Liberal Democrats Help Knife Civil Rights Bill

Morse in Move To Deliver Bill To Eastland

By Fred Halstead

JULY 10 - A sell-out on civil rights legislation is proceeding in the United States Senate this week. Two liberal Democrats, Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and

A Report From The Tuskegee **Freedom Front**

By Ronald Jones

Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming have taken the lead in the betrayal. Their actions play into the hands of Republican forces who are pushing the Civil Rights bill in a bid for Negro votes in the Congressional elections next year, leaving it to the Democrats to water down the already weak measure. The bill authorizes the Fed-

TUSKEGEE, ALA., July 2eral Government to intervene on Den Don't You Let Nobody Turn behalf of individuals whose civil You Around," a soul-stirring, rights have been violated, to spirited spiritual with a great obtain injunctions against such message and a pulsatingly rhyth- violations and to try violators mic beat emerged spontaneously from the vory depths of the in-eral judges on charges of conspired and determined gathering tempt of court. The "trial by of more than 3,500 Tuskegee Ne-| Federal judge" provision of the groe's and scores of out-of-town bill is the only serious section visitors tonight at the historic in it. It is an attempt to get Washington Chapel AME Church. around the Jim - Crow jury This song accurately reflected system which prevails in the the unfolding spirit and mood of South and which automatically of the second weekly mass meet- acquits racists (as in the case of ing of the Tuskegee Civic Asso- the murderers of Emmett Till.) ciation, which is leading the Ne-

groes in this predominantly Ne- MORSE ACTION gro area in a Crusade for Citi-The liberal Democrat Morse zenship.

announced his intention today to The Crusade began firmally get the bill referred to the last week as a reaction to the Senate Judiciary committee unanimous passing in both headed by racist Senator Easthouses of the Alabama Legis- land of Mississippi. This would lature of State Senator Sam deal the bill a mortal blow. Engelhardt's bill to gerrymander Morse said he would make his all but 10 voting Negroes out motion when the present debate of the city limits of Tuskegee on whether the bill should be and not a single one of the 600 introduced on the Senate floor white voters. [Engelhardt is also is concluded, as it is expected secretary of the Alabama Asso-

ciation of (White) Citizens' Councils.] The Crusade has as its immediate aims (1) haiting the enactment of the city limits bill, (2) getting a functioning board of registrars which will register all qualified citizens, and (3) stimulating a greater interest among local Negroes in (Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 4)

IN THIS ISSUE Report on: Young Socialist League Convention . (See Page 3)



Kremlin Chiefs Utilize Purge In Bid for Popular Support

This Photograph is Now Out of Date



Three of these eight top Soviet officials have now been kicked out of their high posts and subjected to a "unanimous" campaign of contemnation as an "anti-party" group. In the place of honor in Red Square during a May Day pa ade, from left to right are: Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, Defense Minister Marshall G. K. Zaukov, Premier Marshall N. A. Bulganin, CPSU head N. S. Khrushchev, Minister of Power Stations G. M. Malenkov (ousted), Building Materials Minister L. M. Kaganovich (ousted), Deputy A. I. Mikoyan and the former Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov (ousted) The three purged officials have not yet been expelled from the party. But their future does not look bright.

Denounce Ousted Four; Pledge More Butter and Less Terror

By Harry Ring Union, whose vast material the American press.) privileges bring it into 20TH CONGRESS UPHELD irreconcilable conflict with the growing demand of the Soclique, Molotov, Malenkov, Kag- fit each of the accused, they repanovich and Shepilov.

In the original announcement, July 3, of the ouster of the four from the all-powerful Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party; the indictment against them was limited essentially to charges of "resisting" and "hampering" the reform program promised the Soviet people at the 20th Congress. Within 72 hours of that communique, the bill of particulars had been expanded to include charges which evoke the

image of a purge trial. **1949 PURGE RECALLED**

and that Molotov had character-| resent a reaffirmation by the vic-JULY 10 — The ruling ized him as "a Trotskyite and torious faction of the line of con-an opportunist." This report has cessions pledged at the 20th bureaucracy in the Soviet been given wide circulation in Congress. This means a recog-

Within the Soviet Union, the viet workers for workers' de- the four is that of opposing the most emphasized charge against mocracy and improved living con- reforms pledged at the 20th Conditions, is in a state of deep- gress. The rest of the accusagoing crisis. It is now feverish- tions hurled against the four four with glowing new promises ly seeking a measure of popular are closely patterned after to the Soviet working people. support for its dictatorial re- Khrushchev's indictment of Sta- Khrushchev grandly announced gime. The extent of its crisis is lin at the Congress. This is a in Leningrad that "We want the reflected in the scope of the at- decisive indication of the factors Soviet People to have enough tack it launched against the now- behind the present purge. For meat, butter, milk and fruit, and deposed members of the ruling regardless how the charges may that our shops be filled with

nition on the part of Khrush-chev and Co. that the concessions cannot be cancelled without risking the outbreak of working class struggle. Indeed, the winning group could

not just stand pat. It had to couple its attack on the deposed

(Continued on page 2)



In announcing the purge of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the official communique of the Soviet Communist Party said that one of the main reasons why they were being ousted was because they were guilty of "stubborn resistance to the measures . . . to eliminate the violations of revolutionary law that had been committed." Genuine revolutionary law, which is the law of workand places upon the accusers the responsibility to back up charges with evidence. Workers' democracy is much denied a voice in the exercise of that law, it ceases to exist. All of these concepts of working-class legality have been brutally trampled upon by Khrushchev in this purge. graver charges are heaped promiscuously upon them. Following the "unanimous" expulsion vote in the Central Committee comes the announcement of the "unanimous" support to the move by the Soviet people, an announcement issued in virtually the same breath as the news of Malenkov the following day by the ouster itself. The entire bureaucratic procedure is Nikolai Shvernik, one of Stalin's best summed up in Khrushchev's cynical explanation to proteges, who has now filled one the Czechs: "We took the black sheep by the tail and of the four new vacancies on the Presidium. Shvernik also carried threw them out." the charges a step further when

The New Factors in the Purge System

| leadership. The many similar-| the country. The bureaucrats | aspirations against the privilege-| Soviet people for a democratic By Myra Tanner Weiss Those who took seriously ities between the present purge and careerists came to the fore seeking of the usurping oligar- resolution, it is equally clear Khrushchev's promise of "col-lective leadership" given to the 20th Congress were naturally which Khrushchev now heads is Soviets and the Communist to maintain the working class methods of Stalinist rule. The line definition is equally the the fact that the bureaucracy were able to destroy democratic soviets and the Communist to maintain the working class methods of Stalinist rule. The line bureaucratic caste is that the crisis cannot be in his July 6 speech at an or-lective leadership" given to the solution, it is equally the that the crisis cannot be in his July 6 speech at an or-ganized Leningrad demonstra-to maintain the working class methods of Stalinist rule. The line before one of the giant facthe Communist to maintain the working class methods of Stalinist rule. The tion before one of the giant fac-20th Congress were naturally the same social formation that Party as it existed under Lenin in subjection through a system idea that mass opposition can tories, Khrushchev branded the ers' democracy, surely does not offer less than capitalist shocked at the purge of his op-Stalin represented. Collective and Trotsky. The party was of police terror. The working be crushed in the same way as four as "reactionaries who have law which guarantees the accused the right to be heard so-called "antiponents, the leadership is impossible without physically destroyed in the class, 48 million strong, steeped in the past is as unrealistic as cut themselves off from the pargroup. But they were a genuine discussion of pro- bloody purges of the 1930's. in the revolutionary tradition of the dream of isolationist Repub- ty." He declared that "all memreckoning without considering grammatic differences at least Each defeat of the working its origin, will no longer tolerate licans that the United States bers of this group were especialthe nature of the bureaucratic within the Communist Party of class in the capitalist world - the abuses of the past - can return to an economy "free" ly guilty of the past errors and more. It is the rule of the working people. Where they are caste that rules the Soviet orbit. of state subsidization and in- failings, and Malenkov was one the Soviet Union. But the and there were many in the pre- economic or political. The purge of the dead Stalin moment controversy of any kind World War II years - That is why Khrushchev's ternational entanglements. of the leading organizers of the in February of 1956 was not the comes close to the powerful and strengthened the bureaucracy purge is only a weak echo of History cannot move backso-called Leningrad affair." This result of a democratic re-evaluapolitically conscious working and tightened Stalin's hold on the blood-bath periodically un- ward. The Soviet bureaucracy refers to a 1949 trial in which a tion of the past history of the class, this class seeks to in- the political life of the country. leashed by Stalin. The problem confronts the preparatory stages number of prominent bureau-Soviet Union. Nor was it an of the bureaucracy today is to of the political revolution. In its crats went to their death on Following the original charges against the four, new and tervene and to win the right of adoption of democratic procestem the tide, to postpone as struggle for survival, it will discussing and deciding all quescharges of fomenting "Greatdures. The destruction of the RISING MOVEMENT long as possible the day of oscillate wildly between repres- Russian chauvinism." At the 20th tions. The very existence of the Stalin myth grew out of the Today the working class of final reckoning. bureaucratic caste would then be sion and concession with the Congress Khrushchev pinned recrisis of the Kremlin bureauthe Soviet Union is on the While neither side in the con- latter becoming increasingly challenged. sponsibility for this purge on cracy — a crisis born in the ascendancy. It is preparing to troversy between the two groups necessary as the working class Yet those who think that Stalin. mounting anger of the working re-enter the political arena of top Kremlin functionaries can gains in confidence and under-The same charge was hurled at

partv"

Khrushchev is stepping into class at the continued repressions and miserable existence to Stalin's shoes and can restore the system of terror that existed which they were condemned by hefore the 20th Congress, do not bureaucratic rule.

understand the fundamental dif-The bureaucrats, in a desperate struggle for survival, attempted ference between two quite opposite epochs in the history of to pass off all the sins of the the bureaucratic caste - its past into the corpse of the "inrise and its decline. fallible leader." They met the

Stalin came into power with crisis with a scapegoat, conciliathe receding of the revolution, promises and of course unanimity. But the crisis was tionary tide of the working class. not resolved. Instead it deepen- Exhausted by years of war for ed, extended and intensified. And survival in an imperialist entherefore it finds expression in circlement, confronted with the consuming struggle for suba new internal crisis and new sistence in the economic backpurges. wardness of the young workers'

DISCUSSION A MENACE





A HASH

where it will pit its socialist bring their differences to the standing of its historic task.

