desire educative and legislative action for elimination of discrimination in job opportunity. Other aspects of our program include: protection of union shops where contract demand has been won; expansion of vocational training, unemployment compensation, and social security; public development of power; transfer of the tidelands oil reserves to the federal government; federal aid to education; more extensive lower income housing programs; a progressive personal income tax; increases in personal deductions and in corporate profits taxes.

### BROOKLYN COLLEGE

## 'Common Sense' on Campus Rights

By MURRAY LEVINE

The principles of academic freedom have once again been violated at Brooklyn College. On February 27, Students for Campus Democracy, an organization that advocates the replacement of the present "club government" at Brooklyn by a democratic student government based on school-wide elections, was denied a charter by the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Organizations.

This group, founded in the fall of 1954, published a series of leaflets called "Common Sense," exposing the long history of assaults on academic freedom and free speech at Brooklyn, and the deficiencies of the undemocratic "club government."

The denial of a charter for SCD is merely the latest of several attempts to suppress the group completely. After more than a year, the group had the approval of the Political Science Department and the Executive Council and needed only to pass FSCSO.

The latter voted 7-1 against chartering on the grounds that: (1) every group can advocate change; (2) the stated purposes of SCD are included in the stated purposes of Students for Democratic Action; and (3) the aims of the group seem to indicate that it is a political party with a specific platform, rather than an educational group, as it has characterized itself.

The first two of these charges are merely poor attempts at rationalization. It is obvious that many students who favor the program of SCD might not wish to join SDA or other organizations that require commitment to views more far-reaching than campus democracy. If SCDers are forced to work through other groups, the administration realizes that they would be much less of a threat to its club-government farce.

The third objection is that SCD might become a political party if student-wide

elections were ever restored. This does not have any bearing on the substantive issues involved in the group's bid for recognition. In addition it is willing to include a clause in its charter that would rule out the foregoing possibility.

The action taken by FSCSO was vigorously denounced by the BC chapter of Students for Democratic Action. In a letter to the head of FSCSO, Richard Johnson, spokesman for the chapter, stated that the McGoldrick Resolution in the By-laws of the Board of Higher Education makes it incumbent upon the college to recognize any group that supplies certain information to the faculty and is not military or anti-religious in nature.

In addition the letter went on to say that although the faculty was given power to regulate and suspend activities, it is doubtful if this power *per se* includes the authority to prohibit initiation.

As a concluding thought, the letter expressed the sentiment that the Board of Higher Education by-laws more nearly approach the SDA ideal of academic freedom than the prevailing practice at BC. In view of the oppressive practices used at Brooklyn in the past, this is indeed an understatement.

The right of students at BC to have a voice in a real student government was arbitrarily eliminated by the Faculty Council in 1951. Although restoring an old system certainly cannot be considered radical, this is exactly how the SCD movement has been characterized by Young Republicans. According to their president, Raymond Radigan, SCD favors "mob rule" and "advocates the overthrow of our present system of student government."

It is to be hoped that the students of Brooklyn College will repudiate this reactionary attitude. If they do not wish to abolish their present club government, perhaps at least they will strongly oppose the suppression of free speech.

# 'Emancipating' the American Indian — from His Land The Raid on the Reservations

By VICTOR HOWARD

The days of robbing the American Indians did not end in 1890, the date which marks the end of the frontier and the murder of Sitting Bull of the Sioux. The present administration, under the guise of "helping the Indian" is in fact pushing "just another slick scheme to hand their last refuge over to the land-grabbers."

That is the verdict of Dorothy Van de Mark, in a hard-hitting article in the March *Harpers* entitled "The Raid on the Reservations."

In 1924, she writes, Congress authorized the Interior Department to build Coolidge Dam on the Gila River of Arizona, primarily to furnish water for irrigation of the Pima reservation. By bureaucratic trickery, most of the water has instead been diverted to the use of whites.

The protesting Indians were thrown out of court when the department refused to recognize the Pima lawyer (tribal lawyers, believe it or not, have to be approved by the very foe they are supposed to combat!).

The Pimas applied repeatedly for permission to dig irrigation wells, but were put off so long that they finally drilled four wells with their own funds. Political pressure from white water users resulted in orders to shut down these wells until a government lawyer decided whether the deed was legal. That was almost two years ago, and the Indians are still waiting to hear from him.

Meanwhile, non-Indians are draining off the underground water. Pima farmers are warned to be docile by threats to freeze tribal funds or cut off the meager water they still get from the dam which was built for them.

