

# 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

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 Federal Government to intervene on behalf of individuals whose civil rights have been violated, to obtain injunctions against such violations and to try violators of these injunctions before Federal judges on charges of contempt of court. The "trial by Federal judge" provision of the bill is the only serious section in it. It is an attempt to get around the Jim-Crow jury system which prevails in the South and which automatically acquits racists (as in the case of the murderers of Emmett Till).

### MORSE ACTION

The liberal Democrat Morse announced his intention today to get the bill referred to the Senate Judiciary committee headed by racist Senator Eastland of Mississippi. This would deal the bill a mortal blow. Morse said he would make his motion when the present debate on whether the bill should be introduced on the Senate floor is concluded, as it is expected

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Convention  
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## The New Factors in the Purge System

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Those who took seriously Khrushchev's promise of "collective leadership" given to the 20th Congress were naturally shocked at the purge of his opponents, the so-called "anti-party" group. But they were reckoning without considering the nature of the bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet orbit.

The purge of the dead Stalin in February of 1956 was not the result of a democratic re-evaluation of the past history of the Soviet Union. Nor was it an adoption of democratic procedures. The destruction of the Stalin myth grew out of the crisis of the Kremlin bureaucracy — a crisis born in the mounting anger of the working class at the continued repression and miserable existence to which they were condemned by bureaucratic rule.

The bureaucrats, in a desperate struggle for survival, attempted to pass off all the sins of the past into the corpse of the "infallible leader." They met the crisis with a scapegoat, conciliation, promises and of course — unanimity. But the crisis was not resolved. Instead it deepened, extended and intensified. And therefore it finds expression in a new internal crisis and new purges.

### DISCUSSION A MENACE

The bureaucracy is constitutionally incapable of collective

Vol. XXI - No. 28

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 15, 1957

PRICE 10c

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## 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 condemnation as an "anti-party" group. In the place of honor in Red Square during a May Day parade, from left to right are: Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, Defense Minister G. K. Zhukov, 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. Their future does not look bright.

## Denounce Ousted Four; Pledge More Butter and Less Terror

By Harry Ring

JULY 10 — The ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, whose vast material privileges bring it into irreconcilable conflict with the growing demand of the Soviet workers for workers' democracy and improved living conditions, is in a state of deep-going crisis. It is now feverishly seeking a measure of popular support for its dictatorial regime. The extent of its crisis is reflected in the scope of the attack it launched against the now-deposed members of the ruling clique, Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich 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 communiqué, the bill of particulars had been expanded to include charges which evoke the image of a purge trial.

### 1949 PURGE RECALLED

In his July 6 speech at an organized Leningrad demonstration before one of the giant factories, Khrushchev branded the four as "reactionaries who have cut themselves off from the party." He declared that "all members of this group were especially guilty of the past errors and failings, and Malenkov was one of the leading organizers of the so-called Leningrad affair." This refers to a 1949 trial in which a number of prominent bureaucrats went to their death on charges of fomenting "Great-Russian chauvinism." At the 20th Congress Khrushchev pinned responsibility for this purge on Stalin.

The same charge was hurled at Malenkov the following day by Nikolai Shvernik, one of Stalin's protégés, who has now filled one of the four new vacancies on the Presidium. Shvernik also carried the charges a step further when he pointedly referred to "the breaches of revolutionary legality committed by Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov during the period of mass repressions."

(On July 8, the Italian Communist Party paper, *L'Unità*, published a report from Moscow which said that the ousted four had unsuccessfully tried to use a temporary majority in the Presidium to depose Khrushchev.

Their common interest was to magnify to the utmost every negative and disagreeable strand in the pattern.

Anti-Semitism: of course it existed, but on so small a scale (remarkably small, considering Hungary's years under Horthy) that the Budapest Board of Rabbis could broadcast on November 2:

"Hungarian Jewry enthusiastically salutes the achievements of the revolution, pays reverent homage to the heroes, and identifies itself with the free and independent homeland."