Fryer Writes to Aptheker On the Truth About Hungary

I have just finished reading your book, The Truth About Hungary, on the Hungarian revolution. It seems to me that the best sentence in it appears on page 153, where you write: "The whole content of Marx-

ness account of the Hungarism-Leninism is so revolutionary its whole outlook and spirit and Special Correspondent.

ence to it in however limited lumps of speeches, odds and ends and partial and distorted a form digestible ragbag parading as brings protest against injustice historical scholarship.

and tyranny." Your name is respected on this Hungary's years under Horthy) If this were the spirit that in- side of the Atlantic, Comrade formed your book; if this were Aptheker, among those who that the Budapest Board of Rabbis could broadcast on Novem know and admire the brave rethe epitaph you had written on sistance that American Marxist ber 2:

the victims of Russian interven-"Hungarian Jewry enthusias intellectuals have put up to the tion last October and of Kadar's witch hunt. tically salutes the achievement repression since then; if this You are known as a scholar and of the revolution, pays reverent were your summary of the roots a fighter for truth and liberty. homage to the heroes, and identifies itself with the free and inand driving forces of Hungary's I am bound to tell you that your revolt: how wise and how splen- book will do nothing to enhance dependent homeland.

did vour book would be.

On so small a scale that the your reputation. I venture to predict that within less than a newspaper Igazsag could report decade you yourself will bitterly on October 30: "Meeting an But you have chosen to take repent of it. AVO officer, a raging crowd was For you have chosen to proabout to strike him, but realiz-

one aspect of the "truth about Hungary" and inflate it to mon- duce an apologia for the crush- ing that he was a Jew, several strous proportions by stuffing ing of a revolution. With flail- of the armed demonstrators took your pages to satiety with a hash ing scissors and a bucket of his defense. Those 'fascists' rose of press clippings, tag-ends of paste you have slapped together in defense of an officer so that quotations, scraps of documents, every gleeful, gloating word you (Continued on page 2)

Kaganovich and Molotov during the period of mass repressions." could find, from every conceiv-(The infamous Moscow Trials of able reactionary source, hailing the 1930's which devoured tens the Hungarian events as the ful- of thousands of frame-up victims.) filment of imperialist dreams.

Their common interest was to

magnify to the utmost every

Anti-Semitism: of course it

in the pattern.

(On July 8, the Italian Com-Was it hard to find such comment? Not in the least. "Exmunist Party paper, L'Unita, tremes meet," in politics as elsepublished a report from Moscow where, and the reactionaries of which said that the ousted four the Right and "Left" find comhad unsuccessfully tried to use mon ground in characterizing a temporary majority in the the Hungarian events as coun-Presidium to depose Khrushchev ter-revolution

Difference Settled negative and disagreeable strand **Kremlin Style**

JULY 11 - Moscow radio existed, but on so small a scale (remarkably small, considering announced yesterday that Malenkov has been sent to the remote province of Kazakhstan, 2,000 miles from the Soviet capital, to manage a hydroelectric plant. Ironically, this is the area to which Leon Trotsky was exiled by Stalin in 1928. Trotsky's exile to the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma Ata, marked the turning point in Stalin's efforts to crush all opposition within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to establish his police dictatorship. Malenkov, once Stalin's secretary, was a part of the Kremlin bureaucracy which Trotsky fought throughout his life.

Accusers and Accused Are Guilty he pointedly referred to "the breaches of revolutionary legalcommitted by Malenkov,

Our own condemnation of this odious business does not spring from any political sympathy for the now fallen bureaucrats. As far back as 1937, the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by the late Professor John Dewey, proved conclusively that all of the associates of Stalin - the present accusers and the present accused alike - were guilty of the destruction of Soviet legality. For this we believe they deserve punishment by a revolutionary court of the Soviet working people.

However, the current moves to make the deposed four the scapegoats for crimes of which the rest of the bureaucracy is equally guilty serves only to preserve the whole frame-up system which Stalin created.

If Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov are to be put on trial by their former partners in crime and despite the present show of "leniency" to Malenkov this remains a distinct possibility - the trial must at least be an open one. The accused must be permitted to select attorneys of their choice. Finally, international representatives of the socialist and labor movements should be permitted to observe the procedure at first hand.

If the four are not to be brought to trial, they should he permitted to present their defense to the Soviet people through newspaper, radio, etc. Let the Soviet people judge for themselves the validity of the present charges.

In urging such a stand, we address ourselves particularly to the membership of the Communist Party and to the editors of the Daily Worker. On July 9, that paper editorially deplored the lack of public discussion prior to the expulsions and declared that "The process of democratization requires such public debate." The Daily Worker should follow up on this correct statement by demanding an end to the process of guilt by denunciation and the full application of democratic procedures.

Dear Comrade Aptheker,

The author of this open letter to Herbert Aptheker is Peter Fryer, former special correspondent for the London Daily Worker in Budapest, Hungary and author of "Hungarian Tragedy," an eye-wit-

> ian revolution. Peter Fryer is now the Militant's London

essence are so contrary to dogmatism and élitism that adherof statistics-an undigested, inPage 2



JULY 9 — The crisis in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had its counterpart in the East European countries. And as the crisis in the Kremlin led to a purge of top officials, it is likely that D-

the struggle in East Europe will their course holds even greater also see a consolidation of Khru- dangers for the future of the schev forces by means of the Soviet orbit, for their repres purge.

On June 26 a stormy debate tions to accumulate, sharpen and took place in Warsaw between head for explosion all over Gomulka and his old-line Stalin- again. As bureaucrats, neither ist opponents, a further devel- wing will allow, let alone lead opment of the fight that oc- the working class to power. Yet cured last May. The conflict had only along this road can the grown much sharper. Gomulka's planned economy be safeguarded. opponents felt strong enough to CAPITALIST REVIVAL move organizationally against him. The old-line Stalinists attempted to place thir own lead- ciliation to capitalist tendeners on the committee that would cies-and with good reason. The control nomination to the par- struggle for collectivized land ty's Warsaw officers. Gomulka has stopped in Poland. The govreportedly defeated this move by ernment now permits the pura majority of only nine out of chase and sale of land. The

POT AND KETTLE

400 votes.

Gomulka's hand was strength- well of the Christian Science ened in May through the Cen- Monitor reported last April, tral Committee's expulsion of "Private industry, formerly M. Radkiewicz and Jakeb Ber- slated to disappear, is encourman from the party on the aged now, and little shops of charge of responsibility for po- various kinds are appearing lice terror in Poland from 1949 throughout the country. . Once to 1954. The old-line Stalinists started they may be doubly hard charged that these two men to eliminate again." were victimized as "scapegoats" for other party leaders. They ac-new lift with the growing for other party leaders. They ac cused three top supporters of Gemulka for responsibility for past "errors." On this question, of course, both sides are right. | through the city to cap the weekof course, both sides are regiment Hungarian Premier Janos Ka-dar met the same kind of op-position that Gomulka encoun-tered. Chief spokesman for the old-guard Stalinists at the Hun-the white First Communication of Communic garian conference of Commun- dresses strewed flower petals in ists held in June was Jozsef the streets before priests garbed Revai, Minister of Culture under in splendid vestments." On June the tyrannical reign of Rakosi. 20 a procession of 300,000 wel-Kadar won this "violent debate" | comed Cardinal Wyszynski back and warned that "a great threat" would menace the future work of Rome. the party" if the "faults of the old leadership" were forgotten.

ISSUES AT STAKE

tered with greatest force in the zetion and an end of forced decountries of East Europe where liveries,"

it was denied any role what- WARNING TO WORKERS



Kremlin Bids for Support

(Continued from page 1)

many inexpenhive and pretty fabrics and clothes-everything that makes man's life more beautiful."

Capitalist hopes also got a

from his visit with the Pope in

better policy. I'm all ready to

adopt it. Only you don't have

another policy. Your criticism is dogmatic and empty."

Neither wing in the Commun-

'ist Farties has or will put forth

a revolutionary policy which

sion and bureaucratic power and

This theme was echoed by Government display a constant concern with the welfare of the that a rival gang has been re- garian people. people." As an example of this, 'concern" he cited the recent decision abolishing obligatory deliveries of agricultural products members of the farm collectives.

In Hungary, too, where the workers are brutally repressed, THEY WANT MORE

concessions are made to capitalrope? Basically the bureaucratic has less cause for complaints more. Every new promise they caste throughout the Soviet orbit than at any time since World receive rivets their attention on that for many years we have rule.

