

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 19

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 10, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

## THE COMIC BOOKS -- M'CARTHYISM FOR KIDS

(See Page 3)

### Big Powers Talk Secretly on Deal Over Indo-China

By Daniel Roberts

Once more the world's rulers are attempting to settle mankind's fate behind the closed doors of a secret conclave. That is the meaning of the Geneva Conference.

With all reporters rigidly excluded from any of the sessions, the Big Five (U.S., France, England, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic) began to work out possibilities for a deal as the basis for settlement of the Indo-Chinese war. Through such a deal the Stalinist representatives from the Soviet Union and China might barter off the success of the Indo-Chinese revolution and future revolutionary movements throughout Asia in return for a "peace pact" with American imperialism.

The May 3 announcement of virtual agreement by the Big Five to hold a specific conference on ending the Indo-Chinese war indicates that the outlines, if not the details, of an accord have already been reached.

#### MOMENTOUS EVENT

There is no question that American imperialism is receiving another serious reverse at the hands of the colonial revolution — this time in Indo-China. The Eisenhower Administration has had to back down from its initial intention of sending U.S. troops to the rescue of the French imperialists. This is a momentous event. In Korea, American imperialism was fought to a draw by the rising Asian revolution; in Indo-China, American imperialism has been halted dead in its tracks at least for the



CHOU EN-LAI, Chinese Premier, shown arriving at Geneva Conference.

time being, before it could even send troops.

That the Eisenhower Administration had fully determined upon committing American troops in Indo-China was revealed by the Alsop brothers in their front page lead article in the May 2 New York Herald Tribune. They say, "The signs suggest that the Administration was not just reluctantly ready to intervene in Indo-China, but had firmly concluded we ought to intervene if we could carry our Allies with us." They further state that only the refusal of the British cabinet (Continued on page 3)

### Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

The growing list of fascist banner-bearers for McCarthy must include "The Strong Men of America." This outfit distributed a tabloid-size, printed leaflet on May Day in New York's Union Square, calling on all 100% Americans to support McCarthy, Jenner and Velde.

The leaflet declared: "We don't want independents, liberals, American labor parties, neighborhood parties, third and fourth parties or cocktail parties."

As a matter of fact these fascists don't even want two parties — just a one-party dictatorship. Echoing McCarthy they say the Democrats "have been pulling the strings for the past 20 years. We know them and mean to get rid of the bums."

The business men of Union Square, including the strike-breaking Hearns Dept. Store, were given the traditional working class meeting place this May Day for an all-day "loyalty" demonstration. The police department provided a protective force which was almost larger than the audience.

#### SWP PROTEST

Art Sharon, the New York Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, at the SWP May Day rally made an indignant protest against the attempt of the witch-hunters to trample on the tradition of May First. "May Day expresses the loyalty of the workers to the struggle of their brothers and sisters in all lands against the tyrants of all lands. May Day will be reclaimed in a thunderous condemnation of wars and fascism by the overwhelming mass of the American people and will triumph in a socialist world for all humanity."

It is in this spirit that we conduct our anti-fascist campaign. We are determined to raise the means for our struggle with the fulfillment of the \$14,000 Fund drive and to reach many thousands of workers with our anti-fascist literature.

#### STAR PERFORMANCE

Another \$1,000 was received this week toward our \$14,000 goal. Five branches are now ahead of schedule with 85% of their quotas in. The rest have a big job ahead to catch up in the two weeks left, at this writing in the (Continued on page 2)

## McCarthy Dominates Inquiry Supposed to Investigate Him

### Legless Vet To Tour U.S. On His Case

NEW YORK, May 5 — James Kutcher, outstanding fighter against the witch hunt and author of "The Case of the Legless Veteran," will make an extended national speaking tour, beginning in Buffalo on May 19.

The tour is being sponsored by Pioneer Publishers, American distributors of Kutcher's book. It will be co-sponsored by local groups, including branches of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, the non-partisan organization formed to help Kutcher recover the Veterans Administration job from which he was purged in 1948.

Kutcher will appear before labor, liberal, church, civic and minority groups to report on the present status of his court fight against the purge and to discuss the general threat of McCarthyism. He will request continued moral and financial support of his legal case and will try to sell the maximum number of copies of his book, which contains a full account of his case. He is donating all royalties from the book toward the legal expenses of his case.

Kutcher's eleventh appeal is now before the federal district court in Washington, D. C. The Department of Justice is making an effort to have it thrown out of court on the ground that he has no case.

The legless veteran made a highly successful tour in 1950, speaking to hundreds of organizations and alerting them to the dangers of the witch hunt. Altogether 800 national and local organizations, representing millions of Americans, have passed resolutions demanding his reinstatement or given financial support to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee's work in his behalf.

The coming tour is arranged to enable Kutcher to remain for a longer period in each of the main industrial centers than in 1950. Following is the schedule for the first part of his tour:

Buffalo May 19-June 3  
Detroit June 5-21  
Chicago-Milwaukee June 22-July 6  
Twin Cities July 7-20

Kutcher's full length book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," may be purchased from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3. The price is \$1. Although boycotted by the capitalist press, it has already received several favorable reviews in the labor and liberal press.



### Giant Motorcade Backs Militant Kohler Strikers

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, April 26 — A five mile motorcade of CIO and non-CIO union militants in 1,250 placarded cars yesterday jammed Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, and surrounded the struck Kohler where a strike of the one-year old CIO United Auto Workers Local 833 entered its 21st day. Three-hundred war-veteran pickets stood in the drenching rain at the Plant's main gate to cheer the state-wide labor demonstration against Wisconsin's worst industrial tyranny.

Three thousand workers of the City of Kohler, supported by the whole populace of Sheboygan County, are once again at war with the labor-hating Kohler family which has been riding high since the 1934 strike defeat. Wisconsin's Republican Governor Kohler supported McCarthy in 1952.

After 20 years of company unionism that enforced unbelievable pre-industrial union conditions, Kohler employees are striking today for the minimum rights and human conditions of work won by organized labor long ago — for seniority, bargaining

rights, grievance procedures, employment security, protection on the job, end of the speed-up and a wage raise of 20 cents over pre-World War II hourly rates.

In 1934 the bitter historic AFL strike at Kohler ended in complete annihilation for the union, the killing of two strikers, and mass evictions from Kohler-owned Kohler. Herbert Kohler, relative of the Governor, would like to do it over again. But, in the words of Robert Burkart, International UAW representative, "after 20 years of company unionism Kohler workers have more spirit than most organized workers I have seen around here."

"This strike," Burkart said, "is not an ordinary strike but a part of the original CIO plan to organize those workers who suffer under such vicious set-ups like that of Kohler."

He observed that along the route of the motorcade "the old strikers lined up in the streets and highways revealed in their faces the new hopes of old men who suffered defeat in 1934." And this time they have labor's experience of 20 years in winning strikes, the might of the

UAW, and the demonstrative solidarity of Wisconsin workers. Organized state-wide work to make this support felt is in progress.

Burkart, who is directing the strike for the UAW, warned that the Kohler management is planning to use the Mohawk Valley Formula to break the strike. Each morning the Company has marched 25 guarded scabs up to the picket line, turned around and marched them away, demanding court injunctions to restrain alleged picket "violence."

At the family-packed mass meeting that followed the demonstration, Elmer Grooskamp, Local 833 President, stated that the "company refused to meet with federal conciliators after the first week of the strike, began on April 5, because they (management) say, 'What for, these workers aren't hungry yet.'" The company is offering 3 cents with a slave-labor contract.

The rally was highlighted by a complete absence of the familiar red-baiting that has disgraced other gatherings in recent years of the official state CIO leadership which sponsored this inspiring demonstration.

### Notion that the Probe Would Smash Fascist Is Proved an Illusion

By John F. Petrone

MAY 5 — At the end of the second week of the televised McCarthy-Army hearings, the result is this: McCarthy, whom the Senate subcommittee is supposed to be investigating, dominates the whole show. He has made Army Secretary Stevens look so sick that the Eisenhower administration wants to get the hearings over with as soon as possible. If McCarthy continues to drag out the proceedings, as he plainly intends to do he stands a good chance of forcing the administration to cry quits or agree to let the whole dispute peter out inconclusively.

Such an outcome would be a genuine victory for McCarthy. This probe, it must not be forgotten, was supposed to deal McCarthy a smashing if not fatal blow. The intention of the White House and the Pentagon was to put him in his place, to "contain" him. The prediction of the liberals like columnist Max Lerner was that this probe marked "the beginning of the end" for McCarthy and that he "will not survive it politically."

#### WHAT MCCARTHY WANTS

Any conclusion to this probe that produces less than the containment of McCarthy automatically works to the advantage of the fascist Senator from Wisconsin. Anything less than his containment will prove to the whole world that the administration set out to tame him — and failed. It will impress many people once again that it doesn't pay to tangle with or get in the way of McCarthy.

This is exactly what McCarthy wants to demonstrate. It terrorizes his opponents, emboldens his followers and strengthens his drive to infiltrate and take over departments of the government and the leadership of the Republican Party.

In order to come out on top in the present dispute McCarthy does not have to prove the truth of his "blackmail" charges against Stevens, or to disprove Stevens'



SEN. KARL MUNDT, who is probing McCarthy as chairman of the Senate Investigating subcommittee running probe.

charges that McCarthy and his aides applied pressure on the Army for preferential treatment of his boy Schine.