On so small a scale that the newspaper *Igazság* could report on October 30: "Meeting an AVO officer, a raging crowd was about to strike him, but realizing that he was a Jew, several of the armed demonstrators took his defense. Those fascists' rose in defense of an officer so that

(Continued on page 2)

resent a reaffirmation by the victorious faction of the line of concessions pledged at the 20th Congress. This means a recognition on the part of Khrushchev 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 four with glowing new promises to the Soviet working people. Khrushchev grandly announced in Leningrad that "We want the Soviet People to have enough meat, butter, milk and fruit, and that our shops be filled with each of the accused, they rep-

(Continued on page 2)

## Khrushchev and 'Revolutionary Law'

An Editorial

In announcing the purge of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, the official communiqué 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 workers' democracy, surely does not offer less than capitalist law which guarantees the accused the right to be heard and places upon the accusers the responsibility to back up charges with evidence. Workers' democracy is much more. It is the rule of the working people. Where they are 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. Following the original charges against the four, new and 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 the ouster itself. The entire bureaucratic procedure is best summed up in Khrushchev's cynical explanation to the Czechs: "We took the black sheep by the tail and threw them out."

## Accusers and Accused Are Guilty

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 be 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.

## Fryer Writes to Aptheker On the Truth About Hungary

Dear Comrade Aptheker,

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 Marxism-Leninism is so revolutionary, its whole outlook and spirit and essence are so contrary to dogmatism and elitism that adherence to it in however limited and partial and distorted a form brings protest against injustice and tyranny."

If this were the spirit that informed your book; if this were the epitaph you had written on the victims of Russian intervention last October and of Kadar's repression since then; if this were your summary of the roots and driving forces of Hungary's revolt; how wise and how splendid your book would be.

A HASH

But you have chosen to take one aspect of the "truth about Hungary" and inflate it to monstrous proportions by stuffing your pages to satiety with a hash of press clippings, tag-ends of quotations, scraps of documents,

could find, from every conceivable reactionary source, hailing the Hungarian events as the fulfilment of imperialist dreams.

Was it hard to find such comment? Not in the least. "Extremists meet," in politics as elsewhere, and the reactionaries of the Right and "Left" find common ground in characterizing the Hungarian events as counter-revolution.

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### Difference Settled Kremlin Style

JULY 11 — Moscow radio 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.

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# What Next For Eastern Europe?

By C. R. Hubbard

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 the struggle in East Europe will also see a consolidation of Khrushchev forces by means of the purge.

On June 26 a stormy debate took place in Warsaw between Gomulka and his old-line Stalinist opponents, a further development of the fight that occurred last May. The conflict had grown much sharper. Gomulka's opponents felt strong enough to move organizationally against him. The old-line Stalinists attempted to place their own leaders on the committee that would control nomination to the party's Warsaw offices. Gomulka reportedly defeated this move by a majority of only nine out of 400 votes.

## POT AND KETTLE

Gomulka's hand was strengthened in May through the Central Committee's expulsion of M. Radkiewicz and Jakob Berman from the party on the charge of responsibility for police terror in Poland from 1949 to 1954. The old-line Stalinists charged that these two men were victimized as "scapegoats" for other party leaders. They accused three top supporters of Gomulka for responsibility for past "errors." On this question, of course, both sides are right.

Hungarian Premier Janos Kadar met the same kind of opposition that Gomulka encountered. Chief spokesman for the old-guard Stalinists at the Hungarian conference of Communists held in June was Jozsef Revai, Minister of Culture under the tyrannical reign of Rakosi. Kadar won this "violent debate" and warned that "a great threat would menace the future work of the party" if the "faults of the old leadership" were forgotten.

## ISSUES AT STAKE

What issues are at stake in these internal struggles of the Communist Parties of East Europe? Basically the bureaucratic caste throughout the Soviet orbit is in a life and death struggle for survival. The working class has begun to enter into the arena of political life. And it has entered with greatest force in the countries of East Europe where it was denied any role whatsoever in the social transformations which were effected by bureaucratic and military means.

The victory of the so-called "revisionists" was predicated on the fact that the old Stalinist methods of police dictatorship which developed in the ebb of revolutionary tide today encounter a resurgent working class. Khrushchev and company understand this and seek to counterbalance the growing power of the working class through conciliation to capitalist elements in the East European countries.

The die-hard Stalinists see the danger in this conciliation. Yet

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## The Underlying Force in the Crisis



## ... Kremlin Bids for Support

(Continued from page 1)

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

This theme was echoed by Shvernik, who demagogically asserted that "the Party and the Government display a constant concern with the welfare of the people." As an example of this "concern" he cited the recent decision abolishing obligatory deliveries of agricultural products to the state from the small, personally-owned garden plots of members of the farm collectives.