If they find life on the reservation too difficult, they are slyly told by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that they can accept relocation as individuals. This is what is described in the special New-

speak of the bureaucrats as "freedom of choice" and "opening the gateways of opportunity." It means accepting a one-way ticket to a city, where they are given two weeks' subsistence while they try to adjust to an urban life for which they are unprepared, the conditions of which are alien to their way of life.

One of those who took this course was Ira Hayes, the much publicized Pima Indian who raised the flag on Iwo Jima. He ended up as a skidrow derelict in Chicago, found himself in the county jail, was returned to his barren reservation, and was found dead of "exposure" on the desert last year. He lies buried in Arlington near a bronze statue of the famous flag-raising.

## COVER FOR ROBBERY

Relocation is the new alternative to the infamous allotment program which was pursued from 1887 to 1934, by which white concepts of individual land tenure were forced upon the Indians. As previously mentioned in *LABOR ACTION*, the upshot was the loss of 100,000,000 acres of Indian land to whites.

The new relocation program, Miss Van de Mark charges, "is being deliberately used as a cover for recently accelerated legislation to separate the Indians from their lands and resources, an old and dishonorable game. And it is a most useful front behind which to accomplish this while apparently easing the guilt feelings of citizens who want increasingly to be assured that something constructive is being done for the Indians."

House Concurrent Resolution 108, enacted by the 83rd Congress, declares it to be the policy of Congress to terminate all federal responsibility for Indians at the earliest possible date. The *Harpers* article brands this as a "basic move to transfer Indians and their resources to the states on the fully justified assumption that state governments can be coerced by pressure groups as the federal government cannot."

An example of effective pressure on the federal government in defense of Indians is shown in the fact that the directive of May 16, 1955, which permitted the sale of key Indian tracts to whites, has since been rescinded in response to the outcry of the National Congress of American Indians and their white supporters.

Public Law 280, passed in 1958, permits states to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction over their Indian lands without the consent of the Indians. Interior Secretary McKay has declared that giving Indians a veto right over legislation concerning them would make them a privileged group. The secretary forgets that the special position of the Indian tribes was guaranteed by this government in some 371 treaties, in most of which the Indians were compensated for their land cessions by a pledge of autonomy on their residual domain. The right of an Indian tribe having such a treaty to be beyond the reach of state laws was upheld by Justice Marshall in 1832 when he classified the tribes as "domestic dependent nations" (*Worcester vs. Georgia*).

## SLENDER REED

The termination bills, of which six were passed in 1954, the first of many in preparation, cut off credit funds and abolished federal protection for the tribes affected. This "protection" may be a slender reed, but the Indians prefer it to the tender mercies of the states.

Two of the first tribes scheduled for termination are the Klamaths of Oregon and the Menominee of Wisconsin, both tribes possessing millions of dollars worth of valuable timber lands. The result of these moves, it is feared, will be the break-up of these unified holdings, the ending of sustained yield practices, and the undermining of the Indians' livelihood as the timber barons move in. The Indian Bureau froze tribal funds to compel acquiescence in these moves.

The Butler-Malone bill now pending would junk the beneficial Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, wipe out tribal ownership of lands and corporations, and force the redistribution of property to individual Indians, from whose hands it would soon slip to the whites.

Another effort to scalp the Indians is the cessation of Indian loans. Between 1935 and 1949, Indians borrowed from a revolving fund more than 12 million dollars for economic development. Not one tribal corporation using the fund failed and uncollected debts amounted to less than three-tenths of one per cent. Nevertheless, the government, holding a balance of over \$6 million in the fund, has refused to approve any new loans in the past three years.

## "INCREDIBLE DICTATORSHIP"

But one of the shadiest tactics of the government in promoting its war on the Indians has been the attempt to influence the election of tribal councils in order to obtain pliable Indian leadership. Last December the Yakima tribe of Washington postponed an election for two days out of respect for the death of two revered members of the tribe. The council which was elected on Dec. 6 has been denied recognition by the Indian commissioner, Glenn Emmons, who had made a personal visit in hopes of controlling the show.

He is now holding an official "inquiry" into the election. The commissioner demands another election in April, under the pretense of securing the participation of "progressive" tribal members living off the reservation. Emmons hopes these members will be more amenable to government influence.

The NCAI is giving vigorous support to the Yakimas, who have called upon all tribes everywhere to "stand behind them in an all-out fight against . . . incredible dictatorship and interference."

It is eighty years since "Custer's Last Stand." It is no joke to say that now is the time of the Indian's Last Stand. He needs powerful help, right now. It is time that the conscience of white Americans moved them to reverse matters by standing up against official Washington in defense of the rights of the red men.

