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WHY FRENCH ASSEMBLY KILLED THE EDC

(See Page 3)

Last-Minute Writ Blocks Move to Deport Skoglund

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 — A last-minute writ of habeas corpus held up temporarily the scheduled deportation on Aug. 27 of Carl Skoglund, 70-year-old Minneapolis labor leader who has been held a prisoner on Ellis Island since last May.

The elderly former leader of the Minneapolis truck drivers Local 544, who has been the target of government attack for more than 15 years, had been hustled aboard ship without even having time to gather his personal possessions or arrange for a few friends to say goodbye. Part of the things he had with him on Ellis Island had to be packed in a grocery sack because he was denied time to get luggage.

Deportation proceeding against Skoglund started in 1941 concurrent with the Smith "Gag" Act indictments of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO leaders, including Skoglund. A prolonged series of Immigration Department hearings took place between 1941 and 1952 during which time Skoglund remained free on bond. He admitted mem-



CARL SKOGLUND

Fight Continues in Ohio Jim Crow School Case

By Jean Blake

HILLSBORO, O. — Act I of the dramatic struggle to end segregation in the public schools of this southern Ohio community has ended. Philip Partridge, county engineer who set fire to colored Lincoln school July 5 to hasten the abandonment of that Jim Crow blight, has returned home from Lima State Hospital where a judge sent him for mental tests. He was ruled sane and now is free on bond pending grand jury action in September on an arson charge.

The school board has rejected the petition of the Parents and Citizens Committee for School Integration and is repairing the fire-damaged Lincoln school for reopening in the fall on the old segregated basis. A determined group of colored parents and citizens is refusing all compromise offers and preparing to send their children to mixed schools or no schools in September, and to take court action against school officials unless the children are admitted on an integrated basis.

Partridge, a 43-year-old former Sunday school teacher and Boy Scout cub pack chairman, was declared legally sane following 35 days' detention at Lima.

PECULIAR VIEW
In a peculiarly worded letter which might well be subjected to psychiatric examination itself, Dr. R. E. Bushong, superintendent of the state hospital, said that Partridge "has superior general intelligence, but has been rather poorly adjusted for several years. He is rigid, greatly inhibited, overly conscientious and has, for a long time, been sympathetic toward the underdog."

He said Partridge "knew arson was wrong, but his crusader's spirit will not let him consider the consequences of such an act."

Persons who know the young county engineer well commented

bership in the Communist Party from 1923 until 1928 when he was expelled.

Under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which makes Communist Party membership at any time in the past grounds for deportation, Skoglund was ordered deported. The sole ground for this order was his one-time membership in the CP which ended 26 years ago. He has lived and worked in America more than 40 years.

Under the authorities' instructions he sought and obtained permission to return to his native Sweden. Meanwhile, he appealed to the Attorney General to grant him discretionary relief on the grounds of his advanced years and the serious heart condition from which he is suffering. The Attorney General has authority to grant such relief under an amendment to the law.

Skoglund was ordered to Ellis Island last May for what he thought was to be a hearing on his appeal. Instead he was ordered deported forthwith. His lawyer, Stanley Lowell, managed to block the order, but Skoglund's bond was cancelled. His appeal for discretionary relief was denied by the examiner and the Board of Immigration Appeals. The Attorney General has authority to overrule this Board and to release Skoglund.

The writ of habeas corpus will come up in court on Sept. 14, at which time further efforts will be made to prevent Skoglund's deportation.

Funds to finance the fight for Skoglund are badly needed. They should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Justice Dept. Names Unions As First Target of New Law

Racists Seek Recruits in Detroit Plants

By Robert Himmel Jr.
SWP Candidate for Congress
(1st Mich. District)

DETROIT — Encouraged by the spread of McCarthyism and the resulting growth of fascist groups throughout the country, Detroit racists have begun to organize openly against the Negro people.

White workers in several auto plants and United Auto Workers locals here have received leaflets distributed by a new white supremacist gang that calls itself the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People, Inc.

SPREADING OUT
This outfit was formed in Georgia a few weeks after the U.S. Supreme Court issued its ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. Now it is spreading out in an effort to recruit members in other parts of the country.

The leaflet distributed here urges white people, for the sum of \$7 a year to be sent to the Georgia headquarters, to join the Jim Crow organization, and its activities to uphold segregation. It says:

"The organization was chartered and dedicated to get the white people of America to unite in one common cause against any further aggression by the NAACP or any other minority group, which are now attempting to destroy the white race."

Combining red-baiting with Negro-baiting, the leaflet charges that "the NAACP has been inspired by other racial groups, and especially by the Communist Party . . . to break down every tradition of the white people of America, and . . . to cause us to be pushed back and become slaves, servants of this great monster the NAACP."

TALMADGE A BACKER

Among the "character references" listed for the new outfit is Herman Talmadge, governor of Georgia who has threatened to uphold segregation by force and violence. Its organizer and general counsel, R. L. Addleton, is assistant attorney general of Georgia.

The local branch of the NAACP has sent a telegram to Walter Reuther and Ken Bannan, director of the UAW Ford department, urging them to make an "immediate investigation" and take "corrective action" to discourage further distribution of this leaflet by union members.

New McCarthy Probers Follow the Old Routine

SEPT. 1 — On the same day that the Senate subcommittee on investigations submitted its report whitewashing McCarthy on his dispute with the Army, a new committee, chaired by Sen. Watkins of Utah, opened sessions that will be followed by the writing of still another report on the fascist Senator from Wisconsin.

The odds are that the new six-man committee will once again provide McCarthy with a forum for his fascist propaganda, go through some shadow boxing, make a pretense of stern judicial exploration of facts already well known to all Senators and the whole country, but will do nothing to really damage McCarthy.

The present probe has a built-in device for assuring that it cannot end up with any serious attack on McCarthy's power. The question before this committee is: Shall the Senate censure McCarthy? This is the proposition that was sifted out of a series of stronger proposals which, one by one, went up in oratorical smoke.

WATERED DOWN

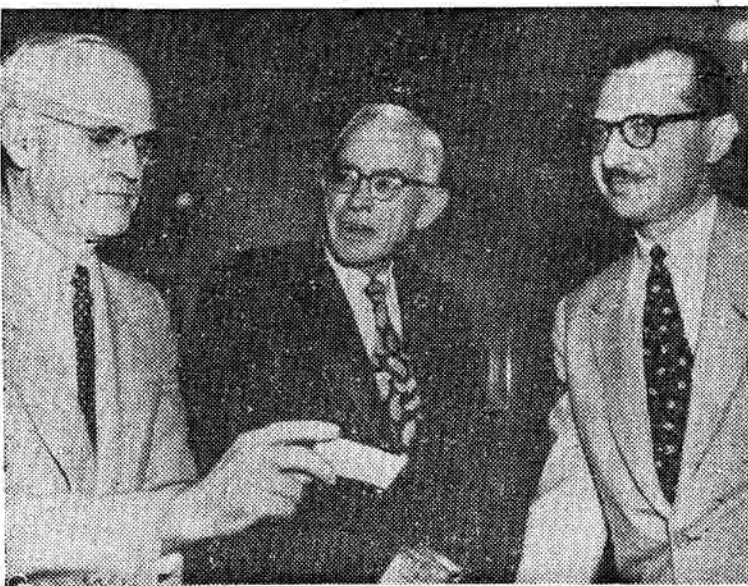
In the first place, the obvious proposal that McCarthy should be impeached was never advanced. Next, the proposal to remove him from his Senate committee chairmanships was withdrawn. Out of 86 Senate votes, only 12 were cast against a motion to table a resolution to censure McCarthy.

Even if the Watkins committee recommends censure, which is questionable, there is still not much likelihood that the present Senate, whose members were afraid to vote for censure before adjournment, will reverse themselves and act favorably on the recommendation. Even if they should, censure would represent only another slap on the wrist for McCarthy and would not genuinely interfere with his fascist activities in and out of the Senate.

Perhaps because the setup prevents in advance any real harm to McCarthy, the opening of the new hearing yesterday witnessed a few procedural bangs of the gavel by Watkins against McCarthy.

But it didn't prevent McCarthy from grabbing the floor right after the hearing opened and launching a demagogic tirade in defense of his fascist "crusade against communism." We venture to predict that this tirade, rather than Watkins' gavel, will set the true tone for the hearings.

Latest Probers



Sen. Arthur Watkins (R-Utah), left, chairman of the six-man committee that opened hearings on Aug. 31 of censure charges against McCarthy. E. W. Chadwick, center, is special counsel and Guy deFuria, right, assistant counsel of the committee. These faces are new, but the probe-McCarthy routine is well-worn by now.