## THEY WANT MORE

As far as the workers are concerned, every concession they wrest from the ruling bureaucracy sharpens their appetite for more. Every new promise they receive rivets their attention on the performance of the Kremlin oligarchs. Actual concessions and the promise of more to come strengthens the self-confidence of the working class as it realizes that the bureaucratic tops are acting out of a sense of danger to their dictatorial rule. "It has happened more than once," wrote Leon Trotsky in 1937 (*The Revolution Betrayed*) that a bureaucratic dictatorship, seeking salvation in "liberal" reforms, has only weakened itself.

In Hungary, too, where the workers are brutally repressed, concessions are made to capitalist tendencies on the land. As Eliel Abel reported in the N. Y. Times July 7, "The peasantry has less cause for complaints than at any time since World War II. It alone has been allowed to hold the gains of the revolution—higher farm prices, no great pressure for collectivization and an end of forced deliveries."

## WARNING TO WORKERS

The report of the May conference of the Polish Communist Party by Francois Fejtó in France *Observateur*, May 28, clearly revealed the issues in the internal party crisis. On the existence of workers' councils in the factories of Poland, Gomulka warned that they must not dream of becoming "organs of political power of the working class" on the model of the Soviets of workers, deputies of the past. And they must not pretend to constitute "administrative units of popular power." 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 factory. Finally Gomulka made it clear that the party organization must remain the directing political force in each factory.

Gomulka answered the charge of conciliation of pro-capitalist forces by saying, "You criticize my agrarian policy. You pretend that it is a bad one and that it will lead to capitalism. Very well then, propose another, a 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 Communist Parties has or will put forth a revolutionary policy which alone can resolve the crisis in the Soviet orbit. A new revolutionary party must be forged among the factory workers with the fundamental Leninist aim of "full power to the workers' councils" and an end to all representation and bureaucratic power and privilege.

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Instead, we witness again the bureaucratic methods established by Stalin. First comes a surprise denunciation and ouster of the accused who are not even permitted to be heard. No record of the discussion or differences are produced. Once more the Soviet people are told to take the word of one gang of bureaucrats that a rival gang has been responsible for all their ills.

In one breath the Khrushchevites denounce the deposed bureaucrats for "having lost all touch with the masses and with the life of the people." These, at least, are true words. They apply equally to the entire bureaucracy. That is precisely why it now moves to placate the masses in the hope of forestalling the inevitable day when the now giant Soviet working class moves to restore its long-throttled democratic rule.

In Leningrad, Shvernik castigated the deposed bureaucrats for "having lost all touch with the masses and with the life of the people." These, at least, are true words. They apply equally to the entire bureaucracy. That is precisely why it now moves to placate the masses in the hope of forestalling the inevitable day when the now giant Soviet working class moves to restore its long-throttled democratic rule.

The Kremlin cannot erase their ingrained police mentality. Their problem now is that they can no longer assure their rule and privileges after the old methods of police terror. In addition to the concessions and the promises, this is signified by elevation for the first time of a powerful army figure, Zhukov, to the Presidium. Evidently no longer able to rely on the dread GPU to prop it up, the bureaucracy must now turn more and more to the army as its last base of armed support.

But history, including the very recent history of Eastern Europe, proves that this last resort of tyrants is the least trustworthy of all. A secret police organization like the GPU can recruit the scum of society capable of any necessary terror against the people. But an army must recruit from the people itself and cannot be counted on in showdown to stand fast with the oppressors against the oppressed.

The news was also promptly hailed in Italy by CP leader Togliatti as a move toward peace. And the London Daily Worker said that in executing the purge, "the principles of inner-party democracy" had been "meticulously observed."

Let the Swiss journalist Peter Schmid describe the confidential personal dossier system which more than anything else surrounded the purge: "The files [at the Csepel iron and steel works] lay scattered

At the very outset of the Polish and Hungarian revolts the ranks of the armies of those countries quickly demonstrated they stood with the people against the bureaucrats. Even with the Soviet army that invaded Hungary, there were numerous reports of acts of solidarity and fraternization with the Hungarian people.