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Not in the  
Headlines

## Acolytes

Who said this:

"We have these young men while they are young and fresh. Their minds have not been cluttered up by worldliness. They make wonderful subjects for . . . training."

This does not refer to devotees entering a monastery. The quote is from Major Gen. F. O. Bowman, a commander at Fort Knox, as reported in the *Chicago Daily News* for Nov. 14. And the young, so fresh and so unworldly acolytes are the draftees. (The three dots show where we left out the word "army.")

## Covering the World

The Jan. 11, 1956 *N. Y. Times* quoted the following statement of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, army Chief of Staff:

"It is often forgotten that the United States Army is the greatest training organization of the world—with over 200 foreign divisions receiving instruction directly or indirectly from our officers and men."

Often forgotten indeed—especially by editorialists and speechmakers who wonder why the people of the world think of the U. S. as the new imperialist overlord.

## Raw Fact

The following laconic news item presents a concise treatise on the subject of: Basis of Inter-Imperialist Rivalry Among the Capitalist Powers—

"NEW YORK—In an emergency the United States could supply the world market with almost all the commodities usually exported by the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and half a dozen countries, according to a new study by the *Twentieth Century Fund*."

## Marx-Slayer

After all these centuries the definitive refutation of Marxism has come from Secretary of Labor Mitchell. The revelation was presented at a Republican banquet in Akron on Feb. 11.

"The Marxist idea was for the home owner to give up his house, so no one would have one; the New Deal wanted to take half of every house and give it to those who had none so each would have but half a house; but the Eisenhower doctrine is for those with houses to retain them, and for those without them to acquire them by their own efforts."

## CHALLENGE

(Continued from page 5)

plete bluff. The leader of the present natural-gas steal is none other than Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson. Furthermore the authors of the bill are two so-called liberal Democrats, Monroney and Fulbright.

In the all-important field of labor legislation the Democrats have failed signally to do anything positive for labor, either under the Truman administration or with their present control of Congress. In fact the Democrats in the South have done quite the reverse by enacting the so-called right-to-work legislation. Nothing could illustrate more graphically the utter futility of labor's present policy of support of the Democratic Party than the listing of grievances put out by the AFL-CIO pressure group.

It is clear that the Democrats offer no real hope for the student liberal. He must, simply in order to realize his own limited program as outlined by the Oberlin students, turn from this party and join in building a new party, a labor party.

But the most important thing for the Oberlin students to do today is to formulate clearly and strongly their position on every issue facing our country. By adopting a forthright liberal program as outlined by the liberal pressure groups they will be presenting a real challenge to the Democratic Party. Then let the Oberlin students see for themselves whether the Democratic Party is really capable of taking up Oberlin's challenge to formulate and carry through a truly liberal program.

## From the STALINIST JUNGLE

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA: HUNGER STRIKE AND PURGES

From the ICFTU Spotlight, for January, published by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

It has become known that a hunger strike took place in mid-October at the Jachymov uranium mines, which are administered and exploited by the Russians with forced labor.

At one time the prisoners were adequately fed, but in 1955 conditions took a turn for the worse. Because of falling output, rations were reduced to mere subsistence level. In September alone 17 prisoners died of exhaustion. At the same time a reign of terror was instituted by the camp guards, who included members of the Soviet secret police, NKVD. About 300 prisoners, including many women, went on hunger strike, apparently out of sheer desperation with the conditions.

The strike was swiftly and ruthlessly put down. Five prisoners were killed, several wounded and nine handed over to the Russian military authorities as ring-leaders.

In the last few months a wave of purges has been sweeping through the Czech trade unions. The most rigorous was in the landworkers union, where no fewer than 18 executive committee members were replaced and 4 leading officials dismissed without notice.

The officials are said to have deceived the executive committee for a long time with false figures of plan fulfillment. These officials, and executive members have been held as scapegoats for agriculture's complete failure to achieve its plan.

The gravest charge against the officials was that they quietly raised the wages of some categories of agricultural workers by a clever manipulation of existing wage scales. They gave extra allowances and bonuses without justification, on the ground that they might as well have at least the support of the workers.

The miners' union, long accused of inefficiency—that is, failure to encourage higher production—was also purged. Altogether 28 officials were relieved of their posts.

Of these, 7 officials in the Brno district

were dismissed for daring to protest against the ever increasing use of women underground in the Rosice pits. When this practice had led to several serious accidents, the officials allowed a proportion of the women, who produced medical certificates made out by friendly doctors, to leave without the knowledge of the local union committee—a humanitarian gesture obviously out of place in a Communist country.