#### STEVENS DISCREDITED

To come out on top — with the same political power as before, or more — all McCarthy has to do is show that Stevens comes into the probe with unclean (Continued on page 2)

### CHICAGO RACE MOBSTERS VICTIMIZE NEGRO FAMILY

CHICAGO, May 3 — Unwilling to see his family subjected to further danger at the hands of white terrorists and after courageously defying racist mobsters for over

nine months Donald Howard today moved his family from the Trumbull Park federal housing project here. He said he "couldn't take it any more." He was even arrested on a frame-up charge following an assault on him by two young white hoodlums. He blasted the city officials for consistently refusing to maintain "law and order" to protect his right to live where he pleased.

Howard, the first Negro to move into the far southside housing project, Trumbull Park Homes, faces trial on May 14 in Jury Court on a false charge of firing a gun at two Trumbull Park youths.

He was booked on six charges: two of assault with a deadly weapon; two of discharging a firearm in the city; and two of disorderly conduct. He was released on \$1,000 bond.

#### DENIES ALL CHARGES

The victim of race violence flatly denies all charges. He states that on April 9 he was returning to his home, at 10630 Bensley Ave., after a walk to 106th street to buy the evening paper. He was approached by two white youths who began calling him names and throwing rocks at him. Someone claimed they heard shots, and he was accused of pulling a gun on the youths and firing shots at them. Immediately after the alleged

shots, Russ Chism, assistant manager of the project rushed up to him and asked if he had a gun. Howard said he did not. Chism admitted that after searching Howard, he found no weapon. Captain George Barnes, one of the three officers heading the police detail at Trumbull Park and head of the Chicago Labor Detail, reported that Howard was unarmed at the time of his arrest.

Three residents of the project signed complaints against Howard. They are Mrs. Ruth Barrett of 10522 Yates Ave., Mrs. Carolyn Knezevich of 10608 Yates Ave., and Mrs. Elizabeth Mutter, 10650 Bensley Ave.

#### MOB ATTACKED HOME

Donald Howard and his family have been the victims of continued mob violence since a few days after they moved into the public housing project last July 30. The violence began in the form of a mob attack on their home on August 5, 1953, and has gone on since then. Over 200 police officers have been assigned to patrol the project area, but the violence continues, practically unchecked, with very few arrests of the mobsters involved.

Nine other Negro families have since moved into the project. All of the families have been per- (Continued on page 4)

### CIO Unemployment Parley -- Talk or Action?

The CIO Executive Board is convening a national "full employment" conference in Washington on May 11-12 to deal with the unemployment that has become "a bitter reality for thousands of CIO members in every industrial community. . . ." CIO President Walter Reuther has said the conference is being called "to drive home the serious nature of the present economic situation and the necessity for action now."

A broadly representative conference to set in motion a fighting program of action is imperative. But this conference will be limited to a mere 300 representatives of CIO international unions, and state and city CIO councils. Just how a conference of a few hundred hand-picked union officials can "drive home" the seriousness of the plight of millions of workers today is hard to understand.

This conference, we suspect, is more a move to appear to be doing something and to impress the CIO membership rather than win anything from the hard-bitten capitalist politicians in

Washington. It is aimed to keep in check any real militant movement of the ranks.

We read, for instance, in the April 26 CIO News that "the first day's sessions will include speeches by Administration and political figures" and the second day will be spent in buttonholing congressmen to solicit their support for the CIO's 10-point program "To Keep America at Work."

This sounds very much as though the conference will be used primarily to beat the drums for the Democratic Party and to peddle the bankrupt political policies that paved the way for the triumph of the Republican Party and the ominous rise of reaction. This is making a political football of the problem of unemployment and playing with the welfare of millions of CIO workers.

The CIO leadership might point to their 10-point program — by and large sound in principle — to prove that their intent is of the best and to show that they have an answer to the problem. We could show, of course, the limited nature and effectiveness

of this program, although we would naturally support it as far as it goes. But, the main point is how are you going to get any program? By 300 union officials gulping down capitalist political home brew all day and paying courtesy calls on congressmen the next day for a chaser?

What's really involved in this problem of unemployment and the protection of labor's living standards from capitalist depression is the mobilization of the millions of workers for a real mass fight. If the situation is as serious as Reuther says — and he's being conservative, in our opinion — then he's using a peashooter for a tiger hunt.

Reuther is particularly adept in drafting slick-sounding streamlined programs, like the guaranteed annual wage, to cover up his opposition to the kind of fight that will win anything at all. All his rootin'-tootin' about a guaranteed annual wage, all the high-flown palaver we can expect on May 11-12 at the CIO conference will not win the unemployed an extra bowl of beans, let alone a guarantee of annual

wages for the employed workers.

If Reuther were serious, here's the least he would do: 1. He'd call on the leadership of the entire labor movement — including the AFL and independent unions — to summon a mighty rank-and-file representative Congress of Labor in Washington; 2. He'd use the forthcoming CIO conference to prepare for a real mobilization of the CIO membership and to issue the proposal for a Congress of Labor; 3. He'd project a program of mass action — mass meetings, marches, demonstrations — all over the country and in Washington; 4. He'd back whatever program the CIO is pressing in contract negotiations with preparations for strike struggle; 5. He'd bar every capitalist politician and devote the time of the CIO conference to a serious discussion of a program to form labor's own party.

If he doesn't do these things, he doesn't mean business. Then it's up to the CIO membership to press for a policy of action and a leadership who do mean business.



Class Struggle Or Manipulation?

By L. P. Wheeler

In the April issue of the American Socialist magazine Political Affairs, William Z. Foster says, "The coming November elections will be of the most crucial importance. All signs now point to a bitter fight between the forces of democracy and those of reaction."

Political Affairs styles itself "A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism." We therefore have the right to inquire: What theoretical and scientific content do the Stalinists invest in the endlessly repeated phrase "forces of democracy?" And what is the class nature of these "forces?"

The following class categories are included in the Stalinist conception of the "forces of democracy" in the United States: Workers, farmers, small business, middle business, and big business. In other words, all classes are, or can be, among the "democratic forces."

Let us recall that according to the recently published "Draft Program of the Communist Party," the tasks of the American working class in 1954 and 1956 is to elect these "forces of democracy."

'Not Anti-Imperialist or Anti-Trust'

The authors of the "Draft Program" published a letter in the same April issue of Political Affairs answering critical comments from members of the National Committee of the CP. In this letter they characterize the social and class forces that will bring the new Administration to power. It will be "brought into being by an exceedingly broad class alliance — the working class, the poor and middle farmers, the urban middle classes, non-monopoly groupings of capital, and the less reactionary circles of Big Business. This would not be an anti-imperialist or anti-trust government."

But if it is not an "anti-imperialist or anti-trust government" would it not be a pro-imperialist and pro-trust government? Or, in class terms, would it not be a capitalist government? Our "scientific socialist" authors don't cope with this question. All their "theoretical" vaporizing is so much window-dressing. Actually, they are not in the least concerned with theory in general and Marxist theory in particular.

The authors tell us that the government they propose to elect would "be a government that accepts the reality of living with the Soviet Union, reduces world tension, is anti-McCarthy and relatively liberal within the country."

Support Capitalist Rule

Now we have the whole picture: The Stalinists want a government brought to power by the working class in "an exceedingly broad alliance" with the capitalist class which represents "the less reactionary circles of Big Business," which is "relatively liberal within the country," and which "accepts the reality of living with the Soviet Union."

Thus, the Stalinist program, just as the program of the labor bureaucracy, proposes to fight the consequences of capitalism (imperialist war, depression and fascism) by supporting the political rule of the capitalists. They only propose to put pressure on the capitalist rulers to change their policy. In the case of the Stalinists, all they want is a change of foreign policy consistent with the interests of the Kremlin.

History has demonstrated the tragic illusion contained in this opportunist policy. In Europe it led to precisely the opposite result than was promised by the Social Democrats, Stalinists and trade union officials. And for many decades in the United States we have had "exceedingly broad class alliances" electing one Big Business administration after another for the purpose of getting an administration that is "relatively liberal within the country." And step by step these administrations have become less liberal "within the country," and less able to "accept the reality of living with the Soviet Union."

Stalinists Are Not Marxists

Marxists examine the reasons why such an evolution of capitalism is taking place and why the common policy of the labor officials and the Stalinists has led to ruinous consequences each and every time. But the Stalinists are not Marxists. They are the opposite of Marxists. They have abandoned the line of the class struggle in favor of the line of "class manipulation."

With the air of generals commanding mighty forces, they manipulate, on paper, the class forces of the United States and the world to conform with their bureaucratic dreams. Their latest concoction, the "Draft Program," would be a somewhat pitiful joke were it not that their similar opportunist fantasies have repeatedly yielded the tragedy of defeat and annihilation for the working class.

The Stalinists we must remember, threaten to disorient the advanced workers with their opportunist poison. To win against the power of Big Business, the American workers must develop a revolutionary vanguard that is completely immune to the opportunist poison of "peoples frontism," "class collaboration" and the illusion of "tricking" the capitalist class into serving the interests of the working class by clever bureaucratic maneuvers.