Did not Lenin, insisting that

there could never be a "pure" social revolution, describe the Russian Revolution of 1905 as

"a series of battles in which all

the discontented classes, groups

and elements of the population

participated," among them

"masses imbued with the cruelest prejudices, with the vaguest and most fantastic aims of struggle," "small groups which accepted Japanese money," "speculators and adventurers, etc." who brought into the movement "their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their histrionics and errors," but without whose participation "no revolution is possible?" (Collected Works, Vol. XIX, p. 302)

## VENGEANCE ON AVH

Need we be surprised if in the midst of just such a "heterogeneous and discordant, motley and outwardly incohesive mass struggle," as Lenin called it, a section of the Budapest population took a terrible vengeance on the AVH men who had repressed them, who had tortured fellow-Hungarians, who had ruined Hungary for Rakosi and his Russian masters in a way that you yourself describe as "painful?"

Let the Polish communist journalist Wiktor Witoszynski say

whether this amounted to "White Terror." His diary for Nov. 3 recorded: "Budapest was quiet today. As on Friday, there were no cases of summary execution. . . . We tried to estimate the number of lynching victims in the city from Tuesday to Thursday morning. The most likely figure ranges from 70 to 80 persons. There is every indication, in the present situation, that there is no risk of the number increasing." (Dec. 9 *Nova Kultura*)

Let the Swiss journalist Peter Schmid describe the confidential personal dossier system which more than anything else surrounded the purge: "The files [at the Csepel iron and steel works] lay scattered

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## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. S. N. Y. Phone AL 5-7468  
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS  
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. XXI - No. 28

Monday, July 15, 1957

## Ten Years of Taft-Hartley

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.

Big Business, which controls the law-making 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 million workers."

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. Anti-union bosses can now intimidate and terrorize workers who are trying to form unions. The use of injunctions against

strikes is widespread. Picketing has been restricted. Secondary boycotts are outlawed. The federal government can move with all its power on the side of the employers in so-called "national emergency" strikes.

During these ten years, while labor was being flayed by Big-Business-controlled federal and state legislatures, the labor 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. Brooks, who is himself a part of the new labor bureaucracy, presents a most 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 one for as far back as we can remember. 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 working-class ranks will fight back. The tide that has been flowing against labor for so long will be reversed by the mighty upsurge 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 political policy fundamentally by forming a Labor Party and challenging the political rule of Big Business in this country.

## A Union Official Views His Associates

(We publish below excerpts from a speech given by George W. Brooks, a representative of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers Union, to the ninth annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association as printed in the February issue of *Monthly Labor Review*. Despite our differences with Brooks' point of view, the speech is of interest as it gives some of the reasons for the loss of rank and file control of the unions. — Ed.)

The great change in American labor unions during the last 20 years has been a general shift in power and control from the members to the leaders. The change was far reaching; it appears to be permanent. The change has taken place almost wholly without constitutional reform. For practical purposes,

the written constitution and by-laws of national unions are the same as they were 25 years ago or when they were originally adopted.

But before the forties, any strong central tendencies were offset, and frequently more than offset, by two omnipresent, disagreeable facts: widespread employer antiunionism and rival unionism, the latter often with a leftwing spice. . .

There were certain guarantees in the constitution, but these were seriously inhibited by the operations of one-party governments. The unanimous report, the solid slate of incumbents for reelection, the infrequent and ceremonial conventions, and similar institutions, all had the effect of discouraging effective opposition from within. But there were offsets. Faced with

an arrogant official attitude, a fundamental mistake in judgment, or a failure to respond to local wishes, a local union could leave the national union. If it simply wished to withdraw, the employer was always ready to be helpful. Or, if the local members were persuaded of the value of unionism, but not of this union, there was always a rival ready to welcome them with open arms.

### BOTH ROUTES CLOSED

Both of these routes are now closed, in the "protected" sections of industry. The employer typically does not now welcome withdrawal from the international union. This is particularly true of the industrial relations officer who knows he owes his job to the union. The local districts thus find themselves confronted today by a solid front of opposition which includes both the national union and the company. Within the past two years, the alternate route has been closed by the no-raid agreements and the AFL-CIO merger. Except in unorganized plants, therefore, the local people have a very restricted freedom of choice. These changes, whether good or bad, have completely altered the old balance between local and national unions. . .

Centralization of the negotiations has been accompanied to

a very considerable extent by centralization of the administration of the contract. Even the routines of the local union — wage adjustment, grievance handling, and the like — are being transferred to an increasing degree to functionaries outside the local union. As the [collective bargaining] process is removed further from local plants and local unions, the bargaining takes on a less personal character, and tends to become more of a pageant or drama. There is much less of the "give and take" of negotiators who are familiar with local details and, therefore, willing to agree to variety and deviations.