Purges took place on a smaller scale in the internal trade, energy and forestry trade unions.

A list of casualties arising from the unrest in industrial centers in June 1953 has been compiled by the illegal trade-union newspaper circulating in Czechoslovakia, *Svobodny Odborar*. Hundreds of workers were arrested at the time.

From those since released it has been established that 28 of their number died in prison as a result of ill-treatment between June 1953 and the middle of 1955. Twenty workers are still serving sentences for their part in the uprisings.

A theatre was chosen as the courtroom when three workers, Jan Horacek, Benedikt Trojan and Vaclav Vesley, were tried in Hradec Kralove on October 28. More than 600 workers, mostly Communist officials, were present at the trial. The three were accused of spreading leaflets inciting workers to strike, and it was proved that they had produced and spread about 3,000 such leaflets.

The leader of the group received eight years' imprisonment and the two others four years', all being deprived of civic rights for five years.

A similar trial took place in Brno on November 10, when a foreman and two women workers were put on trial after they had sharply criticized the activities of their Communist workers' council at a works general assembly. The accused had declared that they could have no confidence in a trade union which took no action when wages were cut on a flimsy excuse. They had stated their intention of leaving the union and had recommended their colleagues to do the same. This piece of insolence cost the foreman 18 months' imprisonment and the two women 8 and 6 months'.

**PRO & CON: DISCUSSION**

**Speculations on the 20th Congress Turn**

By A. RUDZIENSKI

All of the great experts on the Russian question, including the ex-Communists now at the service of the State Department, predicted that the 20th Congress of the Russian Stalinist party would see the total victory of Khrushchev and the consolidation of his monolithic one-man rule. This prediction was based, of course, on the analogy with the historical past and the fight waged by Stalin's faction against both Trotsky and Bukharin, and it is also based on the limited historical horizon and imagination of the "experts."

They have forgotten the fundamental difference between 1926-29 and 1956. At the earlier date, Stalin's rise to power and his victory over the revolutionary opposition was the expression of the growing reaction and its victory over the revolution. The Stalinist destruction of the Bolshevik party and annihilation of the revolutionary vanguard was only the manifestation of the deep post-revolutionary counter-revolution and the rise to power of the new class, the bureaucracy, on the ruins of the revolutionary dictatorship.

As soon as the new possessing and ruling class destroyed the revolutionary dictatorship and defeated the working class, the personal tyranny of Stalin and his secret-police regime became superfluous and dangerous to the same bureaucracy and it had to be discarded as outlived.

The 20th Congress of the Russian state party is a partial disclosure of this process. For today the situation is quite different from that of 1926-29. Today the film of the counter-revolution is running backward, for it reached bottom at the time of the blood-thirsty purges and the second imperialist war, and now the reaction is in retreat, not only in Russia but everywhere.

Therefore Khrushchev's career will probably be different from Stalin's, because of the different objective situation and different historical tendency—small things which the highly specialized Russian experts forgot, of course.

However, Khrushchev's speech was anything but an expression of personal triumph and individual dictatorship; it was more the expression of the compromise between the leading Khrushchev fraction and the opposition group of Malenkov, which was confirmed by the fact that Malenkov was in the second place from Khrushchev, after Kaganovich—a very important thing in Russian protocol. After the violent attacks against the opposition, after the ousting of many regional secretaries, the moderation of Khrushchev's declaration was a surprise, understandable only as a result of the internal fight in the party and government apparatus and as a reflection of pressure from above.

**FORCED BY PRESSURE**

Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Kaganovich, and Bulganin belong to the old Stalinist guard; they participated in the fight against the opposition and in the purges, and share responsibility for all the crimes of the old tyrant. Khrushchev was the hangman of the Ukraine and Poland; Bulganin was Yezhov's right-hand man; if now they repudiate the crimes of Stalin and the Stalinist past, which is their own past and their own crimes, then they must have

been forced to do this by powerful political pressure. Practically Khrushchev made various concessions to the opposition for the purpose of saving his main program, the program of priority for heavy industry over the production of consumption goods. This principle is the basis for the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the working masses and for its imperialist policy.

The political development between the 19th and 20th congresses of the Stalinist party can be presented this way: After the total destruction of the revolutionary opposition, and after the consolidation of its dictatorship under the leadership of Stalin, the bureaucracy found that the tyranny of the old dictator was superfluous and, more than that, dangerous for its own interests, and revolted against its former "genial and beloved leader." This time, Stalin, who had been supported in the fight against the workers was defeated easily, not only because the bureaucracy was against him but because the objective situation was against him. He had finished his bloody work and he had to go. It is irrelevant whether or not he was murdered by a palace conspiracy.