FORD LOCAL 600 SCORES ACCEPTING OF PAY CUTS

DETROIT, Aug. 28 — In a full front-page attack on the policy of accepting wage cuts to "enhance" each individual company's "competitive position," Ford Local

600's newspaper Ford Facts today declared: "NO WAGE CUTS AT FORD'S — WILL FIGHT FOR PAY INCREASE IN '55."

Without directly attacking CIO and United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, the officers of the country's largest union local take issue with the course set by Reuther when he approved the pay slash by Studebaker corporation.

"Approximately 20,000 Kaiser, Studebaker and Nash workers are forced by their employers under the threat of losing their jobs, to accept pay cuts — which trend, if followed to its ultimate conclusion, could eventually jeopardize the wage and job security of more than one million Ford, General Motors, Chrysler and other workers, states Ford Facts."

"We in Local 600 do not intend to stand idly by while wages in the auto industry are cut. We not only intend to maintain our present wage structure, but we also intend to further add to the present wage structure in the 1955 negotiations."

Only three days before this statement, the danger it warns against was emphasized by what

Labor Starts to Waken To Booby-Trap Hidden In Anti-"Red" Measure

By Art Preis

The Department of Justice officially announced on Aug. 27 that labor unions will be the first target of the new so-called "Communist Control" Act. An Associated

Press dispatch reports that "the Justice Department said today it was laying the groundwork for action against labor unions that appeared to be red-infiltrated or red-dominated."

It didn't take long for the Justice Department to find such a union. . . The Independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has been on strike at Kennecott Copper and Anaconda Copper for an eight-cent hourly wage increase and fringe benefits. A day before a tentative unratified Kennecott agreement was reached, "word came from Washington that the Justice Department was embarking on an inquiry into the mine-mill union under the Communist Control Act of 1954. . ."

(N. Y. Times, Aug. 29.)
Thus, the administration makes plain that unions causing trouble for the profiteering Big Business corporations may be smeared and smashed under the new, "Communist Control" law, which the Militant warned from the start is aimed primarily at organized labor.

CIO ATTACKS LAW

It is beginning to penetrate the bureaucratic skulls of some of the top union leaders that the "Communist Control" Act which their liberal political allies in Congress spearheaded and voted for — is an A-bomb planted right under the whole union movement.

The CIO News issued Aug. 30 recalls that prior to the Democratic liberals' addition of the amendment to outlaw the Communist Party, the CIO national executive board had called the original Butler bill "in effect government licensing of trade unions." The CIO News editorial finds the law "dangerous to a free union labor movement since it would give the government the power of life and death over unions."

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Nevertheless, this editorial contains a mush-mouthed apology for the Congress liberals who introduced the first law in American history to outlaw any political party and who subsequently voted for those Republican parts of the measure directly aimed at unions, which the CIO had denounced.
The Sept. 1 Advance, organ of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, doesn't pretend there was anything good in the liberal's proposals or motives. It describes as "heinous" the actions of "many of the Senators and Representatives voting for it" who "have long stood out as champions of civil liberties." All the Amalgamated's leaders can say about the liberals is that "we are at a loss to understand. . ." They sum up the law as a "severe blow at civil liberties."

AFL'S ILLUSIONS

However, the top AFL leaders are trying to kid themselves — and what is worse, kid the Federation's members — that this law is not meant for their unions. The Aug. 27 AFL News-Reporter carries the headline: "AFL Units Not Affected by New Anti-Red Law." They nourish this illusion on the dry crust of an amendment by Sen. Irving Ives (R, N. Y.) which states that any union affiliated and in good standing with a "national federation . . . whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organizations" shall be "presumed prima facie not to be a 'Communist-infiltrated organization.'"

But let President George Meany and his fellow AFL officials ponder the following exchange on Aug. 12 in the Senate over the very amendment by Sen. Ives that they think will save their hides. This dialogue comes from Page

MYRA T. WEISS STARTS NAT'L SPEAKING TOUR

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 — Myra Tanner Weiss, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is on a coast-to-coast lecture tour on the subject, "The Struggle for Socialism and the 1954 Elections." The first meeting will be held in Newark at 52 Market St. on Friday night, Sept. 10.

Besides discussing the issues in the current election campaign, she will deal with such questions as these: Is war the only alternative to depression?; how the threat of McCarthyite fascism must be combated; the crisis in U.S. foreign policy; the struggle to end Jim Crow; how a Labor Party will be built.

Born in Salt Lake City in 1917, Myra Tanner Weiss completed her education at the universities of Utah and California. But instead of continuing work in the field of chemistry, she became a socialist and has devoted her energies during the last 19 years to the cause of labor, the minority groups and socialism.

Working as a migratory worker herself, she helped organize the agricultural workers of Southern California. For her courageous defense of Mexican immigrant workers, she was made an honorary member of the Mexican agricultural workers union. In 1940 she served as a delegate of the Fish Cannery Workers Union to the AFL Central Labor Union in San Pedro. She won national prominence in



MYRA TANNER WEISS

1946 for her exposure of the arson-murder of four Negroes at Fontana, Calif.

Dates for the first part of the tour follow:

- Newark—Sept. 10
- Allentown—Sept. 11
- Philadelphia—Sept. 12-13
- New York—Sept. 17
- Pittsburgh—Sept. 18-19
- Boston—Sept. 18-19
- Pittsburgh—Sept. 23
- Youngstown—Sept. 24
- Akron—Sept. 25
- Cleveland—Sept. 26-27

How to Refute Arguments for Wage-Cuts

By Ed Atwood and Bill Talbott

DETROIT—Why did the members of Studebaker Local 5, CIO United Auto Workers, agree to accept a 15 to 20% wage cut (\$30 an hour in most cases) and important changes in their working conditions in South Bend, Ind.?

At first they voted down the wage-cut proposal by three to two at a meeting attended by about 5,000 of the plant's 11,000 workers. But then the pressure was put on them for a solid week: "If you don't take the wage cut, it's goodbye to your jobs." At a second meeting, attended by over 10,000 workers, the vote was 5,371 to accept the new contract and 627 against. The other 4,000 voted with their feet.

The pressure was applied by the company, by the local papers, by the local politicians. But the decisive factor was that it was also applied by the union leaders, local and international.

The union simply did not have an answer to the company's demands and economic theories. Its leaders have completely abandoned traditional union arguments against wage-cuts. All they did was parrot the arguments of the company.

The Studebaker wage cut threatens to establish a precedent for employers all over the country. That is why all workers who don't want to get the Studebaker treatment should know the arguments that were used by the company and the Reuther leadership to put over the wage cut in South Bend, and should know how to answer them. Following are the main points made by the company and the UAW leaders:

THEIR ARGUMENTS

(1) The company is in a "poor competitive position" because wages and conditions enjoyed by Studebaker workers are superior

to those of the "big three"—Ford, General Motors and Chrysler.

(2) The way to save the jobs of the workers now employed and to provide more jobs is to improve the competitive position of the company.

(3) This must be done by bringing the wage rates of Studebaker down to the level of the big three, and by giving the company contract revisions in working conditions, seniority and disciplinary provisions which will allow it to improve its productivity up to the level of its competitors. In short, the same conditions and wages must prevail in Studebaker as now exist at Ford and GM.

(4) The workers have only two alternatives: Accept the above conditions or lose their jobs.

At first glance these arguments may seem very strong. But a second look reveals them to be the traditional company

arguments against union organization in the first place and against union demands for improved wages and conditions even in the best of times. The difference is that this time they are trotted out in their Sunday best and wear the union label.

ON THEIR OWN GROUND

Let us first take up these arguments on their own ground:

(1) Granting that Studebaker is in a poor competitive position and might really have to go out of business. Is this caused by the relatively better position of their workers? No. Two years ago nobody claimed that Studebaker was not doing very well. The same relative wages and conditions prevailed then as now. The poor position of Studebaker must be due to some other cause. The real cause of the crisis at Studebaker, if indeed there is one, is not mentioned by the company, the government or even by the union. That is the

fact that we are in the initial stages of a depression.

(2) Even if all the other parts of the Studebaker-Reuther argument were true, and presented with the best of intentions, they could only mean that this particular corporation can obtain a larger share of a constricting market only at the expense of its competitors. The end result would be simply putting UAW members in other plants out of their jobs. This is, as every union man should know, against the first and most fundamental principle of union organization: Solidarity of the workers in the struggle to better their standard of living, regardless of race, nationality or religion and whether they be of one trade, one factory, one industry or one country.

(3) According to the company's argument, it plans to grab a bigger share of the market by lowering wages, and

(Continued on page 2)

Humphrey's Voice, McCarthy's Hand

By L. P. Wheeler

"What Joe hath wrought!" is the "impious if not inappropriate epithaph" for the 83d Congress proposed by Los Angeles Times columnist Holmes Alexander.