### STATESMANSHP

The role of the union negotiator himself has undergone subtle but fundamental changes. He enjoys the confidence of management, more often than not. He finds that management has been surprisingly willing (especially during the past 15 years) to grant significant concessions on wages, hours, and working conditions. He tends to believe that this state of affairs is permanent and reliable. His primary responsibility is to get a settlement. In his efforts to bring about an agreement, he frequently finds that it is the local union and not the company which is the stumbling block. His role changes, therefore; he

becomes more and more a mediator. . . This is called "statesmanship."

Union leaders whose experience goes back more than 20 years are now a tiny minority of the total number of persons employed by unions on a full-time basis. . . Naturally, the first requirement [of union officials] is that they be able to "get along with management." It is not nearly so necessary that they be able to capture and retain the "loyalty" of workers. . .

I think a more important advantage [in this new "statesmanship"] is the nearly universal consent which the unions in manufacturing industries now give to technological change. There is no point at which the national and local leadership are likely to be more sharply differentiated in their opinions than on this issue. Local union members are always uneasy about, and usually opposed to, technological change. The national union, on the other hand

is likely to take the statesman-like view. A shift in power to the national union therefore strengthens the hand of management in making technological change.

## Young Socialist League Holds Nat'l Convention

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-<sup>ment</sup>.

if their proposed "unity" were accepted.

The right wing changed the constitution to specifically exclude 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 the SP-SDP, the right wing passed constitutional amendments and special motions that in effect deprived the left wing of any possibility to operate as a legitimate tendency within the organization.

In short, the right wing fundamentally transformed the YSL into an instrument of Shachtman's political line. While stopping short of an explicit expulsion, the right wing served notice that there was no place in the YSL for anyone who would not go along with the policy of capitulation to social-democracy.

We have reorganized the management of industry and building. One hundred and five economic councils have been set up in the country and have already started work. . .

You have probably read already about the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee on the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov. The group had a cowardly scheme. It wanted to seize in its hands the key posi-

## Khrushchev Indicts Rivals

(The following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Nikita Khrushchev, Communist Party boss, in Leningrad on July 6. We print them for the further information of our readers. — Ed.)

The success of our industry and our country as a whole are great and important. We want our industry and its foundation, the heavy industry, to grow and become stronger. We wish our agriculture to grow and develop even more successfully. . .

We have reorganized the management of industry and building. One hundred and five economic councils have been set up in the country and have already started work. . .

You have probably read already about the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee on the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov. The group had a cowardly scheme. It wanted to seize in its hands the key posi-

probe. The left wing opposed intervention into the affairs of the unions by labor-hating congressional inquisitors and opposed support to the Reutherite policy of collaboration with these congressional committees. The right wing, on the other hand, defended collaboration with Reuther on the premise that socialists must work with the "progressive, more socially minded sections of the labor bureaucracy."

In the sphere of foreign policy, that group, and in particular, comrade Molotov, have been obstructing with all available means the implementation of measures for the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace in the whole world. . .

As in home, so in foreign policy questions they adopted a narrow, lifeless attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. When they were convinced that all their incorrect statements and actions

constantly met with a rebuff in the Central Committee, they took a course condemned by the party — one of plotting among themselves secretly — a course of factional 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. . .

Congrades, 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 internal and foreign politics, and is always governed by the great Leninist principles and will constantly bring to life the line worked out by the 20th Congress of the party. . .

Congrades, the unmasking of, and the unanimous condemnation by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and people, of the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov will help still more in bringing to life the historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the party, because their removal means the removal of all those forces who were trying to hamper the fulfillment of these decisions. . .

## Ideological Struggle Versus Wrecking Tactics

By Murry Weiss

endorsed by the labor bureaucracy.

I had felt in 1955 that the fundamental struggle the Socialist Workers Party majority had conducted on the eve of World War II against Shachtman and his supporters had significance for the new generation of radical youth and was not a "finished chapter" belonging to the dead past." I said in this letter, "We will be badly mistaken if we think we can 'by-pass' even the Shachtmanites, as well as the Cochranites, in ideological battles. The awakening youth will examine all programs and tendencies. They will not take our word for anything. I held that the internal disputes of the past were not "over obscure doctrinal points of fine interest only to a sect. They were over the great programmatic issues of our epoch and they have burning meaning in the world today."