Instead, we witness again the, At the very outset of the Polish bureaucratic methods establish- and Hungarian revolts the ranks of the population into the ed by Stalin. First comes a sur- of the armies of those countries

THE MILITANT

the accused who are not even with the people against the bupermitted to be heard. No record reaucrats. Even with the So-

sponsible for all their ills.

is in a life and death struggle War II. It alone has been al- the performance of the Krem- been delayed in the electrificafor survival. The working class lowed to hold the gains of the lin oligarchs. Actual concessions tion of railroads, that we are has begun to enter into the arena revolution-higher farm prices, and the promise of more to come lagging behind in implementing of political life. And it has en- no great pressure for collectivi- strengthens the self-confidence the use of the advanced electric of the working class as it real- and diesel transportation." A loizes that the bureaucratic tops cal bureaucrat quickly chimes in are acting out of a sense of that Kaganovich was directly soever in the social transforma-tions which were effected by bu-reaucratic and military means. The victory of the so-called "revisionists" was predicated on France Observateur, May 28. The victory of the so-called transformation on the social transformation of the maximum service of the polish Commun-tions which were effected by bu-reaucratic and military means. The victory of the so-called transformation of the polish Commun-tist Party by Francois Fejto in the victory of the so-called transformation of the polish Commun-tist Party by Francois Fejto in the victory of the so-called transformation of the polish Commun-tist Party by Francois Fejto in the victory of the so-called transformation of the police mentality. The victory of the so-called transformation of the police mentality of the transformation of the police mentality. The victory of the so-called transformation of the police mentality of the police mentality. The victory of the so-called transformation of the police mentality of the police mentality. The victory of the so-called transformation of the police mentality of the police mentality. danger to their dictatorial rule. responsible for the shortage of

prise denunciation and ouster of quickly demonstrated they stood

of the discussion or differences viet army that invaded Hun-Shvernik, who demagogically are produced. Once more the So- gary, there were numerous reasserted that "the Party and the viet people are told to take the ports of acts of solidarity and "a series of battles in which all word of one gang of bureaucrats, fraternization with the Hun-

How Communist Parties Reacted The "independent thinkin

Aptheker Book

(Continued from page 1)

their revolution would not be brended as an 'anti-Semitic and fascist' demonstration." On so small a scale that young

communists in Budapest told the correspondent of the London Observer: "You will find thousands of Jewish boys and girls among the Freedom Fighters, especially in Budapest. Hundreds have died fighting."

MINDSZENTY

Certainly Cardinal Mindszenty made a broadcast. But the overall effect of his speech was to reinforce the authority of the 'Nagy Government. In no way mentary.) can his broadcast be construed as a call for the restoration of tation against ouotation, Comcapitalist property relations. rade Aptheker. You quote from many capitalist journalists: for That very morning the Catholic newspaper Sziv had written: find another, often from the We renounce the nationalized identical source, putting in its estates of the Church."

Certainly there was hooligan- true perspective the picture you ism. But it was dealt with-and paint of "White Terror" and 'dealt with highly effectively-by the workers' councils. At the Right" of the Nagy Govern-Gyor the armed people stopped ment.

a fascist poet. Gyula Somogy-COMMUNIST OBSERVERS vary, from, broadcasting his However I do not base my poems when he arrived at the case on what bourgeois journalradio station with a band of ists wrote, but on the testimony 'armed men. In Budapest the adwhich you in your . . . scholarly venturer Jozsef Dudas was arrested by order of General Pal fashion ignore, that of socialist 'Maleter when he tried to occupy and communist observers-Woroszylski; his colleague Marjan the Foreign Office.

Where is the revolution in the whole history of mankind that has not been sullied with such incidents, as it suddenly swept up the most backward elements maelstrom, as it hurled them down the avalanche of history? Did not Lenin, insisting that

there could never be a "pure' social revolution, describe the Russian Revolution of 1905 as the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population

In Leningrad, Shvernik casti- participated," among them In one breath the Khrushchev gated the deposed bureaucrats "masses imbued with the crudgang denounces the hateful for "having lost all touch with est prejudices, with the vaguest methods of the 1930's. In the the masses and with the life of and most fantastic aims of strug to the state from the small per-conally-owned garden plots of next, they borrow freely from the people." These, at least, are gle," "small groups which ac its method of "political discus- true words. They apply equally cepted Japanese money," "specu sion." Thus the government to the entire bureaucracy. That lators and adventurers, etc. paper, Izvestia, suddenly dis- is precisely why it now moves who brought into the move As far as the workers are covers that "In the past, the to placate the masses in the hope ment "their prejudices, their

ist tendencies on the land. As concerned, every concession they role of Kaganovich in the de- of forestalling the inevitable reactionary fantasies, the ir these internal struggles of the Elie Abel reported in the N. Y. wrest from the ruling bureau- velopment of railroad transport day when the now giant Soviet weaknesses and errors," but Communist Parties of East Eu- Times July 7, "The peasantry cracy sharpens their appetite for has been greatly exaggerated. working class moves to restore without whose participation "no ... He is to blame for the fact its long-throttled democratic revolution is possible"? (Collected Works, Vol. XIX, p. 302)

VENGEANCE ON AVH

(which side of the barricades are Need we be surprised if in the are you on, Comrade Apthekmidst of just such a "hetero- er?); Djuka Julius, who wrote geneous and discordant, motley in Politika (Belgrade) that the and outwardly incohesive mass workers of Csepel "want workstruggle," as Lenin called it, a ers' councils, democratic socialsection of the Budapest popu- ism"; Basil Davidson; Bruce lation took a terrible vengeance Renton. . . . on the AVH men who had re- I shall not put my own ex-

pressed them, who had tortured periences in the scales against mingled with lies and shanders fellow - Hungarians, who had you, though I would point out

THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY. By Herbert Aptheker. 256 pages. New York: Mainstream Publishers. 1957. Paper \$2.00 - Cloth \$3.00.

and torn on the floor. A couple Rundschau for ten years, and of workers had found their own representative in Budapest of files in the rubbish, and as they ADN, the East German news studied the ideological fairy tales agency.

that the deposed communist AN OUTRAGE

bosses had woven around them, "The chief reason for my their faces took on a queer look break," he said, "is that I wrote that was partly made up of the fear they had once felt and part- about the Hungarian tragedy in ly of a kind of boyish amuse- the only way any decent human ment." (January issue of Com- being can write of it. I told my friends that the Soviet intervention was a stinking outrage But it is too easy to pit quo-

Kadar Regime

Revises Beethoven

JULY 11 — Beethoven's opera "Fidelio" will be cen-

sored according to Gyula Ker-

tesz, opera manager in Hun-

gary. Because the opera ex-

presses a passionate com-

plaint against arbitrary im-

prisonment, it inspired pop-

ular demonstrations when it

was performed in Szeged, a

southern Hungarian town.

Kertesz told a South Hungar-

ian newspaper that "the real

historical background of the

opera" would be explained.

"In addition we shall change

Bielicki, who wrote in Po Prostu:

"The whole nation is on the side

of the insurgents. . . . The whole

working-class youth and the stu-

dents are on the barricades"

a few scenes," he said.

[Schweinerei] that had nothing whatsoever to do with socialism." (Dec. 3 Die Welt, Hameach of your quotations I could burg.) Have you written about Hun-

gary as a "decent person," Comrade Aptheker? Your book shows Hungary's pre-October "pogroms" and the "moving to suffering and the glory and heroism and striving and hope of the October days as in a distorting mirror.

Monday, July 15, 1957

Worst of all, it is silent on the ceaseless terror that has been waged against the Hungarian people since last Nov. 4. Your statement that "Repression . . . 'appears to be characterized by marked moderation" is on a par with Khrushchev's recent echo of an earlier tyrant's boast: "Complete calm now reigns in Hungary." (June 30 Pravda.)

The task of the Marxist historian is surely to penetrate to the essence of the events he is describing and analyzing. It is neither Marxism nor scholarship to essert of the Hungarian revolution that "the majority of the working class did not participate in the fighting."

KADAR ON THE STAND

Let me call only one witness to scotch this lie, Comrade Aptheker. A man who said of 'our revolution" that in it "numerous communists fought at the side of students, workers and the people."

And who said this? None other than Janos Kadar, in an interview published in Il Giornale d'Italia on Nov. 2. The same Janos Kadar who said in a broadcast the previous day: "In their glorious uprising our people have shaken off the Rakosi regime. . . . Thousands and thousands of workers and persants . fought in the front line."

Kadar chose to forget these words and to become a puppet of the Soviet bureaucracy. You have chosen to produce a book that tells-yes, SOME of the truth about Hungary, but so selected and presented and inter-

against the Hungarian people

The victory of the so-called ist rarty by Francois Fejto in 1557 (The Revolution Decrayed) in the revolution Decrayed by the various Com. Their problem now is that they pledged by the various Com. Tuled Hungary for Rakosi and that your one brief reference to that it will survive, if at all, only the fact that the old Stalinist clearly revealed the issues in the ship, seeking salvation in 'liberal' can no longer assure their rule methods of police dictatorship internal party crisis. On the ex- reforms, has only weakened it- and privileges by the old meththe fact that the old Stalinist clearly revealed the issues in the ship, seeking salvation in 'liberal' can no longer assure their rule which developed in the ebb of istence of workers' councils in self."

revolutionary tide today encoun- the factories of Poland, Gomulka In Hungary and Poland, the to the concessions and the prom- official reactions of these parter a resurgent working class. warned that they must not Khrustchev and company under- dream of becoming "organs of mined the stability of the Stalin- tion for the first time of a pow- purge. ciliation to capitalist elements past. And they must not pre- The same dynamics are at work GPU to prop it up, the bu- kov, Kaganovich and Molotov." in the East European countries. tend to constitute "administra- in the USSR itself. The die-hard Stalinists see the tive units of popular power.'

danger in this conciliation. Yet They must not substitute themselves for the unions. They must

not consider themselves the owners of the factories nor try to go beyond the bounds of the fac-America's tory. Finally Gomulka made it clear that the party organizapolitical force in each factory. Road to Gomulka answered the charge forces by saving. "You criticize Socialism that it is a bad one and that it well then, propose another, a

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privilege.

promises and concessions under- ises, this is signified by eleva- ties to the present Kremlin

To prevent the Soviet masses from taking immediate advan- base of armed support.

reaucracy, the faction headed by very recent history of Eastern not to try to take advantage of likely figure ranges from 70 to time in question political con-Khrushchev recorted to totali-tarian purge methods against its sort of tyrants is the legst trust-declared, July 4, its "full dication, in the present situa-hands of the assistant general unrepentant opponents of Staopponents. Under a regime of worthy of all. A secret police or solidarity" with the Kremlin's tion, that there is no risk of the secretary of the British Com- linism and its crimes. Their workers' democracy, basic dif- ganization like the GPU can tion must remain the directing ferences in the leading body of recruit the scum of society capthe party on national and inter- able of any necessary terror mailed in Italy by CP leader national issues would be brought against the people. But an army Togliatti as a move toward Schmid describe the confidential oughgoing, democratic discus- self and cannot be counted on in Worker said that in executing more than anything else aroused because his dispatches from Is your conscience clear, Comwill lead to capitalism. Very the resolution of differences. pressed.

ods of police terror. In addition Congress was not evident in the that you yourself describe as ments of fact in two lines:

reaucracy must now turn more and more to the army as its last of the last welcomed the the number of lynching victims (2). There is no such thing as

"example of firmness."