The road to victory over McCarthyism and its Big Business backers is the road of the class struggle pursued to the victory of workers power. That means: Break with capitalist politics. Break with the political policy of the labor bureaucrats. And smash the Stalinist drive to line up the radical workers behind the program of electing "less reactionary circles of Big Business."

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name Street City State \$1.50 Six months \$3.00 Full year New Renewal

NAACP Oakland Rally Defiled By Official's Red-Baiting Tirade

By Murry Weiss

While I was in Oakland, California, I attended the NAACP Fight For Freedom Rally on March 28. The rally took place at the Civic Auditorium with close to 5,000 Negro and white workers in the audience. The main speaker was A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The rally was in many respects a tremendous achievement. But an episode took place which defiled the very meaning of the occasion. The West Coast regional director of the NAACP, Franklin H. Williams, made a disgraceful red-baiting attack on The Militant. Following the line of a leaflet (photographic reproduction on this page) issued by the NAACP West Coast Regional Office he announced a special "subversive" list which included The Militant.

This list was drawn up and printed in the fashion of the Attorney General and the McCarthyite "investigating" committees. The Militant was listed by an arbitrary act of "red" smearing. We never had a hearing. We were never given a chance to defend ourselves. We don't know to this day on what evidence, according to what charges, made by what individuals, we were branded "subversive" without a trial.

OPENING REMARKS

On the platform of the large auditorium were seated the Governor of California and a host of other capitalist politicians, as well as representatives of the labor movement and branches of the NAACP. Governor Knight was ceremoniously inducted into a \$500 life-membership in the Association. His Democratic opponent rushed to the platform and followed suit. The Governor and the other political dignitaries proclaimed their great friendship for the Negro people.

Then Williams was introduced. His speech opened on an extremely dramatic note. He thanked each of the capitalist politicians for being present and "gracing the occasion" of the Freedom Rally. He said, "We are proud to have you with us." Then, suddenly, changing his tone from one of suave official cordiality, he cried out, "Proud to have you here, but I would be prouder yet if you would do something to enact FEPC! Let's not mince words. . . That's the program of the NAACP. . . If you're for the NAACP, then you fight for FEPC!"

... McCarthy Dominates Probe

(Continued from page 1) hands. Discrediting Stevens and his motives in this way undermines the effectiveness of his charges against McCarthy in the public eye and enables McCarthy to evade the hook with which the White House hoped to hold him in line.

And certainly McCarthy has succeeded in discrediting Stevens badly. In this project his biggest help came from the Eisenhower administration itself.

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson was asked on May 4 if he ordered Stevens to cooperate with McCarthy to the extent he did. "You never give anyone orders to such a degree, that isn't the way it's done. I mean it's like trying to tell someone how to suck eggs. You give him a job and let him go and suck it his way." Stevens sucked plenty.

By his own words Stevens has admitted to engaging in the most sickening and long sustained appeasement of the McCarthy gang. For months he toadied to McCarthy and Cohn, wining and dining them at his own expense. He listed 65 telephone conversations dealing with Private Schine, admitted that Schine got 15 passes inside of two months and revealed that he and other Army officials engaged in 10 conferences on Schine with the McCarthyites. He put his private plane at their disposal, attended McCarthy's wedding and tried to get Schine a commission with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Even more significantly, he confessed that when he wanted to remove a McCarthyite general named Lawton, he first tried to clear it with McCarthy. And when McCarthy said no, Stevens took it as a veto and dropped the whole idea.

The break came not because Stevens was opposed to collaborating with McCarthy, but because McCarthy would not be satisfied with anything less than full control of the Army. The Big Business interests represented by the Eisenhower administration are not ready to let McCarthy take over the government at this time, and so they called a halt.

But when they finally attacked him publicly, they did not dare to indict him for his real offense

KEEP YOUR EYES WIDE OPEN DON'T GET SUCKED IN! These groups, organizations and publications are attempting to MISLEAD the NEGRO COMMUNITY: CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (CRC) (National) NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL THE MILITANT (Newspaper) PEOPLE'S WORLD (Newspaper) POLITICAL AFFAIRS (Magazine) ... NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 690 Market St.—Suite 322 San Francisco 4 YUkon 6-6992

At the request of NAACP members throughout the country, who could not believe our April 12 report that the West Coast regional office of the NAACP had issued a witch-hunting leaflet containing a "subversive" list including The Militant, we publish the above photograph of the leaflet in question.

A thrill of elation ran through the audience. What a telling blow at official hypocrisy! Here was the Governor sitting on the platform. Here were the Mayors and Assemblymen. All of them proclaiming their undying friendship for the Negro people. And how many of them had put words into needs? Publicity stunts before elections, that was one thing. . . but to enact Fair Employment Practice legislation? Well, that was altogether different.

All the pent-up wrath of the Negro people was expressed in the roar of approval which greeted Williams' outcry. All through the meeting the audience had heard reports on mounting unemployment and how it struck at the Negro people with multiplied force. Every man, woman and child in the audience knew of the universal practice of discrimination in hiring. Williams expressed all this in some plain talk and he brought down the house.

Then a sickening thing happened. While the audience was still gripped by the militant spirit Williams had released, he turned from the issue of FEPC to a red-baiting smear-attack on The Militant and the other alleged "subversive" organizations on the NAACP regional office's list.

He singled out The Militant for special attack. He attempted to exploit the good will of the audience which he had gained by his intransigence on the FEPC issue to instruct them to throw their copies of The Militant into the ash can on the way out.

A confused feeling spread through the audience. Only scattered applause greeted his red-baiting declamations. What had all this to do with the fight for FEPC?

Williams, having delivered his red-baiting package, returned to his main theme and went on to make an appeal for funds.

What happened? I asked myself. How could Williams and the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP find it possible to repeat the words and gestures of the reactionary political and racial bigots? Wasn't this the game of the witch hunters and McCarthyites?

Obviously Williams thought that precisely because he sounded terribly radical in his indignant attack on the government officials he should cover himself by showing how "anti-Communist" he was.

Williams must have thought that by red-baiting the radicals he would prevent the witch hunters from red-baiting the NAACP. What a terrible mistake! That is exactly the kind of reasoning which has been feeding McCarthyism all these years. That is the same reasoning which leads one minority group to accept and support the persecution of another minority group in the hope that thereby they will be saved from persecution themselves.

One step leads to another. The McCarthyites will seize on the opening Williams has given them. The McCarthyites will demand that the red-baiting go further. They will press for a real "clean-out" of all "reds" from the NAACP. And remember what a "red" is in the McCarthyite dictionary. Anyone who attends an inter-racial meeting is a "Communist" according to the McCarthyites.

WHERE THIS LEADS TO

The witch hunters will demand of Williams and those who play his game that they prove their opposition to "subversives." Why stop at listing just a half-dozen organizations? How about the hundreds of organizations listed by the Attorney General and the McCarthyite committees? How about the special list of the California Un-American Activities Committee which includes the American Civil Liberties Union?

And then the McCarthyites will demand action on this list. It's not enough to "warn" against the "reds," they will say, you must hunt them down and throw them out of the NAACP. And when the big witch hunt gets rolling what happens to the fight for FEPC? It's put in the corner, exactly where the witch hunters want it.

This is the kind of thing that happened in the unions when the union officials began to play the McCarthy game. Is this what we want to happen in NAACP? Won't this undermine the very foundations of the fight for freedom?

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Total Paid, %

... Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

campaign. Detroit still holds the lead. This week's star performance in the Literature campaign was made by San Francisco which stepped into fourth place with a score of 530. The best scores in relation to the number of anti-fascist campaigners have been won by the Youngstown, Newark, and St. Paul branches.

In the sale of anti-McCarthy pamphlets, St. Paul leads the way with Minneapolis and Milwaukee following close behind. St. Paul still has the best individual campaigner, although now Jack B. has replaced Winifred Nelson with a score of 169. Comrade Nelson reports: "St. Paul had another good week. We had a break with two big meetings at the St. Paul Auditorium: one sponsored by the UN with Eleanor Roosevelt as a speaker where we sold 56 anti-McCarthy pamphlets; and the other, a debate on McCarthyism where we sold 71 anti-McCarthy pamphlets. In addition, Jack sold 44 on the campus one day last week."

OTHER LITERATURE

With America's Road to Socialism, Pittsburgh has top score. Minneapolis and San Francisco are in second and third place. Ralph Martin from Minneapolis writes: "Through wind and rain of the last weekend, the comrades began the campaign to visit every Militant subscriber to sell our anti-fascist literature and find out what their general attitude is. We believe that these visits will be most fruitful." Youngstown, Newark and San Francisco are the leaders in the

Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

Table with 3 columns: PLACE, CITY, POINTS

When members of Detroit's Loyalty Investigating Committee asked for healthy salary increases, and the City Council wanted to know why, it was told that "secrecy provisions" would not permit examination of the committee's actual case records.

... Highlights of My Tour

(Continued from page 1) anti-McCarthy campaign to the conduct of their branch meetings and the maintenance of the headquarters.

The local has been conducting a campaign to rally the labor movement to the support of Negro families on the South side of Chicago. These families have been subjected to bomb terrorism for daring to move out of the Negro ghettos.

After holding a special meeting with a youth group who were interested in conducting anti-fascist activity on the campus I left Chicago for Milwaukee.