After his death his work crumbled to dust because it was superfluous and anachronistic. Now the truest Stalinists are repudiating their past and the gloomy, dark work of Stalin's tyranny. *Sic transit gloria mundi...*

In eliminating Stalin's dictatorship, the bureaucracy also had to destroy his secret police, which was the main organ of power, and purge Beria and his collaborators. The collective dictatorship was restored—the priority of the party, backed by the army, over the secret police.

**PARTY DIVIDED**

The bankruptcy of Malenkov was the defeat of the "new generation," but the victory of Khrushchev's old Stalinist guard could not mean the restoration of the outlived Stalinist tyranny, because Stalinism was dead. The bureaucracy is searching for a new balance of power, for a new form of its rule. It is going back to party government and to the "collective leadership," but the Stalinist party has lost its authority over the masses, the Stalinist tyranny is hated and outlived, the old Stalinists cannot govern in the old manner; they are obliged to make concessions to the new state of the bureaucracy, of the technocracy, of the new "intelligentsia," of the army, and lastly, apparent concessions to the suffering working class and peasant masses.

The party is losing internal cohesion; it is divided into different tendencies and factions; the "collective leadership" is no longer monolithic; and First Secretary (not General Secretary) Khrushchev, the old hard Stalinist hangman, is now "soft" and moderate. In this situation the army is the gendarme and support of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy.

But because Stalinism is outlived and detested by the masses, the old Stalinist hangmen must seek refuge in the banner of Lenin, as a revolutionary banner; in a return to Leninism; and in the (this time) open repudiation of Stalinism. Of course, it is a peculiar "Lenin," interpreted by Khrushchev, who proclaims revolution via the parliamentary route, a "Lenin" devised for the convenience of the bureaucracy and not of the proletariat. But this precisely expresses the difficulties of the bureaucracy and its leader Khrushchev in power.

**DANGER TO REGIME**

For the bureaucracy, the intelligentsia, the technocracy: more rights, more legality, "collective leadership," more guarantees. For the workers: more guns and cannon instead of food, clothes housing; plus hypocritical phrases about a return to Lenin and his revolutionary government.

But the acknowledgment of Stalin's crimes, the beginning of rehabilitation for some of his victims (Antonov-Ovseyenko, Kosior and Vosnessensky), and taking refuge under the banner of Lenin—all this, even if it is the political need of the moment, also represents an ideological contradiction and a danger for the bureaucratic government in the near future.

For a return to Lenin must end up with a total condemnation of Stalin's tyranny and crimes and with the rehabilitation of the Trotskyist as well as the Bukharinist opposition—which means, in sum, the liquidation of the bureaucratic government and a return to revolutionary socialist democracy. And this contradiction also reflects the real contradiction of the political crisis in Russia, the dual character of the political process.

While the bureaucracy wants to liquidate the Stalinist tyranny as outlived and superfluous for its dictatorship and is seeking a new balance of power and new forms of political government, the working class wants the total liquidation of the class dictatorship of the bureaucracy and the re-establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship, that is, of socialist democracy.

**COMMENT**

**The Trouble with Fictionalized Analyses**

By HAL DRAPER

Comrade Rudzienski's speculations and interpretations in his article on this page present his own opinions, of course, which we publish as usual, like his previous discussion articles. But even more than usual it is also necessary to record our own reservations. For once again Rudzienski's discussion has the unfortunate effect of chiming in with the prevalent illusions aroused by the latest Russian Stalinist course.

The following comment is not intended as a substitute for the more extensive article on the 20th Congress which is scheduled for next week.

I think the strong point made by Comrade Rudzienski is toward the end: where he discusses why the new turn "represents an ideological contradiction and a danger for the bureaucratic government in the near future." In the ensuing passage he does show, indeed, the whole positive side of the present development, which would justify us in treating it with satisfaction.

But precisely because a policy of "democratic" demagoguery and concessions opens up fatal dangers for the regime, such a turn cannot be anything but a temporary tactic by the bureaucratic tops.

In opposition to this idea, the press is full of "expert" analysis purporting to explain the fundamental and qualitative transformation taking place in the Russian regime, the abandonment of "Stalinism." Much of what Rudzienski writes seems to go along with this, though it is certainly not clear to me that he believes it.