In his Aug. 24 column, Alexander offers persuasive arguments to prove that "whether you like it or not, the prime mover" of the frenzied anti-labor, thought-control legislation of the 83d Congress "has been McCarthy." Alexander makes his point by drawing a contrast between the Congresses of 1950 and 1954: "Four years ago . . . there was the greatest weeping and gnashing of teeth (by the liberals) you ever heard of the debating of the Internal Security (McCarrahan) Act." Alexander cites the names of the liberals who denounced and voted against the McCarrahan Act: Graham, Green, Kefauver, Leahy, Lehman, and Murray. When Truman vetoed the McCarrahan Act these six Senators were joined by five others — Chavez, Douglas, Humphrey, Kilgore and Taylor — in unsuccessfully trying to sustain Truman's veto.

"Now comes the measure of the change-over," says Alexander. "If you want to find the ring-leaders of last week's orgy of hate-the-Communists and outlaw-the-Communist-Party, go back to the names just cited, all but three of which are still on the Senate roster. In 1950 these men could not abide the reasonable and judicious (!) Internal Security Act. In 1954, they stampeded for measure after measure, vote after vote, that was unreasoning and injudicious, although popular and often demagogic."

"WHO ELSE?"

Alexander then asks: "Has McCarthy been the prime cause of this change?" And he answers, "Who else?"

Leaving aside Alexander's praise for the McCarrahan Act and his views on McCarthy, there is no denying that he makes a strong case for McCarthy as the prime mover of the witch hunt in general and the 83d Congress, with hunting in particular.

Alexander argues: "Undoubtedly there have been other Red baiters, both before and after Joe came along. . . . But try and name one man other than McCarthy who did more to bring this Red conspiracy to public attention and keep it there, wily-wily, by hook or crook, until the fires of indignation were kindled and ablaze. . . . This should be the answer to the jeering cries of 'What's he ever accomplished?'"

This is precisely the kind of blow to the solar plexus the liberals have asked for. This is exactly what the McCarthyites are claiming and have claimed all along. They say, sure, it is the Democrats and now the Republicans who make the formal moves against the "Communists." But only after the McCarthyites "dig out the reds" and force the authorities to take action. For the time being that's the role the McCarthyites claim for themselves — watchdogs of the nation's security.

WHERE 'CREDIT' GOES

Therein lies the irony of the events of the last week of the 83d Congress. The Democratic liberals will not get one bit of credit for their super-witch hunting measures. The "credit" will all go to McCarthy. And the Democrats will not alter the matter one bit by bemoaning the injustice of it all. The McCarthyites will reap the benefits of every bit of witch hunting the liberals engage in, and all the liberals can buy by their maneuver to outflank the chief witch hunter is another swift kick in the teeth. It is not only the Democrats who cannot get McCarthy off their backs no matter how much they emulate him. The Republicans also have a considerable problem along these lines. And they respond very much the same way the Democrats do. Brownell-

New pamphlet: **Racial Terror at Trumbull Park** By Howard Mayhev 16 pages 10 cents Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

NEW BOUND VOLUMES Now Available The Militant, 1953 \$5.50 Fourth Int'l, 1952-53 \$6.50 Order from FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Eisenhower Propaganda Makes Tricky Use of Jobless Figures

By Joseph Keller

With the November elections not far off and control of Congress at stake, the Republican administration can be expected to pitch the voters some of its trickiest curves on the economic situation. Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, for instance, on Aug. 27 issued the statement that unemployment has been showing "seasonal improvement." This is based on figures for unemployment compensation compiled by the Bureau of Employment Security of Mitchell's department.

During the week ending Aug. 14, the number of persons receiving unemployment payments fell by 34,000 to 1,716,200. This is nearly 900,000 more than the 822,100 drawing compensation on Aug. 15, 1953, but almost 500,000 less than the 1954 peak figure of 2,213,100, reported on Feb. 27.

People not acquainted with the mechanics of the unemployment compensation system might be led by Mitchell's figures to assume that employment in factories has been rising whereas the opposite is true.

EXHAUST BENEFITS

Mitchell claimed the decline in unemployment compensation cases was largely due to "improved job opportunities." But, he reluctantly conceded, some of the decline has been due simply to claimants exhausting their benefits.

Just how big has this latter factor been? Mitchell seemed to have lost his notes on this very pertinent question. The CIO Committee on Economic Policy, however, has taken the trouble to get the information.

The CIO committee reported on Aug. 14 that during the period when Mitchell claims benefit payments declined "almost 500,000" the number of workers dropped from unemployment compensation rolls because they had exhausted their total benefit was more than 800,000.

This decline in payments, in other words, is a serious indication of the inadequacy of unemployment compensation as protection during prolonged periods of joblessness.

Some examples: Back on May 30 Herbert Kohshetz, author of "The Merchant's Point of View" column in the N.Y. Times, had noted this significant fact: "Figures on unemployment insurance, however, must be examined carefully because in some instances the declines are the result of benefit rights becoming exhausted, as is the case in Michigan."

Detroit's welfare department, as reported in the Aug. 19 Michigan CIO News, revealed that thousands of workers, in that key auto city have exhausted their state unemployment compensation benefits and are applying for miserable city relief handouts.

Michigan is not exceptional. New York City's Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy said, in an official report issued Aug. 26, that the city's relief load rose another 2,185 persons in July, making a total eight-month rise of 22,442. The number on the city's public assistance rolls has reached the total of 268,776. Welfare Commissioner McCarthy stressed that "the large number of persons currently exhausting unemployment insurance benefits is a cause for alarm."

Last winter Eisenhower predicted that the economic decline would be ended by March. A few weeks ago he claimed that the decline actually had been "halted" in June. Yet most of the important industries show deeper drops during the past two months.

In steel, July and August "were, statistically speaking, poor months. August operating rates will probably represent low points for the year," reports the Aug. 30 N.Y. Times. Production of 7 out of 18 passenger auto makes was completely curtailed in the week of Aug. 30 and "when General Motors and Ford enter model switchovers in September and October, industry totals will tumble further." (Wall Street Journal, Aug. 30.)

You can take at random almost any manufacturing industry and find a similar situation. The National Machine Tool Builders Assn. said on Aug. 26 its members' business during July was the worst since before the Korean War began in June 1950. The cotton spinning industry, according to the Census Bureau, operated at 102.4% of capacity in July compared to 122.8% in June and 110.9% in July, 1953.

Freight car loadings have continued their steady decline since last September and for the week ending Aug. 21 they were 17% below the corresponding 1953 date and 18.7% fewer than the 1952 week. The New York Central Railroad announced on Aug. 25 that it is cutting personnel "in just about every department." Right in the heat of the year, Milwaukee's larger breweries cut employment to 25% below normal. These are scarcely signs of the economic "stability" Eisenhower boasts.

How do these arguments jibe with the traditional and even official union arguments on such questions? In July, the CIO executive board headed by Reuther stated that "wage increases and increased personal income tax exemptions offer the quickest and most direct way of supporting the sagging economy."

The AFL executive council at its quarterly session in August said, "There is a very real problem of underemployment. The answer is a program of higher wages to increase purchasing power. This should be the common goal of all labor."

Official policy statements by Reuther and the UAW publications to the effect that an increase in purchasing power for the workers is necessary to solve the economic crisis of the country have been so frequent and common that it is not necessary to repeat them here.

Of course, any union militant who has ever participated in the organization of a union or in negotiations, recognizes the Studebaker ultimatums for what they are, company arguments as old as workers' demands for decent conditions. And that the traditional union approach to differences in wages or conditions is to raise the lowest, not to cut the highest.

For whatever reasons, the Reuther bureaucracy has chosen to forget the traditional union position, and their own official statements in this particular instance.

They may reply (though so far they have issued no statements whatever on this matter) that the action at Studebaker is an exceptional case, granting relief for a temporary period to a company with which it has had good relations in the past, in order to keep them in business until the general situation improves.

But it is already clear that this action is going to have only an adverse effect on the general situation. As for this being an exceptional case, the daily newspapers in Detroit, who speak for the employers, don't treat it as such. For two weeks after the first announcement of the proposed wage cuts the press carried on a campaign of praise for this kind of "labor statesmanship." They repeatedly stated that now a company could get cuts from its workers if it needed them.

The day after the new Studebaker contract was accepted, the three leading papers in Detroit began their front page articles on the event with the statement that a precedent had been established which could be used by other corporations in the future. That is the way the mouthpieces for business interests view the question. That is the way they are trying to mold public opinion to view it also.

Five days after the Studebaker contract was accepted, the American Motors Corp. in Kenosha, Wis., asked for contract changes in seniority rights, work standards, lost time, grievance procedure and shop representation. They said that increased productivity to improve their competitive position with the big three was necessary. The officials of UAW Local 72 said "we will probably make concessions." The same day, it was reported in the papers that Stephen A. Girard, vice-president of the Kaiser Motors corporation, would seek the "cooperation of the UAW-CIO to lower labor costs by further wage cuts and improved productivity." He said, "Everyone in Toledo has cooperated tremendously. We have received excellent consideration from the union and the Toledo Economic Development Committee. We are confident it will continue that way."