MILWAUKEE

This was my first visit to Milwaukee. A fine active branch has been built by many years of hard work. The headquarters reflects the special vigor with which the Milwaukee branch participates in the party campaigns. Charts and posters in the hall mark their progress in the current literature drive.

At my public meeting, James Boulton, Milwaukee SWP organizer, announced the opening of a campaign to wage war on McCarthy right on his home ground in Wisconsin. Boulton declared that the Milwaukee SWP branch was fighting for a State Congress of Labor to map out a recall McCarthy movement under independent labor auspices.

The Wisconsin SWP was the first to come out for such a recall movement. Since that time, due to the false and passive policy of the labor officials, the "Joe Must Go" movement has fallen under the domination of a wing of the Republican Party.

The Milwaukee branch has been concentrating on the sale of Comrade Cannon's pamphlet America's Road to Socialism. I got the impression that they are somewhat more aware of the effectiveness and importance of this pamphlet than some of the other branches. Wherever we are introducing our ideas to young and fresh layers of the working class I found the pamphlet was playing a major role.

While travelling from Milwaukee to Minneapolis I re-read America's Road to Socialism and

was once more struck by the achievement it represents in Marxist literature. For the first time, to my knowledge, we have in this pamphlet, in lucid and most interesting form, the whole program of our movement, from an analysis of the current political situation in America to a breathtaking picture of the socialist future.

VISION OF SOCIALISM

Our movement has been compelled by historic necessity to preoccupy itself mainly with the problems of strategy in the struggle for workers power. Now we do not evoke sufficiently the vision of the great and inspiring goal of socialism that characterized the thinking of the earlier socialist movements.

Our party must restore the whole Marxist tradition of basic socialist propaganda. Cannon's pamphlet is a landmark step in that direction. It shows a fusion of the richest Marxist thought on the political strategy of the class struggle with a bold projection into the fascinating realm of mankind's future.

It is a mark of the preparation of our movement for the coming radical awakening of the American workers that we now have available such a pamphlet. As the American workers turn to socialism many millions of them will become acquainted not only with the revolutionary program of our party and its capacity to struggle, but also with its vision of the inspiring future that is worth fighting for.

The Milwaukee branch understands this very well and shows the understanding by its enthusiastic campaign around the pamphlet, "America's Road to Socialism."

Big Deal

A banner headline in the April 11 Detroit News reports that the Michigan legislature has boosted jobless pay benefits. A single worker will now receive all of \$30 a week — provided he previously earned at least \$75.51. A worker with four dependents will receive a ceiling of \$42. The maximum benefit period has been extended from 20 to 26 weeks.

Just Out! A New Pamphlet

Stop McCarthyism! Your Stake in the Fight

Contents The Issue of McCarthyism in a Nutshell by James P. Cannon Pegler Spells It Out — "Smash the Unions" The Stake of America's Artists by Duncan Ferguson Negro People's Stake in the Anti-McCarthy Fight by Jean Blake Liberals Pave the Road for McCarthy by the Political Committee of the SWP 16 pages Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. 10 cents



Subscriptions: \$3 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year: \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year: \$1.75 for 6 months. Single Copies: 10¢ or more copies 6¢ each in U.S., 10¢ each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7498 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVIII - No. 19

Monday, May 10, 1954

The People Don't Want War

The sensational May 1 Washington dispatch of the Alsop brothers in the N. Y. Herald Tribune disclosed that the Eisenhower administration "came within an ace" of demanding that Congress approve the shipping of U.S. troops to Indo-China. But Eisenhower didn't go through with his scheme to drag this country into another war like Korea. The American people, at the very hint of such a danger, demonstrated overwhelming hostility to such a move.

A spontaneous flood of letters poured into Representatives and Senators from their constituents. On April 28, Scripps-Howard staff writer Charles Lucey reported that "an America increasingly aware of the Indo-China war is writing Congress in overwhelming opposition to this country's active involvement."

The tone of these letters was especially bitter, as indicated by the samples Lucey cited. A typical one said: "Why does our government insist on waving the flag of democracy at home and in the same breath want to spill American blood in defense of French colonialism. . . If the Indo-China people desire freedom from French rule why shouldn't they have it?"

Fortunately, this unorganized but voluminous outpouring of popular anti-war sentiment sufficed, for the time being, to give Congress pause, especially as this is an election year. Moreover, the American people had a big assist from the people in Western Europe and Asia, who are even more outspoken in their hostility to U.S. intervention in Indo-China.

Good News on May Day

On May Day millions of workers throughout the world marched under banners of opposition to capitalism and imperialism. In Tokyo almost half a million workers demonstrated against the war plans of the American and Japanese capitalists. And in all the major cities of Europe and Asia millions of marching feet announced the growing world socialist revolution to the ears of the panic-stricken imperialists.

But perhaps the most significant news of May Day comes from West Berlin in a special dispatch to the N. Y. Times, May 2, under the headline, "May Day Mirrors New Berlin Mood."

Referring with approval to past demonstrations in West Berlin when the workers had shouted "defiance to the Russians," the dispatch complains: "Today many West Berlin workers made it clear their chief interest was in better wages and full employment."

Moreover, the dispatch reveals that the officially sponsored anti-Communist demonstration had the poorest attendance in years: "Many of the marchers broke off in protest before the column joined the main demonstration before the Reichstag." Thus the workers marched for their own demands and slogans but opposed the official government demonstration with a boycott.

The Times dispatch reports that "a long column of workers carried numerous red banners with slogans. In contrast to former years none was anti-Communist." This was the column of the Building Workers Union, one of the most important unions in West Berlin.

Asia's Answer to Imperialism

The declaration of the five Southeast Asian prime ministers at Colombo, Ceylon, last week is an indication of how far the anti-imperialist movement of the colonial people has developed.

The declaration of the five ministers was a slap in the face to American imperialism. Dulles has been working to enroll these countries in a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union and China. Instead of falling into line, the ministers pointedly asserted the right of the Asian countries, including Indo-China, to complete independence from imperialism.

The fact that these ministers and their cohorts do not plan to lead a serious struggle against imperialism does not detract from the symptomatic importance of their action. Behind the action of the five prime ministers is the pressure of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants. It is these workers and peasants who will carry through the fight despite the wavering and treachery of the native capitalists and landlords represented by the ministers.

Dulles and the rest of the imperialists understand this. That's why the assertive tone struck by the ministers is bad news to imperialism.

Two countries sitting in the Colombo conference maintain military agreements with imperialists — Ceylon with Great Britain and Pakistan with the United States. Unfortunately, no one at the conference attacked these military agreements as inconsistent with the anti-imperialist declarations of the ministers. These military agreements, however, are not sup-

ported by the colonial masses and their authentic revolutionary representatives. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the party of the Ceylonese Trotskyists, which is the largest workers and peasants party in Ceylon, addressed an open letter to the five Southeast Asian prime ministers meeting in conference. The letter declared:

"As Ceylonese, we count it a shame that the Government of Ceylon should have permitted American Globemasters carrying French troops to touch down and refuel at Katunayake aerodrome. . . No conference of Asian countries claiming to be free, which does not emphatically condemn this act of treachery to Asian freedom, can have any moral authority in Asia or among the colonial people of the world. . ."

"No conference of Asian countries claiming to be free can have any moral authority among Asians and among the colonial people throughout the world if it does not condemn. . . such agreements as being destructive of the freedom of any South Asian country which is drawn into such an agreement.

"We call on you to demand, publicly and firmly, the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Indo-China and Malaya which are being bled white by imperialist aggression."

This is the true voice of the Asian revolution. It is the revolutionary leadership of the mass upsurge against imperialism. This is what has impelled the anti-imperialist declarations of the five prime ministers.

Meanwhile, in front of the Reichstag, Dr. Otto Suhr, head of the West Berlin parliament, "warned of the Communist effort to establish a fifth column and divide the West Berliners."

It is not the "Communist fifth column" which is dividing the West Berliners. What divides the West Berliners is the same process which divides the people of the world from their capitalist rulers. It is the class struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The industrial workers of West Berlin have raised their class demands. They are beginning to divide from the Social Democratic lackeys of capitalism who want to enslave these workers to the war machine of American and German capitalism. Thus a momentous step forward is being taken by the entire German working class.

In the Eastern sector of Germany the workers demonstrated to the whole world their division from the Stalinist bureaucrats and the Kremlin, when they launched their general strike insurrection last June.

And when the West Berlin workers break with their traitorous leaders the ground is laid for the revolutionary unity of the whole German working class. With the rebirth of a united working class of Germany on a program to fight capitalism, the way is prepared for the revolutionary unification of the German nation. A unified socialist Germany would mean a socialist Europe.

These are the progressive historic forces working through the German people and not a "fifth column" as charged by the police-minded Dr. Otto Suhr.

Comic Books -- McCarthyism for the Children

By Evelyn Reed

SEDUCTION OF THE INNOCENT, by Dr. Frederic Wertham, Rinehart & Co., 1953-54, \$4.

This important study of the disastrous effects upon children of crime comic books represents seven years of research by one of the foremost psychiatrists in America. Dr. Wertham's findings are not only an indictment of all those who profit from the dissemination of crime and horror stories for children, but of a social system which teaches young children to imitate criminals and then cynically places the responsibility for the results upon the victims and their parents.