(1) I resigned from the Lon-Let the Polish communist jourdon Daily Worker not because of nalist Wiktor Woroszylski say "sharp disagreement with the

whether this amounted to "White editorial board's position on the stand this and seek to counter- political power of the working ist regimes to such an extent erful army figure, Zhukov, to The East German Communist Terror." His diary for Nov. 3 Hungarian question" but because balance the growing power of class" on the model of the So- that they formed the prelude to the Presidium. Evidently no Party July 4 hailed the ouster recorded: "Budapest was quiet my dispatches from Budapest the working class through con-viets of workers, deputies of the the workers' uprisings last fall. longer able to rely on the dread of "the hostile group of Malen-the working class through con-viets of workers, deputies of the the workers' uprisings last fall. no cases of summary execu- mutilated, a fact you do not men-

> purge but also warned "revision- in the city from Tuesday to an "editorial board" of the Lontage of the cleavage in the bu- But history, including the ist-minded persons" in Hungary Thursday morning. The most don Daily Worker-and at the number increasing." (Dec. 9 munist Party, who had been sent bodies may have been broken,

The news was also promptly Nowa Kultura.) down from party headquarters Let the Swiss journalist Peter to impose the official "line." I prefer to cite another comof conciliation of pro-capitalist to the party ranks for a thor- must recruit from the people it- peace. And the London Daily personal dossier system which munist journalist who resigned clear.

my agrarian policy. You pretend sion. The people themselves a showdown to stand fast with the purge, "the principles of the fury of the Budapest crowds: Hungary were suppressed or diswould have been participants in the oppressors against the op-the resolution of differences. pressed.

ment to the misplaced zeal of last-ditch Stalinist apologetics. Many years ago Marx referred to the bourgeois economists as "hired prize-fighters" who substituted for genuine scientific research "the bad conscience and the evil intent of apologetic."

Hungary's finest communists (or, rather, those who have not (been murdered) are still in Ka-

but they have kept their integrity and their consciences are

'rade Aptheker?

Peter Fryer

Khrushchev Industry Plan an Issue in Purge

By George Lavan

alone can resolve the crisis in that wing of the Kremlin oligar- pensible. the Soviet orbit. A new revolu- chy headed by Malenkov, Moloamong the factory workers with tremendous importance of the management of Soviet industry cils" and an end to all repres- made a show-down issue between But the key question for Staago foreshadowed the definitive the bureaucracy could cut the himself."

defeat of his opponents. The constant factor in the pic- sections of the Kremlin oligar- aged by vertical trusts culminit- ery probability that the Soviet ture was the unpostponable ne- chy. For these oligarchis, ever ing in ministries in Moscow. workers will make an unasked centralization of trade unions. cessity of reorganizing Soviet since Stalin's destruction of the Thus all steel plants in the USSR contribution in the form of forcindustry which, thanks to the workers' democracy established were part of a single bureau- ing some democratization into it, cajole and police the workers that points to the reconstruction inherent merits of planned econ- by Lenin and Trotsky, are nei- cratic empire run by a Moscow inherent merits of planned econ- by Lemm and Protsky, are mer-omy, had outgrown in size and ther elected by nor represent the ministry; and so on with other adopted Soviet workers had giv-name only. Letters of factory ent of and in conflict with the complexity the dictatorial, bu- Soviet workers but represent, major divisions of industry. All en a demonstration of their reaucratic straitjacket in which various sections of the ten mil- these are abolished. Now all in- growing combativity in a USSR-Stalin had kept it. The over- lion or more privileged bureau- dustry is decentralized into 105 wide series of local actions, in- the number of bureaucrats on begin at the top of the official sohead cost in waste, duplication, crats of the country. Their pow- geographical districts with a cluding strikes, election of mili- the union payrolls but argue called unions but must begin at bungling, predominance of nar- er is based on the bureaucratic management council in each dis-that factory committees, etc., against "pulverizing" the unions but must begin at the bottom with struggles led row departmental interests over empires they head - vast hier- trict for all mines, factories and against the revision of wages the general interest, had become, archies of officials, with the ex- building operations within the and production norms handed Soviet Union trade union paper, so great that it threatened the pense accounts and unaccounted district. The staffing of these down from above. (See June 10 further development of the econ- opportunities to pilfer, the jobs councils will afford the oppor- Militant.) omy. Furthermore it was dis- they can grant, etc.

crediting in the eyes of the entre Soviet people the whole bu- verses of the Polish assertion of trial bureaucratic machine to waged on a local scale. Un the line for paring down the numtire Soviet people the whole bu- verses of the Polish assertion of Khrushchev and his victorious doubtedly new struggles lie ber of full-time union employes begun to be whispered-worktempts to justify its highly priv- Revolution appeared to have tem- Kremlin allies.

tunity for reshuffling the offi-Last December when the re- cials and rebuilding the indus-

1 that its administrative and tech- Kremlin, the faction of Malen- viet industry? Certainly neither or district will no longer be plants, it is argued. Others say Khrushchev's destruction of nical know-how makes it indis- kov, Molotov and Kaganovich Khrushchev nor any other Krem- faced with the problem of try- it is impossible for presidents to pushed through a plan for indus- lin leader intends it to be such. All sections of the Kremlin trial reorganization to be car. True, in the speeches and offi- pyramid extending all the way factory and then carry out union the Soviet orbit. A new revolu- city neared by materials of the carry out union the remote min- work. Moreover, they argue, a the the remote min- work. Moreover, they argue, a -Pervukhin. Unfortunately for sion that preceded its formal istrices. They will be confronted committee president should not among the factory workers with tremendous importance of the management of soviet industry them Khrushchev was able to adoption there were generalities with their factory manager and be at the mercy of and on the "full power to the workers' coun- industry. This was apparently It had to be reorganized, rally his wavering allies in the about the decentralization plan's the district economic council on Kremlin back in time to prevent benefits for the workers and the disputes affecting wages and payroll of the factory manager the rival wings of the top bu- lin's heirs was: Who should re- their reorganization and to su- desirability of workers express; working conditions. This is a much with whom he will have to negoreaucracy, and Khrushchev's tri- organize it? A reorganization of persede their plan with one of ing their views on it. But these less formidable obstacle - one tiate for his fellow workers on umph on this issue two months industry and consequently of his own-to be carried out by did not go beyond the limits of the usual propaganda' gener- and forced to grant concessions.

very ground from one or more Previously industry was man-alities. Despite this, there is ev-

which were victorious, were ahead. Under the circumstances are against these presidents be-

ileged economic and social posi-tion in Soviet Society by claims Khruschev's supporters in the towards democratization of So-wantage. Workers in a factory should continue working in the trol of production.

ing to jolt a whole bureaucratic work an eight-hour day in the that can be more readily shaken piece-work rates, etc.

This discussion, muted as it Parallel to the decentralizamust be in the pages of Trud. tion of industry there is a debetokens an awakening of trade-These national organizations to union consciousness in the plants Even before the plan was have long been trade unions in of a union movement, independworkers appearing in the Soviet bureaucracy. Such a job cannot newspapers call for paring down

themselves. In Trud, the official first by factory committees and the letters column has had a then later by regional commitlively debate about the presi- tees. Everything indicates the These struggles, some of dents of elected factory com- beginning of a struggle by the mittees. Some writers adopting Soviet proletariat that will adopt

THE MILITANT



"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March Mill Monday, July 15, 1957

Union Official Views His Associates (We publish below excerpts) the written constitution and an arrogant official attitude, a a very considerable extent by from a speech given by George by-laws of national unions are fundamental mistake in fudg- centralization of the administra- mediator. . This is called

ninth annual meeting of the In-

speech is of interest as it gives

W. Brooks, a representative of the same as they were 25 years ment, or a failure to respond to tion of the contract. Even the the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper ago or when they were originally local wishes, a local union could routines of the local union -Workers Union, to the adopted. But before the forties, any

dustrial Relations Research As- strong central tendencies were employer was always ready to being transferred to an increassociation as printed in the Feb- offset, and frequently more than be helpful. Or, if the local mem- ing degree to functionaries outruary issue of Monthly Labor offset, by two omnipresent, bers were persuaded of the side the local union. As the Review. Despite our differences disagreeable facts; widespread with Brooks' point of view, the employer antiunionism and rival

conventions,

unionism, the latter often with rival ready to welcome them plants and local unions, the with open arms.