The "film of the counter-revolution is running backward" . . . Khrushchev & Co. are repudiating "the Stalinist past" (not only Stalin) . . . we also learn that Stalinism is "dead" . . .

We can understand this kind of talk when it comes from one of the bourgeois Russian "experts" who has not the vaguest conception of Stalinism as a social system, but Rudzienski is not one of these.

The ignorant bourgeois "experts" do not even understand the problem when they equate Stalin's downgrading with an abandonment or democratization of the system which he led; but unfortunately Rudzienski too does not explain how he gets from the downgrading of the man Stalin to the conclusion that "Stalinism is dead." He seems to write just as impressionistically.

**REVELATIONS**

Rudzienski also, like so many others, gives free rein to his imagination.

There may indeed be a Malenkov "opposition group," and Malenkov may be in Number Two place, and many other common hypotheses may be true; or their contraries, some of them equally common as speculations, may be true; or any combination of speculations that float around the "experts' articles; but I have a great distrust of analyses which draw confident conclusions from the protocol of photographs, and follow these

While the bureaucracy wants priority for heavy industry to save its class domination and its imperialist policy, based on the status quo in Europe, on the division of Germany and the imperialist domination of East Europe, the Russian proletariat wants the raising of its living standards, the liquidation of imperialist policy, the liberation of the oppressed countries, in the first place the liberation of the German workers.

Therefore the superficial thaw in the bureaucracy cannot satisfy the Russian masses and therefore must lead to class conflict between the bureaucracy and the proletariat, between the Stalinist epigones and the new working class.

For the moment the 20th Congress of the Russian Stalinist party shows how powerful, even today, is the ideological influence of the Russian Revolution which, after 40 years of persecution by the hangmen of the revolution, still obliges them to use hypocritical phrases about returning to the revolutionary banner of Lenin in order to save their dictatorship. It also confirms and justifies the main lines of Leon Trotsky's political thinking, in spite of his mistakes and historical limitation, and his political legacy will have to be the starting point for the second Russian Revolution.

For the time of the dark and gloomy post-revolutionary reaction is over. New times are coming, a time of defeat for the reactionaries and of rise to victory for the revolutionaries. Maybe the sacrifices of our generation will be justified not only historically but also politically.

conclusions up by telling us exactly what the factional line-up is in the Kremlin's secret meetings.

This distrust is only reinforced when I read Rudzienski's revelation (made in passing) that Stalin was "defeated" by his palace conspirators even before his death. Not only that; Rudzienski also knows that he was defeated "easily" . . .

This distrust carries over to the easy and uninhibited predictions, which Rudzienski has been making since the death of Stalin, that the days of the Stalinist reaction are over, new times are upon us, Stalinism is dead, the Stalinist party has lost its grip on the masses, internal revolution is rising, and (we are led to believe) some kind of crumbling of the regime is imminent in some sense which is not too clearly defined. One of these days, such optimistic predictions will come true, if they are persisted in long enough, but meanwhile it is not theoretically responsible to draw such imminent conclusions from such semi-fictional speculations.

**THE SYSTEM, NOT THE MAN**

I would make similar remarks about Rudzienski's theory (if that's what it is) about the impossibility of a return to one-man rule. Rudzienski emphasizes that one-man rule represents a danger. It does. It also represents a necessity for the totalitarian regime, in the long run; and the inevitable tendency is in that direction, for this totalitarianism requires an arbiter. Both danger and necessity: that is precisely what Marxists call a systemic contradiction. This idea, which we have explained a few times in our columns, may be wrong, to be sure, but it is not saying anything when one merely points to one side of the contradiction: namely, the dangers.

The present changes taking place in the Stalinist world require analysis in terms of the understanding of Stalinism as a social system. This is what none of the bourgeois "experts" can even conceive of. This is what we have always emphasized, as much before Stalin's death as after. There are great changes and trends which have to be analyzed within this framework, and this work will no doubt take some time, but it cannot even get started on the basis of the "Stalinism is dead" illusion. The consistent political conclusions from this notion are as disastrous as the theoretical ones.

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# Labor and the Negro Fight — —

## The ISL Program in Brief

(Continued from page 1)  
forthcoming—some very militant, some very radical but still only speeches.

### THE SAME ENEMY

There is more involved here than support by labor for a Negro struggle, for this is more than a struggle for Negro rights. Labor has the opportunity to strike a blow against one of its most bitter enemies, the reactionary Southern Democrats who have effectively blocked the progress of the labor movement nationally.