I said further, "This does not mean that we are interested in any fusion or entry with these people [the Shachtmanites]. Our only interest is how to smash them. But this must be done at every stage anew. And it must be done with ideological weapons." (Emphasis added.)

### IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND WRECKING ACTIVITY

At the convention the national chairman of the YSL, Michael Harrington, said in reply to me that he knew very well what was meant by "ideological struggle" and "ideological weapons." It meant, Harrington insisted, "wrecking and smashing" the YSL. Harrington's assertion is completely false. When I declared

that it was necessary to smash the ideological influence of Shachtmanism with the ideological weapons of revolutionary socialism, that was quite different from calling for the wrecking of the YSL through organizational maneuvers. Harrington deliberately chose to ignore this important distinction.

Harrington and the other leaders of the YSL majority used their interpretation of my letter to justify their rejection of the proposal made by Socialist Workers Party youth that instead of liquidating itself into the social democracy, the YSL open its doors to all radical youth and build a broad, united socialist youth organization in the United States. The youth of the Socialist Workers Party and organizations close to them have held the position that a healthy socialist youth organization cannot be politically and organizationally dominated by either the Stalinists or the Social Democrats; that it must remain organizationally independent of all the adult tendencies; and that it must be an arena for youth to find their own way, by their own paths to revolutionary socialist conclusions.

To this proposal the YSL right wing leaders have said: (1) this is only a maneuver to "smash us," and (2) we are determined to affiliate with the SP-SDP, so your proposal has no meaning to us, even if you are sincere.

### LEFT-REPEATED CHARGE

The charge of "wrecking" and "raiding" has been heard many times during the current reorganization discussion. It has been leveled against the Communist

Party, on the basis of its record under the domination of the bureaucratic machine of Stalinism. Ironically, the SP-SDP leaders have kept Shachtman's YSL and his supporters in the YSL out of their party for over a year, despite all urging and pleading, on the basis of their suspicion that Shachtman is planning a raid to "smash" the YSL.

We also hear, from both Shachtman and the CP, that the Socialist Workers Party is only interested in raiding and that it is out to "wreck" all rival organizations.

It is necessary to examine more closely this whole question of relations among different tendencies and organizations in the workers' movement in general and the relations of all these tendencies to the youth movement in particular.

In my opinion the roots of this problem will be found in the bureaucratization of the workers' movement both in the West and in the Soviet Union. The labor bureaucracies and the Stalinists strangled the democratic life of the workers' movement. In the case of the labor bureaucracies of the West this was done through a combination of collusion with the witch-hunting police of the capitalist state plus the establishment of a regime of repression against all radical opponents.

It is false to confound Stalinist maneuvers and manipulations with the struggle to advance a program and to prove through propaganda and the test of experience the correctness of this program as against others. It is likewise false to echo the charge of the labor bureaucrats that revolutionaries are engaged in "wrecking" and "disruptive" activities when they refuse to

allow the bureaucrats to oust them from the unions.

All this is not to say that relations between radical workers organizations have been irreproachable or that any organization can claim it has made no mistakes. But mistakes made by revolutionary socialists who were under attack by capitalist reaction, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists are of a different order than the "mistakes" made by bureaucratic machines which have poisoned the whole atmosphere and rendered normal relations among various currents in the labor movement impossible.

The SWP is emphatically opposed to the concept of wrecking rival organizations. The concept is in its very essence bureaucratic and substitutes organization devices for the necessary ideological and political struggle which will permit workers to freely choose their political and organizational allegiance. To the bureaucrats everything is orderly and proper only when the workers stay put, voice no dissenting thoughts and leave matters of policy to the wisdom of high officials. Above all they want no troublesome opponents around to disturb the bureaucratic peace.

### SOCIALIST YOUTH NEEDS INDEPENDENCE

The method of substituting organizational domination for political persuasion is particularly harmful and even ruinous when it is applied to the relations between adult political tendencies and the socialist youth movement. All experience teaches that the youth must have complete organizational independence in order to work out for themselves their approach to revolutionary theory and practice.

Speaking specifically of the Young Socialist League, it has during the three years of its existence maintained its independence as a socialist youth movement. Moreover it developed a number of fine traditions of internal democracy and a willingness to include in its ranks revolutionaries with "wrecking" and "disruptive" tendencies. It accepted the political views of the dominant tendency of Shachtmanism.