The Ford Motor Company of Canada, which is now negotiating a new contract with the union, has announced that it cannot grant any improvements because it would place them "in a poor competitive position." This announcement followed by two weeks the action at Studebaker.

It is obvious that whether Reuther meant it that way or not, this action is going to be used as a precedent by the auto corporations and Big Business in general to drive down wages and working conditions.

Of course, company attempts of this kind are nothing new. What is new is that not a single voice in the leadership of the labor movement has been raised against these deals which are absolutely contrary to all union tradition and even to the official position of the silent labor leaders.

Reuther runs all over the country making pretty speeches about solving the crisis and curing the slump by increasing purchasing power. But when he is confronted with an ultimatum by a company, he capitulates completely and allows purchasing power to be lowered without the slightest show of a fight.

Reuther and Co. are overly fond of slapping receiverships on local unions which allegedly take actions contrary to international policy. A more flagrant violation of international policy than these give-away deals to the companies has never before been seen. If ever the strong hand of an international union with the long term (and immediate) interests of the workers at heart was called for, this is it.

But we can expect no censure by the present "labor statesmen" of the policy of accepting Studebaker-type wage cuts. On the contrary, it is carried on by their advice.

WHAT WE FACE What is really involved is this: The labor movement in America is facing the fight of its life. We face a hostile government, openly operated by Big Business. A host of laws are on the books now, which, if fully enforced, would mean the end of organized labor in America; and Big Business intends to enforce them. An army of unemployed, from which Big Business hopes to recruit its picketline crossers, is growing by leaps and bounds.

A native fascist movement led by McCarthy is being groomed for the direct attack. The opening round of this battle has begun with the threat of these companies to shut down unless they get what they want. And what do the workers have from their leaders as a plan of defense? Retreat! Capitulate! Fall down on your knees and beg the company for forgiveness. Take the wage cut. Take the speedup. And get ready to take more of the same.

What are we going to say to the millions of unorganized workers in the South and West, who look to organized labor for help and whose aid we will need in the now opening battle—"Join a union and take a wage cut?" No! We must offer an attractive and practical program of action to defend the interests of the masses of the people in this country:

(1) Maintain union standards! Raise the conditions of the lowest to the level of the highest. RAISE THE WAGES OF THE BIG THREE!

(2) INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING! To facilitate uniform high conditions. The policy of "one at a time" is now being used against the unions.

(3) Raise wages and lower hours in direct proportion to increases in productivity. Automation eliminates jobs, it should eliminate hours. 30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY!

(4) A CONGRESS OF LABOR to solve the economic crisis of the country without war. If the auto barons can't run the plants and maintain union conditions in peacetime, the workers can!

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Monday, September 6, 1954

Defend ALL Unions Under Attack

Organized labor was bitterly opposed to the Butler bill before it became part of the "Communist Control Act of 1954." The liberals, who were supposed to be representing labor's political interests in Congress, also opposed the Butler bill. Then the liberals made their about-face, introduced their measure to outlaw the Communist Party, accepted the Butler bill as part of this measure, and turned the unions over to the mercy of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The labor officials reacted at first with a stunned silence. Now they are recovering their tongues and saying a few words. But what are they saying and what are they doing? It is all well and good for them to express alarm at the anti-union intent of the act. But is that enough?

Instead of denouncing the liberals for cynically defaulting on their promises to labor, the union officials are covering up the Democratic Party's role.

Instead of drawing the most important lesson from the liberal sellout and reorienting labor's political policy toward an independent Labor Party, the officials are once again booming it up for the Democratic Party.

Instead of declaring in no uncertain terms that labor will not tolerate the application of the union-busting measure against a single union in the United States, the officials are "looking the other way" while the Department of Justice singles out such unions as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers for immediate attack.

Why the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers? Because, first of all, this union is in a battle with the bosses. Secondly, it was the victim of the CIO bureaucrats' witch hunt and was expelled from the CIO. Therefore Brownell believes that such a union can be attacked under the new law without any interference from the labor officials. He has reason to believe they will stand by with folded hands and hope they won't be next.

But that's just it. They will be next. The crushing of independent unions today will only prepare the way and make easier the crushing of AFL and CIO unions tomorrow. The rank and file must not go along with this stupid and treacherous policy. Every union member in the country must demand the support of any union attacked under the new law.

Swallowing a Camel

As pretty nearly everyone expected and as the Militant predicted all along in the course of the televised Army-McCarthy probe, the final reports of the Senate subcommittee members who conducted the 36-day hearings deal more or less mild slaps on the wrists to the principals involved. There were two main reports, a majority and minority, divided on exact political party lines.

The four Republicans shook a mildly reproving finger at fascist Senator McCarthy for "permitting" his aide Roy Cohn to use "undue" pressure to get preferential treatment for McCarthy's other aide Schine who was drafted into the Army. They also waved an admonitory finger at Secretary of the Army Stevens for "placation" of McCarthy, Cohn and Schine.

The three Democrats used stronger wording but found essentially the same criticism of both McCarthy and Stevens. They added, however, reference to McCarthy's use of "confidential" and "secret" matter taken from Army files and wondered whether this was not subject to investigation under the espionage laws.

But neither the two main reports, nor supplementary reports by Senators Potter and Dirksen, give the slightest indication of the real issues involved in the dispute between the Wis-

consin Senator and the Army and the most ominous facts brought to light in the hearings. The whole thing is treated merely as a matter of the use of political influence to gain favors for friends — a common everyday occurrence in all departments of capitalist government. There is scarcely a Senator or Representative or administration official who is not guilty of the same practice. It is considered part of the standard spoils of office.

But what of the much more sinister revelations in the hearings — McCarthy's freely admitted, even boasted of, disclosure that he has his own cells of secret agents inside the Army and other government agencies who respond to his orders? What of the fact, which Sen. Flanders sought to warn about, of the aim of McCarthy to build himself a fascist mass movement and make himself the American Hitler? Every word and gesture, every maneuver of McCarthy in the televised hearings was designed as demagogic appeal to the fascist elements. And what of the forged documents and faked photos which McCarthy used as if to show in advance the methods he would employ to frame up his opponents should he become dictator? It can surely be said of all the probe reports that they strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel.

Stalinists Apologize For Liberal Treachery

By Murry Weiss

Last week the Militant took note of the first reactions of the Communist Party to the dramatic collapse of its 1954 election policy. After the Democratic liberals took the lead in the most extreme anti-labor witch hunting legislation in Congress the Stalinist leaders expressed shock and dismay. But they didn't have a word to say for 11 days on the crucial question facing the rank and file Communist Party members, namely, what shall they do now that the strategy of supporting the Democratic Party as the bulwark against McCarthyism has blown up in their faces?

On Aug. 23 the Stalinist leaders broke their silence. They extended a cautious feeler by way of a weasel-worded editorial remark in the Daily Worker: "The need to build an anti-McCarthy coalition, based on various political forces united against an American version of Hitlerism, remains more urgent than ever." It was clear to those who know Stalinist double-talk that the Communist Party leaders were trying to wriggle themselves into position to reassemble the pieces of their shattered policy and come out once again with the slogan: Into the Democratic Party at all costs!

The Militant said, "It's too soon for the Stalinists to say this openly. But give them time. Before November comes they will be openly embracing the liberal Democratic boot that has kicked them so consistently."

Well, we didn't have long to wait. Max Gordon, a veteran Stalinist hack, who has served time as an experienced "clarifier" of the twists and turns of American Stalinist opportunism, serves up an oily "explanation" in two articles, Aug. 30-31, in the Daily Worker.

We learn first of all that the Stalinist line has been "subject to some questioning as a result of passage of the bill 'outlawing' the Communist Party, and particularly of the actions of the

liberal Democrats in support of this bill." (For the sake of the record, the liberals didn't "support" the outlaw measure, they initiated it, screamed for it, and stampeded Congress into voting for it.)

"The questioning" of the policy is apparently widespread and insistent. Here is a typical "question" of an obviously critical nature, which Gordon tries to answer: "How then, it is asked, (in view of the treachery of the liberals) can progressives continue to hold onto a tactic which involves them in unity movements behind such wavering 'liberal' Democrats?"

Here's how, according to the Stalinist line "clarifier" Gordon: (1) The essence of the Stalinist tactic of supporting the Democratic liberals is "not the embrace of the Democratic candidates."

(2) The real meaning of the tactic is "the development of an independent political coalition, with labor as its base."