The same social and political forces that lead the fight against Negro rights are those that have led the fight against labor and have stymied every effort to unionize the majority of Southern workers. The Southern Democrats are an entrenched local power, it is true, but they have been able to wield enormous power nationally not principally due to their local power but to the political demoralization of labor and liberals.

Above all, while liberals talk (and not all of them do that much) Southern reaction acts. Adlai Stevenson admonishes Northern liberals to remember that discrimination and segregation still exist outside the South, as though this unquestioned fact somehow mitigates the crimes of Southern reaction whose support he seeks for the presidency.

Discrimination, prejudice, segregation in one form or another seep into all phases of national life: that is one fact. But right now, a physical struggle goes on in the South which sees the ruling party utilizing the power of government to crush a movement against segregation. That is another fact, demanding more than a profound sociological observation.

Which side are you on? Stevenson, the man of "principle," finds it impossible

to give a straightforward reply to this question: And this trucking to the right wing of his own party may ironically enough succeed in throwing the election to the Republican Party as the resentment of Negroes is justifiably turned into resentment against the Democratic Party as a whole.

### WHY LABOR FAILED

Adam Clayton Powell's call for a one-hour work-stoppage revealed a critical weakness in the united labor movement. It was unable to lead such a movement. Negroes cannot be asked to fight alone: any call for a stoppage would of necessity have to be directed by labor leaders to the whole union movement, white and Negro.

But as *Labor's Daily* reported in its headline on February 28: "Labor Cool to Halt Work Plea." It is possible to hazard a reasonably accurate speculation on the reason for the coolness:

(1) In general, labor officials shrink from any actions which could be called "irresponsible." They have never considered, for any aim whatsoever, a national demonstration strike, even in such critical events, of direct concern to labor, like the Kohler and Westinghouse strikes.

(2) They feel, probably correctly, that some unions would ignore the appeal. Unions which could call out their members, like the UAW, the United Rubber Workers, Oil Workers, Packinghouse Workers, fear that a large section of the white membership would resent the call, and that consequently the union would be in a weak position to take action against employer reprisals against what would be a technical contract violation.

(3) If reports are accurate, a majority of white unionists in the South are actively hostile to the fight against segre-

gation and even threaten to bolt from the united federation.

In sum, the united labor movement could not entertain the notion of a one-day stoppage essentially because it is not fully and completely united from top to bottom in the fight against segregation.

### THE POISON REMAINS

Prejudice against Negroes and other minorities is deeply implanted in the national consciousness, active and virulent among some Southern whites and more latent in others. Obviously, the labor movement has been unable to cleanse itself of this divisive poison.

The CIO was able to make great strides forward in the struggle for Negro rights; it began the process of integrating Negroes into the unions; it pressed for equality on the job and in the labor movement; millions of Negroes looked to it and still do in the struggle for equality. But the CIO could not completely eradicate what had been festering for generations.

The process of wiping out prejudice inside the labor movement has not gone far enough. The united labor movement must still settle the question of Jim Crow in its own ranks. The constitution of the AFL-CIO provides one basis for attacking discrimination where it persists; with time, we can expect more progress, greater unity between white and Negro worker. But . . . with time!

That the labor movement needs time to root out what time has implanted is not surprising. It cannot be condemned for failing to brush away prejudice with one mighty sweep. But what to do in that time? That is the question.

The biggest cause disorienting labor, North and South, is the fact that the labor movement remains in one party with segregationists and reactionaries.

When labor "wins" at the polls, it returns the Democratic Party to power. When the Democrats come to power, control of Congress falls into the hands of Southern reactionaries. A thousand well-meaning educational discussions, a million handbills on the virtues of Negro-white solidarity, are vitiated by labor's continued support of the Democratic Party.

### TO BREAK THE CHAIN

The links in the evil chain of segregation are as follows: Labor supports the so-called liberals in the Democratic Party; confident of the support of labor and contemptuous of its program, these liberals, with few exceptions, capitulate to the Southern reactionaries; in turn, the Southern reactionaries, assured that their Democratic colleagues will never act strongly against them, feel free to organize the struggle against democracy and for segregation.

To break the chain, labor need only break its own link with the Democratic Party.

But all this in time. Meanwhile, the Southern struggle goes on. We remind our readers that Thurgood Marshall, NAACP attorney, has appealed for united support from all. The labor movement is duty-bound to reply.

According to *Labor's Daily*, George Weaver, secretary of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, in rejecting the one-hour stoppage idea, "said the Powell proposal might well offend those Southern Negroes who are taking the lead in the passive-resistance program and would lend credence to charges by Southern whites that the North was 'interfering.'"