There were certain guarantees BOTH ROUTES CLOSED

in the constitution, but these Both of these routes are now The great change in American were seriously inhibited by the

closed, in the "protected" sec- the "give and take" of negotialabor unions during the last 20 operations of one-party governtions of industry. The employer | tors who are familiar with local years has been a general shift ments. The unanimous report. typically does not now welcome details and, therefore, willing to in power and control from the the solid slate of incumbents for withdrawal from the internal agree to variety and deviations. members to the leaders. The reelection, the infrequent and tional union. This is particularly and

'STATESMANSHIP' true of the industrial relations The role of the union negoofficer who knows he owes his job to the union. The local dis- tiator himself has undergone give to technological change. senters thus find themselves subtle but fundamental changes. There is no point at which the reform. For practical purposes, there were offsets. Faced with confronted today by a solid He enjoys the confidence of front of opposition which in- management, more often than cludes both the national union not. He finds that management and the company. Within the has been surprisingly willing past two years, the alternate (especially during the past 15 route has been closed by the years) to grant significant con- members are always uneasy no-raid agreements and the AFL-CIO merger. Except in un- working conditions. He tends to organized plants, therefore, the believe that this state of affairs local people have a very is permanent and reliable. His restricted freedom of choice. primary responsibility is to get is likely to take the statesman-These changes, whether good or bad, have completely altered the bring about an agreement, he the national union therefore old balance between local and frequently finds that it is the national unions. . . local union and not the company

"statesmanship. . . . Union leaders whose exleave the national union. If it wage adjustment, grievance perience goes back more than 20 simply wished to withdraw, the handling, and the like — are years are now a tiny minority of the total number of persons employed by unions on a fulltime basis. . . Naturally, the first value of unionism. but not of [collective bargaining] process requirement [of union officials] this union, there was always a is removed further from local is that they be able to "get along with management." It is not bargaining takes on a less personal character, and tends to be-

Page 3

and more a

nearly so necessary that they be come more of a pageant or able to capture and retain the drama. There is much less of "loyalty" of workers. . . I think a more important ad-

vantage [in this new "statesmanship"] is the nearly universal consent which the unions

in manufacturing industries now national and local leadership are likely to be more sharply differentiated in their opinions than on this issue. Local union cessions on wages, hours, and about, and usually opposed to, technological change. The national union, on the other hand settlement. In his efforts to like view. A shift in power to strengthens the hand of man-

Ten Years of Taft-Hartley

Phone: AL 5-746

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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What has been happening to the American labor movement since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law ten years ago on June 23, 1947 — a day that has become known to unionists as "Black Monday"? We don't ascribe all the difficulties and evils that beset the labor movement to the passage of any single law - even a law like Taft-Hartley. Generally, the laws on the books tend to reflect the relation of forces in the class struggle,

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Big Business, which controls the lawmaking bodies and the entire government of this country, will always try to use its power to stop the onward march of labor. But often, when the labor or civil rights movement is in an upsurge, when mass movements and militant struggles of the working people are taking place, important concessions to labor will be made and written into law. This in turn gives labor a new weapon with which to press forward.

On the other hand, when the fighting capacity of the labor movement declines. when there is an ebb in mass activity and a conservative bureaucracy begins to usurp the functions of delegated bodies directly responsible to an alert and militant membership, the employers will use their political power to enact laws that cripple the labor movement and open the way to its eventual destruction.

Since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act labor has been under continuous political assault. Section 14 (b) of the Law, which encouraged the states to pass anti-labor legislation more oppressive to the unions than the parent act itself has spawned the infamous "right-to-work" laws in 18 states.

According to the June issue of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Bulletin, "membership in unions skyrocketed from 3.72 million in 1935 to 14.9 million in 1946. . . When Taft-Hartley was passed there were about 15.4 million union members in the United States. In the ten years since passage membership has risen about 2.5 million but the labor force has gained eight milstrikes is widespread. Picketing has been some of the reasons for the loss a leftwing spice. . . restricted. Secondary boycotts are out- of rank and file control of the lawed. The federal government can move | unions. - Ed.) with all its power on the side of the employers in so-called "national emergency" strikes.

8. 1879."

During these ten years, while labor was being flayed by Big-Business-controlled change was far reaching; it ap- ceremonial federal and state legislatures, the labor pears to be permanent. The similar institutions, all had the officials were becoming more deeply enmeshed in the capitalist political machines that run these legislatures. This process has kept pace with the whole trend of transforming the union leadership from fighting representatives of the workers into "labor statesmen" whose chief qualifications are an ability "to get along with management."

Read the excerpts on this page of the Militant from a paper submitted by George W. Brooks of the Brotherhood of Paper Mill Workers to a meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association. labor bureaucracy, presents a most ence of the YSL itself. The con- accepted. revealing description of the mentality and outlook of these "labor statesmen." They feel far more at home in cordial relations with management than they do at a union meeting, let alone a picket line. They regard pressures and demands from the rank and file as irritating disturbances and have devised many mechanisms to perfect the rule of the unions "from the top."

This privileged caste of bureaucrats that run the unions will prove utterly worthless as a leadership in a crisis.

The magazine Business Week, expressing the view that Taft-Hartley went "too far" said in 1948, "Given a few million unemployed in America, given an Administration in Washington which was not pro-union - the Taft-Hartley Act conceivably could wreck the labor movement.'

Well, there is no pro-union administration in Washington and there hasn't been jor attention to the thousands of capitulation to social-democracy one for as far back as we can remember. radical youth formerly in the The struggle between the left And the present inflated prosperity bubble, based on an armaments economy, is not going to last forever. Labor will face a showdown with Capital sooner or later. When that happens the workingclass ranks will fight back. The tide that will be reversed by the mighty upsurge

NEW YORK, July 3 - The Third National Convention of the Young Socialist League concluded here today after three days of sharp debate on issues involving the

fate of the socialist youth move-O Brooks, who is himself a part of the new ment and the continued exist- if their proposed "unity" were

change has taken place almost effect of discouraging effective

wholly without constitutional opposition from within. But

Young Socialist League

Holds Nat'l Convention

vention sessions were open to the radical public and were atsection of the major radical political tendencies. The basic issue in dispute at

the convention was whether to follow Shachtman's policy of programmatic adaptation to social democracy and of organizational liquidation into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic

youth organization politically opdemocracy. A militant left-wing minority,

membership, vigorously opposed

cialism. wing

The right wing changed th constitution to specifically extended by a representative cross clude the young members of the

Socialist Workers Party and to prohibit YSL members from joining the SWP. In addition applicants for membership in the YSL who expressed sympathy for the left-wing viewpoint were not admitted.

Under the heading of implementing its orientation towards Federation or to retain the YISL the SP-SDF, the right wing Ed.) as a broad, inclusive socialist passed constitutional amendments and special motions that posed to Stalinism and to social- in effect deprived the left wing of any possibility to operate as

a legitimate tendency within the representing one-fourth of the organization. In short, the right wing fun-

Shachtman's policy and fought damentally transformed the YSI for the idea that the YSL should into an instrument of Shacht open its doors to all the radical man's political line. While stopyouth and become the center of ping short of an explicit expula revolutionary socialist re- sion, the right wing served nogroupment in the youth field. tice that there was no place in The left wing therefore pro- the YSL for anyone who would posed that the YSL turn its ma- not go along with the policy of Labor Youth League and help and right wings of the conventhese youth find their way from tion was systematically ex-Stalinism to revolutionary sopressed on a number of basic issues. The left wing moved to

Following Shachtman's lead, specifically reject Shachtman's the right-wing leaders mani- proposal to refrain from running fested an ultimatistic attitude socialist candidates in opposition towards the youth close to the to "labor endorsed" capitalist probe. The left wing opposed in- lar, comrade Molotov, have been and the unanimous condemnahas been flowing against labor for so long towards the youth close to the lo labor endorsed capitalist probe. The left wing opposed in obstructing with all available to be to have be communist. The right party candidates; the right-wing tervention into the affairs of the obstructing with all available tion by the plenum of the Cendeclared it would demand majority refused



(The following are excerpts tions in the party and in the constantly met with a rebuff in from the speech delivered by Government in order to change the Central Committee, they took Nikita Khrushchev, Communist the political line of the party. They actively opposed such ty-one of plotting among them-Party boss, in Leningrad on July 6. We print them for the further measures, for instance, as the selves secretly-a course of facinformation of our readers. widening of the scope of the

rights of union republics in the field of economic and cultural

The success of our industry construction and in matters of and our country as a whole are legislation. They were against great and important. We want carrying out a reorganization in our industry and its foundation, the management of industry and the heavy industry, to grow and become stronger. We wish our building, against promoting a movement among state farm agriculture to grow and develop workers, collective farm workers and agricultural workers to We have reorganized the mancatch up with America in the per agement of industry and buildcapita production of milk, butter

ing. One hundred and five economic councils have been set up and meat in the next few years. in the country and have already CUT THEMSELVES OFF started work. . . All these and other important

You have probably read al measures of the party aimed at eady about the decisions of the improving the material position plenary session of the Central of the Soviet people met with internal and foreign politics, and Committee on the anti-party an active opposition of those group of Malenkov, Kaganovich who had cut themselves off from Leninist principles and will conand Molotov. The group had a the facts of life of the country, stantly bring to life the line cowardly scheme. It wanted to from the nation and the people. worked out by the 20th Conseize in its hands the key posiicy, that group, and in particu-

unions by labor-hating congres- means the implementation of tral Committee of the Commu-

even more successfully. . . .

a course condemned by the partional struggle.

ALL UNANIMOUS

Everyone knows how this ended. The Central Committee of the party 'unanimously condemned this anti-party group as well as the careerist Shepilov who joined them, who showed himself to be most shamelessly two-faced. .

Comrades, the decisions of the June plenum of the Central Committee have met with the unanimous approval of the party and the whole Soviet people. . .

'Our party's policy is clear. It wholly answers the basic, vital interests of the people, both in is always governed by the great In the sphere of foreign pol- gress of the party. . .

Comrades, the unmasking of,

Centralization of the negotia- which is the stumbling block. agement in making technological tions has been accompanied to His role changes, therefore; he change.

lion workers."

cialist Review and had been

disposal to express my convic-

tion that the viewpoint I held

in June 1955 was basically cor-

rect and has moreover been con-

man was proposing that the

enter the American social-

democratic sect, the Socialist

Party-Social Democratic Federa-

abandonment of socialist opposi. YSL.