### SHACHTMAN BENDS YSL TO HIS COURSE

On the other hand, the consequences of the influence of Shachtmanism within the YSL were therefore a mere "youth version" of Shachtmanism. Events have disproven this idea. By joining the other forces in the YSL which were working against the danger of complete Shachtmanite domination, the SWP youth could have played a far more effective role over the past years in preventing the dissolution of the YSL as the framework for a revitalized and militant socialist youth movement in the U.S.

Whatever the outcome of the current struggle in the YSL, the movement towards an independent, militant, socialist youth movement that will invite all radical youth into its ranks is now on the march. The movement will find its proper organization form despite all obstacles. Our advice to the socialist youth organization that will emerge out of the present reorganization process, is that it retain its independence from all the adult organizations. Thereby it will best permit its ranks to develop towards revolutionary socialist ideas as a result of their own experiences.

# ... The Tuskegee Vote Fight

(Continued from page 1)  
their plight. The protest movement expresses itself presently by a better than 90% refusal of the Tuskegee Negroes to do business with some 40 local white merchants. Already three businesses including the Macon theater (the only motion picture theater in town), a dry goods store, and a novelty shop have closed their doors; and several others are tottering. All the larger establishments have released a large portion of their help. The end of this trend is nowhere in sight, for most of the Negroes here are employed at privately endowed Tuskegee Institute and the Federally supported Veterans Administration hospital and receive about 80% of the area's \$12 million annual payroll. In the meantime Engelhardt's bill still awaits action by Governor James E. Folsom.

On my arrival at the church around 6:30 the gathering throng had filled every inch of space inside the church, and by the time the meeting got under way



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 white-supremacist rule is to deprive Negroes of the right to vote.

at 7:30, it had filled the areas in front of and on the sides of the church extending as far as the audible reach of the public address system.

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

The introduction of Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, brought cheers and vigorous applauding. He read a prepared statement which outlined his position and that of the Association. "I believe in the equality of opportunity for all regardless of his color, religion, or nationality. It is my responsibility as a citizen to help my fellow-citizens to secure their civil rights by virtue of their citizenship and qualifications.

## Police Break Up Detroit Negro Meeting

JULY 9 — Nineteen people, including eight cops, were injured July 7 when the cops attempted to break up a street meeting in the Negro district in Detroit, Michigan. An estimated 200 to 300 people were listening to Elijah Walker speak on racial issues when the cops attempted to break the meeting up on the excuse that no permit had been obtained for the gathering. Police Sgt. Max Neundorf claimed he was hit by someone when he ordered the crowd to disperse. An official of the Detroit NAACP accused the police of being "unduly violent." Despite the fact that the police made the initial move by attempting to disperse the meeting, officials blamed the Negroes.

## Can We Do It?

Coming in the Summer Issue of the  
**International Socialist Review**

The Communist Party has proposed that an anti-monopoly 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.

Make sure you don't miss these two important articles. Begin your subscription with the Summer number. Only \$2.50 for eight issues.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

At one point Rev. Buford asked:

"Is it un-American to fight for freedom and equality, for the right to vote?"

### RESENT VIOLATIONS

The audience retorted with a resounding "No!"

"The real un-Americans," Rev. Buford continued, "are those people who hide in closets and say they are sick or have no proper office equipment when we try to register to vote. Our civil rights have been violated. We resent these violations. We are 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 of Mt. Olive Baptist Church, joyously held up a check for \$50 he received from the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights of Birmingham.

Among the out-of-town visitors 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 of Birmingham.

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, just 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."

Rev. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham brought much cheering 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 around the Washington Chapel AME Church, "Till We Meet Again."

## Calendar Of Events

### New York

Wednesday, July 17, 8 P.M. — "The Kremlin Purge — Its Real Significance" [Speaker: Harry Ring, Militant staff writer. Address: 74 Fifth Ave., near 14th St. Contribution 50 cents. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.]

### Detroit

Friday, July 19, 8 P.M. — "The New Soviet Purge" — 3737 Woodward — The Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### Los Angeles

Friday, July 19, 8:15 P.M. — "What's Behind the New Kremlin Shake-up?" Arne Swabek, speaker. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Auspices: Los Angeles Local, Socialist Workers Party.

### Chicago

Picnic, Sunday, July 21. Dan Ryan Woods, 87th St. and Western Ave. (Follow the signs to grove). Fun, food, games, prizes. Bring the family. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum, 777 West Adams, CE 6-4183.

### Philadelphia

Swimming — Boating — Baseball — Badminton. Picnic lunch served at 1 P.M.