(3) "With the present state of political thinking and consciousness, such a coalition can be developed chiefly within the framework of the Democratic Party."

(4) "The job before the progressives, then, is to bring home to the labor movement and its allies the need to 'convince' the labor backed Democratic politicians that they made a far-reaching error and to compel them to reverse themselves. This has to take place both during the election campaign and after."

The last sentence is meant to make clear that in case the liberals are not "convinced" during the elections, they must be supported anyhow, and the effort to convince them will go on "after."

We see then that the Stalinists have nothing to add or subtract from their previous policy as a result of experience. They have learned nothing. They propose to the Communist Party rank and file the same policy that led to the enormous growth of the witch hunt — the same

policy that is followed by the labor officials. To make this policy a little more palatable, Gordon begins the job of licking off the filth that besmirched the "liberal" halos of the Democrats during the week of their witch-hunting orgy in Congress. "It would be wrong," he admonishes the Stalinist rank and file, "to put all the Democrats in Congress in the same corner."

Does Gordon perhaps refer to the sole exception of Congressman Multer, the Democrat from Brooklyn? Oh no. Gordon arranges four categories of Democrats with four degrees of guilt: (1) Humphrey and his "congressional colleagues" who are "irresponsible demagogues." (2) Those like Rep. Celler and Sen. Kefauver who "gave the bill its proper definition . . . but in the end succumbed to the whip."

(3) The congressmen who "ducked the vote." They "cannot be condoned but still it places them in a different category than a Sen. Humphrey." (4) "Still others" who "privately made known their bitter distaste for the repressive legislation, but were swept along."

Gordon says, "It would be fatally wrong to read them all out of the anti-McCarthy line-up." But the question is not whether the liberals are anti-McCarthy. It's how they are anti-McCarthy. The idea of the Democratic liberals is to buck McCarthy by pursuing a tactic of out-witchhunting him. They think they can squelch McCarthy by shouting long and hard that they started the witch hunt and he's only a Johnny-come-lately. That's how they propose to fight the American fascists. Exactly the way the European liberals fought their fascists.

And the Stalinists are proposing to commit the same tragic crime of the European Social Democrats and Stalinists — support the liberals until the fascist labormen puts the noose around labor's neck and springs the trap.

Why French Assembly Blocked Wall St.'s EDC

By Daniel Roberts

The defeat of the European Defense Community treaty by the French National Assembly is a check on the war drive of the U.S. government and a new step taken by French imperialism towards attempting a deal with Stalinism.

The EDC was designed to unite the countries of Western Europe militarily for war against the Soviet Union. Thereby the American promoters of the scheme hoped to weld an effective counter-revolutionary fighting force for the European continent, just as it is trying to do in Asia.

The normal economic links of Western Europe are to the Eastern European countries. What the U.S. government held out to European capitalists was an economic and military "community" backed by U.S. dollars and troops, which would seek to unite Europe by military force and restore capitalist property relations throughout the buffer zone and in the Soviet Union itself.

WHAT FRENCH FEAR

But the French capitalists are not very eager for this solution. Alarmed by the swift economic comeback of German industry during the last four years, while French industry continued to stagnate, the French capitalists fear that German industrialists and militarists would be top

dogs, in the "defense community" and the French would increasingly have to take orders from the Germans.

In the second place, the French capitalists fear war itself. They fear that war at this time when the working class movement is still intact could unleash a revolutionary wave that would sweep them out of power. They also fear that in a war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, with Western Europe as the main battleground, the holocaust would wipe out French cities and industries, decimate the population and wipe the capitalists themselves off the face of the earth.

In the third place, the great bulk of the French population is opposed to German rearmament and to war against the Soviet Union and no government can expect to remain in office at this time that pushes for the EDC.

However, while the French capitalist politicians have been increasingly opposed to EDC for these reasons, they kept stalling for two years on ratification of the treaty, and matters were brought to a head only under the premiership of Mendes-France three weeks ago. The prelude for a decision on EDC was the Geneva conference, where the Stalinists betrayed the Indo-Chinese revolution for national independence by agreeing to partition of the country.

According to the Aug. 23 Newsweek, Mendes-France "was impressed by Russia's and Red China's willingness — sometimes eagerness — to make concessions at Geneva over Indo-China when they had the French on the run."

Thus the French ruling class gained hope that it might try out a solution to their problems on a different road than preparation for war against the Soviet Union, a solution which would require the aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy to some degree and which would require the slowing down of war preparations at this time.

They hope that the problem of Germany might be solved through a new concession by Moscow in the form of relinquishing its hold on East Germany, permitting German reunification on terms which would limit German rearmament. The Kremlin has made this offer to the U.S., French and British government on a number of occasions.

But aside from Moscow aid for a German solution, the Mendes-France regime needs the help of the Stalinists at this time for its program of domestic and colonial reforms. The Mendes-France government has made moves to grant a certain amount of home rule to Tunisia and Morocco within the framework of the French Union (the euphemism for the French empire) and needs the help of the Stalinists to keep the colonial movement there within the bounds of the modest reforms.

At home, Mendes-France wants to put across a whole series of economic reforms designed to pep up decrepit French capitalism, make it more competitive, induce it to renovate its plant and equipment and make it less dependent on government subsidies. He would also like to cut the arms budget.

At the same time, according to Time of Aug. 16, Mendes-France complains about "the exaggeration of social laws" (that is, measures benefiting the working class) and wants an "increase in real purchasing power by linking wages to industrial profits." These measures would hit at the wages and working conditions of the working class, and Mendes-France needs the support of the Communist Party leadership in order to try to keep the working class docile in the face of his economic "reforms."

PACE IS SLOWED

This does not mean, however, that the killing of EDC was a straight trade for Stalinist support. Actually, EDC was killed with the full understanding that the U.S. has other ways of achieving German rearmament, and Mendes-France in his speech to the French National Assembly on Aug. 29 indicated that his position was open on that question. In any case, he maintained France must remain within the Atlantic alliance.

But rejecting EDC means that the French do not have to rearm right now. It slows down the pace of war preparations. It postpones decisions. It makes the situation more fluid and gives French imperialism greater flexibility for maneuvering both with the U.S. government and the Stalinist bureaucracy. At the same time it appeases public sentiment at home and allows the French capitalists to experiment with domestic "reforms."

Before the French Voted



Prime Minister Winston Churchill greets French Premier Mendès-France, who flew to England to seek support for his efforts to modify the EDC treaty so that the French Assembly might pass it. Churchill was friendly but unhelpful. The Assembly was neither friendly nor helpful, killing EDC by 319 to 264.

World Events

By Fred Hart

N. M. PERERA, TROTSKYIST member of the Colombo, Ceylon Municipal Council was elected Mayor of the city on Aug. 13, by 12 votes to 15. The Council elects the Mayor.

It has been traditional for the representatives of the Left Parties on the Council (Trotskyists, Stalinists and independents) to agree on a joint candidate for Mayor. But this year, according to the Samasamajist, organ of the Ceylonese Trotskyists, the Stalinists refused to rally behind a single Left candidate and the Lanka Sama Samaja and the Stalinists each presented nominees against the candidate of the capitalist UNP.

The Stalinists thus continued the treacherous course they pursued during the recent elections when they turned down the proposal of the LSSP for a united campaign behind a single list of candidates. In a number of LSSP strongholds the Stalinists nominated candidates of their own and in numerous wards of the city they even worked for the capitalist UNP candidates against those of the LSSP. According to the Aug. 12 Samasamajist, the disruption and treachery of the Stalinists kept the Left parties from electing a majority of the Councilmen, although the Left candidates polled a majority of the votes.

Despite the Stalinist treachery, the UNP candidate for Mayor only received 15 votes on the first ballot — one short of the majority required for election. Then the Left members caucused again, and decided to draw for the candidate. N. M. Perera won the draw. The Stalinists this time were obliged to go along, and Perera was elected.

The Lanka Sama Samaja announced that its delegates would press for the adoption of their municipal platform. It warned the Stalinists that if the latter should sabotage these measures, Perera would immediately resign as Mayor, and the LSSP would go to the workers with a full account of Stalinist treachery in turning control of the Council over to the UNP.

The LSSP also served notice on

the UNP that it would demand that these capitalist representatives vote for such items as public housing, which the UNP had demagogically taken from the LSSP platform during the elections.

SIX PERUVIAN TROTSKYISTS were condemned to long prison terms on July 19 by the police in Peru. Those sentenced are: Felix Zevallos, an old leader of the textile workers, 5 years in prison; Leoncio Bueno, also a leader of the textile workers, 6 years; Socrates Garcia, propaganda secretary of Peru-Lana Union, 4 years; Arturo Albuquerque, general secretary of the Industrias Renmidas union, 4 years; Washington Huaracha, cultural secretary of the United Labor Syndicate of Arequipa (USOA), 2 years; Marcial Aguirre, young worker of Arequipa, 2 years.