Comic books grew up out of adventure and western stories fused with the cartoon method of telling a story quickly, easily and with a minimum of reading effort on the part of the child. Even pre-school age children can read the pictures if not the words.

"When the enticing blonde heroine says: 'Keep those paws to yourself, space-rat' the reader can save himself the effort of reading. It is clear from the picture what is meant," writes Wertham.

BY-PRODUCT OF WAR

This method even under the best conditions, as he points out, is simply "re-tooling for illiteracy" as is testified by 12-year-old boys, their pockets crammed with comic books, who have a reading capacity of less than a dozen words.

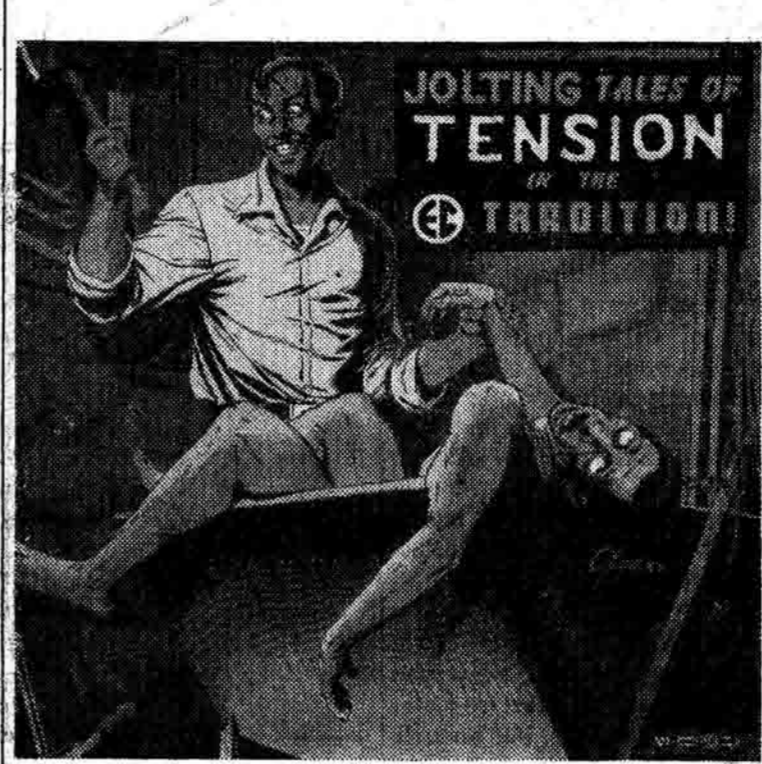
About eight years ago, comic-books about cowboys and animals began to be displaced by crime and horror stories filled with "alluring tales" of murder, shooting, knifing, strangling, rape and sadism. In the year 1946-47, writes Wertham, crime books had taken over one-tenth of the total production of the so-called "comics." By 1948-49 one-third of the production became crime books. By 1954 they have gobbled up virtually the whole field.

Crime books are thus essentially a product of the aftermath of World War II, of the inauguration of the fearsome Atomic Epoch, and of the acute crisis of the capitalist system which has brought the nation into a social blind alley. The crime books are a direct reflection of violence and depravity in the real world and of an epoch of wars and preparations for more wars. They are the expression in the kindergartens and grade schools of what is going on in a number of fields in America today — the preparation of the psychological soil for fascism.

GUIDES TO ACTION

Murders and killings predominate, and on this score, writes Wertham, one comic book sums up the general attitude as follows: "Since when do we worry about killin' people?" Most pernicious, however, is the fact that war and crime are glorified, and the stories are not simply stories — they are guides to action. Even the advertisements are replete with enticing pictures and prices of

"Comics" for the Kiddies



The above is a sample of the kind of sadistic stuff being poured into the heads of America's children by the so-called "comic" books, 60,000,000 copies of which are printed each month, and which spread fascist, race-hating ideas.

weapons, knives and other lethal items in every day's newspapers. The hero is the criminal, and the child is simply emulating this adult model. "The hero in crime comics is not the hero unless he acts like a criminal," writes Wertham. "And the criminal in comic books is not a criminal to the child because he acts like a hero. He lives like a hero until the very end and even then he often dies like a hero in a burst of gunfire and violence."

Thus the children "identify themselves with the strong man, however evil he may be." And who is this strong man, this personification of "Evil Triumphant"? It is Superman, and all his counterparts.

RACE-HATE PROPAGANDA

Wertham analyzes Superman as follows: He is always the big, blonde, muscular, Nordic hero, and his enemies are almost always colored peoples. Race-hatred is one of the basic themes of Superman stories.

"The depiction of racial stereotypes in sadistic action makes a great impression on children. . . One effect of this fomenting of race hatred is the fact that in many children's minds, mankind is divided into two groups: regular men who have the right to live, and sub-men who deserve to be killed. . . A four-year-old can imbibe prejudice from comic books, and six- and seven-year-olds are quite articulate about it. . . they are bad, dirty, criminals, you can't trust them, etc."

CRIMINAL AS HERO

Side by side with innumerable cases of shock, trauma, nightmares and other sleeping disorders, children become brutalized at an early age. Wertham gives a full documentation on this score: of children who burn, hang and beat up still smaller

children; of teachers who need policemen to guard them from teen-age gangs — all familiar items in every day's newspapers. The hero is the criminal, and the child is simply emulating this adult model. "The hero in crime comics is not the hero unless he acts like a criminal," writes Wertham. "And the criminal in comic books is not a criminal to the child because he acts like a hero. He lives like a hero until the very end and even then he often dies like a hero in a burst of gunfire and violence."

Thus the children "identify themselves with the strong man, however evil he may be." And who is this strong man, this personification of "Evil Triumphant"? It is Superman, and all his counterparts.

Side by side with this race-hatred goes the equivalent debasement of women. There are no mothers or working women in these crime comics. The women of "Tiny Tots Comic Books" and their counter-parts are shown in alluring sexual positions, "headlights" (breasts) bared, tied up with ropes, raped, murdered and so on. "Amidst all the violence between slaves, apes and humans in these books are big pictures of lush girls, as nude as the Post Office permits. Even on an adult, the impression of sex plus violence is definite," writes Wertham. To the question, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" one small boy answered: "I want to be a sex maniac."

Wertham writes: "The effects of these comic books can be summarized in a single phrase: moral disarmament. It consists chiefly in a blunting of the finer feelings of conscience, of mercy, of sympathy for other people's suffering, and of respect for women as women, and not merely as sex objects to be bandied about or as luxury prizes to be fought over. They affect children's taste for the finer influences of education, for art, for literature and for the decent and constructive relationship between human beings, and especially between the sexes."

DEBASE WOMEN

Side by side with this race-hatred goes the equivalent debasement of women. There are no mothers or working women in these crime comics. The women of "Tiny Tots Comic Books" and their counter-parts are shown in alluring sexual positions, "headlights" (breasts) bared, tied up with ropes, raped, murdered and so on. "Amidst all the violence between slaves, apes and humans in these books are big pictures of lush girls, as nude as the Post Office permits. Even on an adult, the impression of sex plus violence is definite," writes Wertham. To the question, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" one small boy answered: "I want to be a sex maniac."

Wertham writes: "The effects of these comic books can be summarized in a single phrase: moral disarmament. It consists chiefly in a blunting of the finer feelings of conscience, of mercy, of sympathy for other people's suffering, and of respect for women as women, and not merely as sex objects to be bandied about or as luxury prizes to be fought over. They affect children's taste for the finer influences of education, for art, for literature and for the decent and constructive relationship between human beings, and especially between the sexes."

GLORIFY DEGENERACY

The fact is, despite their scanty attire and exposed flesh, Superman, Batman and other Nordic heroes of the crime comics tend toward homosexuality and prefer the company of men. "The typical Batman story," writes Wertham, "is the muscular superhero who lives blissfully with an adolescent. . . Batman and Robin, the 'dynamic duo' constantly rescue each other from violent attacks by an unending number of enemies. . . the feeling is conveyed that we men must stick together. . . At home they lead an idyllic life. . . In these stories there are practically no decent, attractive, successful women. A typical female character is Catwoman, who is vicious and uses a whip."

Thus, along with the familiar "gay girls," the "party girls," the "holiday girls," there emerges a more modern and sinister woman: Wonder Woman. Wonder Woman is the female counterpart of Superman and a close imitator in violence and vice.

"For boys, Wonder Woman is a frightening image. For girls she is a morbid ideal. Where Batman is anti-feminine, the Wonder Woman and her counterparts are definitely anti-masculine. Wonder Woman has her own female following. . . she refers to them as 'My girls.'"

Superman is nothing less than McCarthyism in the nursery. All the familiar fascist poison is incorporated in these crime comics, and they are primers and text-books in the glorification of crime, race hatred, degradation of women and brutality unlimited. Capitalism in its death agony can offer no other solution to the social crisis than war abroad and fascism at home.

Behind the nursery alias of Superman looms the fascist demagogue like Hitler and his American runner-up, McCarthy. Corrupt the children today, poison them, turn them into "juvenile delinquents" — and the raw material will be at hand for the fascist gangs of tomorrow.

Both Superman and Superwoman don uniforms when they "go into action."