Look for sign saying "The Militant" near park entrance on Medina County Road 140.

### Cleveland

Ohio Annual  
Militant Readers Picnic

Sunday, July 21  
Starting 10 A.M.

AT HINCKLEY LAKE PARK

Swimming — Boating  
Baseball — Badminton  
Picnic lunch served at 1 P.M.

Look for sign saying "The Militant" near park entrance on Medina County Road 140.

### The Santana Case

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

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 islated by the storm. Although a Federal disaster insurance program is on the books, Congress has failed to appropriate funds to put it into effect.

## Louisiana Flood Victims Could Have Been Saved

By Shirley Clark

JULY 9 — The estimate of the number of dead in the hurricane that hit the Louisiana coast June 27 varies from 500 to over 1,000. The bodies are still being collected. Many may never be recovered. Ken Dixon of the Lake Charles American Press pointed out that it is possible that two-thirds of the bodies were swept into the Gulf of Mexico.

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 around the Washington Chapel AME Church, "Till We Meet Again."

The amount of devastation can be seen in the fact that in the town of Cameron, only the steel and concrete courthouse was left intact. Surrounding low-lying towns were also smashed. One report said, "The resort community of Holly Beach no longer exists. It was completely wiped off the map."

The President's representative, Val Peterson, dealt us another blow. If he had talked to any of the thousands of us who listened carefully to the hurricane news he could not have told the President the giant toll of casualties was because our people were too stubborn to leave.

"All day Wednesday and far into the night," she testified, "we were cautioned to remain calm, even to get a good night's sleep, because the hurricane was not to hit until late Thursday afternoon or Thursday night. Cameron residents packed their cars, planning to leave for higher ground early Thursday morning. But when they awoke the hurricane was upon them...

"Friday a numb populace began to lash out at the Weather Bureau. And more suddenly than Audrey, releases from Weather Bureau hierarchy began calling Hurricane Audrey the 'best tracked hurricane' ever."

The account given by this woman and many others differs

substantially from the official story that has been given out. Whatever the truth may be, there can be no question that the responsibility for evacuating people in dangerous areas belongs to the government. People who didn't "heed" the Civil Defense demands in the 1956 "Operation Alert," organized for an imaginary disaster, were thrown into jail.

Today there are local, state and federal agencies on the scene of the Louisiana catastrophe.

Helicopters, boats and trucks are at hand — not to evacuate live people, but to recover the bodies of the dead as the waters of the flood recede.

And what about the survivors?

What of those who have lost all they have and must start from scratch?

Bob Considine told of a "stocky, sun-bronzed man with a three-day beard" who called him over. "I heard you were here," the man said. "Put this in your paper. I've got 50 dead people in my fishing boat right over there, some 50 poor souls who deserved something better."

"We need quick help, or a lot

more of us are going to die.

Put something in your paper

that maybe will be read up the line somewhere. Put in there

that they need \$10,000,000 down here right away, to save a lot

of poor hard-working Americans.

"And if somebody asks where

the \$10,000,000 is going to come

from, tell him to put a rider on

one of those bills that send bil

lions of dollars overseas..."

Government officials aren't

likely to listen to this unnamed man. Such people aren't even

quoted in the press unless

disaster strikes them. But he

deserves to be heard a thousand

times more than the official

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

million is only a drop in the

bucket.

Two days after the hurricane

Frano, the fascist dictator of

Spain, received twice as much

as the man in Louisiana asked

— \$20 million. That brought the

total to Frano from the U.S.

to \$70 million.

All this war spending keeps

profits high and profits are the

main spring of the capitalist sys

tem. There is precious little con

cern for anything else as far

as the Big Business government

goes. Isn't it time we had a

government of workers, simple

people, who care for human life

instead of profits?

It is very simple: Nobody gets

evicted and nobody moves out of

their present homes until there

is a new building for them to

move into at rents they can af

ford to pay.

This is one of the proposals

which will be placed before the

City Planning Commission at its

open hearing on the city hous

ing problem on July 17.

It is vital that the working

people of this city be repre

sented at this hearing. The City

Council must be told: (1) That

evictions must stop now!

(2) That the workers of New York

City need and deserve decent

housing.

Where can these people go?

Where can they live? They do

not want to live in slums. But

at the same time these working

people are being forced to find

(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 the bill which he said would have been eliminated if it had gone through "historic committee procedure" — namely East 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