YSL give up its political and IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

organizational independence and AND WRECKING ACTIVITY

tion - on the program of the Harrington, said in reply to me

social democracy. I pointed out that he knew very well what

sented a resolution to his own gles" and "ideological weapons."

organization, the Independent It meant, Harrington insisted,

Socialist League, calling for the "wrecking and smashing" the

quoted at the convention.

the

In other words, the relative weight of organized labor in the working class as a whole has declined during the last ten years. The organization of the unorganized has been virtually halted. Antiunion bosses can now intimidate and terrorize workers who are trying to form unions. The use of injunctions against

of the working people themselves.

When such a turn comes the union ranks will change their leadership and reestablish democracy. They will also alter labor's a Labor Party and challenging the political rule of Big Business in this country.

proof of a group's conclusive break with Stalinism before it

would even engage in united which the right wing unfolded of collaboration with these con- consolidation of peace in the a policy of supporting capitalist gressional committees. The right whole world. . . front activities with it. On the other hand the right democracy as the lesser evil to wing, on the other hand, defended political policy fundamentally by forming wing imposed no conditions Stalinism, while left wingers collaboration with Reuther on cy questions they adopted a nar- 20th Congress of the party, bewhatever on the social demo- pressed for the slogan of all pow- the premise that socialists must row, lifeless attitude toward cause their removal means the crats and agreed in advance to er to the workers' councils. accept the State-Department "so- There was a brief but sig- more socially minded sections of were convinced that all their in- were trying to hamper the fulcialist" program of the SP-SDF nificant debate on the labor the labor bureaucracy."

A full dress debate took place sional inquisitors and opposed measures for the relaxation of on the Hungarian revolution in support to the Reutherite policy international tension and the

nist Party and people, of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov will help still more in bringing to

As in home, so in foreign poli- life the historic decisions of the work with the "progressive, Marxism-Leninism. When they removal of all those forces who correct statements and actions fillment of these decisions. . .

Ideological Struggle Versus Wrecking Tactics

By Murry Weiss cracy. I attended several sessions of

meaning in the world today."

weapons." (Emphasis added.)

At the convention the national

chairman of the YSL, Michael

that Shachtman had just pre- was meant by "ideological strug- OFT-REPEATED

I had felt in 1955 that the Shachtmanism with the ideolog- bureaucratic machine of Stalin- Workers Party stems, was Young Socialist League fundamental struggle the So- ical weapons of revolutionary so- ism. Ironically, the SP-SDF deprived of all democratic rights relations between radical work- Young Socialist League, it has where Shachtman's supporters convention held in New York cialist Workers Party majority cialism, that was quite different leaders have kept Shachtman's and forcibly separated from con- ers organizations have been during the three years of its proposed to scuttle the indehad conducted on the eve of from calling for the wrecking ISL and his supporters in the tact with the party ranks. City the first three days of World War II against Shacht of the YSL through organiza- YSL out of their party for over July. (See story, this page.) At man and his supporters had tional maneuvers. Harrington a year, despite all urging and revolutionary socialists who no mistakes. But mistakes made movement. Moreover it developed izational domination of the social one of the sessions a delegate significance for the new genera- deliberately chose to ignore this pleading, on the basis of their refused to be silenced and by revolutionary socialists who requested that I be given a few tion of radical youth and was important distinction.

minutes to explain a letter I had not a "finished chapter belonging to the dead past." I said ers of the YSL majority used them. written to James P. Cannon in in this letter, "We will be their interpretation of my letter June 1955, where I expressed badly mistaken if we think we to justify their rejection of the for revolutionary socialists to manites, as well as the Coch- Workers Party youth that inconduct an ideological struggle ranites, in ideological battles. stead of liquidating itself into The awakening youth will ex- the social democracy, the YSL against the influence of Shacht- amine all programs and ten- open its doors to all radical man among a section of the dencies. They will not take our youth and build a broad, united radical youth. Excerpts from this word for anything. I held that socialist youth organization in letter had been published in the internal disputes of the past the United States. The youth of Labor Action, the Young So- were not "over obscure doctrinal the Socialist Workers Party and points of fine interest only to a organizations close to them have sect. They were over the great held the position that a healthy programmatic issues of our socialist youth organization can-I used the few minutes at my epoch and they have burning not be politically and organiza-

are sincere.

CHARGE

tionally dominated by either the I said further, "This does not Stalinists or the Social Demomean that we are interested in crats; that it must remain or- the bureaucratization of the Stalinized Communist parties any fusion or entry with these ganizationally independent of all workers' movement both in the during the past decades. These people [the Shachtmanites]. the adult tendencies; and that West and in the Soviet Union. parties carried on an aggressive firmed by the recent course Our only interest is how to it must be an arena for youth to The labor bureaucracies and the campaign, not to extend their Shachtman and his organization smash them. But this must be find their own way, by their Stalinists strangled the demo- ideological influence in open at this very convention Shacht- it must be done with ideological cialist conclusions.

right wing leaders have said: was done through a combination trol over the entire movement bureaucratic peace. (1) this is only a maneuver to of collusion with the witch-hunt- by mechanical and bureaucratic "smash us," and (2) we are ing police of the capitalist state methods. determined to affiliate with the plus the establishment of a It is false to confound Stalin-SP-SDF, so your proposal has radical opponents. no meaning to us, even if you

ganizations.

tendencies and organizations in ment.

tendencies to the youth move-

ment in particular.

the workers' movement in general STALINIST TACTICS

and the relations of all these OF 'RULE-OR-RUIN'

the ideological influence of under the domination of the which the present Socialist them from the unions. All this is not to say that In view of these circumstances, ganization can claim it has made pendence as a socialist youth accept the program and organ-

Harrington and the other lead- planning a raid to "smash" labor movement, were compelled reaction, the labor bureaucrats ingness to include in its ranks to fight to remain in or re-enter and the Stalinists are of a dif-We also hear, from both the workers organizations. They ferent order than the "mistakes" Shachtman and the CP, that the conducted this fight in the face made by bureaucratic machines dominant tendency of Shacht-

the opinion that it was necessary can 'by-pass' even the Shacht- proposal made by Socialist Socialist Workers Party is only of police methods used to expel which have poisoned the whole manism. interested in raiding and that it and isolate them. Whereupon, atmosphere and rendered normal is out to "wreck" all rival or- both the labor bureaucrats and relations among various curthe Stalinists would charge these rents in the labor movement im-It is necessary to examine revolutionists with "conspira- possible.

more closely this whole question cies" to "wreck" and "disrupt" The SWP is emphatically opof relations among different the organized workers' move-Shachtmanism within the YSL posed to the concept of wrecking rival organizations. The cona are now being felt precisely in ism. Events have disproven this cept is in its very essence

bureaucratic and substitutes or from a nucleus of a broad so in the YSL which were working ganization devices for the neces- cialist youth organization into an against the danger of complete

sary ideological and political exclusive appendage to Shacht- Shachtmanite domination, the An additional and important struggle which will permit man's organization. It has been source of the fear of raiding and In my opinion the roots of organizational maneuvers stems workers to freely choose their this problem will be found in from the activities of the political and organizational youth faction that drives out and past years in preventing the allegiance. To the bureaucrats excludes all radical youth who dissolution of the YSL as the everything is orderly and proper will not swallow Shachtman's framework for a revitalized and only when the workers stay put, line of political adaptation to voice no dissenting thoughts and social democracy.

leave matters of policy to the blachtman and his organization smash them. But this must be ind over way, by their cratic life of the workers' move-have taken. I pointed out that done at every stage anew. And own paths to revolutionary so-have taken. I pointed out that done at every stage anew. And collist and be and the second of the labor of t ment. In the case of the labor the workers' movement, but to all they want no troublesome op- opposed to accepting the SP-To this proposal the YSL bureaucracies of the West this impose their organizational con- positionists around to disturb the SDF as the exclusive parent or- pendent, militant, socialist youth

SOCIALIST YOUTH NEEDS INDEPENDENCE

regime of repression against all ist maneuvers and manipulations with the struggle to advance a ganizational domination for poli- against Shachtmanism. In the case of Stalinism it program and to prove through tical persuasion is particularly

was done through the usurpa- propaganda and the test of ex- harmful and even ruinous when in my opinion, was that it didn't will emerge out of the present tion of power in the Soviet perience the correctness of this it is applied to the relations recognize soon enough the YSL's regroupment process, is that it Union by an uncontrolled, bur- program as against others. It is between adult political tendencies distinctive character as an inde- retain its independence from all The charge of "wrecking" and eaucratic terror-machine which likewise false to echo the charge and the socialist youth move- pendent socialist youth organiza- the adult organizations. Thereby 'raiding" has been heard many then reached out and destroyed of the labor bureaucrats that ment. All experience teaches that tion. It is obvious to all close it will best permit its ranks to times during the current re. the independence and internal revolutionaries are engaged in the youth must have complete observers of the YSL that it has develop towards revolutionary tion to capitalist party candi- Harrington's assertion is com- groupment discussion. It has been democracies of the Communist "wrecking" and "disruptive" organizational independence in always held conflicting tenden- socialist ideas as a result of

endorsed by the labor bureau- that it was necessary to smash Party, on the basis of its record the Communist parties, from allow the bureaucrats to oust their approach to revolutionary rent in opposition to Shachtman's rightward course. Recently, when theory and practice. this course reached the point Speaking specifically of the irreproachable or that any or- existence maintained its inde- pendence of the YSL and to a number of fine traditions of democrats, a full-scale struggle suspicion that Shachtman is isolated from the radical and were under attack by capitalist internal democracy and a will- broke out. A left-wing caucus emerged and waged a battle to prevent the transformation of youth who did not in advance accept the political views of the the YSL into Shachtman's in-

strument for conciliation and adaptation to social democracy. The SWP made the mistake of SHACHTMAN BENDS assuming that because the YSL TO HIS COURSE On the other hand, the con-

Shachtmanites wielded considerable influence in the YSL, that sequences of the influence of the YSL was therefore a mere "youth version" of Shachtmanthe transformation of the YSL idea. By joining the other forces SWP youth could have played a converted into a Shachtmanite far more effective role over the militant socialist youth movement in the U.S.