PAID APOLOGISTS

Apologetics for these crime books, many of them hired outright by the manufacturers of these books, attempt to portray these super-characters as having "strikingly advanced concepts of femininity and masculinity," writes Wertham. They claim that "women in the stories are placed on an equal footing with men and indulge in the same type of activities. They are generally aggressive and have positions which carry responsibility." To this Wertham replies:

"Is it so advanced to suggest, stimulate or reinforce such fantasies? The normal concept for a boy is to wish to become a man, not a superman, and to live with a girl rather than a super-heroic he-man. "As to the 'advanced femininity,' what are the activities in comic books which women 'indulge in on an equal footing with men?' They do not work. They are not homemakers. They do not bring up a family. Mother love is entirely absent. Even when Wonder Woman adopts a girl, there are Lesbian overtones. They are either superwomen flying through the air, scantily dressed or uniformed, outsmarting hostile natives, animals or wicked men, functioning like Wonder Woman in a fascist futurist setting, or they are molls or prizes to be pushed around and sadistically abused. In no other literature for children has the image of womanhood been so degraded." (my emphasis)

EQUALITY OF DEPRAVITY

The equality of women with men that the literary apologists speak about is nothing more than the equality of depravity and brutality. And although Superman and Superwoman hate each other as sexes, they are united on a class-hate basis. The following scene, described by Wertham, is a good example: "The girl was the young wife of a Nazi concentration-camp guard. You can see him hit a half-nude prisoner with a truncheon, while she says, 'Hit him again, Franz. Make him bleed more! Hit him!'" On this basis, women are even invited to surpass men, and thereby fascinate them. Wertham writes: "Wonder Woman is not the natural daughter of a natural mother. Her originator, a psychologist, retained by the industry, has described it as follows: 'Who wants to be a girl? And that's the point. Not even girls want to be girls. . . The obvious remedy is to create a feminine character with all the strength of Superman. . . Give (men) an alluring woman, stronger than themselves to submit to, and they'll be proud to become her willing slaves.'"

...Secret Talks on Indo-China Deal

(Continued from page 1)

to go along in such a venture stayed the Administration's hand. The British cabinet's stand, however, was only the pale reflection of the colossal array of popular forces pressing in from all sides to prevent a repetition in Indo-China of a Korea-like "police action" by Wall Street.

First, there is the sweeping power of the Indo-China revolution itself. This movement would confront the U.S. military with even more difficult tasks of suppression than those encountered in Korea.

Second, there is swelling, angry opposition to U.S. imperialism in all the countries of southeast Asia. This found partial expression in the unprecedented meeting in Colombo, Ceylon, of the prime ministers of five Asian countries, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, totaling a half-billion people.

While Dulles was talking about a pro-imperialist "anti-Communist" "Asian" military alliance to include such offshore "powers" as Australia, New Zealand and Formosa, the leaders of the tremendous southeast Asian countries issued a joint declaration demanding an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China, acceptance of China into the UN, cessation of H-bomb experiments, complete independence for Indo-China, no intervention by any outside powers into the countries of Asia.

Simultaneously, Wall Street's government is meeting fierce opposition to its plans from the people of Western Europe and the United States itself.

The hatred of the French people for the "dirty war" in Indo-China, which has dragged out for eight

years, is a well-known fact. The political situation in France is so precarious as a result of this hatred that a military set-back for the French forces in Indo-China threatens to set off mass demonstrations that might cause the government's fall.

In England, the refusal of the Tory Cabinet to swing in with American imperialism in a military intervention in Indo-China flows from the determined hostility of the British workers to a repetition of the Korean adventure. Thus, the May 2 N. Y. Times states: "In this country (England) indications. . . that 'united action' might bring American boys to Indo-China touched off wide-spread protest. In Britain there was open opposition reflecting overwhelming public pressure against a new hot war."

OPPOSITION AT HOME

But the final blow to the program of immediate U.S. direct intervention in Indo-China has been delivered right here at home. Congress has been flooded with letters of protest and newspapers throughout the United States have received volumes of letters from readers showing the opposition of the great majority to the use of U.S. soldiers in Indo-China.

The American ruling class itself is divided. No less a voice than the Wall Street Journal is raised against any proposal that the U.S. send troops to Indo-China — unless completely supported by its allies.

The popular opposition to involvement in the Indo-Chinese war also found its echo in election-minded Congressmen. Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, reported April 29 that the Eisenhower Administration had decided

secretly to poll all members of Congress about intervention in Indo-China. "The Administration's poll takers on Capitol Hill," said Harsch, "reported to the White House and State Department that there were no more than five men at the most to be found in all of Congress who were positive and unequivocal in their approval of quick and decisive action."

STALINIST AIMS

It is this giant world-wide concert of popular resistance to imperialism war — expressing itself directly or reflected in the recommendations and decisions of statesmen — that succeeded in blocking the plans made by the Eisenhower Administration to send American troops to Indo-China.

It is this same concerted opposition that is forcing American imperialism instead to negotiate against its will for a settlement with the Stalinist representatives. American imperialism is not negotiating, however, with authentic revolutionary and trustworthy representatives of the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese people and of the workingclass everywhere who want an end to imperialist war. Washington is dealing with the Stalinist leadership in Moscow and Peking who are quite ready to use the negotiations to get a settlement that will be favorable to the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China at the expense of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

Thus, at Geneva, the ominous signs multiply that Stalinism is preparing once more to play its perfidious role as a counter-revolutionary agency that seeks to manipulate revolutionary movements for its own reactionary aims and thereby aids imperialism.

NEW YORK SPRING BAZAAR Clothes for children and adults, perfumes, jewelry, leather belts, appliances, new and rare books and many other articles. Sat., May 22, from noon on MILITANT HALL 116 University Place (near Union Square) Refreshments

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum The Economic Reasons for McCarthyism Speaker: James Dall Friday, May 14, 8 P. M. Militant Hall 116 University Place (near Union Square) Questions, Discussion, Refreshments Contribution 25 Cents



By Jean Blake

## 'Loyalty' Probe Victims Win Back Pay

The Negro press reported last week that 14 members of the National Alliance of Postal Employees have at last received checks from the Postoffice Department for back pay lost while they were being victimized under the "Loyalty Program" several years ago.

Checks mailed totaled \$38,000 awarded under a court judgment of 1952 to men discharged or laid off as "poor security risks" under the Truman Loyalty Program. The men were later reinstated, but, as the newspaper reports stated, "not until after they had lost many months of work and irreparable harm to their community standing and reputations."

Another, more recent victim of the modern American Inquisition, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a pawn in McCarthy's drive for power, is also back on the job. (We don't know whether she has received her back pay for the period she was unjustly suspended.) But, as the California Eagle recently said editorially:

"Neither Mrs. Moss' denials nor her restoration to duty disprove the charges that have been made against her. Nor does accusation prove her guilt.

"What her case [and that of the postal workers, and of James Kutcher and a host of others — J. B.] does prove is the danger that lurks in the substitution of trial and conviction by accusation for the traditional American methods of a careful presentation and sifting of the facts, with the accused having a chance

to meet her accusers before, and not after, conviction."

We'd like to urge Franklin H. Williams, director of the West Coast office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to ponder the lessons in the editorial in this West Coast Negro weekly.

Mr. Williams, who authorized publication of a leaflet labeling The Militant, among others, as subversive, and un-American, was using exactly the same reprehensible methods the NAACP has condemned in others.

If the NAACP and other groups and individuals including The Militant, had accepted as valid "the arbitrary subversive lists and the methods of those who convict by accusation rather than presentation of evidence, fair trial and democratic procedures, the postal workers and Mrs. Moss would remain convicted of false charges. Similarly, The Militant will not remain labeled by Williams' subversive list because The Militant will protest and fight the smear and all who value democratic rights will support us.

Postscript to Mr. Williams: What is the significance of the fact that your subversive list includes The Militant and other so-called leftwing groups and publications, but no anti-Negro organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, Gerald L. K. Smith's outfit or the Coughlinites?

## A Teacher's Dilemma

We reprint from the April 23 Cleveland Plain Dealer the following self-explanatory letter to the editor from a perplexed teacher:

Editor Plain Dealer — Sir: I am a school teacher. As a teacher I try to instill a conception of democratic ideals and justice in my students. I try to point out our great American heritage, especially where all are treated alike, industrialist, farmer, consumer.

In my social studies classes we place stress on current affairs. I call it contemporary history. I try to stress the good things that happen; but inevitably it is the corrupt happenings or happenings that we cannot conceive of as being right, that hit the headlines. Obviously, the students begin to ask questions.

How can I answer for justice and truth when they see and hear so little of it? I talk in terms of the aesthetic and spiritual; they talk in terms of the material.

They ask why we spill wheat on the ground or why we pile butter in the warehouses. They ask me why we have to pay the farmer more than a normal market price when untold thousands here in the United States do not get enough to eat, or spend over one half of their income for food. How would you answer them?

They ask why anyone would oppose the St. Lawrence Seaway, especially anyone from Ohio. They ask me why anyone is against statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. They ask me why lobbyists are so important, and why legislatures cater to special interest groups. How would you answer them?