Even leaving aside the one-hour stoppage slogan, if any line of thought could be devised in direct opposition to the need of the hour, Weaver has done it. He opines that "interference," i.e., intervention, by labor is not advisable at the very moment when Marshall is calling for nation-wide support!

### ACTION IS POSSIBLE

The fact is, tragic but true, that the labor movement appears unable to carry through a nation-wide work stoppage in support of the fight against segregation. It can recognize this fact without abandoning the struggle. A one-hour strike is only one among many possible methods of beginning the fight.

It is possible to organize a mass March on Washington to demonstrate the active support of tens of thousands of whites for the Negro struggle.

It is possible to organize mass campaigns in industrial cities demanding action by congressmen against the Southern reactionaries to weaken its control in Congress, to remove it from domination over the key congressional committees, to demand federal protection of democratic rights.

It is possible to demand by mass dem-

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

### ISL FUND DRIVE

## This Starting Pace Is Too Slow

By ALBERT GATES  
Fund Drive Director

Although the pace of contributions during the third week of the drive has kept pace with the first two weeks, it is still far too short of what is a necessary weekly average to permit us to complete the campaign at the end of the ten-week period.

We received a total of only \$751.50 this past week. This was made possible by the contributions received from Chicago and New York. As a matter of fact only five areas show at all this week. We have heard nothing at all from thirteen. That is what keeps the percentage low—the erratic manner in which payments are made on the quotas.

Oregon is now at the top of the standings, completing its quota in a single contribution. We have no idea how long it will remain at the top, but it will take a little tugging by the other cities to replace the leader. New York made the largest contribution this past week, \$378, but it is still too low to raise our chief city very high in the percentage column.

Chicago still heads the larger cities, having crossed the halfway point in its local campaign. Our friends there are really doing a remarkable job in this drive and we look to them to surpass their quota and help make the 1956 campaign an outstanding success.

Newark too is climbing right behind the leaders. To date, we have received \$159.50 from across the river and this puts Newark just a decimal point or two below the forty per cent mark. At the

present rate, Newark should reach its quota before the end of the drive.

From the West Coast, only Los Angeles was heard from. Although it is still behind the Bay Area in percentage, our friends write that they expect to move ahead before another week is out. With \$140 paid in, Los Angeles now stands at 21.5 per cent. Although this is not yet at the rate of 10 per cent of the quota per week, LA is moving up.

At the present time, the national standing should be at 30 per cent of the total quota. We are too far behind that rate for comfort. It means pressing harder with each passing week to catch up with the necessary weekly proportion.

That means, of course, that the thirteen areas which sent nothing in during the past week, need to make up for that failure. This holds particularly for Detroit, Buffalo, Indiana, Akron, Reading and St. Louis. So far, we have heard nothing from these places. They are being carried by those who have made payments, as shown by the box score.

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### FUND DRIVE BOX SCORE

City	Quota	Paid	%
	\$10,000	\$2,290.50	22.9
Oregon	50	50	100
Chicago	2,000	1,035	51.7
Streator	25	10	40
Newark	400	159.50	39.8
Bay Area	400	100	25
Los Angeles	650	140	21.5
New York	3,800	672	17.6
Philadelphia	200	35	17.3
Cleveland	150	25	16.6
Seattle	150	20	13.3
Pittsburgh	200	13	6.5
Natl. Office	1,250	25	2
Detroit	350	0	0
Buffalo	150	0	0
Indiana	100	0	0
Akron	25	0	0
Reading	50	0	0
St. Louis	25	0	0

### Get Acquainted!

Independent Socialist League  
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New York 11, N. Y.

- I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
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onstrations that Congress investigate the credentials of representatives from Southern states to determine whether they are entitled to full representation when they deny by law and by force a large section of their citizens full democratic rights, including the right to vote.

Above all, the labor and Negro movements can demonstrate that Southern reaction fights not an isolated band of Southern Negroes but millions of aroused people throughout the country. Mass action by the people in solidarity with Southern Negroes will let Southern reaction feel the reality of its isolation.

When Stevenson drags his feet, when Congress elevates Eastland into a lofty post, the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party feels, rightly, that it has powerful allies; its morale soars; and it is encouraged to persist in a determination to block the end of segregation. Cut off its allies and its morale must fall.

This is labor's opportunity. If it joins actively in the fight for democracy in the South, if it persists, if it demands that everyone take a clear stand, the power of Southern reaction can be broken. Such opportunities do not arise every day and they do not last forever.