The YSL has now set up bar-Whatever the outcome of the current struggle in the YSL, the movement towards an indeganization of the socialist youth. movement that will invite all If the YSL is wrecked it will be radical youth into its ranks is due entirely to this policy of now on the march. The move-Shachtman and not to the ment will find its proper organ-The method of substituting or- ideological struggle of the SWP ization form despite all obstacles. Our advice to the so-

The mistake the SWP made, cialist youth organization that

dates if these candidates were pletely false, When I declared leveled against the Communist parties. The Left Opposition in activities when they refuse to order to work out for themselves cies, including a left-wing cur- their own experiences.

The Tuskegee Vote Fight

(Continued from page 1)

their plight. The protest move- the people, for the people and by asked: ment expresses itself presently the people. But we are segrethe Tuskegee Negroes to do busi- kind of people. Being such, we right to vote?" ness with some 40 local white should have our elected repremerchants. Already three busi- sentatives in government. Taxnesses including the Macon thea- ation without representation is

ter (the only motion picture still tyranny." theater in town), a dry goods Answering charges by Engel- "The real un-Americans," Rev. store, and a novelty shop have hardt that he had been cited Buford continued, "are those at privately endowed Tuskegee Institute and the Federally suparound 6:30 the gathering throng citizens take."

time the meeting got under way Church and featured speaker of

closed their doors; and several years ago by the House Un- people who hide im closets and others are tottering. All the American Activities Committee, larger establishments have re- Mr. Gomillion said that he has leased a large portion of their never been informed of any help. The end of this trend is charges of "subversion" by any rights have been violated. We nowhere in sight, for most of government agency. the Negroes here are employed NO NEED FOR FORCE ported Veterans Administration has no need to use force to prehospital and receive about 80% vent intelligent citizens from of the area's \$12 million annual doing business with the local of Mt. Olive Baptist Church, payroll. In the meantime Engel- white merchants and in the midst joyously held up a check for \$50 hardt's bill still awaits action of cheers and applause he as- he received from the Alabama

"I believe in a government of

VOLUME XXI "Is it un-American to fight for by a better than 90% refusal of gated and classified as a special freedom and equality, for the

> RESENT VIOLATIONS The audience retorted with a resounding "No!"

Moreover he said that the TCA

inside the church, and by the of the Butler Chapel AIME Zion

by Governor James E. Folsom. serted "conditions determine Christian Movement for Human On my arrival at the church what course of action intelligent Rights of Birmingham. had filled every inch of space The Rev. K. L. Buford, pastor

"We demand to be treated as



The atmosphere is tense when Negroes try to register in the South. These two men confront an all-white registration board in Mississippi. One of the chief weapons of whitesupremacist rule is to deprive Negroes of the right to vote.

at 7:30, it had filled the areas the evening, told the attentive in front of and on the sides of and responsive audience, "The the church extending as far as eyes of the world are on Tuskethe audible reach of the public gee and we must not fail. We must defend the excellence of address system. ourselves and our possessions.

The atmosphere of tonight's meeting was as serious and business-like as that of a week ago. The enthusiasm and determinaheights. This was clearly written on the faces and in the actions of all those assembled.

men. We are dog-gone sick and The introduction of Charles G. tired of letting people throw Gomillion, president of the mud in our faces and standing Tuskegee Civic Association, by and letting them rub it in. phi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., near brought cheers and vigorous ap- The white people of Tuskegee 14th St. Contribution 50 cents. plauding. He read a prepared are not innocent of this fight. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum. statement which outlined his They have asked to be isolated position and that of the Asso- in that little area around the ciation. "I believe in the equali- square (down-town). We shall

say they are sick or have no proper office equipment when we try to register to vote. Our civil protesting and will continue to protest until we win our rights." The ten, five and one dollar

bills flowed into the collection boxes. Rev. S. T. Martin, pastor Among the out-of-town visi-

tors introduced to the audience were the Reverends Martin Luther King (whose appearance brought standing cheers and shouts of praise), Ralph D. Abernathy, and F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human

Rights. Rev. King told the cheering crowd that he "came to be inspired by you. You are not seeking to put the stores out of business, but justice in business."

Rev. Abernathy, Vice-president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, evoked long ovations and shouts of praise when he said "the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery are with you in your struggle." and a long ovation when he said: "Those who can't see in 1957 that we are going to get our civil rights are looking through 1857 looking glasses."

The meeting ended with everyone clasping his neighbors' hands in a bond of fellowship and solidarity as we all sang with thundering voices, which reverberated throughout the entire area in and June 27 varies from 500 to over WRONG PREDICTION

Calendar

Wednesday, July 17, 8 P.M. "The Kremlin Purge - Its Real Significance." Speaker: Harry Ring, Militant staff writer. Adel-

Detroit

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 15, 1957

NUMBER 28

. Liberals Knife Rights Bill



Victims of the hurricane that hit Louisiana coast, June 27, are shown above after being transported by a navy helicopter from areas is lated by the storm. Although a Federal disaster insurance program is on the books, Congress has failed to appropriate funds to put it into effect.

Rev. Shuttlesworth of Birm-ingham brought much cheering **Could Have Been Saved**

number of dead in the hurricane that hit the Louisiana coast proach of the hurricane.

The amount of devastation ing low-lying towns were also Ruth Christ Sullivan, "when the flood recede. smashed. One report said, "The President's representative, Val And what about the survivors? resort community of Holly Beach Peterson, dealt us another blow. What of those who have lost all no longer exists. It was com- If he had talked to any of the they have and must start from pletely wiped off the map." thousands of us who listened scratch?

UNNECESSARY DEATHS

By Shirlty Clark

personal representative to the casualties was because our peo- him over. "I heard you were Detroit / scene of the disaster, announced, Friday, July 19, 8 P.M.—"The July 2, that no loss of life had "All the Were too stubborn to leave! here," the man said. "Put this

denied Civil Defense reports that | substantially from the official JULY 9-The estimate of the given ample warning of the ap- Whatever the truth may be, there can be no question that the responsibility for evacuating

people in dangerous areas bearound the Washington Chapel AME Church, "Till We Meet collected. Many may never be heard on the radio before turn-who didn't "heed" the Civil recovered. Ken Dixon of the ing in Wednesday night was Defense demands in the 1956 Lake Charles American Press that she wouldn't hit until late "Operation Alert," organized for

were swept into the Gulf of time. Well she hit at four the next morning. We got socked." and federal agencies on the scene The July 9 New York Times of the Louisiana catastrophe. can be seen in the fact that published a letter from an angry Helicopters, boats and trucks are in the town of Cameron, only woman from Louisiana. "We at hand - not to evacuate live the steel and concrete court' hadn't even found all our dead, people, but to recover the bodies house was left intact. Surround- much less counted them," wrote of the dead as the waters of the

carefully to the hurricane news Bob Considine told of a he could not have told the "stocky, sun-bronzed man with Val Peterson, the President's President the giant toll of a three-day beard" who called

(Continued from page 1) to be next week. If the Morse

motion fails, the bill then faces a Dixiecrat filibuster.

Morse tried to justify his action by pointing to technical clerical errors that appeared in John Kasper, a White Citithe bill which he said would zens Councils organizer, and have been eliminated if it had 15 of his cohorts began in gone through "historic commit-Knoxville, Tenn., yesterday. tee procedure" — namely East-The defendants are accused reference to the fact that the committee would cut the bill to ribbons while "correcting" the technicalities. He covered his sell-out with the following words: "I yield to no one in the Senate in devoted dedication to the cause of guaranteeing first class citizenship to all our citizens. However, I am opposed to adopting an end-justifies-the-means doctrine adopted by those who have put this bill on the Senate calendar in violation of historic committee procedure and justice."

This same concern for "justice" in favor of the organizers of racist terror, but not for the victims of that terror, was exhibited by Senator O'Mahoney who introduced an amendment to the bill which would remove its only "tooth." The O'Mahoney

of violating a federal injunction to prevent interference with integration in a Clinton high school last fall. They are represented by a battery of 16 lawyers who succeeded in eliminating from jury service all Negroes who had been called up for duty. They also eliminated a white man who worked for a company headed by a Jew. Kasper's attorney, J. Benjamin Simmons asked venireman, Will S. Temple for the names of the national officers of the company for

Tennessee Racists

Get All-White Jury

JULY 11 - The trial of

which he worked. Then he asked, "Is he a Jew?" The answer was yes. Defense attorneys addressed Negro veniremen by their first names. Whites were called "mister."

amendment would' assure the of Montana.

right of trial by jury - an all-This is just the latest in the white racist jury, that is - in hypocrisy which is typical of all cases except where voting the role of the whole group of rights are involved, and in the liberals in the Senate regardlatter cases where a question of ing civil rights legislation. They fact is in dispute. Needless to campaign and try to collect say, the racists will always be votes on the issue, but fail to able to claim a "disputed fact." make a serious fight when the The actions of Morse and showdown comes. Even those

O'Mahoney were believed to be liberals who have made the part of a deal, evidence of which record supporting the bill this was reported in the June 22 New last week must bear respon-York Times, between North- sibility for the effectiveness of western liberal Democrats and the Dixiecrat stand. All of them, the Dixiecrats. Reportedly, the Senator Douglas and Humphrey latter would vote for the Hells included, were party to a plan Canyon dam bill, favored by the last January which eliminated liberals, and in return the any effective fight against liberals would help smother the Senate Rule 22 and left the civil rights bill. A further in- Dixiecrat filibuster weapon in-Lake Charles American 1105 that she wouldn't nit until tate operation 1105, used in imaginary disaster, were dication or this deal is that in tact. These are the kind of "friends" These are the kind of "friends"

20 to refer the civil rights bill that the labor leaders — and the to Eastland's committee, the leadership of Communist Party, Dixiecrats were joined by Morse too — have been urging the as well as by liberal Democrats workers and the Negro people James E. Murray of Montana, to support. It is in order to back James F. Kennedy of Mas- these charlatans, that they have sachusetts, Warren Magnusen of sacrificed building a Labor Washington and Mike Mansfield Party.