The periodical Revolution Permanente (Permanent Revolution) reports the news in its June-July, 1954 issue. It states: "The 'crime' for which they were condemned is to have behaved as union leaders loyal to the proletariat and to have acted as militants in our Revolutionary Workers Party (Peruvian section of the Fourth International.) They were all arrested at the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953 at the time of the repression against the working class movement launched at that period. They have thus already been in prison for over a year and a half, and they are undergoing the hardships and living conditions which prevail in the concentration camps of Odría."

"We Trotskyists proudly salute our comrades victimized by the vengeance of the bourgeoisie — disguised as 'justice' — and we promise to continue without letup to struggle for the workers and peasants revolution."

Permanent Revolution concludes with a call for unity to free all revolutionary prisoners. "Aristis, Stalinists, socialists, Trotskyists — we must all close ranks in a united front to win a GENERAL AMNISTY."

French Concessions to North Africans

By Ralph Carlton

French capitalism is no longer strong enough to face the colonial revolution, the discontent of the French workers and U.S. demands for intensified rearmament — all at the same time. The French capitalists recognized this obvious fact on Aug. 10 and Aug. 27 when their representatives gave Premier Mendes-France new votes of confidence on his projected North African policy of granting internal autonomy to the protectorate of Tunisia and steps in that direction for the protectorate of Morocco.

The French setbacks in Indo-China were followed by growing unrest and acts of sabotage against the French in Tunisia and Morocco. Mendes-France, seeing the dangers, coupled his program of peace in Indo-China with a promise to save North Africa for French imperialism by granting certain concessions that did not actually go beyond the rights of the Tunisian protectorate as defined by the French in the 1881 Treaty of Bardo.

Habib Bourguiba, Tunisian nationalist leader previously kept incommunicado on an island off

France, has now been moved to the mainland where he can receive both Tunisian and French political visitors. Mendes-France made this change in the famous internee's status as a gesture toward the Tunisian nationalist party Neo-Destour, whose cooperation he needed if a relatively stable cabinet was to be formed in Tunis.

At the same time he did not release or permit Bourguiba to return to Tunis because that would have alarmed the French in the protectorate who already distrust his "soft" policy. What he did send to Tunisia were troop reinforcements. These were designed to (1) calm the reactionary French settlers and officials and (2) convince the Neo-Destour it would be better to accept the coming French proposals than to engage in an all-out struggle for complete independence.

TUNISIAN ARRANGEMENT

Thus, the stage was set for Mendes-France's flight to Tunis and the formation of a new Tunisian cabinet by the Bey (Prince) — a cabinet in which the Neo-Destour is represented

and which is to establish an autonomous Tunisian administration — with foreign affairs and "defense" remaining in French hands. This arrangement undoubtedly introduces some improvements in the Tunisian people's life.

But far from making the masses forget their goal of complete independence, it only strengthens their self-confidence and their belief in the militant attitude which has won them these French concessions. Genuine freedom is impossible as long as French guns and tanks are present to protect the interests of French capitalism and, in particular, of the arrogant French settlers who exploit the Tunisian farm workers and are mostly partisans of the pro-fascist Gaullist movement.

French imperialism is badly on the defensive. A wave of terror is sweeping over Morocco where passive and active resistance to French rule is reaching a new height. Even the clever, "statesman-like" maneuvers of Mendes-France will not save the French empire indefinitely, although they may provide it with a breathing spell.

Newark

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Drought Can Be Ended

By Carl Goodman

"Everybody talks about the weather, but no one does anything about it," said Mark Twain. This is still true today, although weather continues to be a major problem in the U.S. with floods in the springtime, drought in the summer and whole areas of the country transformed into a dust bowl for lack of timely rain. This spells ruin for countless farmers and sky-high prices for fruits and vegetables in the cities.

But something could be done about the weather. In fact it can be brought under man's strict control at least wherever it affects him economically. This is the judgment of Capt. H. T. Orville, USN (Ret.), head of the U.S. Weather Bureau. Writing in Collier's on May 28, 1954, Orville urges the government to enter the weather control field with "an effort as large as the Manhattan Project for the development of atomic energy. Mastery of the weather is theoretically possible if our research is expanded on that scale."

Orville believes that within 40 years weather can be brought within mankind's complete control if a "Manhattan Project" type of program is launched.

"By milking rain or snow from reluctant clouds at the proper time and place," he predicts, "we may be able to transform vast barren areas like the dust-bowl into fertile crop-productive land." Rain on order would also curb forest fires that destroy an average of 16,000,000 acres of U.S. timber every year. We might also be able to prevent rain, for the farmer when he wants to dry his hay, for the fruit grower who fears fungus promoting dampness. Thunderstorms that wreck crops through hail and tornadoes that bring death and destruction may be busted up before they get under way. These are some of the things

that Orville believes can be accomplished in the near future.

But, he says, we will not have to wait 40 years to begin controlling the weather. He favors an interim program to apply "electronic devices already in existence or now under development." Cloud seeding is already successful, he maintains, in several areas where rain-making has become a commercial venture. For instance one rain-making firm in 1953 increased the water in the Dallas, Texas drainage basin 363% while in nearby drainage basins not subject to cloud-seeding the amount of water ranged from a decrease of 22% to an increase of 19% in the same six-month period.

Will Orville's recommendations be acted on? It is hardly likely that they will be under a capitalist government. Capitalist statesmen launch huge projects on the order of the Manhattan Project on atomic energy only for war purposes — for discovering instruments of death, not for planning abundance. Any benefits that accrue to mankind from these undertakings — such as the productive uses of atomic energy — are by-products of the research and not the main concern of capitalist governments.

Manhattan Projects — that is, the pooling of all the best scientific brains in a given field with vast sums at their disposal — need to be launched in a great number of fields where man seeks to complete his mastery over nature. There is the weather to conquer, diseases to conquer, new types of foods, raw material, and power to be discovered. All these problems could be solved in a planned way and in a definite span of time through Manhattan Projects.

But it will take a Workers and Farmers Government and a socialist society producing to satisfy the needs of the population to embark on Manhattan Projects of this nature.

Who Is to Blame?

By Joyce Cowley

The sadistic murders committed by four Brooklyn boys were conveniently timed for Police Commissioner Adams, who is demanding 7,000 more cops in New York. The newspapers, which were already hysterically attacking young delinquents, and hoodlums, reached a new pitch of frenzy in their sensational accounts of the case. Dozens of letters from an "aroused public" suggested punishments for these boys as sadistic and brutal as the crimes themselves.

"Exterminate the teen-age beasts!" writes one woman who also objects to "gentle treatment" like a trial and talking to the parents. Another advocates lashings which should be televised to "frighten and discourage others."

Various authorities made the usual comments on lack of parental discipline and coddling by the courts. One newspaper suggested universal military training as a cure; perhaps it felt these young sadists were good officer material. The most frequent demands were for stricter enforcement of the law, heavier penalties for young criminals, corporal punishment for unruly children in school and at home and, of course, the "fear of God."

A closer examination of this and many similar cases indicates a need for something quite different from fear and force. Koslow, the so-called brains of the gang, needed psychiatric care. This was known because he was actually under treatment at the age of seven. His mother discontinued the treatment because she felt it was somehow shameful to have her child going to a psychiatrist.

A study of other teen-age murder cases reveals the same need for early care. Take Henry Agard, condemned to life imprisonment at the age of 16. The child of an unmarried mother who worked in a factory at night, he wandered the streets unsupervised at all hours. At eight he was arrested for unnatural sex acts, at ten for setting fires at school and breaking into a tavern to steal cigarettes, at eleven for assaulting and breaking the leg of a 14-year old girl.

You might think by this time it would be obvious to the school and the court that the boy needed psychiatric treatment, or even care and supervision while his mother worked. His mother certainly was in no position to provide these things, even if she understood their need.

About two years ago a young Marine of 17 made headlines by murdering five people in one weekend. He and his girl friend were trying to raise money to get to a state out west where the laws would permit them to be married despite their youth. This boy too, when examined at the age of three, was found to be in need of institutional care. But his mother rejected the idea as unnecessary.

It would be easy to blame the mothers. But it's hardly fair to hold parents responsible for their failure to understand the problems of these children or their need for psychiatric help. The parents themselves are frequently bewildered and disturbed. They don't know much about psychiatry and may be afraid of it. The people who were professionally qualified to understand such cases — teachers, judges, probation officers — didn't do any better than the parents.

There's one obvious reason why the courts can't recommend psychiatric care. It's not available. Not many parents are in a position to pay for it and the few free clinics and guidance centers that exist are jammed with emergency cases. You have to wait for a child to become pretty violent before you can get him in. It's usually impossible to obtain preventive treatment in the early stages of emotional illness.