They ask many more questions. I try to be impartial; but one cannot stand before a group and talk of freedom and democracy when the students are aware of what is hap-

pening. High school students are not all juvenile delinquents. A great many of them are more intelligent than much of our adult population. But I maintain that it is a most difficult task to try to teach them right from wrong in the face of the everyday happenings.

I would not like to believe Thrasymachus, who 2,500 years ago said that justice is the interests of the strong. Perhaps you, Mr. Editor, or some of your readers, can suggest ways for me to answer my students.

RICHARD ACKERMAN  
Sheffield Lake, O.

Mr. Ackerman's dilemma is the one facing every honest thinking educator in America. We don't think he'll get an answer from the editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, at least one that will really mean anything.

It may not have occurred to Mr. Ackerman that he will have to seek a true answer from an entirely different source. But we bring to his attention our own paper, The Militant, which is completely hostile to the special privilege interests that dailies like the Plain Dealer serve.

We speak for the vast majority, the workers, dirt farmers and racial minorities and have no interest in concealing the plain unvarnished truth. Our paper answers all the questions his students are raising — which are the same questions the youth are asking everywhere.

Alas, in our society justice is in the interest of the strong — the strong being those who rule, the tiny capitalist class in power. If Mr. Ackerman wants true justice for all, then he'll have to wait until the working class and its allies rule.

## Notes from the News

**NEW YORK CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING.** Declaring that "No American is now safe from McCarthyism," the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has announced a "Stop the Inquisition" meeting to be held Friday, May 14, 8:30 p. m., at the Hotel McAlpin, Sixth Ave. and 34th St., New York City. Speakers at the meeting will include Royal France, Julius Empsack and Corliss Lamont, with Harvey O'Connor as chairman. Admission is \$1.00. Organized in 1951, with John M. Pickering as chairman and Clark Foreman, director, the committee has taken a stand in defense of all witch-hunt victims. Among its recent publications is a pamphlet entitled "The Fifth Amendment," an address by Dean Irvin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School. It is an excellent exposition of the urgent need to resist the campaign to destroy that amendment and to preserve it as "a hindrance to any government which might wish to prosecute for thoughts and opinions alone." Copies may be ordered at 15 cents each, or ten for a dollar, from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

**POPULATION UP-JOBS DOWN.** Analyzing the unemployment problem, the May 1 issue of Business Week reports in its Washington Outlook, "The labor force has been increasing at an average yearly rate of about 1-million, net. What this means is that the economy must grow enough each year to add close to a million new jobs. If it doesn't, unemployment will rise. Mere stability isn't enough."

**UNEMPLOYMENT HITS TEXTILE UNION.** The CIO Textile Workers Union announced May 1, on the eve of its biennial convention, that mounting unemployment has cost the union 75,000 members during the past two years. Union president Emil Rieve said that the membership is now 325,000 compared with 400,000 two years ago. "In the same period," he added, "total employment in the textile industry has declined from 1,300,000 to a little more than 900,000."

**NEW ANTI-NEGRO OUTFIT ORGANIZED.** The American States Right Ass'n has been organized in Birmingham, Ala., "to maintain segregation of the races, to aid the fight against FEPC, to further good race relations, to keep communist propaganda out of our schools and to preserve states rights." The Southeast re-

gional office of the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People said of the new organization: "It is significant that the majority of the members are in real estate, insurance or allied enterprises. . . . When you study the list you can understand more clearly from where pressure comes against decent housing for Negroes, and a better way of life, generally for them in Birmingham."

**"THE INSIDE STRUGGLE,"** recently published second volume of the diary of the late Harold Ickes, reveals that in 1933 when members of the Democratic high command proposed to President Roosevelt that the federal relief and public works budget be slashed, he opposed them on the grounds "that this would mean calling out the troops to preserve order. It might even mean a revolution, or an attempted revolution."

**CHILD LABOR EVILS PERSIST** declared the National Child Labor Committee, April 18, as it issued its fiftieth anniversary report. Nearly two million children from 14 through 17 still work full or part time in industry and agriculture. "Additional thousands under 14 work on farms, in street trades and elsewhere," the committee reports. Fifty per cent of all high school students drop out before graduation. Many "are being handicapped by employment at too early an age or in unsuitable occupations for excessively long hours."

**LOS ANGELES NAACP FIGHTS FIREHOUSE JIM CROW.** As the result of a campaign waged by the Nat'l Ass'n for Advancement of Colored People, the mayor of Los Angeles directed that the segregation of Negro firemen in that city be ended by July 1. The Fire Commission has openly defied the mayor's order, declaring that they intend to keep the seventy Negroes now employed as firemen restricted to the two fire stations in the Negro district. The NAACP is preparing court action to force the city to act.

**COST OF GI TO TAXPAYER.** It costs the American taxpayers \$5,200 a year to maintain the average GI in the U.S. Army. Maintenance and operations amount to \$2,500 for a soldier annually. Food costs \$466, clothing, \$58; travel, \$130; welfare, \$10; equipment, \$102; and pay, \$1,942. This overall figure does not include the costs of major equipment and construction. (United Mine Workers Journal, April 15).

## Fascist and His Legal Aide



Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and Roy Cohn (left), the fascist senator's chief counsel, shown in whispered conference during the McCarthy-Army probe before the Senate investigations subcommittee, which McCarthy runs. (See story on Page 1.)

## Newark Negro Community Fights for Representation

By George Breitman

**NEWARK, May 4** — The Newark Negro community's growing unity, militancy and determination to elect Negro candidates to the City Council are the most encouraging development in the final stages of the current municipal election campaign.

The elections will be held May 11. Four councilmen-at-large are to be elected by the city as a whole, and five councilmen are to be elected by the voters in the five wards. If no candidate gets a majority, there will be runoff elections on June 15 between the top eight at-large candidates, and between the top two in each of the wards.

The Socialist Workers Party is supporting James T. Callaghan (at-large) and Jerry Leopaldi (East Ward) because they are CIO-sponsored candidates running independently of the old party machines, and Harry Hazelwood (at-large) and Irvine Turner (Central Ward) because they are

independent Negro candidates reflecting the demand of the Negro community for top-level representation in the city government.

Hazelwood, former president of the NAACP branch here, is the only Negro at-large candidate and won the immediate and more or less complete support of the Negro community. But the situation in the Central Ward was more complicated — and more dynamic.

Most of the city's Negro population lives in the Central Ward, but in the ward itself Negroes represent only 61%. Efforts were made to unite all Negro organizations in the ward around a single candidacy, but these fell through because of factionalism, petty personal ambitions, etc.

Three Negro candidates filed — Irvine Turner, former newspaperman; Roger Yancey, former U.S. assistant district attorney; and Samuel Stewart, school attendance officer.

Yancey was the choice of the Negro "talented tenth" — the NAACP and Urban League leadership, the local Afro-American, the middle class professionals. These people were contemptuous of and hostile to Turner on the ground that he was too "nationalistic," didn't have a college diploma, etc.

Turner had this support because he had a principle — the right of Negro representation in office. Yancey hemmed and hawed and said, "I don't want you to vote for me because I am a Negro and I don't want you to vote against me for the same reason."

Turner, on the other hand, was forthright and aggressive. He told everyone — white and Negro — that the Negro community had the right to representation, and that that was what he was campaigning for. This created enthusiasm among Negroes and respect among white people in the ward who are sympathetic to the Negro struggle for equality.

The struggle came to a head last week when the CIO Council made its endorsements. Originally the CIO leaders, were under pressure from the Citizens Committee, with which the CIO is affiliated, to endorse Yancey. The Afro-American also applied such pressure on the CIO, even stooping to red-baiting Turner because he accepts the support of the Negro Labor Council.

But the pro-Turner sentiment in the ward became too clear and too strong to be ignored. The Baptist Ministers Conference and the Modern Beauticians, among

many other organizations, came out for Turner. The CIO members in the ward let their leaders know that they favored Turner overwhelmingly, and that the CIO's own candidates would suffer from Negro voters if the CIO backed Yancey. And so the CIO Council, to its credit, rejected the pressure of the Citizens Committee and the talented tenth and endorsed Turner.

That settled it. Two days later Yancey announced his withdrawal from the race and began proceedings to try to get his name blocked off the ballot. In a fairly good statement he urged Turner and Stewart to get together and agree to have one of them withdraw. The pressure is now on Stewart to follow Yancey's example.

Whether or not Stewart will do this, and whether or not Yancey's name will be removed from the ballot, the fact is that practical unity in the Negro community has already been achieved behind the Turner candidacy. This reflects both the power of the demand for Negro representation, and the influence that the labor movement, and especially the CIO, wields in the Negro community.

The CIO's endorsement not only enabled the Turner forces to take the unchallenged leadership of the Negro community in this election, it also opened the door for them to white workers in the CIO unions. If, as seems likely, Turner faces a white candidate in the runoffs, this factor can prove to be decisive.

Turner is already making full use of this opportunity. While continuing to mobilize Negro voters, he is appealing to white workers and the labor movement too. His latest poster records his CIO support in the same large-sized type as is used for his own name.

**CIO WEAKNESSES**  
Fearing to lose the support of white voters by stressing the principle of Negro representation, he had nothing to offer that could arouse the rank and file Negroes. And he didn't win any white support in the ward thereby either.