Try to Yank Teeth From **New York Anti-Bias Bill**





ty of opportunity for all regard- let them have it." less of his color, religion, or nationality. It is my responsibility dience thundered back with "let Socialist Forum. as a citizen to help my fellow- them have it!" and in the midst citizens to secure their civil of ringing cheers and enthurights by virtue of their citizen- siastic applauding repeated sevleral times "give it to them." ship and qualifications.

Police Break Up Detroit Negro Meeting

JULY 9 - Nineteen people, | had been obtained for the gathincluding eight cops, were in- ering. Police Sgt. Max Neuenjured July 7 when the cops at- dorf claimed he was hit by someone when he ordered the crowd tempted to break up a street to disperse. An official of the meeting in the Negro district in Detroit NAACP accused the po-Detroit, Michigan. An estimated lice of being "unduly violent." 200 to 300 people were listen- Despite the fact that the police ing to Elijah Walker speak on made the initial move by at. racial issues when the cops at- tempting to disperse the meettempted to break the meeting ing, officials blamed the Neup on the excuse that no permit groes.

Can We Do It?

Coming in the Summer Issue of the

International Socialist Review

New Soviet Purge" - 3737 been necessary. According to Instantaneously the whole au- Woodward - The Friday Night him the people of Cameron and the surrounding area failed to

> er Bureau. On July 6, the U.S. Weather not to hit until late Thursday Los Angeles Friday, July 19, 8:15 P.M. "What's Behind the New Krem-United States said, "It can hap- cars, planning to leave for higher lin Shake-up?" Arne Swabeck, pen here and to you personally... ground early Thursday morning. People around Cameron La speaker. Channing Hall. 2936 W. 8th St. Auspices: Los Angeles People around Cameron, La., Local, Socialist Workers Party. just couldn't believe, apparently, ricane was upon them. . .

> > Chicago

Adams, CE 6-4183.

Cleveland

Ohio Annual

Militant Readers Picnic

Sunday, July 21

Starting 10 A.M.

AT HINCKLEY LAKE PARK

advance notice." Picnic, Sunday, July 21. Dan But the people of Louisiana Bureau hierarchy began calling Ryan Woods. 87th St. and West- have a different story to tell. Hurricane Audrey the 'best

"Friday a numb populace that it could happen to them. As a result, hundreds died, began to lash out at the Weather despite twelve to eighteen hours Bureau. And more suddenly than Audrey, releases from Weather

ern Ave. (Follow the signs to Sheriff O. B. Carter of Cameron tracked hurricane' ever." grove). Fun, food, games, prizes. according to Bob Considine, The account given by this Bring the family. Ausp.: Mili-tant Labor Forum, 777 West

New York Evictions Raise

Protests from Slum Tenants

By Lillian Kiezel

Socialist Workers Party Candidate

for President of the New York City Council

"All day Wednesday and far in your paper. I've got 50 dead into the night," she testified, people on ice in my fishing boat "we were cautioned to remain right over there, some 50 poor discrimination in private hous- nation. heed the warnings of the Weath- calm, even to get a good night's stiffs who deserved something ing in the city received a new sleep, because the hurricane was better.

Bureau in a warning to every-one on the East Coast of the Cameron residents packed their Put something in your paper that maybe will be read up the line somewhere. Put in there crimination, advocated removing that they need \$10.000.000 down here right away, to save a lot Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs anti-bias of poor hard-working Americans. bill now before the City Council. "And if somebody asks where the \$10,000,000 is going to come from, tell him to put a rider on clared, July 7, that they opposed one of those bills that send bila provision in the bill to levy

> Government officials aren't guilty of practicing discriminalikely to listen to this unnamed tion in rental of dwellings. Both man. Such people aren't even quoted in the press unless stead a process of "conciliation" disaster strikes them. But he deserves to be heard a thousand times more than the official of their ways. voices. Multiply this man's figure of \$10,000,000 by 3,000 and you'll have the amount the government spends on "defense" of its citizens every year, around \$30 billion for war material to destroy life. The ten

bucket.

among many tenants who live in new homes and somehow stretch city-condemned housing-on land the family income to pay fan- total to Franco from the U.S.

profits high and profits are the mainspring of the capitalist system. There is precious little constated on Sept. 4, 1956 in the nessmen's Committee, which is cern for anything else as far New York Times that the Sew- located at 200 East Broadway as the Big Business government ard Park Housing plans would and has as its purpose to get goes. Isn't it time we had a either involve down-payments by decent housing for those who are government of workers, simple tenants of \$650 per room or it now living in the slums, has a people, who care for human life instead of profits?

It is very simple: Nobody gets The Site Tenants and Busi- evicted and nobody moves out of nessmen's Committee, whose their present homes until there president is Rabbi N. Ben-Horim, 'is a new building for them to points out in its brochure en- move into at rents they can af-

This is one of the proposals which will be placed before the per year according to the last | City Planning Commission at its census. Of these, one-third open hearing on the city hous-earned less than \$1,500 a year. ing problem on July 17.

It is vital that the working Thus only about 6% of the people living in this area could af- people of this city be repreford that type of housing. sented at this hearing. The City Where can these people go? Council must be told: (1) That Where can they live? They do evictions must stop now! (2) not want to live in slums. But That the workers of New York at the same time these working City need and deserve decent people are being forced to find housing.

lions of dollars overseas. . ."

million is only a drop in the

Let's join together and protect our interests against Two days after the hurricane those of the real-estate and Big Businessmen and their Franco, the fascist dictator of representatives on the New York City Council." This is Spain, received twice as much as the man in Louisiana asked - \$20 million. That brought the

All this war spending keeps

New York Militant Labor Forum "The Kremlin Purge -Its Real Significance" Speaker: HARRY RING Militant Staff Writer Wed., July 17 - 8 P.M. Adelphi Hall

74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.) Contribution 50 cents

NEW YORK-The fight to bar | results in eliminating discrimi-

Under this procedure, a committee would filter and investistab in the back when both Sen-"We need quick help, or a lot ator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and dential" effort to conciliate the Charles Abrams, head of the charge, hold a public hearing State Commission against Dis- where conciliation fails and then try to get a state Supreme Court enforcement order. Meanwhile a enforcement provisions from the victimized citizen could settle down in some Jim Crow tenement for a few more years while Both of these self-proclaimed the "conciliation" process creeps champions of equal rights deon.

The bill itself was originally scheduled for passage by the a \$500 fine against landlords City Council last month. But when the city's powerful realestate interests put the heat on. politicians said they favored in- Mayor Wagner, a liberal Democrat, yanked the rug from unwhereby Jim Crow landlords der it by announcing he was in would be convinced of the errors no hurry to get it passed. With elections coming up, the City

Abrams suggested that the Council may now decide that 'conciliation" process be pat- rather than simply burying the terned after the one used by bill it might be smarter to take SCAD, which also has no en- hold of the Javits-Abrams sugforcement teeth and has conse- gestion and pass one that can't quently produced a minimum of be enforced.

Burn Cross at Negro Home in Los Angeles

By Lois Saunders

to trap any of the hoodlums. As is customary in such cases, LOS ANGELES, July 7-Klanthey tend to dismiss the harasslike terror and harassment, inment lightly as the "pranks" of cluding the burning of a seven-"teenagers." foot crops and a threat of death, Mrs. Johnson and her sister, have "welcomed" twin sisters, Mrs. Elly Woods Redmond, have both school teachers, who rebeen aided by friends who have cently purchased a large hilltop remained with them each night,

home in View Park, an exclusive keeping guard. Last week, the section of Los Angeles County. County Conference on Communi-They moved in about two ty Relations, which is composed weeks ago and since then, acof a number of liberal and micording to one of the sisters, nority organizations, also offered Mrs. Evangeline Woods Johnto provide guards on an aroundson, they've been "sitting on a the-clock basis.

keg of dynamite." The sisters, meanwhile, show The openly hostile acts have no sign of yielding in the face continued without let-up. A of the vandalism and terror. brick was hurled through their (Mrs. Johnson, following the front window, a lighted flare- burning of the cross, told the pot tossed onto the lawn and a sheriffs: "They might as well pile of rubbish thrown in front get more kindling and more of the house, in addition to the rags. We're not running."

burning of the cross, the death Before they moved to the threat, and the unending series Olympiad home, the sisters reof shouted insults and obscenity. ceived a warning telephone call, The sheriff's officers have re- advising them that if they did sponded rapidly to all reports of move it would be their "last incidents, but they have failed move."

The Communist Party has proposed that an antimonopoly coalition be built in the United States.

What does American history teach us about such projects in the past? What are the conclusions suggested by Marxist theory?

William F. Warde considers the American experience with anti-monopoly coalitions in "The Rise and Fall of Progressivism." Joseph Hansen, in "What the Job Takes," outlines the contributions of Marxist theory in the light of a problem first discovered and considered by an English socialist in 1839.

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the Slum Clearance Committee would involve paying a monthly plan. rent of \$33.50 per room. titled "Where Can We Move?" ford to pay. that 94% of the families on the East Side earned less than \$4,000

the sentiment that is growing O-

that is being sold to private in- tastic rents. Those who cannot to \$70 million. terests for the purpose of build- do this are forced to get some ing so-called low-cost housing. sort of relief from the city-Robert Moses, Chairman of if they are lucky. The Site Tenants and Busi-