Psychiatric treatment is not a complete answer. Complex social problems are involved which we can't solve until we change the kind of society we live in. But the fact remains that it might have been possible to give these children some help. The principal reason they didn't get it is that the money is being spent on cops instead of clinics, on jails instead of schools.

Notes from the News

"WE ARE HARDLY LIVING," said Benton Kiser, one of the 1,001 unemployed coal miners in Dante, Va., who were standing "the other day . . . for hours in the hot sun to draw a ration of beans, shortening and canned beef." A breadline without bread," explains Labor in its Aug. 21 issue. Another miner, Alonzo Hurd, thinks "the present situation . . . in the coal fields is worse than any I experienced in Hoover's times and it keeps getting worse — not better."

"THE SITUATION ISN'T SERIOUS — so far," that is. But "rising withdrawals of saved-up cash are causing increasing concern among bankers and life insurance officials" in the nation's financial capital. The Aug. 27 Wall Street Journal quotes one New York savings bank official as saying: "We've had 5,000 depositors close out their accounts so far this year. That's twice as many as in all 1953." Another banker predicts that "if withdrawals continue to rise at the present rate they're going to make a big dent in the new money we have available for investment." What could be worse?

A MAN'S HOME IS NOT HIS CASTLE if the man is a Negro and buys a home in a white section of Louisville, Ky. Shortly after Andrew Wade IV, Negro contractor, moved into his new home, "shots were fired into it and a cross burned nearby." Then an "explosion damaged the house heavily," after which county police maintained "a 24-hour watch," asking Wade to provide a list of approved visitors. Later when the police refused entry to Wallace W. Tircuit, a friend whose name was overlooked on the list, Wade came to his rescue. Both Tircuit and Wade were arrested, reports the Kansas City Call. When

Judge Michael Hellmann fined Tircuit \$20 for "breach of peace." Wade interrupted the judge, saying: "I don't want a prejudiced decision in this." The judge responded: "Your attitude shows why the police did arrest you. I don't like any man calling me prejudiced. \$100 and 30 days."

"NO SELF-RESPECTING AMERICAN can cast a ballot for anyone who voted for these bills," says an editorial in the Aug. 30 National Guardian on the "Communist Control Act." But only the previous week, after this law had been passed, the Guardian printed approvingly a report on the American Labor Party's decision to withdraw a number of its candidates for Congress in districts where major party candidates are "committed to fight against McCarthyism." Candidates whom the ALP will not oppose include Rep. Klein of Manhattan and Rep. Celler of Brooklyn. Klein didn't have the nerve to vote for or against the new police state law, while Celler voted for it.

SGT. LOUIS REHAK, Baltimore cop who murdered a sleeping Negro last May, was completely exonerated by a grand jury that "deliberated" on the case for all of three hours. His victim, James D. Broadus Jr., 22 year old veteran, was asleep under a tarpaulin covering in his own backyard when Rehak, hunting another man, discovered him and shot him down in cold blood.

DAVID J. McDONALD, president of the CIO United Steel Workers, has been urged by Local 2175, USA-CIO, in Minnesota, "to invite representatives of all labor unions to a Congress of Labor to elaborate a concrete program of action to meet the growing menace of unemployment."

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BOARD RULES MAYHEW OFF BALLOT IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, Aug. 30 — Howard Mayhew, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 2d District, has been ruled off the ballot by the Board of Election Commissioners.

This decision was made Friday, less than 24 hours after a public hearing on the validity of Mayhew's petitions, which contained 2,400 signatures over the legal requirement. Objections to the petitions were filed by Wauneta Manly and Catherine Janis. They were represented by Frank J. Dowd, the same lawyer who had acted in 1952 to bar the socialist candidate from the ballot in this district.

Supposedly called to deal with petitions containing 12,000 names, the hearing was quickly turned into a McCarthyite witch hunt probe. Dowd charged that a man with Mayhew's political beliefs had no right to a place on the ballot. He reminded the Board that Eisenhower had just signed the infamous "communist control" law.

Dowd asked Mayhew if he was a member of the SWP. According to the Sun-Times, "Mayhew said that if he answered questions about his affiliations with the party, he would leave the way open for questions about associates; therefore he invoked the Fifth Amendment."

Commenting on this incident in a statement to the press Mayhew said, "I am proud to state that I am a member of the Socialist Workers Party. I made it quite clear to the board that I had nothing to hide regarding my political beliefs or affiliations."

However the board also made it clear that it would permit Dowd to question me concerning the affiliation of other individuals, which had nothing to do with the issues in the hearing. Under such conditions I had no alternative but to invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Noting that the board had acted so fast it could not have studied either the petitions or the stenographic record of the hearing, Mayhew charged: "It is obvious we are being discriminated against on the basis of our political views and not because we failed to comply with the election law."

"The Democratic administration in City Hall has through this decision given a big help to the McCarthyites, who would like to tell the American people whom they may or may not vote for. The more than 12,000 citizens who signed my petitions have been disenfranchised."

"My fight for a place on the ballot is just beginning. The Socialist Workers Party holds that the fight for a free ballot shall not be lost to the fascists."

Mayhew is being represented by F. Raymond Marks Jr., Acting Director of the Chicago chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Marks is acting on his own as the ACLU has taken no official position on the case.

ILA Wins Recognition, Submits Contract Demands to Employers

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, Aug. 31 — After a year of desperate struggle against the government, the employers and the AFL, the independent International Longshoremen's Association came into the clear today, legally certified as the New York dockers' bargaining agent, with a series of demands to the shipping bosses. Put on the table was a demand for a straight 10c an hour wage increase, a 3c. increase in the boss contribution to the health and welfare fund, and a union shop provision in the contract.

This latter demand is dynamite. If the ILA secured it, the AFL would be virtually eliminated from the docks. AFL leaders would have done the same thing themselves if they had won. Dave Beck, teamsters leader and one of those in charge of the AFL longshoremen's union, is already trying to salvage something out of the AFL defeat. Following the advice of the civil war general who said "if you can't lick 'em,

jine 'em," he has publicly indicated that the ILA, now being legally certified, could secure an AFL charter from the Teamsters. ILA leaders are something less than enthusiastic over Beck's offer.

In fact if there is to be any affiliation by the ILA, it would most likely be with the United Mine Workers of John L. Lewis. It was the UMW that stood by the ILA with financial assistance during this past rough year. The main obstacle in the way of such an alliance has been the probable legal challenge to the ILA that would have followed because John L. Lewis has not signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit. Such a challenge might have succeeded in keeping the ILA off the NLRB ballot and given the AFL a victory by default.

The New York dockers have been without a contract for a year. The shippers have utilized the rump against the ILA to keep the men working under the old conditions even though longshoremen up and down the eastern seaboard and the gulf coast secured a package increase of 13 cents last year. ILA leaders are demanding that wage increases be made retroactive. This demand will meet with stiff resistance from the shippers who would like to mark the last year's struggle as a profitable one.

Unions Named As First Target

(Continued from page 1)

13551 of the Congressional Record. It follows Senator Cooper's specific query to Sen. Ives about the AFL, CIO and United Mine Workers.

"Mr. COOPER. But there would be nothing in the (Ives) amendment which would prevent an inquiry by the Attorney General or a determination by the [Subversive Activities Control] Board either against the federation (AFL) or against an affiliation of the federation, if the facts were thought sufficient to require such an inquiry.

"Mr. IVES. That is correct. That is definitely the intent of the amendment. Nothing stands in the way of such action by the Attorney General or the Board. Isn't that clear? Any time they want to nail the AFL or any of its affiliates as "communist-infiltrated" they can go ahead. The Ives amendment won't stop them. Ives said so himself, in precise and unmistakable words.

Would it be hard to find the AFL to be "Communist-infiltrated"? McCarthy has found the Eisenhower administration, the State Department, the Army, "communist-infiltrated." Any time the employers give the signal for such action, it would be child's play for the Subversive Activities Control Board, with the aid of a couple of professional informers, to find the AFL "communist-infiltrated."

Labor's Daily, AFL Typographical Union paper doesn't go in for the rapid self-deception of the AFL leaders. It says in an Aug. 26 headline: "Unions Are Real Target of Law." And it cites Eisenhower's emphasis on that part of the law specifically designed to create, as Eisenhower said, "a new category of entitled 'communist-infiltrated organizations'." That means unions as such. And it can mean the destruction of all unions unless they get together and organize a finish fight to nullify this latest anti-labor law. (See editorial on P. 3.)

THE MILITANT



HOWARD MAYHEW

Chester Tells How to Block Phila. Racists

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 29 — Robert Chester, Militant Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 4th District, today called for united labor and Negro action to defend the Wiley Clark family, which was driven from its home by Jim Crow violence last week.