Turner, on the other hand, was forthright and aggressive. He told everyone — white and Negro — that the Negro community had the right to representation, and that that was what he was campaigning for. This created enthusiasm among Negroes and respect among white people in the ward who are sympathetic to the Negro struggle for equality.

The struggle came to a head last week when the CIO Council made its endorsements. Originally the CIO leaders, were under pressure from the Citizens Committee, with which the CIO is affiliated, to endorse Yancey. The Afro-American also applied such pressure on the CIO, even stooping to red-baiting Turner because he accepts the support of the Negro Labor Council.

But the pro-Turner sentiment in the ward became too clear and too strong to be ignored. The Baptist Ministers Conference and the Modern Beauticians, among

## ...Victimize Negroes

(Continued from page 1)

room window. The Dingers, white tenants, had opened their house to prospective buyers. Among the viewers were four Negroes. Police believe this precipitated the bombing.

The Englewood area became a scene of violence when the new home purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hawthorne at 6544 Loomis was heavily damaged by a powerful bomb. The police believe the bomb was made of dynamite and reported it was strong enough to kill anyone not protected by the four walls. Dr. Carl Ross, the tenant on the second floor of the two story building was standing directly above the spot the bomb went off. He was hospitalized with two broken ankles. Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne had not yet moved into the house. They declared that a few hoodlums were not going to stop them, and are going ahead with their plans as scheduled.

Two teen-age youths were beaten by a mob of white youths on a playground in West Chesterfield. John Theus, 13, was severely beaten and is in serious condition in the hospital. The second young victim is Reginald Yates, Jr. The neighborhood was aroused by the calamity and by all the residents, Negro and white, to see what action can be taken to prevent further assaults of this kind. A collection was taken for the family of the hospitalized boy.

scouted by the mobs, but the Howards have gotten the brunt of the attacks. Because they were the first Negro family to move to Trumbull Park they have become a hated symbol to the bigoted white race-haters.

In other parts of the city violent acts have occurred since the early part of this year against other Negro families living in predominantly white neighborhoods, and against sympathetic white families.

Bombs were hurled into the homes of Robert Hymer of 9610 Forest and Ezekiel Jordan of 9615 Forest Ave. Gasoline fires were started in the garages of Pomp Bullen, 9648 Calumet and Kelvin Newton, 9741 Forest Ave. Several hours after they moved into their new home at 9655 Forest Ave. a fire was started in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence May. Robert Hymer's home had been attacked in the same manner several times before.

All four fires were slashed on the automobile of Theodore West, 5851 S. Morgan St. an advertising solicitor for the Chicago Defender, the Negro paper of Chicago. West reported that he had been warned by a neighbor not to park his car in front of her home.

The home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Wm. Dinger at 9534 Prairie was blasted by a hand-made bomb, thrown through the dining-

## NY School Segregation Continues Despite Law

By Joyce Cowley

"White supremacists need not be alarmed," said Judge H. T. Delaney of the Domestic Relations Court at a conference in New York on Children Apart. "A Supreme Court decision will not end segregated education in the United States."

He pointed out that a New York state law passed in 1950 made separate schools for Negroes illegal. But 54 years later most Negroes in New York City are still attending separate schools because of "custom and residential segregation."

The conference was held recently at the New Lincoln school. It was sponsored by the NAACP, the Urban League, parents organizations, unions and numerous civic, educational and social service groups.

**SOME STARTLING FACTS**

Everyone knows that in Southern states practicing a "separate but equal" policy, results are far from equal. Negro schools are notoriously bad. Academic standards are low, school-houses are in miserable condition, the number of classrooms and teachers is hopelessly inadequate. What about the segregated schools of New York City? The conference revealed some startling facts:

Less than two-tenths of one percent of high schools seniors who meet basic college entrance requirements are Negroes. In the Harlem area, there are at least 103 classes for "mentally retarded" children and at most three classes for "intellectually gifted."

Some Negro children are illegally placed in classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of group tests. The quality and educational atmosphere of the school varies directly with the social and economic status of the neighborhood. When large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans move in, educational standards are automatically lowered to accommodate the assumed lower educational potential of these children.

In some Harlem schools, standard achievement tests revealed that the average reading and arithmetic level of the children was about two years behind their grade, that in some classes there was no improvement in these subjects from the beginning to the end of the school year. (In other words, the class learned nothing at all that year.) The classes had a tremendous turnover in teachers (as high as ten in one year) and the most inexperienced teachers were assigned to an admittedly difficult school. One teacher repeatedly told the children that they were "no good" and "would never learn anything."

You won't find many Negroes in Hunter or any other schools for specially gifted children. This is not because they fail to pass the required tests. Counselors, if they have any time for Negro students at all, advise them to be "realistic" and go to vocational high schools.

Minority group children have less opportunity to participate in the part-time school and work "cooperative system" sponsored by the Board of Education. Employers don't want them. They are "less presentable," come from families with a "lower cultural level" and have more difficulty in the use of language.

Scientists don't recognize any differences in the mental ability of various races. But if you've

been brought up on theories of white supremacy you may really believe that there are thirty times as many mentally retarded children in Harlem as there are gifted children. The schools of Harlem are being run by educators who are firmly convinced of the thoroughly false theory of white superiority. They assume that the children they teach are inferior and don't give them the same opportunity or maintain the same academic standards as they would for white children in a good neighborhood.

"This," said Dr. Kenneth Clark, another speaker, "is a most effective form of racial exclusion. It excludes by damping up the source of future intellectual functioning. These children, because of inadequate elementary education, cannot compete with other children in high school."

The conference passed a resolution to set up a permanent committee to fight discrimination in New York schools. They asked for a full investigation by the Board of Education. Improvement of the standards of "Negro" schools is a good start but it's not enough. The schools of the South have proved that "separate but equal" is never equal. An important part of the fight to end discrimination in the New York schools is to end the segregated housing on which these separate schools are based.

As long as Negroes are walled up in ghettos and denied the right to live anywhere they choose in New York City, they will be subjected to discrimination in all community facilities and above all in education.

The white bosses, landlords and politicians who benefit from policies of discrimination and segregation are afraid of education. They realize that once the Negroes "know too much," the whole rotten, lying structure of white supremacy will be destroyed — and they'll go with it.

## Spirited May Day Meetings Held in Chicago and L. A.

By Joyce Cowley

**CHICAGO, May 1** — The Socialist Workers Party tonight paid tribute to the Haymarket martyrs, founders of May Day, at one of the most spirited and successful SWP public meetings held here over the past period.

Vincent R. Dunne, veteran socialist fighter and labor leader from Minnesota, delivered a warmly-received speech on the struggle of the American working class.

He vividly described the long, bitter fight of the American workers to build and maintain their unions and the unceasing attempts of the bosses to smash these labor organizations. He spoke of the insoluble dilemma facing American capitalism today and its efforts to resolve its difficulties by preparing to plunge us into a third world war.

Comrade Dunne pointed with confidence to the working class as the only force able to lead mankind toward the peace and security of socialism.

A special feature of the affair was the performance of a new dramatic skit by the Chicago Socialist Drama Group. The setting was some years in the future and the theme was a discussion by some students on how the socialist society is to be built.

## LOS ANGELES

By Thelma Clyde

**LOS ANGELES, May 1** — At its May Day meeting here tonight, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party joined with old and new friends to express its solidarity with workers all over the world in their opposition to Wall Street's plans to precipitate a third world war.

Thomas Kerry, Chairman of the Local, delivered an inspiring address in which he outlined the 100-year-old struggle of the Indo-Chinese people for national independence. He presented damning evidence of collusion of the American, British, French and Japanese imperialists in their vain attempt to crush the will of the people of Indo-China to gain their freedom.

Pointing to the Geneva Conference, where diplomatic representatives of world capitalism and Stalinism are attempting to resolve the present crisis, Kerry posed the question that is uppermost in the minds of workers the world over: "Will they make a deal at the expense of the independence struggle in Indo-China?"

Comrade Kerry ended his address with an appeal to workers and students to join the Socialist Workers Party and help build the party that will lead the American working class in carrying out its historic task to establish a Socialist America and thus help to insure the victory of the oppressed of all lands and establishment of a world socialist society.

The audience expressed its enthusiasm by contributing generously to the collection to help the Los Angeles Local achieve its quota of \$2500 toward the SWP National Anti-Fascist Fund. After the meeting, comrades and friends enjoyed a social evening of refreshments, dancing and informal discussion.

"What's good for GM. . . ?" Sixty-two officers and directors of the world's largest corporation, General Motors, divided up a net \$11,850,117 in salaries and bonuses in 1953. How are you doing?

## New Hall Opened By Detroit SWP

By P. Stall

**DETROIT, May 3** — A combination housewarming and May Day meeting was held here May 1 as the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party held its first public affair in its new headquarters at 3000 Grand River. Freshly painted walls and sanded floors provided a new background for this traditional celebration.

The theme of the old and the new was carried out throughout the evening. The historic struggles and victories of the American workers served as an introduction to the present struggles for the thirty-hour week at forty hours' pay, for independent working-class political action and for a militant labor answer to McCarthyism and atomic annihilation.

In the "Story of May Day," the audience saw a dramatic presentation of the birth of May Day. As the main speaker, Frank Lovell, SWP state chairman, and candidate for public office in the forthcoming Michigan elections, stressed the modern day struggles of the American workers.