Clark, a gas station attendant and mechanic, bought a house that had been vacant for almost a year in North Philadelphia,

repaired it and moved in with his wife and four children. Crowds incited by white supremacists smashed up the house and forced the Clarks to move out.

"The acts of terrorism and vandalism against Wiley Clark and his family point up a tendency toward hardening of the lines of segregation in Philadelphia," Chester said. "This process can only work toward a long term worsening of the relations between racial groups in the area."

As a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (whose ballot designation in this state is Militant Workers Party), Chester is an active opponent of Jim Crow in any form and a defender of the right of all persons to live anywhere in homes of their own choosing, without fear of discrimination or intimidation.

"The Clark case is a direct threat to this right," he warned. "It endangers the whole fight for equality and represents the most flagrant attack against the Negro people of Philadelphia in many years."

Chester then outlined his program for meeting this new attack on the Negro people:

STEPS PROPOSED

"The first step is to repair the damage to the Clark home, and to see to it that Mr. Clark and his family are permitted to return in safety.

"The second step is to see that no repetition of the violence and threats takes place. To this end it is necessary to form a broad defense organization composed of Mr. Clark's friends as well as representatives of the unions, the NAACP and other organizations."

Past experience, Chester said, has indicated that "it is not possible to depend on the police and public officials to safeguard the Clark family permanently. This is the job of those directly concerned in safeguarding equal rights."

FOR INSTANT DEFENSE

"Once the Clarks are back in their home, the job for such a defense organization will be to carry out an educational campaign in the neighborhood to convince the residents that any further incidents would only be a detriment to themselves and to all working people, white and Negro alike. At the same time the defense organization must be ready to come to Clark's aid instantly, should that be necessary."

"I and the Socialist Workers Party stand ready to cooperate with all other organizations in any such steps toward bringing justice and freedom from fear to Clark and his family."

Chester promised to make the Clark case an outstanding issue throughout his current campaign for Congress.

Buffalo Westinghouse Local Retreats Under Pressure

BUFFALO, Aug. 29 — Last Wednesday the stewards council of Local 1581, IUE-CIO, overwhelmingly passed a motion to publicize fully the case of Diantha Hoag, who

was fired from the Buffalo Westinghouse plant for invoking the First and Fifth Amendments when questioned by Senator McCarthy concerning Communist Party membership and activities.

The union's first publicity on the case earlier in the week was a miserable leaflet consisting primarily of the company's statement, which the union did not even answer. By passing this motion, the stewards showed they recognized the need for a much stronger fight in Diantha Hoag's behalf than the local administration had been waging.

The opinion of the majority of stewards present was best expressed by Anthony Marino, an independent militant who is in no way connected with Diantha Hoag. The local did not have to endorse her alleged political views, he said, but it was necessary to defend her as a steward and as a union member to the fullest extent. It was then decided to prepare a strong statement on the case and publish it in the local's official paper.

NOT PRINTED

The statement, according to reliable information, was a ringing indictment of the company, both for its arbitrary action in the Hoag case and for its crimes in the past. But it was not printed. Instead a timid article was published, implying that the stewards council had some ulterior motive in singling out this firing for some sort of special treatment. Sources close to the executive board indicate that pressure from top union leaders, fearful of seeming too "radical," was responsible for this change.

The local's regular membership meeting, exceptionally well attended, was held today. Here was the opportunity to reaffirm the desire of the stewards and the more militant members for a strong fight on this key issue. But just the opposite occurred, and a step backward was taken by Local 1581. Not only were the

stewards' criticisms of the lack of union publicity on the Hoag case rejected, but a motion was passed which would compel all stewards to sign the so-called non-Communist affidavits which IUE-CIO executive board members already sign.

INTIMIDATED

This motion, made by a member with no prestige in the local, could under ordinary circumstances have been defeated. But a small band of professional red-baiters, quietly aided and abetted by the top leadership, leaped at this sudden opportunity, while the less outspoken members and some of the milder militants were cowed by the frenzy of their attack. In addition, the presence of reporters from the reactionary Buffalo press helped to intimidate many who would have taken the floor but feared red-baiting publicity.

It must be born in mind, however, that Local 1581 did at least exhaust the grievance procedure in the case of Diantha Hoag, even though the fight was not as strong as the militant elements wanted it to be. In addition, the union remains on record to defend any of its members who are victimized by management for standing on their constitutional rights when questioned by congressional witch hunters, and there is no present sentiment in the plant favoring the reactionary General Electric formula (which would automatically suspend all who invoked the Bill of Rights).

Thus ends another round in the struggle against McCarthyism in the Buffalo Westinghouse plant. It has been a round that must be scored heavily against the workers. But they have an excellent tradition of years of struggle against the corporation and deep and as yet untapped reserves of militancy, which progressives in the union are hard at work to bring out.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Liberals Blamed For Repression

Editor:

I was glad to see that the Militant had the good sense not to refer to the Democratic congressmen responsible for the Communist Party outlaw bill as liberals in quotes. Maybe some of the followers of Humphrey and Co. do not relish it, but that's official liberalism today, and there is no use, putting quotation marks around it as if to imply that there is some other kind of liberalism in business today. There's only one kind of liberalism that has any strength in this country today, and that's the liberalism that blazed the path for the Communist Control Act of 1954, and many other repressive measures before it.

D. H. New York City

We Have to Know What Women Want

Editor:

The beginnings of a discussion do not always indicate differences which later develop in a more precise form. Jack Bustelo in his article on cosmetics, and in his answer to Louise Manning, now shows more clearly what the problem is.

In our approach to the women, we have to avoid sectarianism just as we do in any other field of our activity. It would be well not to fall into the same trap as the Third Period Stalinists, when their sectarianism led them to scoff at the existing standards and made them the object of ridicule by the masses.

It is a serious mistake to counterpose our own standards of what is attractive to the demands of the masses of women. We are not discussing what these stand-

senseless and unbelievable violence. But they themselves were victims before they produced new victims.

They were victims of a capitalist society which glorifies war, brutality and cruelty. This society had twisted and sickened their minds since the day they were born.

Is it any wonder that just as physical monstrosities were born as a result of the atomic murder of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so mental and emotional monstrosities appear among the youth of a society poisoned by the atmosphere of senile and corrupt capitalism?

Manny Stone New York City

Four Were Victims As Well as Killers

Editor:

The killed and tortured victims of the rage of four Brooklyn teen-agers depict the problem of American youth in its most glaring form.

These horrible acts of violence cannot be blamed on the parents of the boys. The four boys struck out with a blind and insane fury against a capitalist world they never made but which had fashioned their minds in the image of its own glorified evils.

The four Brooklyn boys, coming from "normal" families, reacted with madness and despair instead of consciousness and organized struggle. They committed acts of

ards were in primitive society, or what they will be under socialism, or what we think they should be now. As a revolutionary party, we have to know what the women want today, since these desires stem from standards which they have to meet constantly in all their activities. We cannot bypass these by saying they are not important, and that we should look for more permanent values in the personality of the women.

The women want good clothes. They want to go to the beauty parlor for permanents and hair cuts. They need time and money for these things. The concept that a woman should be satisfied with ill fitting, poor quality clothing, or that her hair and makeup do not matter because there are more important things is fostered by the wealthy, not for their own consumption, but to make the working class woman bear her lot more cheerfully. We have to cut through all that. Of course these standards are bourgeois standards, but they are the norms the women have to meet. No one knows yet what standards under socialism will be. What right do we have to say to the women, "All these things which the wealthy have are not necessary for you?"

If the women want these things, they should have them, and we have to support them in their struggle to get them. This struggle is more than just a superficial fight to look better. It is part of the struggle of the women to emancipate themselves from the status of household drudges, and to acquire an individuality of their own.

Society is wealthy enough to grant these material factors to the women, but they will have

to conduct a revolutionary struggle to get them. Afterwards, under socialism, when new needs and new desires arise, they may discard what they are seeking today, but let us not substitute the society of the future for the needs of today.

Sam Stern Los Angeles, Calif.

"Determined to Build a Vanguard"

Editor:

I have been fortunate enough to read a copy of the Militant and must say I am impressed not a little. I would like to be a regular reader.

If you don't mind, I beg to approach you on a matter of the greatest importance to my few friends and I. As victims of colonialism and slavery who believe, and have faith, in the international organization of workers and peasants, we are determined to build a vanguard for the emancipation of workers and peasants of our country from economic servitude.

To build a solid house one needs, first and foremost, the following things: (a) Conviction, (b) determination, (c) faith in one's self and (d) materials for solid foundation. We have a, b and c but not d, which is very important. To build this vanguard we ourselves should be politically and ideologically sound.

We want you to help us to learn Marx's philosophy and socialist political economy and to build a library.

As you must have made out from my letter, I am an African. A. R. England